Abigail, Wife of David, and Other Ancient Oriental Women

Hebrew Bible Monographs, 60

Abigail, Wife of David, and Other Ancient Oriental Women

Edited by

Daniel Bodi

Sheffield Phoenix Press
2013

Published by Sheffield Phoenix Press
Department of Biblical Studies, University of Sheffield
45 Victoria Street, Sheffield S3 7QB

www.sheffieldphoenix.com

A CIP catalogue record for this book
is available from the British Library

Typeset by the HK Scriptorium
Printed by Lightning Source

ISBN 978-1-909697-04-1

Contents

Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ACF	*Annuaire du Collège de France*
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
AHw	W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*
AION	Annali del'Istituto Orientale di Napoli
AIPHOS	*Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*
AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (ed. J.B. Pritchard; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 3rd edn, 1969).
AnSt	*Anatolian Studies*
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ARM	Archives royales de Mari
ARMT	Archives royales de Mari. Textes, transcription et traduction (Paris, 1950–)
AS	Assyriological Studies
AuOr	*Aula orientalis*
b.	Babylonian Talmud
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BAR	*Biblical Archaeologist Reader*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BBVO	Berliner Beträge zum Vorderen Orient
BDB	F. Brown, S.R. Driver and C.A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907).
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
BLS	Bible and Literature Series
BM	Bibliotheca mesopotamica
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*
CAT	Commentaire de l'Ancien Testament
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CM	Cuneiform Monographs

EA	El-Amarna Tablets = J.A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln (1–358)*; A. F. Rainey, *El Amarna Tablets (359–79)*
ERC	Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
Gilg.	*The Gilgamesh Epic*
HBM	Hebrew Bible Monographs
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Series
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
Int	*Interpretation*
JANESCU	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JHS	*Journal of Hebrew Scriptures*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSup	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, Supplement Series
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
KTU	*Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit*
LAPO	Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient
LBI	Library of Biblical Interpretation
LD	Lectio divina
LXX	Septuagint
MIO	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*
NEA	*Near Eastern Archaeology*
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NJPS	The New Jewish Publication Society of America Translation of the Bible (1962–83, 1985)
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version of the Bible
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OLA	Orientalia lovaniensia analecta
Or	*Orientalia*
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studiën
RA	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*
RB	*Revue biblique*
RBL	*Review of Biblical Literature*
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*

SAAS	State Archives of Assyria Studies
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SEPOA	Société pour l'Etude du Proche-Orient Ancien
SJOT	*Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*
ThLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
TynB	*Tyndale Bulletin*
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
UBL	Ugaritisch-biblische Literatur
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	*Vetus Testamentum*, Supplements
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World
WO	*Die Welt des Orients*
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kundes Morgenlandes*
y.	Jerusalem Talmud
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZL	Zimrī-Līm (+ year of his reign)

List of Contributors

Daniel Bodi, Professor of Hebrew Bible and Semitic Languages, University of Paris 8, Vincennes–Saint-Denis, Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies.

Moshe Garsiel, Professor of Hebrew Bible, Bar-Ilan University, Israel.

Jean-Jacques Glassner, Assyriologist, Director of Research at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Archéologies et Sciences de l'Antiquité, University of Paris 10, Nanterre.

Michaël Guichard, Associate Professor of Assyriology, University of Paris 1, Panthéon–Sorbonne.

Jean-Marie Husser, Professor of History of Religions, University of Strasbourg.

André Lemaire, Directeur d'études, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Department of Historical and Philological Sciences, Sorbonne, Paris.

Preface

In his book *Kafka on the Shore*, the Japanese writer Haruki Murakami points out 'that even in the smallest events there's no such thing as coincidence'.[1] The way the present collection of essays came into being would tend to confirm this point of view. The idea for this monograph came from a conversation with Jack Sasson during the 52nd Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in Münster, Westphalia, in 2006. Knowing my work on King David's wives, he mentioned to me a two-line footnote in a doctoral dissertation in Assyriology by Michaël Guichard.[2] The latter connected the old vassal Zakura-abum with Zimrī-Līm's daughter, the princess Inib-šarri. This information, which might seem insignificant to an uninformed reader, caught the attention of Jack's expert eye. He knew the background of these Amorite characters and Zimrī-Līm's elaborate matrimonial transactions with his daughters, the young Mari princesses. At that time, Jack had just published his own article in which he compared the way Isaac obtained Rebekah from Haran in Gen. 24.1-27 with the way the Sim'alite warlord Zimrī-Līm negotiated his marriage with Šiptum, the daughter of Yarim-Līm from Ḫalab (Aleppo), by a proxy, as described in several cuneiform letters from Mari (ARMT, 26, 10; 26, 11; 26, 13).[3]

1. H. Murakami, *Kafka on the Shore* (trans. P. Gabriel; London: Vintage Books, 2005), p. 33. This idea reflects Buddhist notions. However, Judaism shares a similar view, attributing the connection between events to an ultimate ruler of the universe, as the *Zohar* frequently states.

2. M. Guichard, *La vaisselle de luxe des rois de Mari* (Matériaux pour le Dictionnaire de Babylonien de Paris, 2; ARM, 31; Paris: ERC, 2005), p. 386 (M. 599), and p. 110 n. 11.

3. J.M. Sasson, 'The Servant's Tale: How Rebekah Found a Spouse', *JNES* 65 (2006), pp. 241-65, (247). Both marriage transactions share numerous details, which are best explained as being due to the conservatism of marriage customs in northern Syria. They tend to confirm the continuity between the Amorite tribes and the Aramean ones, among which are found the ancestors of the Hebrews. Rebekah's and Šiptu's betrothals share the following elements: long-distance negotiations by wise servants or ambassadors, rich gifts to the bride and the family of the bride, the veiling of the bride, her own acceptance of her new status, the attachment of maids to her person, the merging of two families, the anxiety of the bride's family, the long trek back, and the preparation of a chamber for the new mistress of the house.

Building on Guichard's note, Jack suggested that the unusual marital transaction between the old sheikh Zakura-abum, the young princess Inib-šarri and a young upstart Ibâl-Addu could make a fruitful historical analogy with the story of David, Nabal and Abigail in 1 Samuel 25 and that I should explore this connection as I continued writing a series of monographs on Michal, Abigail, Bathsheba and Abishag.

Michaël Guichard and I are members of the same research team in Paris, led by the Assyriologists Jean-Marie Durand and Dominique Charpin, and, since the retirement of the former, presided over by the biblical scholar Thomas Römer and by Dominique Charpin. It was, therefore, only natural to ask Michaël Guichard if he could explore the story of Inib-šina in light of Jack Sasson's suggestion. He kindly agreed to write an article on it. By the end of 2009, I organized an international colloquium at the Paris School of Oriental Studies (INALCO) to which I invited several scholars to explore various aspects bearing on the issues associated with Abigail, Nabal and David. The colloquium had a broad multidisciplinary appeal, bringing together scholars from biblical, Assyriological, Ugaritic, Hebrew, Arabic, literary and midrashic studies. To justify this broader appeal, its initial title was 'Abigaïl: La beauté et la ruse d'une femme orientale'. Since some articles never made it to publication, and in order to avoid any innuendos, the final title was altered to 'Abigail, Wife of David, and Other Ancient Oriental Women'.

The final publication of the papers was delayed for several reasons. My time was taken with the publication of several books, a commentary on Ezekiel,[4] a monograph on Bathsheba[5] and a book entitled *Israel and Judah in the Shadow of the Babylonians and the Persians*.[6] Moreover, while some of the participants wrote their contributions in English, I had to translate the rest of the articles from French into English in order to produce texts more easily available to a larger readership.

My deepest gratitude goes to Jack Sasson, who provided the initial impetus, putting this project on the right track; to Michaël Guichard, who kindly accepted to bring the pertinent Mari data together; and to my editor, David Clines, for his truly divine patience. My gratitude also goes to the colleagues who accepted to join the Abigail bandwagon and wait for this publication, which turned out to be 'a slow train coming'.

4. D. Bodi, *Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel* (ed. J.H. Walton; Zondervan Illustrated Bible Backgrounds Commentary, 4; Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2009).

5. D. Bodi, *The Demise of the Warlord: A New Look at the David Story* (HBM, 26; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2010).

6. D. Bodi, *Israël à l'ombre des Babyloniens et des Perses* (Collection de l'Université Marc Bloch—Strasbourg, Etudes d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne; Paris: de Boccard, 2010).

Introduction

Daniel Bodi

In order to facilitate the reading of the present study on Abigail, Nabal and David, this introduction provides the gist of what is found in each of the articles that form the various chapters of this monograph.

In his article 'The Residency of Abigail in 1 Samuel 25 and the Connection between David and Abraham', André Lemaire begins with a presentation of all the basic data concerning the figure of Abigail. Lemaire suggests that the reason why the circumstances in which Abigail became David's wife received such a lengthy description in the Hebrew Bible can probably by explained by the important economic and political role played by Abigail before David was acknowledged as the king of Judah in Hebron. He also explores the connections between Abigail's story and the patriarchal and matriarchal traditions of Sarah and Abraham. A series of very precise common elements, vocabulary and geographical references shared among these traditions leads him to assume that they might have been produced in the same milieu, perhaps even by the same writer, whom he names, together with André Caquot and Philippe de Robert, the 'Abiathride', a priest from David's entourage. Lemaire's article defends the older scholarly position in dating the narrative in 1 Samuel 25.

The study by the Assyriologist Michaël Guichard, in his article entitled 'Remarriage of a Princess and the "Foreign Policy" of the King of Mari in the Upper Ḫabur Region in the Eighteenth Century BCE', brings to light a major historical analogy as a precious forerunner of the triangular relationship between Abigail, Nabal and David with a precedent culled from Mari documents. The career of Inib-šarri, Zimrī-Līm's daughter and princess, first married to an old sheikh, Zakura-abum, and, after his sudden death, to a younger vassal, Ibâl-Addu, is something of a comparative *unicum* with respect to 1 Samuel 25, providing a very apt analogy to the similar career of Abigail.

Until recently, scholars thought that Inib-šarri was married only to one of Zimrī-Līm's vassals, Ibâl-Addu, the king of the city of Ašlakkā, located in the northwest of the Ḫabur triangle. A detailed study of the ten published letters of Inib-šarri, together with the contribution of five new unpublished documents, shows, however, that she was first married to the older sheikh Zakura-abum, who reigned over the little town of

Zalluḫan, near the upper course of the river Ḫabur, south of the city of Ašlakkā. Therefore, the 'biography' of this princess deserves to be revised inasmuch as the historical context of this area is now better known. Her second marriage to the young upstart vassal Ibâl-Addu may have lasted five years (from ZL 7 to ZL 12) and was apparently sterile and profoundly unhappy, contrary to that of Abigail and David, who had a son together, named Chileab (2 Sam. 3.3). Usually, the royal Mari princesses married to foreign kings would stand by their spouses. In the case of Inib-šarri, the contrary took place, since she rebelled against her husband and openly challenged him, according to her own words. Similarly, Abigail too took bold, independent action behind her husband's back. With remarkable courage, and on several occasions, Inib-šarri denounced the treacherous undertakings of her second husband, Ibâl-Addu, to her father, Zimrī-Līm.

Zakura-abum fell sick and died after several days or weeks. The same way that Nabal's timely death benefits David in 1 Samuel 25, Zakura-abum's sudden demise indirectly benefited the vassal Ibâl-Addu of Ašlakkā. Almost immediately, he married the king's widow, the young Mari princess Inib-šarri. From this prestigious alliance, he drew the obvious political benefit of having married his suzerain's daughter. Nevertheless, their marriage was a lackluster one, and Inib-šarri was ready to betray her husband. Such was not the case with Abigail and David.

In order to better grasp the political tension and the power struggle in the background of the events described in 1 Samuel 25, in his contribution entitled 'David as an *'Apiru* in 1 Samuel 25 and the Pattern of Seizing Power in the Ancient Near East', Daniel Bodi provides a broader historical reconstruction of the times and events relating to the first Hebrew tribal warlords, Saul and David. First, he suggests that, for comparative reasons, the new approach of seeing the 'House of Saul' pitted against the 'House of David' should be preferred to the older approach that spoke of 'David's rise to power' and the 'throne succession narrative'. Second, it attempts to show how two eighteenth-century BCE Mari texts provide a fitting historical analogy for the power struggle between Saul and David, depicting the conflict between two Amorite clans, the Addu Benjaminites against the Līm Sim'alites, spanning three generations. Third, he states why it is preferable to view Saul and David as tribal chiefs rather than kings. Fourth, the launching of Saul's career as a warlord in 1 Sam. 11.5-7, where he mustered tribal levy by dismembering his oxen and sending pieces to various Hebrew tribes, is compared to a similar procedure in a Mari text (ARM 2,48) of cutting off a prisoner's head and parading it in the towns in order to levy troops among Hanean semi-nomads. Fifth, David's manner in seizing power, as described in 1 Samuel 25, is compared to the pattern of seizing power in the ancient Near East as reflected in a series of texts (Zimrī-Līm from Mari, Idrimi from Alalaḫ and the *'apiru* from Amarna with a special

focus on 'Abdi-Aširta of Amurru). Sixth, the issue of Nabal's probable breach of the ancient Near Eastern custom of hospitality in 1 Samuel 25 is suggested. Ancient Near Eastern literature has numerous references to a ritual of hospitality, with a highly coded pattern of behavior (*The Myth of Adapa*; *Ištar's Descent to the Netherworld*; *The Gilgameš Epic* tablet 2, where the wild man from the steppe, Enkidu, becomes used to urban life; *Inana and Enki*; *Nergal and Ereškigal*).

The analysis of the hospitality rites draws an additional conclusion from the parallel with a 'sexual form of hospitality', as described in the Late-Assyrian version of the myth of *Nergal and Ereškigal*. If this piece of ancient Near Eastern literature can be taken as an external chronological check, the older, fourteenth-century BCE Amarna version speaks of Nergal taking power through violence while the seventh-century BCE version describes how Nergal seizes power over another realm through a story of seduction and love. Significantly, the Abigal, Nabal and David story combines both aspects, as it begins with violence and ends with marriage. From the point of view of comparative ancient Near Eastern literature, the Hebrew narrative in 1 Samuel 25 describing the breach of hospitality customs and the act of seizing power by an ambitious warlord should yield a date between the tenth and the seventh century BCE, most probably in the eighth century BCE.

In his article 'Women and Hospitality Customs in the Ancient Near East', the Assyriologist Jean-Jacques Glassner explores the role of the female figures in the *Gilgameš Epic* and the hospitality customs related to the arrival of the stranger, Enkidu, in the city of Uruk. In Mesopotamia, the rules of hospitality stipulate that every newly arrived foreigner in a city should be dressed with festive clothes and fed at a banquet prepared in his honor. This is followed by a normative contest between him and his hosts, which ends with a winner and a loser. The confrontation can take different forms, either a wrestling bout or an oratory joust. The four constitutive elements of a hospitality code that have been pointed out by Julian Pitt-Rivers for the eastern part of the Mediterranean coast seem to apply to the ancient Semitic world as well: (1) A banquet is offered in order to celebrate the arrival of the stranger with food, drink and conviviality; (2) the stranger might be put to a physical test in an attempt to gauge his strength; (3) while a form of verbal jousting serves to test the stranger's worth; and (4) the competition gives way to a peaceful conclusion. A foreigner such as Enkidu, who desires to settle permanently within the community, must imperatively rise to the occasion and accept the challenge or risk being rejected. Once the challenge is accepted, he has the possibility of obtaining a place in the welcoming community. Enkidu lost the physical contest and failed to become a spouse, a family head, an owner, a person of note; instead, Enkidu became the friend of King Gilgameš and came under the protection of the head of the community. He is no longer defenseless, yet he has no rights either.

The issue is significantly different in the case of the myth known as 'The Marriage of Martu'. The god Amurru, presented as a nomad who lives in the vicinity of the city of Ninab, sells his strength as a worker with the city-dwellers in exchange for a meager revenue—a ration of bread for a single man or two portions of bread for a married one. Having received two rations of bread, this error in distribution arouses in him a desire to take a wife. He seizes the occasion of a feast to inquire about a prospective wife, participates in the contests and usual tournaments and comes out as a winner in all the contests. As a reward, he asks for and obtains the hand of the king's daughter.

By her cunning, beauty, know-how and the place she occupies in ancient Near Eastern society, the woman can play a central role in those procedures. Her sex is perceived as having a mediatory role between two communities, from the external to the internal, from the wild to the civilized, from one social status to another.

The next article, written by Moshe Garsiel, entitled 'The Story of David, Nabal and Abigail (1 Samuel 25): A Literary Study of Wordplay on Names, Analogies and Socially Structured Opposites', combines a thorough knowledge of the midrashic exegetical traditions with principles of narratology. Garsiel pays particular attention to the literary and social contrasts present in the narrative. In order to highlight the symbolic charge and the socially structured opposites represented in the narrative of 1 Samuel 25, he also applies the literary approach borrowed from structuralism. He sees a tension between the nomadic David, living in the wilderness of Paran, and the rich flock owner who is dwelling at a village named Maon, which means 'mansion'. David's metonymic area, 'the desert', would reflect metaphorically his position: he stays outside the sedentary society that dwells in towns and villages. Yet, he is in constant need of food and other provisions from the rich farmers living on the mountain ridge who abound in what David and his roaming troops lack.

Garsiel analyzes in great detail the verbal joust between Nabal (1 Sam. 25.9-11) and David (25.5 and elsewhere) and pinpoints the presence of a series of allusions, metaphorical references, slurs and insults hurled against the opposite clan, the Calebites against the clan of Jesse. He points out the significant repetition of the word 'peace' (*šālôm*) in David's instruction, which occurs four times. In this highlighted repetition of the word *šālôm*, a connotation might refer subtly and implicitly to David's ancestor Śālmôn (or Śalmâ [Ruth 4.20-21]), who is regarded as the 'father' of Bethlehem (1 Chron. 2.51, 54). The literary meaning given to this name by the implied author of the narrative is *šālôm*, 'peace'. David declares his peaceful intentions. Yet, ambiguity remains. When David repeatedly says that Nabal, his household and everything that belongs to him are under the word *šālôm*, and if the word hints to Śālmôn, the father of Bethlehem, it could imply that Nabal's clan, the Calebites,

are now being annexed, coming under the control of the rival clan of Ram, Śālmôn's forefather. Moreover, in the Hebrew Bible, the verb *šlm* may refer to the vassal's surrender and submission to the suzerain (see 2 Sam. 10.19). Does David's delegation come in good faith and peace or with latent intentions and an ambiguous message to take control over the whole area? The (Ram) Śālmôn's clan seems to be here in latent opposition to the Calebite clan. The same method of close reading is applied in the analysis of every significant detail in Abigail's speech, revealing the ambiguity of her actions.

In the article entitled 'Was Abigail a Scarlet Woman? A Point of Rabbinic Exegesis in Light of Comparative Material', Daniel Bodi analyzes one particular detail in Abigail's resourceful intervention in order to save her husband's life and domain as well as her own life and that of their servants. The rabbis in the Talmud are divided in their interpretation of Abigail's behavior. In rabbinic times such independent and assertive behavior in a woman was unthinkable and unacceptable. Therefore, some rabbis attempted to discredit Abigail's valorous action and present her as a lewd and impudent woman who unashamedly offered herself to David. According to both Talmudic and some midrashic commentaries, Abigail used the seduction in order to divert the attention of the attackers. She uncovered herself, revealing her white thigh. She had such an alluring power and erotic radiance that David marched 13.5 km in 'her light', either illumined by the dashing whiteness of her skin or profoundly affected by the erotic 'fire' of his desire for her. In the final part of this chapter, the use of the naked female body as a means of diverting the murderous rage of the warriors is compared to texts from Greco-Roman antiquity that attest to the existence of such an elaborate method of defense.

Some rabbis attempted to deconstruct the biblical figure of Abigail and transform her into a version of a seductive Ereškigal, a hellish lady. The biblical text, however, designates her husband, Nabal, with the epithet *ben-belîyya'al*, a 'hellish fellow', and, if Rabbi David Qimḥi is correct, maybe also David in the ambiguous statement of Abigail's servants in 1 Sam. 25.17. Nevertheless, on this particular matter the rabbinic interpretative tradition amounts more to an example of eisegesis, 'reading into a text', than to a respectful handling of the biblical text. We probably learn more about male sexual fantasies than about Abigail's character.

In the final article in this collection, written by Jean-Marie Husser and entitled 'Anat and the Warriors: Gender Definition and the Ambivalence of the Feminine in Ugaritic Mythology', the author analyzes the beauty, wisdom and cunning of women in the ancient Near East by making a detour into the imagination of Ugaritic mythology and epic poetry. It is through this genre of literature that ancient and traditional societies construct their identity and define the roles of different players. Rather than providing information about precise historical facts, these accounts

refer to cultural phenomena, structures and symbolic functions, knowledge of which is indispensable to an understanding of the societies we are studying. Husser focuses on the Ugaritic goddess Anat, described as *batulatu*, which implies feminine sexuality that is not yet mature, and refers to an age group and social status that remains ill defined due to the fact that the young woman is not married or not yet a mother. Close in age and in social status to young people who are not yet married, Anat, the 'tomboy goddess', shares their passion for hunting and inspires them with courage in war and combat, whose fury and cruelty she personifies. As huntress and warrior, she, therefore, reverses the roles assigned to men and women in ancient West Semitic societies. By means of a double transgression—with regard to femininity on the one hand and the practice of war and of hunting on the other—she embodies for young *men* a sort of absolute virility to which they accede as they step into adulthood. Without going so far as to describe her as bisexual, it is nevertheless clear that Anat assumes and symbolizes the same ambivalence as regards gender that characterizes Inanna-Ištar in a similar context. In other words, Anat is fully feminine, but her adolescent sexuality is still relatively ill defined; as a result, she is gender ambivalent, and this makes her likely to transgress the social codes that define gender. The analysis of Anat's figure is based on her role in the practice of war and is illustrated by the account of the massacre of the warriors in the third tablet of the *Baal Cycle* (*KTU* 1.3 ii). Furthermore, Anat's role in the *Legend of Aqhat* illustrates her involvement in the equally masculine world of hunting. Here her role in the death of Danel's son is analyzed, as is the revenge of his death by his sister Pughat in the third tablet of the *Legend of Aqhat* (*KTU* 1.19).

Anat and Pughat, two female figures, do not compete with each other because their respective natures—divine for one, and human for the other—place them on different levels. Nevertheless, and despite everything that opposes them, they appear as the two sides of a single person, the mythical construction of an ambivalent image of women.

1

The Residency of Abigail in 1 Samuel 25 and the Connection between David and Abraham

André Lemaire

Abigail is one of the major female figures of the Hebrew Bible, yet, apparently, no specialized study has been devoted to her except for various entries in the standard Bible dictionaries.[1] Her name raises some issues of identification because the biblical tradition seems to present two women bearing the same name:

1. The name Abigail is borne by the second wife of David, the mother of a son called Chileab in the Masoretic Text (2 Sam. 3.3), Daluiah in the LXX (2 Kgs 3.3) and Daniel in 1 Chron. 3.1; she is presented most often with the epithet 'the wife of Nabal, of Carmel' (1 Sam. 25; 27.3; 30.5; 2 Sam. 2.2; 3.3; 1 Chron. 3.1).

2. The same name Abigail appears as the sister of David and Zeruiah (2 Sam. 17.25; 1 Chron. 2.16-17), married to 'Ithra, the Israelite' (2 Sam. 17.25) or 'Jether, the Ishmaelite' (1 Chron. 2.17), whose father is sometimes called Nahash (2 Sam. 17.25), or Jesse (1 Chron. 2.13-16). To harmonize these disparate data, Nahash is taken as being the name of her mother. This, however, seems somewhat contrived because one usually indicates the name of the father, while the name of the mother is generally specified in the context.

The few modern studies mentioning the figure of Abigail seem to have further complicated the issue, on the one hand suggesting that the story of Abigail be considered as a 'moral allegory'[2] representing the ideal woman in contrast to another of David's renowned wives, Bathsheba;

1. One of the longest studies is L.S. Schearing, 'Abigail', in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (ed. D.N. Freedman; New York: Doubleday, 1992), I, pp. 15-16; see also P. Bebe, *Isha: Dictionnaire des femmes et du Judaïsme* (Paris: Calmann–Lévy, 2001), pp. 19-23.

2. See J.D. Levenson, '1 Samuel 25 as Literature and as History', *CBQ* 40 (1978), pp. 11-28 (17-20). This interpretation is rejected by D.M. Gunn, *The Fate of King Saul* (JSOTSup, 14; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1980), pp. 154-55 n. 7. A. Berlin,

and, on the other hand, that both references be merged to have them point to one and the same woman named Abigail who was first a sister of David and later his wife, this being in fact an incestuous union that later tradition wanted to hide.[3]

We do not pretend, here, to solve all these problems of identity and possible identifications. We will rather focus on the wife of Nabal, of Carmel, who later became one of David's wives. Her precise origin is not specified. She immediately appears as the wife of Nabal, belonging to the Calebite clan (1 Sam. 25.3), a prosperous dweller of Ma'on whose farm and activity of shearing flocks took place in the region of Carmel in the southern territory of Judah. It is in this geographical context that Abigail appears for the first time. After becoming David's wife, she is associated with yet another wife, Ahinoam of Jezreel (1 Sam. 25.43). Both women accompany David to the Philistine city of Gath (1 Sam. 27.3) and then to Ziklag, where they were briefly prisoners of the Amalekites (1 Sam. 30.5) before being liberated by a rapid intervention of David and his troops. Both women accompany David to Hebron, where they bear him children (2 Sam. 3.3 = 1 Chron. 3.1). Traces of these women are lost, and we cannot specify whether they were still alive when David took possession of Jerusalem.

While we know almost nothing about David's wife Ahinoam of Jezreel, neither her social status nor under what circumstances David took her for a spouse, 1 Samuel devotes an entire chapter (25) to the first encounter of Abigail with David, with a long speech (vv. 24-31) and a detailed description of the circumstances of their marriage following. This difference is probably explained by the important economic and political role played by Abigail before David was acknowledged as the king of Judah in Hebron. Three indications reinforce this impression:

1. The biblical text presents Nabal as being 'very rich'. He had three thousand sheep and a thousand goats with shepherds to guard them (1 Sam. 25.3). He was obviously an important local official, probably the most important in the region of Ma'on and Carmel, south-southeast of Hebron, in a region overlooking the Dead Sea and Ein-Gedi. As already acknowledged by J.D. Levenson,[4] he has a status similar to that of a king, as indicated by the phrase describing the feast he offered to his shearers, 'like a banquet of a king', in 1 Sam. 25.36. This suggests that he was the leader of the Calebite clan. The text does not specify whether Nabal had a son or who inherited his wealth after his death, but it is likely that at

'Characterization in Biblical Narrative, David's Wives', *JSOT* 23 (1982), pp. 69-85, also speaks of the intentional contrast between Abigail and Bathsheba.

3. J.D. Levenson and B. Halpern, 'The Political Import of David's Marriages', *JBL* 99 (1980), pp. 507-18.

4. Levenson, '1 Samuel 25', p. 26.

least part of this wealth remained in the hands of his widow with whom the shepherds were directly involved (1 Sam. 25.14). By his marriage with Abigail, David probably acquired considerable economic resources.

2. This interpretation may also be derived from the fact that Abigail is presented not only as a beautiful woman but also as being very smart (1 Sam. 25.3). Therefore, the support given to David was probably not only economic but also political. As a wife of a wealthy notable, Abigail had naturally established good relations with other prominent men of the region and, after the death of her husband, prepared David's acclaim as the new leader, as their king in Hebron. Moreover, in 1 Sam. 25.27, Abigail shows that she knows the power of a gift to conciliate a man of importance.[5] Later too, David gained the good will of the notables of Judah by sending them some of his loot (1 Sam. 30.26-31). In both cases, this 'gift' is called *bᵉrâkâ* (1 Sam. 25.27; 30.26), and one wonders whether Abigail was not instrumental in the second gift as she was explicitly in the first one.

3. Nabal was a 'Calebite' (1 Sam. 25.3), and it is likely that his wife was also a Calebite, either by her origin—because people most often married within their clan—or at least because of her marriage to Nabal. The Calebites not only settled in the region of Ma'on and Karmel, and then farther south in the Negeb of Caleb (1 Sam. 30.14), they also occupied the town of Hebron (see Josh. 14.13-14).[6] By marrying a Calebite, David reached a milestone in his future recognition as king of Judah in Hebron. Even during his period as a mercenary in the service of the Philistines in Ziklag, he maintained and developed these political links by sending gifts to the elders of Judah, especially those in Hebron and Eshtemoa (1 Sam. 30.27-31). In these circumstances, it is understandable that a historian saw fit to emphasize the role played by Abigail in David's career. More generally, the developments of Abigail's story also show some possible parallels with patriarchal traditions.

Indeed, some aspects of the role and history of Abigail can be compared to those of Sarah, Abraham's wife. As with Abigail, Sarah is said to have been 'good looking' (Gen. 12.11) and 'very beautiful' (Gen. 12.14), and is presented as having been for a while the wife of a very important person, Abimelech king of Gerar (Gen. 20.2), an episode that will generate economic wealth for Abraham (Gen. 20.16). As Abigail, apparently after being married for some time, Sarah finally gave a son to Abraham. Maybe like Abigail later, Sarah died before her husband at

5. Levenson, '1 Samuel 25', pp. 18-19.

6. *Pace* W. Beltz, *Die Kaleb-Traditionen im Alten Testament* (BWANT, 98; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1974), p. 65, but with M. Noth, *Geschichte Israels* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 6th edn, 1968), p. 119, § 10.

Hebron (Gen. 23.2), where she was buried, more precisely in the cave of Machpelah.

These comparisons might be somewhat artificial if they were not reinforced by the many similarities between the figures of Abraham and David.[7] As already noted in an earlier study,[8] 'Abraham paid allegiance to the Philistine Abimelech' (see especially Gen. 20.15) like David serving Achish, the Philistine king of Gath (see especially 1 Sam. 27.5). Abraham, the warrior, behaves in quite a noble manner just as the warlord David in 1 Sam. 30.23-31. One might even wonder whether the mysterious '318' warriors of Abraham (Gen. 14.14) should not be compared to 'some 400 men' of David's troops (1 Sam. 22.2). God also promised to transfer his legacy both to a descendant of Abraham (Gen. 15.4) and to a descendant of David (2 Sam. 7.12), using the same Hebrew expression, *'šr yṣ' mm'yk*, evidenced only in these two cases, while Gen. 13.15 and 2 Sam. 7.16 state that these two promises are 'forever' (*'d-'wlm*). The term covenant (*bryt*) is common to both figures with whom Yhwh made a covenant (Gen. 15.18; cf. 2 Sam. 23.5), and Abraham as well as David concluded an alliance (*krt bryt*) with other men (Gen. 14.13; 21.32; cf. 1 Sam. 18.3; 20.8; 2 Sam. 3.13, 21; 5.3). We note in particular that Gen. 21.27 and 1 Sam. 23.18 employ the same Hebrew expression, *wykrtw šnyhm bryt*. These precise linguistic comparisons seem to imply the same milieu, perhaps even the same writer.

The reference to the same environment is particularly obvious in the development of a pastoral economy of large flocks of sheep. 'Abraham and Lot, and, moreover, Isaac, are presented as owners of large herds, with shepherds at their service (Gen. 13.2, 5, 7; 25.26)'.[9] It is precisely this type of pastoral economy that is described as characteristic of the estates of Nabal and his wife, Abigail, in the region of Ma'on and Carmel. Their

7. See H. Schmid, 'Melchisedek und Abraham, Zadok und David', *Kairos* 7 (1965), pp. 148-51; R.E. Clements, *Abraham and David: Genesis XV and its Meaning of Israelite Tradition* (SBT, II/5; London: SCM Press, 1967); M. Weinfeld, 'The Covenant of Grant in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East', *JAOS* 90 (1970), pp. 186-88; J.R. Lundbom, 'Abraham and David in the Theology of the Yahwist,' in *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of D.N. Freedman* (ed. C.L. Meyers and M. O'Connor; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1983), pp. 203-209. *Pace* N.E. Wagner, 'Abraham and David?', in *Studies in the Ancient Palestinian World Presented to F.V. Winnett* (ed. J.W. Wevers and D.B. Redford; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), pp. 117-40 (131-40); J. Van Seters, *Abraham in History and Tradition* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1975), pp. 151-53, 306-307.

8. A. Lemaire, 'Cycle primitif d'Abraham et contexte géographico-historique', in *History and Traditions of Early Israel: Studies Presented to Eduard Nielsen* (ed. A. Lemaire and B. Otzen; VTSup, 50; Leiden: Brill, 1993), pp. 62-75 (72-73).

9. Lemaire, 'Cycle primitif d'Abraham', p. 74.

herds are also guarded by shepherds (1 Sam. 25.2, 7, 14-16). It seems that this style of pastoral life, therefore, fits the region south of Hebron very well at the turn from the second to the first millennium BCE.

These stories are not only characteristic of the same milieu, they could also be the work of a single author or group of authors. They strive to develop, directly or indirectly, the personality of David as king of Hebron. As we tried to show a few years ago, 'it is probably shortly before 1000 BCE in Hebron and in the entourage of David (Abiathar, Gad or someone similar) that the original cycle of Abraham–Lot–Ishmael–Isaac was written'.[10] Moreover, independently, A. Caquot and P. Robert have attributed chap. 25 of 1 Samuel to the same writer as that of chap. 24, that is to say, a former writer, contemporary of David and described as an 'Abiathride'.[11] They also noted that the episode of Abigail appears at the center of the narratives of chaps. 24 to 26.[12]

However, these commentators have also expressed some surprise: 'One cannot see why the writer was particularly attached to this woman rather than to Ahinoam, whom David seems to have married before her'.[13] In fact, as mentioned above, the reason for the lengthy development of Abigail's story is easily explained since it is probably the origin of the rallying of the political chieftains of Judah, especially the Calebites, to David's rule in Hebron.[14] In this context, it is understandable that a scribe from David's entourage in Hebron, who could be termed 'Abiathride', chose to point out the importance of the economic and political role played by Abigail in David's recognition as king of Judah in Hebron.

10. Lemaire, 'Cycle primitif d'Abraham', p. 74.

11. A. Caquot and P. de Robert, *Les livres de Samuel* (CAT, 6; Geneva: Labor & Fides, 1994), pp. 299-314.

12. Caquot and de Robert, *Les livres de Samuel*, p. 314.

13. Caquot and de Robert, *Les livres de Samuel*, p. 304.

14. This was correctly pointed out by Levenson, '1 Samuel 25,' p. 25. A.A. Fischer, *Von Hebron nach Jerusalem: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Studie zur Erzählung von König David in II Sam 1–5* (BZAW, 335; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004), represents the newer scholarly stance, which propounds a Judean 'Davidic Redaction' of the books of Samuel, dating from the seventh century BCE.

2

Remarriage of a Princess and the 'Foreign Policy' of the King of Mari in the Ḫabur Region in the Eighteenth Century bce[1]

Michaël Guichard

> Obligée d'aimer le gouvernement sous lequel le ciel m'a fait naître, je me soucie peu de savoir s'il en est de meilleurs. De quoi me servirait de le connaître, avec si peu de pouvoir pour les établir.
>
> Forced to love the government under which the heaven brought me into this world, I do not care much if there are any better ones. What would be the use of knowing it, with so little power in implementing it (Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Julie ou La nouvelle Héloïse*, second part, letter 27).

Introduction

If there is a link to be made between Abigail, the wife of Nabal, who quickly became David's wife, and the 'Mari queens' it is probably in the particular manner in which these women entered politics, officially men's business.

1. I thank Daniel Bodi for having invited me to present this paper at the Colloquium on Abigail. I also thank Jack Sasson, who was the first to have thought of the possible link between the story of this Mari princess and that of Abigail. Indeed, he knows very well the case of the queen Inib-šarri about whom he wrote some remarkable pages in his article 'Biographical Notices on Some Royal Ladies from Mari', *JCS* 25 (1973), pp. 63-67. I also extend my gratitude to J.-M. Durand for his numerous, valuable comments. I finally thank L. Marti and N. Ziegler for their precious help. For Mari chronology, I rely on the reference work by D. Charpin and N. Ziegler, *Mari et le Proche-Orient à l'époque amorrite: Essai d'histoire politique* (Mémoires de NABU, 6; Florilegium marianum, 5; Paris: SEPOA, 2003), in particular the third part concerning the reign of Zimrī-Līm (pp. 169-262). Zimrī-Līm reigned a little over thirteen years, from the year of Z(imrī)-L(īm) 0 to 13, or, according to the middle chronology, from 1775 to 1762 bce.

A princess married to a vassal of the king of Mari, who was regularly writing to her father and lord, could say, 'Indeed, though I am a woman, my father and my lord should (nevertheless) pay attention to my words: I regularly convey the words of the gods to my father'.[2] She seems to imply that being a woman does not predispose her to interfere with the affairs of her father's kingdom but that her divinatory activity gives her such a possibility. I see here an example of the manner in which a woman could, indirectly, get the attention of a political leader. In the same way, Abigail intervenes between David and Nabal with the false excuse that she is responsible for the misunderstanding. Like Abigail, some female characters described in the Mari letters have played a political role, more or less willingly, as we are going to see.

Inib-šarri, Zimrī-Līm's daughter, bears a certain distant likeness to Abigail because she also was married to two successive political leaders who might have been rivals. As in Rome or in the Hebrew Bible, in the books of Samuel, high-ranking women hold an unassuming or limited role, which is nevertheless real. Their high position provided them with some freedom of speech and action and even forced them in certain situations to become directly involved in the affairs of the kingdom. At the same time, their position as women hampered them and placed them in difficult and even dangerous situations. This becomes especially apparent in the letters written by women at Mari, and, more particularly, in the letters of Inib-šarri. This is precisely the situation I propose to show: how Mari's foreign policy played a determining role in the lives of theses princesses who became queens, using the example of Inib-šarri.

1. *The Story of Inib-Šarri—The Very Beginnings*

Among those who are interested in Mari documents, Inib-šarri has been well known since 1950, when two of her letters were published.[3] Among her letters, ten have been published so far.[4] At least five new and unpub-

2. *inanna u šumma anāku sinnišāku abī u bēlī ana awātīya liqūl awāt ilāni ana ṣēr abīya aštanappar*, letter of dame Kirûm, wife of Ḫāya-Sūmu, king of Ilān-ṣūrā; see J.-M. Durand, *Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari* 3 (LAPO, 18; Paris: Cerf, 2000), p. 435; LAPO, 18, 1223 [ARM, 10, 31]). One could understand her statement in the following manner, 'It is a divinely inspired word which each one of my messages conveys to my father', or, 'each time there is a prophetic message I write to you . . .' In both versions, the passage is important in order to grasp what a 'political woman' was like at that time ('femme politique').

3. See ARM 2, 112 and 113.

4. They have been initially edited by G. Dossin, *Correspondance féminine* (ARM, 10, Paris: Geuthner, 1978), and re-edited by Durand, *Documents épistolaires du palais de* Mari, 3, pp. 462-79. Here is a list of her letters in chronological order as I see it: LAPO 18, 1246 [ARM 10, 79], 1247 [ARM 10, 75], 1248 [ARM

lished texts should be added to this list.[5] Inib-šarri's letters are addressed to her father, Zimrī-Līm (she gives herself the title of 'servant' in keeping with the political rank of her two successive husbands). Three of the letters are sent to Šunuḫra-ḫalu, the 'secretary' of the king, an important Mari figure whom she addresses as her equal.[6] Until recently, scholars thought that Inib-šarri was married only to Ibâl-Addu, the king of the city of Ašlakkā, located in the northwest of the Ḫabur triangle.[7] A closer study of the case and the contribution of new documentation show, however, that she was first married to Zakura-abum, who reigned over the little town of Zalluḫan, near the upper course of the river Ḫabur, south of the city of Ašlakkā.[8] Therefore, the 'biography' of this princess deserves to be revised inasmuch as the historical context of this area is now better known.[9]

Her life, as that of any other Mari princess, began in her father's 'ladies' quarters'. During the first years of Zimrī-Līm's reign at Mari (Zimrī-Līm was probably her true father, although this is not absolutely certain), she was receiving allotments of food and clothing, being on the same palace

10, 78] (year ZL 7); 1249 [ARM 10, 73], 1243 [ARM 10, 76], 1244 [ARM 2, 113], 1245 [ARM 2, 112], 1242 [ARM 2, 74], 1250 [ARM 10, 77] (years ZL 11 and 12). The following analysis relies on J.-M. Durand's edition of texts.

5. One should also take into account direct or indirect information found in other published or unpublished letters, as well as in some accounting documents from the Mari palace. These documents are collected in my forthcoming study entitled *Nahur et l'Ida-Maraṣ: La correspondance d'Itūr-Asdu gouverneur de Nahur sous le règne de Zimrī-Lîm et autres documents*. The present article makes only short allusions to the unpublished documentation.

6. LAPO 18, 1247 [ARM 10, 79] and 1248 [ARM 10, 78]; the third document is unpublished.

7. All the reconstruction so far is based on the assumption of her single marriage: W. Römer, *Frauen über Religion: Politik und Privatleben in Māri* (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker and Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins, 1971), pp. 45-50; B.F. Batto, *Studies on Women at Mari* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), pp. 37-42; Sasson, 'Biographical Notices on Some Royal Ladies from Mari', pp. 63-67; Durand, *Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari, 3*, pp. 462-79, and lastly Charpin and Ziegler, *Mari et le Proche-Orient à l'époque amorrite*, p. 193.

8. I gave this information for the first time in my book *La vaisselle de luxe des rois de Mari* (Matériaux pour le Dictionnaire de Babylonien de Paris, 2; ARM 31; Paris: ERC, 2005), pp. 109-110. A close link between Zakura-abum and Inib-šarri was, however, already surmised: 'On the other hand, Inib-šarri seems to have had a relationship of great friendship with Zakura-Abum . . .'; see Durand, *Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari, 3*, p. 471.

9. The present study, however, will not examine all the details of her biography. Here, I will offer only the main lines of her career while preparing a more comprehensive study for a later date.

roster of rations as her sisters with whom she lived.[10] She later requested to return to Mari, which was perhaps more an expression of the nostalgia she felt about not living in her father's care where she seems to have been pampered. Her oil rations were larger than those of her sisters, and we know that she had at least four attending maids.[11]

Her career outside the palace is better known because of her correspondence. It discloses her marriage to an older sheikh, Zakura-abum, followed by a brief period of widowhood, and finally her life as the queen of Ašlakkā, a title she claimed.

2. *The Marriage with Zakura-abum*

Toward the end of the fourth year of his reign,[12] the king of Mari arranged a marriage between his daughter and Zakura-abum, a former Bensim'alite semi-nomadic chief, who became king of the city of Zalluḫan. He was surely a man of advanced years, having already assumed the important function of 'pasture chief' (*mer'ûm*), the highest rank in the Bensim'alite hierarchy, following that of the king of Mari.[13] This is when the dowry, or bridal gift (*nidittum*), was prepared for the young princess: it contained a substantial list of bronze vases.[14] There is little information concerning the first period in the life of the royal couple.[15] This silence (or rather discretion) is the sign of a good relationship that, however, did not bring about the birth of a 'male' child who could become the heir to the throne of Zalluḫan. Had Inib-šarri given birth to a son, the written documentation would not have failed to mention it. Zakura-abum already had a son from a previous marriage.

An administrative document from this period reports the gift of a honey jar she offered to the king of Mari during one of her visits to the upper Ḫabur region.[16] The Mari palace accountants also registered the

10. See, for example, ARM 21, 379; N. Ziegler, *Le harem de Zimrī-Līm* (Florilegium marianum, 4, Mémoires de NABU, 5, Paris: SEPOA, 1999), p. 62.

11. Ziegler, *Le harem de Zimrī-Līm*, p. 62 n. 402.

12. For the dates, see the introductory note.

13. Concerning Zakura-abum having the rank of *mer'ûm* or 'pasture chief', see M. Guichard, 'Le Šubartum occidental à l'avènement de Zimrī-Līm', in *Recueil d'études à la mémoire d'André Parrot* (ed. D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand; Florilegium marianum, 6; Mémoires de NABU, 7; Paris: SEPOA, 2002), pp. 119-68 (154-56).

14. ARM 31, 59 [25, 485] = 5/xii/ZL 4. Unfortunately the list with the vases is fragmentary.

15. In one unpublished letter of Inib-šarri, written from the city of Zalluḫan, she takes the defense of her husband, Zakura-abum. He himself wrote a short message to Zimrī-Līm announcing Inib-šarri's visit to the capital.

16. ARM 9, 241. The report is dated to 16/vi. The document mentions Sammētar, king of the city of Ašnakkum; it precedes the tenth year of Zimrī-Līm

gift of an ox, on her behalf, on the 12th day of the 9th month in the 5th year of Zimrī-Līm' reign (12/ix/ZL 5; ARM 7, 125).[17] It is probably related to Zalluḫan's contribution for the celebration of the Eštar festival at Mari, which the princess might have attended. What is interesting in the first document is that she figures among other kings, neighbors of the cities of Zalluḫan or Ašlakkā, who offered a similar present to Zimrī-Līm. It indicates that a queen was able to offer presents in her own name to a dignitary outside of her own country (though, here the dignitary in question is her own father!). Her gesture, however, is not extraordinary, since at the end of the eighth year of Zimrī-Līm (ZL 8), a summary statement in an account tablet shows that nine honey jars she offered previously were used for wine preparation.[18] The word used is *šūrubtum* (mu-DU), a frequent administrative term used for diplomatic presents.[19] She seems to have had an impressive 'capital' at her disposal.[20] Her status as Zalluḫan's queen conferred to Inib-šarri a relative autonomy, as shown by the fact she had a specialized servant, a wine expert of great value in her service (see below). For a woman of her times, her status was quite enviable.

As we learn from the correspondence of Zakura-abum, who wrote several letters,[21] his kingdom went through difficult times on account of bad harvests, locust invasions or farmers leaving their land. The most important problem that Zakura-abum faced was opposition rallied outside his kingdom by the former Zalluḫan ruling family whom he expelled before becoming king. His rivals were brothers united by a common desire to regain their lost heritage. While they waited for an occasion to take their revenge, the king of Ašlakkā gave them refuge. This king later became Inib-šarri's second husband. He was a potentate, who by his regional political role was very influential at this time. This provoked a very strong diplomatic tension between Zalluḫan and Ašlakkā, as reported in a letter by Ibâl-Addu, the king of the city of Ašlakkā.[22]

(ZL 10), when the former disappeared. From what we know about the travels of the king of Mari in the region, the document allows us to date Inib-šarri's present to the year ZL 5 or ZL 8 (at this latter date Zakura-abum was already dead).

17. ARM 7, 140 + 203 (delivery of sheep) also registered to her name in the year ZL 5; see D. Charpin et J.-M. Durand, 'Relectures d'ARM VII', *MARI* 3 (1983), p. 88.

18. G. Chambon, *Les archives du vin à Mari* (Florilegium marianum, 11; Mémoires de NABU, 12; Paris: SEPOA, 2009), 63 [ARM 24, 77].

19. Chambon, *Les archives du vin à Mari*, 62.22.

20. Cf. Durand, *Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari*, 3, p. 471.

21. Only ARM 28, 79 was published in full. I am presently preparing other letters for publication.

22. ARM 38, 53.

Everything was interrupted by Zakura-abum's illness, which occurred during the second part of the year ZL 6,[23] while Inib-šarri went to Mari to visit her father. Upon her return, Inib-šarri found her husband in critical condition and witnessed his final hour. Couriers were sent to Mari to inform the suzerain about his death.

3. *Inib-šarri's Brief Period of Mourning*

This sudden disaster marked the beginning of Inib-šarri's tribulations. The mourning rites for her dead husband had just begun[24] when the Zalluḫan kingdom was affected by a period of 'political' disturbance due to the forceful return of the deposed ruler's family, who found refuge at Ašlakkā or at Susā (the kingdom bordering Zalluḫan). Inib-šarri recounts the events herself.[25] After Ḫatnammuru, her late husband's principal enemy, returned to the scene, she was expelled from the palace where she lived and from where she exerted her authority as the queen. She was provisionally lodged in the house of a commoner, an act of humiliation for her. Fortunately, a group of Mari soldiers quickly came to her rescue and installed her in the garrison city of Naḫur, a town located in the middle of the Ḫabur triangle and held by the Mari forces. As shown by similar events concerning the princess Liqtum at the town of Burundum and the princess Ḫaliyatum at the town of Ašnakkum, the Mari people were always preoccupied with the security of the princesses stemming from their clan. Inib-šarri seems to have been in real danger, as indicated by the dispatch of fifty men for her rescue. She was already under the protection of about ten Mari soldiers in the city of Zalluḫan. In spite of this impressive guard, she states that during the takeover she barely escaped lapidation. It is obvious that the village communities of Zalluḫan had a dislike for the reigning family and supported the comeback of the former ruler. Zimrī-Lîm, the suzerain of Zalluḫan and also Zakura-abum's father-in-law, was finally forced to accept the result of this political 'revolution'.

23. This approximate date can be determined from the correspondence of Itūr-Asdu, governor of Naḫur. One should probably also take into account the expenditure for a garment in the eleventh month of Zimrī-Līm's sixth year (xi/ZL 6), for a person named Inib-[. . .], daughter of the king (dumu-munus lugal); M.18183 in J.-M. Durand, *La nomenclature des habits et des textiles dans les textes de Mari* (Matériaux pour le Dictionnaire de Babylonien de Paris, 2; ARM, 30; Paris: CNRS éditions, 2009), p. 339. One could also restore Inib-[šina] or Inib-[šarri]. The first lady is usually presented as a priestess (nin-dingir-ra). The present offered to Inib-šarri (?) might have been related to her mourning.

24. This indicates that the mourning was interrupted after fifteen days; LAPO 18, 1246 [ARM 10, 79].

25. The following information is culled from Itūr-Asdu's unpublished letters.

Inib-šarri was given a residence in Naḫur, and her stay there was extended. In this context, and when the situation became more peaceful at Zalluḫan, she wrote several letters to Mari[26] asking for help in recovering her wine expert, a servant she bought for her service and who was kept in Zalluḫan. She valued his services greatly. At first, the new Zalluḫan authorities were not willing to give him back to her. Financial compensation was even considered. With the help of Šunuḫra-ḫalu's diplomacy (or energy?), the matter was settled, and the servant was authorized to leave Zalluḫan.[27]

Once a widow, she could have been rapidly repatriated to Mari. It did not happen, however, because Zimrī-Līm seized the opportunity to marry her off quickly to another vassal. It seems that a short negotiation took place between him and Ibâl-Addu, as Inib-šarri mentions that a wedding present or 'counter-gift' (*terḫatum*) was about to arrive at her father's place.[28] This matter was settled precisely at the same time when Inib-šarri set off on the negotiations to get back her servant from Zalluḫan. The sending of the *terḫatum* settles the marriage—the future groom had to send the 'bride's price' to his future father-in-law.[29] Therefore, it seems

26. LAPO 18, 1246 [ARM 10, 79] and 1247 [ARM 10, 75].

27. LAPO 18, 1248.

28. LAPO 18, 1247 [ARM 10, 75]. One of the important points of this letter is that it shows the correlation between the event of sending the *terḫatum* and the issue of the sequestered wine expert. Both events are concomitant. Now that Inib-šarri's widowhood is known, we understand better why she is already in the region of Ida-Maraṣ, and the pertinent question by Batto, *Studies on Women at Mari*, p. 39, can now find an answer: 'What is surprising is that Inib-šarri is already in the vicinity of, if not actually in, Ašlakkā'. Moreover, the mention of the *terḫatum* in the case of a remarriage merits to be pointed out. Sending a *terḫatum* is rarely attested in such a context; see R. Westbrook, *Old Babylonian Marriage Law* (AfO, 23; Horn: Berger & Söhne, 1988), p. 62. This case invalidates once again the old explanation according to which the *terḫatum* compensated for the *pretium virginitatis* (see Westbrook, *Old Babylonian Marriage Law*, p. 59).

29. On the questions of 'dowry' *nidittum* and 'marriage or counter-gift' *terḫatum*, see D. Bodi, *The Michal Affair: From Zimrī-Līm to the Rabbis* (HBM, 3; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2005), pp. 80-83, 'The Marriage Gift or Counter-Gift in Israel and Mari'; T.M. Lemos, *Marriage Gift and Social Change in Ancient Palestine: 1200 BCE to 200 CE* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). The second stage, the covering of the head with a veil, is not documented (however, see below); for the different stages in the marriage procedure, see S. Démare-Lafont, '"A cause des anges". Le voile dans la culture juridique du Proche-Orient ancien', in *Etudes de droit privé en souvenir de Maryse Carlin* (ed. O. Vernier; Paris: Editions la mémoire du droit, 2008), pp. 235-54; K. van der Toorn, 'The Significance of the Veil in the Ancient Near East', in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells, Fs J. Milgrom* (ed. D.P. Wright *et al.*; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995), pp. 327-40.

that the marriage was decided and promptly organized during the course of Zimrī-Līm's seventh regnal year (ZL 7).[30]

4. *Inib-šarri and Ibâl-Addu: The Couple's Dissent*

If Inib-šarri's new wedding didn't exactly thrill her, she nevertheless complied with her father's orders. The agreement between Ašlakkā and Mari made sure that Zimrī-Līm's daughter would immediately enjoy the rank of the main spouse and queen. What other position could be expected for a daughter of the 'mighty king' who intended to rule over the entire Ida-Maraṣ region including Ašlakkā? Moreover, that was her rank while she was in Zalluḫan. In this respect, she did not remain passive, and we see her trying to have her voice heard by the Mari king through the intermediary of Šunuḫra-ḫalu.[31]

Unfortunately, she spoke indirectly about the issues so that we cannot grasp the content of her demands of the governor of Naḫur, where she found shelter. Without broaching the issue of remarriage, her next letter[32] shows some signs of optimism on her part. From this point on, there is no reason to think that she was not appropriately welcomed in Ašlakkā. The troubles in her marriage occurred later, during the following years.

Her marriage with Ibâl-Addu, who was apparently sterile, may have lasted five years (from ZL 7 to ZL 12). At the beginning, Inib-šarri's situation at Ašlakkā's court seems to have been routine as the absence of epistolary documents for this period seems to indicate. Indeed, this would be an excellent indicator since at that time, one wrote about things going wrong or about one's needs. The Mari palace administrative documentation shows that she offered many honey jars to her father during ZL 8.[33]

The deterioration of the marital relationship became apparent from another of her letters,[34] where she denounces the action of her husband, Ibâl-Addu, which she considers outrageous even if she was not directly concerned. This document reveals a lot about Inib-šarri's personality and the role she intended to play as the new queen of Ašlakkā. The subject of disagreement is still uncertain (even if many correspondents wrote about

30. The event did not leave a visible trace in the administrative documentation at our disposal. One has to assume that Inib-šarri managed to recuperate the totality of her dowry when she left Zalluḫan. This is confirmed by the governor of Naḫur, who, in an unpublished letter, states that all her goods have been recovered. Therefore, the dowry necessary for her remarriage did not need to be reconstituted. Now, the dates when the marriage of the Mari princesses took place are established with reference to the inventories of their dowries.

31. LAPO 18, 1247 [ARM 10, 75].

32. LAPO 18, 1248 [ARM 10, 78].

33. Chambon, *Les archives du vin à Mari*, pp. 102-105.

34. LAPO 18, 1249 [ARM 10, 73].

it), dealing with a quarrel between Yapḫur-Lîm and the king of Ašlakkā. The latter heightened the clash by pillaging Yapḫur-Lîm's house. For this he was severely criticized by the Mari people, who showed solidarity with Yapḫur-Lîm. The governor of Naḫur reprimanded Ibâl-Addu for his action, and, unexpectedly, Inib-šarri added her voice to that of the governor. Usually, the royal princesses married to foreign kings would stand by their spouses. Here, the contrary took place since Inib-šarri rebelled against her husband and openly challenged him, according to her own words. It happened after the war against the Elamites, which took place in the tenth year of Zimrī-Līm's reign (ZL 10), which deeply affected the entire upper Ḫabur region.[35]

Abigail too challenged her husband Nabal, though behind his back. When speaking with David, Abigail makes a disparaging *nomen-omen* type of word-play on her husband's name, Nabal, which can also mean 'fool' or 'churl', and calling him a 'man of Belial' (*ben-belîyya'al*), meaning, 'a hellish fellow' or a 'scoundrel' (1 Sam. 25.25). Speaking of Abigail, Robert Alter notes, 'It is hard to think of another instance in literature in which a wife so quickly and so devastatingly interposes distance between herself and her husband'.[36]

If we cannot say a lot about the intimacy of the relationship between Inib-šarri and Ibâl-Addu, it is certain that because of the political nature of their marriage, the evolution of the relations between Mari and Ašlakkā had a direct and profound impact on their life together and 'her life in the harem'. [37] A similar observation can be made in the case of the Mari princess Liqtum, who was married to the king of Burundum. Ibâl-Addu who owed his throne to Zimrī-Līm and who was at first an exemplary vassal, became disappointed and dissatisfied with his suzerain. It seems that he became aware of the limits of the king's power during the Elamite war. He is the author of the most virulent critique about Zimrī-Līm's suzerainty.[38]

35. LAPO 18, 1249 [ARM 10, 73] could be provisionally dated to ZL 11; an unpublished document whose author is Ibâl-Addu shows that the quarrel between Ibâl-Addu and Yapḫur-Lîm was contemporaneous with the end of the king of Ašnakkum's reign, Išme-Addu, who was assassinated in the same year. On the 'Conflict with Elam', see Charpin and Ziegler, *Mari et le Proche-Orient à l'époque amorrite*, p. 216-227.

36. R. Alter, *The David Story: A Translation with Commentary of 1 and 2 Samuel* (New York: Norton, 1999), p. 156 [note of the editor].

37. Concerning Inib-šarri's predicament, J. Sasson noted in his 'Biographical Notices on Some Royal Ladies from Mari', p. 63, 'Hers is a sad story of a woman given away in a political marriage to an ambitious kinglet of the Upper Country. When, in a bid for independence, the latter's belligerence increased, Inib-šarri's situation became intolerable.'

38. See M. Guichard, 'Aspects religieux de la guerre à Mari', *RA* 93 (1999), pp. 27-48 (28-29).

The falling of Mari in his esteem could be the origin of the deterioration of his relationship with the queen, with the marital disagreements becoming worse with time.

In the year ZL 11, the discord between the royal couple came to a head, and regardless of Zimrī-Līm's mediation, Ibâl-Addu banished Inib-šarri to the city of Naḫur.[39] This gesture, however, did not mean they were divorced. It was common practice for kings to send away some of their 'spouses' to secondary cities in their kingdom. We know that Ibâl-Addu may have had pretentions on Naḫur's territory. Nevertheless, this action marked a degradation and debasement of Inib-šarri's position. This situation was extremely painful and humiliating for her. She spent the winter of the years ZL 11–12 in Naḫur, in a situation she described as being that of utter misery for a woman of her rank: 'Ever since I left my lord, I am deprived of food and of firewood'.[40]

Eventually, Zimrī-Līm managed to have Inib-šarri reinstated in the court at Ašlakkā. [41] This is the subject of Inib-šarri's most heart-rending

39. LAPO 18, 1243 [ARM 10, 76] and 1244 [ARM 2, 113]. These two letters are difficult and have given rise to different translations and interpretations. Apparently, Zimrī-Līm met somewhere in the kingdom of Mari with his son-in-law Ibâl-Addu and his daughter Inib-šarri, either separately, or rather with both of them together. Inib-šarri accused Ibâl-Addu of not having taken heed of Zimrī-Līm's order concerning their marriage and of having forgotten his obligations as soon as he crossed the river Ḫabur on his way home, meaning as soon as he crossed the border. He deposited his wife in the city of Naḫur and not in his capital, Ašlakkā, as he was supposed to do. Worse, he made sarcastic statements about Zimrī-Līm's capacity to make him bring his daughter to Ašlakkā. While Inib-šarri was still before her father (at Mari?), the latter gave her an order to go back home with no delay (hence to Ašlakkā) and to cover her head: 'Cover your head!' (*qaqqadki kutmī*; ARM 2, 113.8). The mention of the veil in this passage generated a lot of interest. See Ziegler, *Le harem de Zimrî-Lîm*, p. 467, and Démare-Lafont, '"A cause des Anges"', pp. 235-54. According to J.-M. Durand, the gesture meant that the wife should not 'openly break up with her husband'; on the contrary, she was summoned 'to assume her status as a married woman'. It is possible that they envisaged to divorce and that the wife was the first to ask for a separation! Inib-šarri, who seems to have been the most dissatisfied of the two, must have complained about the deterioration of her situation in Ašlakkā. The rest of the story shows that the firm stance of the king of Mari did not produce any significant result.

40. Cf. Durand, *Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari*, 3, p. 468 and n. e, p. 470.

41. In this context, one should take the letter of Ibâl-Addu (ARM 28, 67) into account. The agreement to bring Inib-šarri back to his city may have been part of it, under the condition of receiving more troops. Obviously, there is duplicity in this letter. Another possible interpretation is to see Inib-šarri going to Mari for the Eštar festival in the winter of ZL 12.

letter.[42] The previous letters sent from Naḫur clearly expressed her wish to be brought back to Mari. Her father, however, remained inflexible: 'Go! Go back to Ašlakkā! Stop crying! Go!'[43] Forced to return to Ašlakkā, she found out that her position as queen (*šarratum*) would be occupied by another! This other woman received all the usual gifts, and Ibâl-Addu took all his meals with her, while he banished Inib-šarri to the 'ladies' quarters', literally a 'corner' (*tubqum* = 'the harem'). She was put aside as a silly woman (*lillatum*), and she could not stop crying. Not trusting her (obviously not without reason!), Ibâl-Addu ordered that she be closely watched. However, she kept her freedom to write. From this point on, she reiterated in vain her request to be repatriated.

Finally, the last letter of Inib-šarri could very well be the final denunciation of her husband's politics. The correspondence of several informants lets us know that in the year ZL 12, Ibâl-Addu instigated a massive insurrection against the Mari hegemony in the region of the Ḫabur triangle. With remarkable courage, and on several occasions, in her letters Inib-šarri denounced his treacherous undertaking.[44] The rebellion organized by Ibâl-Addu broke out toward the end of the year ZL 12. Zimrī-Lîm reacted forcefully and besieged the city of Ašlakkā. The rebel vassal managed to escape in the mountains and continued waging war the following year. [45]The deportation of a part of the population from Ašlakkā's kingdom and, notably, of its elite was the matter of several written inventories.[46] Inib-šarri's fate at the end of these events, however, remains unknown.

42. LAPO 18, 1242.

43. LAPO 18, 1242 [ARM 10, 74]. This letter could be considered as the first one attesting to her entry into Ašlakkā as Ibâl-Addu's wife. Several objections can be raised against this interpretation: Nothing links this letter to the letters dealing with the wine expert from Zalluḫan (an issue concomitant to the *terḫatum*), marking the transition from her time at Zalluḫan to that at Ašlakkā. The letter in LAPO 18, 1242 [ARM 10, 74] presupposes complaints and strong reserves Inib-šarri wrote concerning her husband Ibâl-Addu, These can hardly be explained in the year (ZL 7) when she had not yet reached Ašlakkā. Finally, in the same letter, she presents Ibâl-Addu as an enemy of the king of Mari. This accusation makes more sense at the end of Zimrī-Līm's reign, even though we know that this small king never behaved as a vassal beyond reproach from Mari's point of view; see already Römer, *Frauen über Religion*, p. 49.

44. LAPO 18, 1250 [ARM 10, 77]. For the dating of this letter, see Charpin and Ziegler, *Mari et le Proche-Orient à l'époque amorrite*, p. 239.

45. M. Guichard, 'Šuduhum, un royaume d'Ida-Maraṣ, et ses rois Yatâr-malik, Hammī-kūn et Amud-pā-El', in *Entre les fleuves I. Untersuchungen zur historischen Geographie Obermesopotamiens im 2. Jahrtausend* (ed. E. Cancik-Kirschbaum and N. Ziegler; BBVO, 20; Gladbeck: PeWe-Verlag, 2009), pp. 88-89.

46. See P. Marello, 'Esclaves et reines', in *Recueil d'études en l'honneur de Maurice Birot* (ed. D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand; Florilegium marianum, 2; Mémoires

Conclusion

As Nabal in 1 Samuel 25, Zakura-abum falls sick and dies after several days or weeks. As Nabal's timely death benefits David, the death of Zakura-abum indirectly benefits King Ibâl-Addu of Ašlakkā, allowing the people he protected to recover their lost city of Zalluḫan and their inheritance. Moreover, almost immediately, he marries the king's widow, Inib-šarri. From this prestigious alliance he draws the obvious political benefit of having married his suzerain's daughter. Nevertheless, their marriage is the result of political expediency and was apparently loveless. Whether it was really Ibâl-Addu's choice to have his suzerain's daughter as wife remains unknown. In such conditions, Inib-šarri was ready to betray her husband. This second marriage was an unhappy one for Inib-šarri, but such was not the case with Abigail, who became one of David's wives and gave him a son, named Chileab (2 Sam. 3.3).

Inib-šarri presents the picture of a strong-willed woman, aiming to have her voice heard even in political matters.[47] The Mari documents offer some historical models and analogies for matrimonial transactions, or as J. Sasson already pointed out, some of the Mari stories are at the same level of literary evocation as those found in the biblical narratives, since occasionally 'art imitates life'.[48]

de NABU, 3; Paris: SEPOA, 1994), pp. 115-29; N. Ziegler, 'Le harem du vaincu', *RA* 93 (1999), pp. 1-26; B. Lion, 'Les familles royales et les artisans déportés à Mari en ZL 12', in *Nomades et sédentaires dans le Proche-Orient ancien, Amurru* 3 (ed. C. Nicolle; 46e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Paris 2000; Paris: ERC, 2004), pp. 217-24.

47. It should be noted, however, that in their numerous letters, neither the king of Ašlakkā nor the governor of Naḫur ever mention Inib-šarri's interventions. There was, nevertheless, 'an Inib-šarri affair' (*ṭēmum ša Inib-šarri*), according to an unpublished letter by the governor.

48. J. Sasson, 'About "Mari and the Bible"', *RA* 92 (1998), pp. 97-123.

3

David as an 'Apiru in 1 Samuel 25 and the Pattern of Seizing Power in the Ancient Near East

Daniel Bodi

Introduction

In order to have a better grasp of the political tension and the power struggle in the background of the events described in 1 Samuel 25, dealing with Abigail, David and Nabal, it is necessary to provide the reader with a broader historical reconstruction of the times and events relating to the first Hebrew tribal warlords, Saul and David. First, it will be suggested that for comparative reasons, the new approach of seeing the 'House of Saul' pitted against the 'House of David' should be preferred to the older approach that spoke of 'David's rise to power' and the 'throne succession narrative'. Second, it will be shown how two eighteenth-century BCE Mari texts provide a fitting historical analogy depicting the conflict between two clans, the Addu Benjaminites against the Līm Sim'alites, spanning three generations. Third, this chapter will explore why it is preferable to view Saul and David as tribal chiefs rather than kings. Fourth, the launching of Saul's career as a warlord will be compared to a similar procedure in one Mari text. Fifth, David's manner of seizing power as described in 1 Samuel 25 will be compared to the pattern of seizing political power in the ancient Near East as reflected by a series of texts (Zimrī-Līm from Mari, Idrimi from Alalaḫ and the *'apiru* of the Amarna tablets with a special focus on 'Abdi-Aširta of Ammuru). Sixth, the issue of Nabal's probable breach of the ancient Near Eastern custom of hospitality in 1 Samuel 25 will be suggested as one of the issues described in this chapter.

1. *The House of Saul Pitted against the House of David*

The historical-critical study of biblical narratives in the books of Samuel dealing with the careers of Saul and David proposes two ways of viewing the relationship between these two tribal chiefs: (1) the older

interpretative model identified the narrative of 'David's rise to power' and the 'throne succession narrative';[1] (2) the newer model, which we prefer for comparative reasons, is to view this relationship as 'the House of Saul pitted against the House of David'.

According to the older historical-critical approach, the composition of the narratives in the books of Samuel was explained by the 'fragmentary hypothesis', implying that it grew out of a series of originally independent units, namely a 'history of David's rise to power', an 'ark narrative', a 'throne succession narrative', and an 'appendix', which were joined together to produce the work.[2]

On the one hand, modern scholars no longer consider the 'throne succession narrative' as a piece of historiography but rather as a narrative of a particular genre composed for 'serious entertainment'.[3] This has prompted the development of narratological studies of these stories. One such example is Moshe Garsiel's article in this volume, combining principles of rhetorical criticism with insights from midrashic exegesis. On the other hand, recent research has shown that we do not have an account of 'David's rise to power'. Rather, the narrative deals with the rivalry between two houses fighting for tribal supremacy, the 'House of Saul' pits itself against that of David. In this newer view of traditional material, the narrative does not end with the establishment of a new capital in the City of David but with Nathan's prophecy in 2 Samuel 7 bearing on the future of the Davidic dynasty.[4]

1. N.P. Lemche, 'David's Rise', *JSOT* 10 (1978), pp. 2-25; P.R. Ackroyd, 'The Succession Narrative (so-called)', *Int* 35 (1981), pp. 383-96. I thank Rick Hess for his valuable comments on another version of this chapter and for providing me with additional bibliographical references on Amarna.

2. J.A. Soggin, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (trans. J. Bowden; Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1976), pp. 189-94 (§ 3. 'Independent Units'), as well as all major introductions of the previous generation of scholars. For brief presentations of the history of research, see D. Bodi, *The Michal Affair: From Zimri-Lim to the Rabbis* (HBM, 3; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2005), pp. 4-10; D. Bodi, *The Demise of the Warlord: A New Look at the David Story* (HBM, 26; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2010), pp. 5-14 see also http://www.denverseminary.edu/news/the-demise-of-the-warlord-a-new-look-at-the-david-story, reviews by Richard S. Hess, and by Jeremy Hutton, *RBL* 12 (2011) http://www.bookreviews.org/subscribe.asp, available under his name on academia.edu.

3. R.N. Whybray, *The Succession Narrative: A Study of II Sam. 9–20 and 1 Kings 1 and 2* (SBT, II/9; London: SCM Press, 1968); D.M. Gunn, *The Story of King David: Genre and Interpretation* (JSOTSup, 6; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1979, 1989), ch. 2, 'Genre: Prevailing Views'; G. Keys, *The Wages of Sin: A Reappraisal of the 'Succession Narrative'* (JSOTSup, 221; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996).

4. J. Vermeylen, 'La maison de Saül et la maison de David. Un écrit de propagande théologico-politique de 1 S 11 à 2 S 7', in *Figures de David à travers la Bible* (ed. L. Desrousseaux and J. Vermeylen; LD, 177; Paris: Cerf, 1999), pp. 34-74

2. *The Conflict between Two Houses: The Mari Historical Analogy*

This newer way of seeing the narratives about Saul and David—as a conflict between two clans—finds a fitting historical analogy in two Mari texts. The Amorite view of history can be reconstructed from the eighteenth-century BCE Mari text ARM 1, 3, a letter sent by Yasmaḫ-Addu to the god Nergal.[5] This document describes the power struggle between two Amorite clans, the Benjaminite Addu clan and the Bensim'alite Līm clan.[6] As in the Hebrew tradition, among the Amorites the winning clan is presented in light of the hermeneutical principle of divine retribution. In this text, the ruler of Mari, Yasmaḫ-Addu, recounts the historical events related to the protracted conflict between two reigning dynasties: the members of the Līm clan (Yagid-Līm,[7] Yaḫdun-Līm [1810–1794], Sūmū-Yamam [1793–1792]) and the Addu clan (Ilā-Kabkabū, Šamšī-Addu [1792–1782], Yasmaḫ-Addu [1782–1775]). The former were the ancient rulers of Mari and belonged to the Bensim'alite, or northern, Amorite tribes. The latter were part of the Benjaminite, or southern, tribes. The end of the power struggle between these two clans is reflected in the prophetic letter relating the message of the god Adad from Aleppo to the last ruler of Mari, Zimrī-Līm (A. 1968).[8] The god Adad is more than just

(53); J. Vermeylen, *La loi du plus fort: Histoire de la rédaction des récits davidiques de 1 Samuel 8 à 1 Rois 2* (BETL, 154; Leuven: Peeters, 2000). T. Römer, *La première histoire d'Israël* (Geneva: Labor & Fides, 2007), p. 154, quotes Vermeylen's opinion concerning 1 Samuel 24 as a late-exilic Deuteronomistic interpolation but leaves the Abigail story in 1 Samuel 25 outside his reconstruction of the Deuternomistic historiography.

5. D. Bodi, 'Les différents genres de la correspondance divine', *Ktèma* 33 (2008), pp. 245-58. This article tries to bring greater precision in defining the genre of the letters to the gods, something that is less than clear in B. Pongratz-Leisten, *Herrschaftswissen in Mesopotamien: Formen der Kommunikation zwischen Gott und König im 2. und 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (SAAS, 10; Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 1999), pp. 202-209, '"Échange de lettres avec les dieux" in der Mari-Zeit'.

6. D. Bodi, 'The Retribution Principle in the Amorite View of History: Yasmaḫ-Addu's Letter to Nergal (ARM I 3) and Adad's Message to Zimrī-Līm (A. 1968)', *ARAM* (2014) (Oxford: Oxford Oriental Institute) in print.

7. D. Charpin and N. Ziegler, *Mari et le Proche-Orient à l'époque amorrite: Essai d'histoire politique* (Mémoires de NABU, 6; Florilegium marianum, 5; Paris: SEPOA, 2003), pp. 33-35, 'Le règne obscur de Yagid-Lim'.

8. Photo of the cuneiform tablet: see J.-M. Durand, *Le culte d'Addu d'Alep et l'affaire d'Alahtum* (Florilegium marianum, 7; Mémoires de NABU, 8; Paris: SEPOA, 2002), p. 133. Hand-copy of the cuneiform tablet by Brigitte Lion in J.-M. Durand, 'Le mythologème du combat entre le dieu de l'orage et la mer', *MARI* 7 (1993), pp. 41-61 (44). English translations in J.J.M. Roberts, *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Collected Essays* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2002), ch. 14, pp. 157-253, 'The Mari Prophetic Texts in Transliteration and English Transla-

a local *ba'al*, master and lord over a single city. His influence stretches beyond the city of Aleppo in northern Syria as he claims to have given the rule over Mari, on the banks of the Euphrates, to the warlord who revered him. These Mari documents represent a real philosophy of history with an ideology based on the operation of divine retribution. The view of history as the outworking of a retributive principle is common to all the major cultures of the Mediterranean shoreline. It is found in Mesopotamia in several epochs (from the *Legend of Narām Sîn* to the *Poem of Erra*), in the Hurrian-Hittite text concerning the fall of Ebla, in Egypt, in Greece, and in the Hebrew historiographic tradition. The Mari evidence comes from the Northwest Semitic domain to which the Hebrews belonged. It could, therefore, be considered a precursor to the theological-historiographic genre, reflecting an ideology that anticipates the one attributed to the redactor of the Deuteronomistic historiography. This hermeneutical principle is a common ancient Near Eastern way of interpreting history. It is one that the Hebrew tradition shares and adapts to its own use.

The motif of repeating the evil acts of one's father is shared by the Amorites and the Hebrews. In the Mari letter to the god Nergal, as a punishment for the sacrilege he committed, Yaḫdun-Līm's son, Sūmū-Yamam, rebelled against his father and took his throne. In the case of David, his son Absalom (2 Sam. 15–18) rebelled against him as a consequence of the divine retribution for the crime David committed against Uriah, the Hittite. The Mari text further states something very important. It accuses Sūmū-Yamam of acting in the same manner as his ancestor, of walking in a perverse manner like his father. One phrase in the text decries the guilty behavior pursued from one generation to the next: 'Sūmū-Yamam continued to act exactly like his father Yaḫdun-Līm and with his hands did outrageous/improper things' (ARM 1, 3.6′-8′): *Sūmū-Yamam qātam* [*š*]*a abī*-[*š*]*ū-ma Yaḫdun-Līm irṭ*[*u*]*b i*[*t*]*eppuša-am u lā šināti ina qātī-š*[*u īpuš*]*-ma*. Here, the Akkadian uses the idiomatic expression *qātam ša abī-šū-ma irṭub iteppuša-am* 'to continue to act according to the hand of his father' or 'in the same way as his father'.[9] The corresponding Hebrew expression is to walk in one's father's ways. In

tion'; and in M. Nissinen, *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East* (ed. P. Machinist, with contributions by C.L. Seow and R.K. Ritner; WAW, 12; Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), pp. 21-22 (A. 1968).

9. *Rat/ṭābu CAD* R, p. 217, 'to proceed to do something, to begin an activity' (OA, Mari, Rimah, Bogh.); Von Soden, *AHw*, p. 963, connects it with Hebrew *rdp* 'to pursue'; *qātu CAD*, Q, p. 193, no. 8 'in idiomatic uses', no. 9 'in adverbial uses' meaning 'the same way'. Here the same way as his father; *lā šināti CAD* Š/3, p. 40, 'improper actions or words, falsehoods'.

1 Sam. 8.3 and 5, the sons of the old prophet Samuel are said not to have walked in their father's ways, *wᵉlō' hālᵉkû bānāyw bidᵉrākāw*.[10]

In the so-called Deuteronomistic evaluation of Israelite kings, this phrase corresponds to the statement 'he walked in the way of his father, or of Jeroboam'. In 1 Kgs 22.52, it is said that Ahazia, son of Ahab, 'walked in the way of his father, in the way of his mother, and in the way of Jeroboam' (*wayyēlek bᵉderek 'ābîw*). In 2 Kgs 21.21, Amon, son of Manasseh, 'walked in all the way in which his father walked' (*wayyēlek bᵉkol-haderek 'ᵃšer hālak 'ābîw*).[11]

After the reversal of fortunes with the capture of Mari by Zimrī-Līm (1775–1762 BCE), the descendants of the Benjaminite Addu clan sought refuge with Hammurabi of Babylon, an Amorite ruler who was also of Benjaminite stock and who finally burned and buried Zimrī-Līm's city of Mari in 1762 BCE.

The motif of committing a sacrilegious act that triggers divine retribution is another feature that ARM,1, 3 shares with the Hebrew tradition. Yagid-Līm committed perjury, but Sūmū-Yamam also committed a sacrilegious act. Instead of reconstructing a temple of the god Nergal, he refurbished it as a dwelling for one of his numerous wives.[12] In the biblical traditions, one finds the cultic offenses of Saul for which he lost his rule.

ARM 1, 3.9′-11′ reads, 'Your temple which former kings made, he destroyed and made it into a house for his wife. Upon finding (this) out you called him to account and his servants killed him'. The embezzlement of sacred property angered the god Nergal. Sūmū-Yamam's servants assassinated him.[13] Note that we are not given the real political or family reasons why Sūmū-Yamam was assassinated. The text offers only ideological, religious reasons.

The power struggle between the Bensim'alite Līm clan and the Benjaminite Addu clan continued until the time of the last ruler of Mari, Zimrī-Līm. By leading military campaigns and fighting against Išmē-Dagān, the son of Šamšī-Addu I, Zimrī-Līm, continued the conflict and rivalry between the two dynasties. This rivalry resembles the one that occurred seven centuries later between two Hebrew tribal chieftains,

10. The *qere* is in the plural, followed by the Targum, the Syriac and the Vulgate versions. The *ketib* is in the singular, followed by the Septuagint.

11. 1 Kgs 15.3 (Abiam in Jerusalem); 15.26 (Nadab in Samaria); 15.34, 16.2 (Basha in Samaria); 16.19 (Zimri of Samaria); 16.31 (Omri in Samaria); 22.43.

12. In the case of Solomon, the biblical tradition accuses him of having done something similar (1 Kgs 11.5-8). Beside the temple of Yahweh, he also built numerous cultic sites for his wives and concubines, and they beguiled him into worshiping their gods, divinities other than Yhwh.

13. As noted by G. Dossin, 'Archives de Sûmum-Iamam, roi de Mari', *RA* 64 (1970), pp. 17-44 (18).

David of the tribe of Judah and Saul of the tribe of Benjamin. The first Hebrew tribal chieftain and warlord, Saul, lost his reign on account of a hubristic act. As he was awaiting Samuel's divine instructions on how to deal with the invading enemy, he began to grow impatient. With all eyes on him, Saul precipitously went ahead and offered a sacrifice to Yhwh, something beyond his prerogatives. He was chosen to be a *nāgîd* 'leader', not a *kōhēn* 'priest'. The tribal prophet, Samuel, returned, rebuked Saul for committing a sacrilegious act, and prophesied that Yhwh would raise up another leader, from another clan, in his place (1 Sam. 13.6-14).[14]

The Mari letter is important as one of the earliest statements in the Northwest Semitic cultural area that hubristic acts lead to tragedy and demise. Such an ideology continues with Herodotus's *Histories* in the Greek cultural milieu of the fifth century BCE. More than a millennium before the Greek historian, however, the Northwest Semites incorporated the theological principle of retribution into their view of history.

Now that the various military conflicts between the Amorite tribes are better known, it has become increasingly evident that these tribes paid great attention to the racial and clan background of their chieftains, something similar to the Hebrew traditions. This fact might shed some light on the conflict between David and Nabal in 1 Samuel 25 and the lengthy rabbinic discussion in the Talmud (*y. Sanh.* 2.3) where the rabbis argue that Nabal would have been a better royal candidate than David in view of the latter's Moabite extraction.[15] Great-grandson of a Moabite woman, Ruth, and Boaz, a man from the tribe of Judah, David was the youngest of eight sons of Jesse (1 Sam. 17.12; however, 1 Chron. 2.15 and 1 Sam. 16.9 mention only seven sons, implying that David was the eighth, number seven being conventional as in the story of Idrimi; see below). The name of his mother is not mentioned. The fact that David had a Moabite great-grandmother was deemed more important. When forced to flee Saul, in 1 Sam. 22.3-4, David takes refuge with the king of Moab whom he asks to protect his parents. David's relationship with the

14. David too would be a victim of the principle of divine retribution on account of assassinating Uriah, the Hittite, in order to take away his wife, Bathsheba; see Bodi, *The Demise of the Warlord*, ch. 3, and esp. pp. 87-89.

15. For the presentation of the discussion, see Bodi, *The Michal Affair*, pp. 29-31. Cf. Deut. 17.15: 'You may not put a foreigner (*nkry*) over you, who is not your brother'. Both Talmuds dedicate lengthy discussions demonstrating that David, in spite of his Moabite origin and the prohibition in Deut. 23.3, was permitted to rule over Israel (*b. Yeb.* 72b; *y. Sanh.* 2.3). See G.N. Knoppers, 'The Davidic Genealogy: Some Textual Considerations from the Ancient Mediterranean World', *Transeuphratène* 22 (2001), pp. 35-50.

king of Moab is natural in view of David's Moabite origins through Ruth, the mother of Obed, Jesse's father.[16]

Among the Amorites, the tribal rulers were chosen only from local royal or leading houses, even if the locals had divergent opinions about who would be the best candidate to assume leadership. When an outsider managed to seize power, like Qarnī-Līm from the town of Andarig, and when he eventually lost his rule, his entire family was massacred in order not to leave a single member of that race and clan to challenge the position of the truly local one.[17] The extermination of Saul's descendants sparked accusations in David's time. Shimei, a member of Saul's clan, publicly reviled David, calling him a 'man of blood' in 2 Sam. 16.7-8. The threat of killing everybody, down to the child or the dog 'who urinates against the wall' (*maštîn beqîr*), occurs in the context of exterminating or threatening to exterminate an entire dynasty or a ruling clan. David uses it in 1 Sam. 25.22 in his encounter with Nabal. It occurs in the context of turbulent dynastic successions in Israel (1 Kgs 14.10; 21.21; 2 Kgs 9.8).[18] The ancient Hebrews share with the Amorite tribes a similar ideology based on divine retribution and radical attitudes in their fights for dynastic successions.

The jewel of the Mari documentation is the spectrum of West-Semitic semi-nomadic tribes it presents, ranging from the fully nomadic to those in the process of becoming sedentary. For example, one Mari letter (ARMT, 8, 11) mentions the division of the Benê Awin clan into two groups; the already sedentary one, who settled in the city of Appan *wašbût Appan* (l. 5), and the nomadic *ḫibrum ša nawêm* 'those transhumant in the

16. The rabbis in the Jerusalem Talmud (*y. Sanh.* 2.3) argue that Nabal with a better genealogy would have been a better royal candidate than David. This might have been prompted by Nabal's words in 1 Sam. 25.10, 'Who is David? Who is the son of Jesse?' The rabbis in Babylon were aware of the objections raised by their colleagues in Palestine and have provided a lengthy legal discussion in order to rehabilitate David (in *b. Yeb.* 72b). Using a series of biblical quotes and establishing a very intricate relationship between different verses, they succeed in 'deconstructing' the statement in Deut. 23.3 and conclude that an Israelite is permitted to marry a Moabite or an Ammonite woman; therefore, David should be considered as a full-fledged Israelite. Both historical-critical scholarship and rabbinic tradition agree in seeing David's marriage with Michal, the daughter of Saul, as an opportunistic move to enter the royal family of the first king; see Bodi, *The Michal Affair*, pp. 11-22, and p. 97 (the comments of Malbim on 1 Sam. 18.26).

17. J.-M. Durand, 'Assyriologie: L'étude de la société et du peuplement du Proche-Orient au XVIIIe siècle av. notre ère', *ACF* 104 (2003–2004), pp. 817-59 (831).

18. S. Talmon and W.W. Fields, 'The Collocation משתין בקיר ועצור ועזוב and its Meaning', *ZAW* 101 (1989), pp. 85-112 (88). The authors argue that the expression *mštyn bqyr* refers to Saul's advisor whom Nabal hosted in the upper room.

steppe' (l. 21). Moreover, the writers of the Mari documents frequently used societal concepts foreign to contemporary Mesopotamian society. Having no linguistic equivalents for these in standard Akkadian, they were occasionally obliged to use West-Semitic loan words that are often familiar to us from the Hebrew.[19]

3. *Saul and David as Tribal Chiefs instead of Kings*

Saul and David are traditionally dated to the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the tenth centuries BCE.[20] A few words should be said, however, about the low chronology espoused by the Tel Aviv archaeologist Israel Finkelstein. Using his interpretation of the archaeological evidence for the Iron Age walls, gates and other major structures in Jerusalem, Gezer, Megiddo and Hazor, as well as the general demographic picture of Jerusalem and Judah, Finkelstein called for a reevaluation of the biblical depiction of Saul, David and Solomon and their achievements.[21] He dates to the ninth century BCE the archaeological strata in Gezer,

19. On Mari Akkadian *ummātum* 'ethnic group' and Hebrew *'ummâ* in Gen. 25.16; 36.40; Num. 25.5, see A. Malamat, '*Ummātum* in Old Babylonian Texts and its Ugaritic and Biblical Counterparts', *JAOS* 11 (1979), pp. 527-36 (533); A. Malamat, *Mari and the Early Israelite Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 33, with a list of forty Amorite words corresponding to Hebrew, such as the Akk. *nawûm* and Heb. *nāweh* 'pasture' as a place where nomads pitch tents, etc. On Mari *ga'um* or *gāyum* 'clan' and Hebrew *gōy*, see E.A. Speiser, '"People" and "Nation" of Israel', *JBL* 79 (1960), pp. 157-63; on Mari *ḫibrum ša nawīm* 'transhumant people of the steppe' and Hebrew *ḥeber* 'nomadic families roaming together', see A. Malamat, 'Mari and the Bible: Some Patterns of Tribal Organization and Institution', *JAOS* 82 (1962), pp. 143-50 (145); O. Loretz, 'Der juridische Begriff *niḫlatum/nḥlt/naḥᶜlāh* "Erbbesitz" als amurritisch-kanaanäische Hintergrund von Psalm 58', *UF* 34 (2002), pp. 453-79. Any linguistic study of these terms must now start from the list established by M.P. Streck. *Das amurritische Onomastikon der altbabylonischen Zeit, 1: Die Amurriter. Die onomastische Forschung, Orthographie und Phonologie, Nominalmorphologie* (AOAT, 271/1; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2000), pp. 83-123.

20. M. Cogan, 'Chronology', in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (ed. D.N. Freedman; New York: Doubleday, 1992), I, pp. 1002-11; D. Edelman, 'Saul ben Kish in History and Tradition', *The Origins of the Ancient Israelite States* (ed. F. Fritz and P.R. Davies; JSOTSup, 228: Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), pp. 142-59; K. van der Toorn, 'Saul and the Rise of the Israelite State Religion', *VT* 43 (1993), pp. 519-42.

21. In several lectures, David Schloen, an archaeologist from the University of Chicago, stated publicly that C-14 dates of Megiddo and some of these other sites have now confirmed the traditional dating, seriously undermining any credibility of Finkelstein's theoretical attempts to date this material a century or more later.

Megiddo and Hazor, which the high chronology usually ascribed to the so-called period of the United Monarchy.[22] Finkelstein interprets them as architectural achievements of the Northern Kingdom of Israel under the Omride dynasty and not under Solomon. Moreover, the archaeological finds in Jerusalem are considered to be meager, calling into question its supposed status as the capital city of a state comprising Israel and Judah. Finkelstein's analysis of the archaeological data from Jerusalem shows that the settlement of the tenth century BCE was no more than a small, poor highland village without monumental construction.[23] Basing his study on topographical surveys of the hill country of Judah to the south of Jerusalem, Finkelstein concludes that it was rather sparsely populated in the tenth and ninth centuries BCE and seems to have attained a more substantial position only in the late eighth century.[24] On that ground, the idea of the United Monarchy and the roles of David and Solomon are relegated to the genre of legends, unsubstantiated by any plausible archaeological or historical facts.[25] Finkelstein applied the same approach to Nehemiah's Jerusalem. Since not a single stone of the wall that Nehemiah supposedly rebuilt in the fifth century BCE was found in archaeological excavation, Finkelstein holds Nehemiah 3 to be a figment of the scribe's imagination, with no historical reality.

22. I. Finkelstein, 'The Archaeology of the United Monarchy: An Alternative View', *Levant* 28 (1996), pp. 177-87; I. Finkelstein, 'State Formation in Israel and Judah: A Contrast in Context, A Contrast in Trajectory', *NEA* 62 (1998), pp. 35-52; I. Finkelstein and N.A. Silberman, *The Bible Unearthed: Archaeology's New Vision of Ancient Israel and the Origin of its Sacred Texts* (New York: Free Press, 2001); I. Finkelstein and N.A. Silberman, *David and Solomon: In Search of the Bible's Sacred Kings and the Roots of Western Tradition* (New York: Free Press, 2006). Finkelstein accepts the historicity of David, however, and dates much of the Hebrew Bible before the Hellenistic period.

23. I. Finkelstein, 'The Rise of Jerusalem and Judah: The Missing Link', *Levant* 33 (2001), pp. 105-15; D. Ussishkin, 'Solomon's Jerusalem: The Text and the Facts on the Ground', in *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology: The First Temple Period* (ed. A.G. Vaughn and A.E. Killebrew; SBLSymS, 18; Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 103-11.

24. I. Finkelstein and N.A. Silberman, 'Temple and Dynasty: Hezekiah, the Remaking of Judah and the Rise of the Pan-Israelite Ideology', *JSOT* 30 (2006), pp. 259-85: 'in a few decades in the late eighth century Jerusalem grew in size from c. 6 to c. 60 hectares and in population from around 1,000 to over 10,000 (estimated according to 200 inhabitants per hectare)' (p. 265).

25. For a summary of the historical and archaeological discussion with the bibliographic references related to the issue of the 'United Monarchy', see G.N. Knoppers, 'The Vanishing Solomon: The Disappearance of the United Monarchy from Recent Histories of Ancient Israel', *JBL* 116 (1997), pp. 19-44; G.N. Knoppers, *Two Nations under God: The Deuteronomistic History of Solomon and the Dual Monarchies*, 1. *The Reign of Solomon and the Rise of Jeroboam* (2 vols.; HSM, 52; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1993).

Concerning Saul, Finkelstein holds that the biblical story reflects, in the main, some Northern oral traditions on the Saulides. Israelite refugees brought these to Judah in the late eighth century BCE after the fall of the Northern Kingdom. They were then redacted to serve the royal ideology of the Jerusalem dynasty.[26] For example, 1 Samuel 31 describes the death of Saul in the battle on Mt Gilboa against a Philistine army. It records how the citizens of Beth-shean, the ancient Egyptian stronghold in the valley, displayed his corpse on their walls. In this revisionist view, the record reflects an ancient memory of a battle against an Egyptian army. A later redaction attributed to the Philistines the role of Egypt in the story.

N. Na'aman shows the flaws of Finkelstein's approach by taking it *ad absurdum* with respect to earlier Jerusalem. According to the five Amarna letters written by the mayor of Jerusalem, 'Abdi-Ḫeba, in the mid-fourteenth century BCE, the city was a highland stronghold that dominated a pastoral population in the hill country and the Shephelah. Yet in Jerusalem there is almost no archaeological evidence dating to the fourteenth century. Should one, therefore, affirm that the Amarna letters from Jerusalem and other archaeologically unattested cities from that period represent imaginative scribal exercises in letter writing?[27] According to Na'aman, one should avoid systematically disregarding written sources in favor of a supposed scientifically superior archaeological method. The relationship between the two should not be viewed as being either/or.[28]

Without entering into a discussion of Finkelstein's problematic interpretation of the priority given to archaeological data and of his dating of the Gezer, Megiddo and Hazor 'Solomonic remains'[29] or of Solomon's

26. I. Finkelstein, 'The Last Labayu: King Saul and the Expansion of the First North Israelite Territorial Entity', in *Essays on Ancient Israel in its Near Eastern Context: A Tribute to N. Na'aman* (ed. Y. Amit, E. ben Zvi, I. Finkelstein and O. Lipschits; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006), pp. 171-87: 'In fact, Saul and the Saulides may compare better with Labayu than do the Omrides. Both Saul and Labayu established a large territorial entity in the highlands; both seem to have attempted to expand into lowlands; and both failed to do so' (p. 179).

27. N. Na'aman, 'The Contribution of the Amarna Letters to the Debate on Jerusalem's Political Position in the Tenth Century BCE', *BASOR* 304 (1996), pp. 17-27.

28. Conscious of the problem, Finkelstein launched a new research project dealing with the beginnings of Israel with a team of collaborators, using various methods based on advanced technology that can detect and examine evidence not immediately spotted by the human eye: I. Finkelstein and S. Wiener, 'Reconstructing Ancient (Biblical) Israel: The Exact and Life Sciences Perspective', sponsored by the European Research Council.

29. For a critique of Finkelstein's chronology, see A. Mazar, 'Iron Age Chronology: A Reply to I. Finkelstein', *Levant* 19 (1997), pp. 157-67; A. Mazar, 'Jerusalem in the 10th Century B.C.E.: The Glass Half Full', in *Essays on Ancient Israel and its*

smelting activities,[30] his argument should nevertheless be heeded calling for a redefinition of terms. The use of the term 'monarchy' is a misnomer and should be abandoned when talking of Saul, David and Solomon. It reminds us of European monarchies and seems inadequate to describe the ancient reality of Hebrew tribes. Therefore, in describing the reigns of these rulers, it seems more appropriate to use the expressions 'tribal chieftain' or 'warlord', which better describe their position among the ancient Israelite tribes. In other words, the domains they governed may more precisely be described as 'chiefdoms' than full-scale 'states'.

Finkelstein understands the terms *melek* 'king,' *bēt* 'temple', and *hêkal* 'palace' in a way that does not correspond to their usage by semi-nomadic populations.[31] Already, the Amorite semi-nomadic tribes used the corresponding Akkadian terms in their own manner. First, although the Sim'alite sheikh and warlord from Mari, Zimrī-Līm, calls himself *šarrum dannum* 'the strong king', he is historically and politically a minor figure when compared to his Benjaminite contemporary, Ḫammu-rabi of Babylon, who created an empire. In terms of historical importance and accomplishment, Zimrī-Līm's thirteen-year-long rule cannot compare with the much longer and more significant one of Ḫammu-rabi. Nevertheless, he uses the same designation for himself. Second, even a relatively modest

Near Eastern Context: A Tribute to N. Na'aman (ed. Y. Amit, E. ben Zvi, I. Finkelstein and O. Lipschits; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006), pp. 255-72. For a more positive assessment of David's times, see N. Na'aman, 'Sources and Composition in the History of David', in *The Origins of the Ancient Israelite State* (ed. V. Fritz and P.R. Davies; JSOTSup, 228; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), pp. 170-86.

30. T.E. Levy, 'Reassessing the Chronology of Biblical Edom: New Excavations and 14C Dates from Khirbat en-Nahas (Jordan)', *Antiquity* 302 (2004), pp. 865-79; T.E. Levy, 'Edom & Copper: The Emergence of Ancient Israel's Rival', *BAR* 32.4 (2006), pp. 24-35, 70. The archaeologist T. Levy excavated an ancient copper-production center at Khirbat en-Nahas ('ruins of copper') down to virgin soil, through more than six meters of industrial smelting debris (slag). The 2006 dig uncovered new artifacts, and with them a new set of radiocarbon dates placing the bulk of industrial-scale production at Khirbat en-Nahas in the tenth century BCE. After the tenth century BCE, the smelting activities stopped. It remains to be determined who actually controlled the copper industry there—David and Solomon, or perhaps regional Edomite leaders, or even the Egyptians, since Egyptians objects have been found *in situ*. The Bible places Solomon's smelting activities in the lower Jordan region where he had copper *nḥšt* utensils smelted in clay molds (1 Kgs 7.46). For I. Finkelstein's point of view, see his article 'Khirbat en-Nahas, Edom and Biblical History', *Tel Aviv* 32.1 (2005), pp. 119-25.

31. According to 1 Sam. 9.1–10.16, Samuel secretly anointed Saul as 'leader', literally, 'the one who stands in front' (*nāgîd*), 9.16; 10.1, also called *melek* in 15.1, which indicates that the term 'king' has a particular meaning for the ancient Hebrews.

town such as Talḫayum in northern Syria, located between the Ḫabur and the Sārum rivers where the local sheikh Yāwi-El ruled, designates the sheikh's dwelling with the term é-kál-lam$_x$(NAM) and é-kál-lam$_x$(LAM) = *ekallum* 'palace'.[32] The term does not stand for any architecturally major building or construction but simply for the house in which the town's ruler lived. At the time of Zimrī-Līm's influence in northern Syria, the region between the Euphrates and the Ḫabur rivers was just a conglomerate of small states, always fighting between themselves. A series of princes, who were often kin led by a warlord, ruled. Many of them were ambitious. They might conquer a fortified city and just as quickly lose it. Such tribal leaders, who succeeded in acquiring a local throne, proclaimed themselves *šarrum* 'king' from their *ekallum* 'palace'. Third, in one Mari tablet, on 'nomadic life', a sheikh designates his tent with the Akkadian term *bītum* 'house' (A. 1146, l. 17).[33] Fourth, even when archaeology finds specific artefacts that may indicate beyond doubt a certain turn of events, the historical reality as reflected in texts might indicate the opposite. This may necessitate a modification of the archaeological interpretation. A notorious example is the 'Marriage Stele' found in the rock temple of Ramesses II (1290–1224 BCE) in Abu Simbel in Nubia. The stele presents Ḫattušili III (1289–1265 BCE) together with his daughter standing before the pharaoh, Ramesses II, who sits between two divinities.[34] The Akkadian letters of the Egyptian-–Hittite correspondence indicate that the Hittite king never set foot in Egypt.[35] In this particular case, independent textual evidence is superior to the archaeological data.

One important contribution made by the Mari documents is the light they shed on the importance of the donkey as a royal symbol among Northwest Semitic tribes. When in 1 Sam. 25.20, 23, 42 Abigail rides on a donkey to meet and negotiate with David and eventually to become his wife, this feature anticipates the royal status she is about to enjoy. The way one enters the scene is highly significant. For example, one high official from Mari, Baḫdi-Lim, specifically advises the warlord and

32. For the text, see A. 2417, J.-M. Durand, *Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari 2* (LAPO, 17; Paris: Cerf), p. 271, no. 607; and J.-M. Durand, 'Les anciens de Talḫayum', *RA* 82 (1988), pp. 97-113.

33. P. Marello, 'Vie nomade', in *Recueil d'études en l'honneur de Michel Fleury* (ed. J.-M. Durand; Florilegium marianum, 1; Mémoires de NABU, 1; Paris: SEPOA, 1992), pp. 115-25. For a new translation, see J.-M. Durand, *Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari 1* (LAPO, 16; Paris: Cerf, 1997), pp. 146-51.

34. K. Bittel, 'Bildliche Darstellungen Ḫattušili III in Ägypten', in H.A. Hoffner, Jr, and G.M. Beckman, *Kaniššuwar: A Tribute to H.G. Güterbock* (AS, 23; Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1986), pp. 39-48.

35. E. Edel, *Die ägyptisch–hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache. Band I: Umschriften und Übersetzungen; Band II: Kommentar* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1994).

tribal chieftain Zimrī-Līm to enter the city of Mari riding on a donkey and not on a horse: 'You are king of the Haneans (= semi-nomads) and, only secondarily, king of the Akkadians. May my lord not ride on horses! Let it be only in a chair (drawn by) mules that my lord may ride and honor his royal head!' (ARM 6, 76.20-24).[36] The donkey seems to have a particular symbolic relationship with the chiefs of the semi-nomadic tribes. The opposition that this statement establishes between the Haneans and the Akkadians probably reflects the differences between the nomadic and the sedentary populations. The donkey is also the paramount symbol of royalty in the Hebrew tradition. The journey to trace the missing donkeys, or the future kingship, takes Saul and his servant on a tour of four sub-regions of Mt Ephraim: Shalishah, Shaalim, Benjamin and Zuph (1 Sam. 9.3-5). They come to the home of a famous seer, subsequently identified as Samuel (1 Sam. 9.6, 15-27). Their travels take them throughout the same territory that Samuel is said to have covered in his annual sanctuary circuit in 1 Sam. 7.15-17: Bethel, Gilgal, Mizpah and Ramah, his home. There is an implication that Saul has toured the borders of his future kingdom.

In the episode of Absalom's revolt in 2 Sam. 16.1, Ziba, the servant of Mephibosheth, met David with a couple of donkeys. They were saddled and carried two hundred loaves of bread, one hundred bunches of raisins, one hundred of summer fruits and one skin of wine. This is comparable to the provisions Abigail offered David in 1 Sam. 25.18. Since David was fleeing Jerusalem on foot, offering the saddled donkeys to David, Ziba said, 'The donkeys are for the king's household to ride on' (v. 2). In so doing, Ziba betrayed his master, Mephibosheth, the last descendant of the House of Saul and a potential rival of David. He deprived the disabled Mephibosheth of the opportunity to display his loyalty in a time of political crisis. Thus, Ziba prevented Mephibosheth from showing mercy as David had shown to the son of Jonathan. In this incident, the donkey plays the double role of (1) Ziba's allegiance to David and of (2) a nomadic symbol of David's legitimate kingship.[37] In 1 Kgs 1.38, when he is proclaimed David's official successor, Solomon is made to ride on 'King David's mule', and Zadok the priest anoints him.

In the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5.10), the chiefs of Israel are said 'to ride on tawny asses'. Using the same royal symbol of a donkey, Zech. 9.9

36. J.-R. Kupper, *Correspondance de Baḫdi-Lim, préfet du palais de Mari* (ARM, 6; Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1954), pp. 108-109; and see the new interpretation of this passage by D. Charpin, 'Un souverain éphémère en Ida-Maraṣ: Išme-Addu d'Ašnakkum', *MARI* 7 (1993), pp. 165-91 (170 n. 36); K.C. Way, *Donkeys in the Biblical World: Ceremony and Symbol* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011).

37. E. Cassin, 'Le droit et le tordu I', in *Le semblable et le différent, symbolisme du pouvoir dans le Proche-Orient ancien* (Paris: La Découverte, 1987), pp. 50-71 (53-54).

announces the coming of the Messiah in the following terms: 'Lo, your king comes to you triumphant and victorious, humble (*'ny*) and riding on an ass, on a colt, the foal of an ass. I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim and the war horse from Jerusalem.' In this context, the donkey symbolizes peace while the horse stands for war and more generally refers to foreign oppressors: Assyrians, Egyptians and Greeks. This peaceful meaning of the donkey is present already among the eighteenth-century BCE Amorites, who sacrifice a donkey in their peace treaties. Two Mari tablets designate the animal sacrificed when concluding a peace treaty as 'the donkey of peace'.[38]

Matthew's Gospel picks up Zechariah's prophecy and applies it to Jesus' entry into Jerusalem riding on a donkey, followed by a colt (Mt. 21.2, 7; Jn 12.14-15). In light of the above Amorite parallels, it is not certain that the choice of a donkey for a ride expresses the modesty and humility of the Messianic king. The sense of the Hebrew term *'ny* used in Zech. 9.9 should be reconsidered. Modern translations are influenced by the Greek *praus* and Latin *mitis* '*débonnaire*, good, gentle' used in Mt. 21.5. The sense of the root *'ny*, however, is different. The term stands for respectful submission of the human to the divine. There is in this attitude an expression of piety and deference of the king toward the divine realm, common to the ancient Near Eastern world. The biblical reworking of this concept applies it to all humans: the blessed are those who accept God's superiority and consequently God's representative on earth—the king. The humility that the Hebrew text implies does not stand for poverty and modesty but for obedience. The people accept a just and legitimate submission to their king in the same way as the latter submits to God's authority. In this sense, the king is the depository of divine rule and power, and a warrant of peace. Being accepted by all, he is able to restore order. His mission of pacification is illustrated by him riding on a donkey in contrast with the more warlike aspect of riding on a horse. Semitic kingship is neither modest nor poor but peaceful and triumphant.

Another feature that is common to the Amorite and the Hebrew traditions is the anointing with the oil of victory. The act of anointing

38. For the Amorite expression 'donkey of peace': anše *ha-a-ra-am ša ša-li-mi-im*, see J.-M. Durand, *Archives epistolaires de Mari* (ARM, 26/1; Paris: ERC, 1988), pp. 174-75, no. 39 (ll. 13-15: 'Swear to me the oath of the gods, so that I may kill the donkey of peace with Muti-Abal' [*ni-iš*] dingir-meš *za-ak-ra-ni-*[*im*] *ù* anše *ha-a-ra-a*[*m*] *ša ša-li-m*[*i-im*] *bi-ri-it mu-t*[*e*]*-ba-al lu-u*[*q-ṭú-ul*]); D. Charpin, 'Une campagne de Yahdun-Lîm en Haute-Mésopotamie,' in *Recueil d'études à la mémoire de Maurice Birot* (ed. D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand; Florilegium marianum, 2; Mémoires de NABU, 3; Paris: SEPOA 1994), pp. 177-200 (188): 'Écris aux "pères" de l'Ida-Maraṣ et à Aduna-Addu afin qu'ils viennent à toi: tue l'ânon de la paix et parle avec franchise avec eux'.

the king is attested in Ebla, and in the Amorite, Hittite, Amarna and Hebrew traditions (1 Sam. 10.1 on Saul and 1 Sam. 16.13 on David) but not in Mesopotamia proper.[39]

4. *Saul and a Mari Text*

The separate narratives concerning the beginning of Saul's role as leader of the Israelite tribes are viewed as the product of different traditions combined in the existing account.[40] These divergent traditions are perceived as reflecting an ambivalence concerning the new institution of tribal kingship.[41] Some studies on the figure of Saul in 1 Samuel attempt to see how the various images of Saul may be complementary.[42]

In spite of considerable late redactional work on the Saul tradition, some elements in it seem to go back to ancient practices that are akin to the Amorite ones. Thus, one Mari text sheds light on the practice mentioned in 1 Sam. 11.5-7 in connection with Saul when he mustered the tribal levy enjoining various Hebrew tribes to take part in a military campaign. The Ammonite incident is an independent tradition usually considered to be one of the oldest and most authentic about Saul. The fact that Saul was prompted to military action by the 'spirit of God' connects his experience to that of the judges Othniel, Gideon, Jephthah and Samson. The attack of Nahash on Jabesh-gilead and Saul's response to it culminated in a public proclamation of Saul's tribal leadership at Gilgal. Saul was behind the plough in the field with a yoke of oxen. When the messenger brought the news to him about the outrage done to the Israelites in Jabesh-gilead by the Ammonite King Nahash, '(Saul) took a yoke of oxen, and cut them in pieces and sent them throughout all the territory of Israel by the hand of messengers, saying, 'Whoever does not

39. S. Lafont, 'Le roi, le juge et l'étranger à Mari et dans la Bible', *RA* 92 (1998), pp. 161-81; S. Lafont, 'Nouvelles données sur la royauté mésopotamienne', *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 73 (1975), pp. 473-500.

40. D.V. Edelman, *King Saul in the Historiography of Judah* (JSOTSup, 121; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991); N. Na'aman, 'The Pre-Deuteronomistic Story of King Saul and its Historical Significance', *CBQ* 54 (1992), pp. 638-58; E. Scheffler, 'Saving Saul from the Deuteronomist', in *Past, Present, Future: The Deuteronomistic History and the Prophets* (ed. J.C. de Moor, H.F. van Rooy; OTS, 44; Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 263-71.

41. S.S. Brooks, 'From Gibeon to Gibeah: High Place of the Kingdom', in *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel* (ed. J. Day; London: T. & T. Clark, 2005), pp. 40-59.

42. S. Nicholson, *Three Faces of Saul: An Intertextual Approach to Biblical Tragedy* (JSOTSup, 339; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), and B. Green, *How Are the Mighty Fallen? A Dialogical Study of King Saul in 1 Samuel* (JSOTSup, 365; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003).

come out after Saul and Samuel, so shall it be done to his oxen!' Then the dread of Yhwh fell upon the people and they came out as one man'. The Song of Deborah shows that a good turnout of the tribes in time of crisis was not easily achieved (Judg. 5.15-17).

The symbolic act of dismembering the oxen may be regarded as a kind of conditional curse: may the oxen of anyone who does not respond to the summons suffer the same fate. The cutting up of a yoke of oxen and using their pieces to summon Israel to war, threatening dissenters with reprisals, corresponds to a similar practice in a Mari text, ARM 2, 48.[43] The Mari parallel suggests that the threat might have been more direct, implying that the people themselves, not their oxen, would be slain. The practice of dismembering an animal to levy the troops seems to have had its origin in covenant making, which often involved dismemberment of animals accompanied by an oath: 'May I suffer the fate of these animals if I am not true to the terms of this agreement!' There seems to be a correspondence between dismembered pieces of an animal and the dismembered human body, as confirmed by the grim incident of the Levite's concubine who was dismembered in Judg. 19.22.[44] Pieces of her body were sent to various Israelite tribes summoning them to punish the Benjaminites. In ARM 2, 48, Baḫdī-Līm, a servant of Zimrī-Līm, has difficulties in levying troops among the Hanean nomadic tribes. In order to summon the recalcitrant tribes, a criminal taken from a prison was decapitated and his head was paraded through several towns. Seeing what happened to that man, the Hanean tribes would respond in fear to the summons to join the military campaign.[45]

1. *a-na be-lí-ia*	To my lord
2. *qí-bí-ma*	say:
3. *um-ma Ba-aḫ-di-li-im*	Thus Baḫdī-Līm
4. ir-*ka-a-ma*	your servant.

43. Cuneiform text: C.-F. Jean, *Archives royales de Mari II. Lettres diverses* (Textes cunéiformes du Musée du Louvre; Paris: P. Geuthner, 1941), Pl. LXII, no. 48; transliteration and translation: C.-F. Jean, *Lettres diverses* (ARM, 2; Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1950), pp. 102-103; translation and commentary: J.-M. Durand, *Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari 2* (LAPO, 17; Paris: Cerf, 1998), pp. 176-77; preliminary study: G. Wallis, 'Eine Parallele zu Richter 19 29ff und 1 Sam. 11 5ff aus dem Briefarchiv von Mari', *ZAW* 64 (1952), pp. 57-61 (the transcription of the Akkadian text in this article is defective).

44. P. Trible, *Texts of Terror: Literary-Feminist Readings of Biblical Narratives* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1984), ch. 3, 'An Unnamed Woman: The Extravagance of Violence', pp. 65-91 (bibliography).

45. P. Kyle McCarter, *1 Samuel* (AB, 8; New York: Doubleday, 1980), p. 203; and R. Polzin, 'HWQY' and Covenant Institutions in Israel', *HTR* 62 (1969), pp. 227-40.

5. *iš-tu* (UD)*ūmu* 5 KAM^{kàm} *i-na ḫa-da-nim*	Five days since the appointed time
6. *Ḫa-na*^{meš} *ú-qa-a ù ṣa-bu-um*	(that) I wait for the Hanean-nomads but the troop
7. *ù-ul i-pa-aḫ-ḫu-ra-am*	does not gather together.
8. *Ḫa-na*^{meš} *iš-tu na-wi-im ik-šu-dam-ma*	The Hanean nomads arrived from the pasture land
9. *ù ina li-ib-bi a-la-ni-ma wa-aš-bu*	but dwell in the midst of towns.
10. 1-*šu* 2-*šu a-na li-ib-bi a-la-ni*	Once, twice to the midst of towns
11. *á*[š]-*ta-pa-ar-ma* <*li*>[46]-*id-ku-ni-iš-šu-nu-ti*	I have sent so that they may be levied
12. *ù ú-ul ip-ḫu-ru-nim-ma*	but they didn't gather together.
13. *ù a-di* (UD)*ūmu* 3 KAM 3^{kàm} *ú-ul ip-ḫu-ru-nim-ma*	And if in three days they (still) don't get together,
14. *i-na-an-na šum-ma lib-bi be-lí-ia*	now, if my lord agrees
15. 1* ^{lú}*be-el ar-nim i-na ne-*<*pa*>*-ri-im li-du-ku-m*[*a*]	let them execute a criminal in the workhouse
16. *qa-qa-as-sú li-ik-ki-su-ma*	let them cut his head off
17. *ù bi-ri-it a-la-ni-e*	and between the towns,
18.*a-di Ḫu-ud-nim*^{ki} *ù Ap-pa-an*^{ki}	up to Ḫudnum and Appān,
19. *li-sa-ḫi-ru aš-šum ṣa-bu-um i-pa-al-la-aḫ-ma*	let them tour in order that the troops may become fearful
20.[*ar-ḫi*]-*iš i-pa-aḫ-ḫu-ra-am*	and quickly gather here
21.[*a-na*] *ṭe*$_4$-*im ḫa-ma-ti-im*	(so that) according to the urgent order
22. [*ša*] *be-lí u-wa-e-ra-an-ni*	which my lord gave me,
23. [*a*]*r-ḫi-iš gi-ir-ra-am*	rapidly the military campaign
24. ⌜*a**⌝-*ṭà-ar-ra-du*	I may expedite.[47]

46. Restoring <*li*>, following Durand, *Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari 2*, p. 177 n. 368.

47. Philological notes: l. 3, the name Baḫdī-Līm means 'My support is the clan'; see Streck, *Das amurritische Onomastikon der altbabylonischen Zeit*, p. 323 and 343, 'Mein Rückhält ist Līm'.

ll. 5-6, 'the appointed, convened time' *ḫadānu*; see Daniel Bodi, 'Akkadian and Aramaic Terms for a "Favorable Time" (*ḫidānu*, *adānu* and *'iddān*): Semitic Precursors of Greek *kairos*?', in *Time and History in the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the 56th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Barcelona* (ed. L. Feliu, J. Llop, A. Millet Albà, and J. Sanmartín; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2013), pp. 47-56; l. 6 *uqqâ* D-stem present 1cs from *qu''u*, *quwwû*, *qummû*, *qubbû*, a transitive verb meaning, 'to await, wait for, wait on someone'.

The above text confirms the fact that this particular method of levying troops by dismembering an animal or decapitating a person and sending the body parts to the tribes one wants to summon shows a remarkable continuity among semi-nomadic Northwest Semitic tribes, from the time of Mari to the times of the judges and of Saul. Although the final redaction of the Deuteronomistic History dates from Persian times, it does not preclude the presence of ancient material describing ancestral tribal customs practiced throughout the second millennium BCE.

5. *David and the Pattern of Seizing Power in the Ancient Near East*

Being pursued by Saul with an army of three thousand men (1 Sam. 24.2), and literally forced to leave his home (1 Sam. 19.10-18), David became an outlaw and vagabond—a prime example of the *'apiru* rebel and mercenary. David gathered around him a motley group of six hundred warriors, 'everyone who was in distress, and everyone who was in debt, and everyone who was discontented' (1 Sam. 22.2). He became their *condottiere*. David, as a leader of a troop of *'apiru* mercenaries, seems to follow the manner of taking power in the ancient Near East since the Middle Bronze Age, the time of tribal leaders and warlords. Consider the Amorite Zimrī-Līm in the eighteenth century BCE, Idrimi of Alalaḫ in the mid-fourteenth century BCE and 'Abdi-Aširta of Amurru and Rib-Addi of Byblos also in the fourteenth century BCE. In their struggle to seize power or recover their lost power, these warlords led troops of mercenaries

ll. 7 and 20, *ipaḫḫur-am* G-stem present 3ms; ll. 12 and 13 *ipḫurū-nim-ma* G-stem (u/u) preterite 3mpl + *nim* ventive + enclitic *-ma*; *ipḫur/ipaḫḫur* from *paḫāru* 'to gather'.

l. 14, *bēl arnim* 'criminal', literally, 'lord, master of crime'; *nupūru* CAD N/2, p. 341, *nubūru*, *nepāru*, *nurpāru* 'workhouse, ergasterion'; *lidūkū-ma* 'let them execute, kill'.

l. 18, up to Ḫudnum and Appān, the first place name is rendered 'région en plateau', by Durand, LAPO 17, p. 177, n. a. This is a Bensim'alite village near Mari. The root of this toponym, *'dn*, is probably related to the city of Hadnā in text no. 601, and to the Assyrian territory of Bīt 'Adīni, which gave its name to the Garden of Eden. Appān 'Le Cap,' 'the summit', is a Bensim'alite city in the region north of Mari, facing the Benjaminite region of Mišlān.

l. 16, *qaqqassu likkisū-ma* root *nakāsum* 'to cut, fell,' G (i/i) G-stem preterite 3mpl; *ikkis/inakkis*.

l. 19, vocalize *lisaḫḫirū*, *AHw*, p. 1006, D-stem 'herumwenden, abwenden', 'abgeschalgene Kopf durch die Orte herumwenden' (in the G-stem the thematic vowel would be u/u *isḫur/isaḫḫur*) and here the thematic vowel is (i), hence it is a D-stem.

l. 24, *aṭarradu* represents a subordinative/subjunctive always dependent on *aššum* in l. 19. In l. 19 *ipallaḫ-ma* and in l. 20, *i-pa-aḫ-ḫu-ra-am* with a ventive, the coordinated previous verbs are usually according to the Mari usage in indicative.

called *ḫapiru/ʿapiru*. In the Iron Age as well, during his conflict with Saul, David followed the socio-political pattern of seizing power, a model well established in the ancient Near East. Indeed, prior to David, several warlords and petty Levantine kings had recourse to this pattern of socio-political action when confronted with a similar problem. They all avail themselves of the *ʿapiru* mercenaries in their power struggle.

5.1. *The ḫapiru/ʿapiru*

David, in his conquest of power, may be perceived as an *ʿapiru* warlord. The Mari texts present the *ʿapirū* as troublemakers often associated with pulling off a political coup. The Akkadian verb **ḫabārum*, in the G-stem preterite *iḫbur*, means 'to leave one's home, hometown or homeland'. One unpublished text, A. 1977, states, 'This man, having packed his belongings, left (*iḫbur*) for Carchemish (with king) Aplahanda'.[48] In the D-stem *ḫubburum* means 'to make someone leave, to drive away', as in ARM I 60.22 *ṣa-b[u-u]m šu-ú da-ba*-bà*-am li-iḫ-še-eḫ ṣa-ba-am ša-a-ti hu-ub-bi-ir* 'if the troop wishes to talk idly, make that troop leave'.[49]

This usage and etymology identify the *ḫapiru* primarily as a people who are politically exiled. The Ugaritic (*ʿprm*) and Egyptian (*ʿpr.w*) usages of the term indicate that the root should most probably be ʿ-p-r with an initial *ʿayin* and with the second root consonant /p/ rather than /b/.[50] This in turn would confirm the link with dust, *eperum* (<**ḫaparum*), Hebrew *ʿāpār*, and would tend to exclude any etymological link with the Hebrew term *ʿibrî* (derived from the verb *ʿābar* 'to cross over', that is, the river, meaning crossing the Euphrates).[51] In Gen. 14.13, Abram, the Hebrew *ʿibrî* is rendered with *peratēs* in the LXX from *peran* 'from across, from beyond'. G. Mendenhall's equation of the *ʿapiru* with the Hebrews, on which basis he argues that *ʿapiru* and Israelite are 'practically synonymous', is today abandoned.[52] As M. Weippert pointed out, Mendenhall lays 'too great an emphasis on the voluntary nature of the existence

48. J.-M. Durand, 'Assyriologie: Le problème des *ḫabiru*', *ACF* 105 (2004–2005), pp. 563-84 (570).

49. Durand, *Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari 2*, p. 402 n. 110; *dabābum* 'talk, (idle) speech', *ḫašāḫu* 'to desire, wish for'.

50. O. Loretz, *Habiru-Hebräer: Eine sozio-linguistische Studie über die Herkunft des Gentiliziums* 'ibrî *vom Appelativum* ḫabiru (BZAW, 160; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984). The administrative texts from Ugarit in the Akkadian language use the logogram ^{lú}SA.GAZ^{meš} with the translation of the same administrative entries (lists of taxes) in the Ugaritic alphabetic script as *ʿprm* in plural.

51. EA 141.1-5 letter of Ammunira from Beirut to the Pharaoh: 'Man from Beirut, your servant and dust: gloss *a-pa-ru* at your feet' (= *ʿaparu*).

52. G.E. Mendenhall, 'The Hebrew Conquest of Palestine', *BA* 25 (1962), pp. 66-87 (71), and *The Tenth Generation: The Origins of the Biblical Tradition* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), p. 140. For a critical review of

of the *'apiru*. It seems to me that entry into this category of classless individuals must normally, as the texts seem to indicate between the lines, have been experienced as a misfortune . . . external pressure is the cause, not free choice'.[53]

Already E. Dhorme had placed the term *'apiru* in connection with Hebrew *'apar* 'dust', suggesting that the word meant 'the dusty ones' or 'those covered with dust', on account of their nomadic movement across the steppe.[54] Instead of Dhorme's somewhat romantic explanation, J.-M. Durand sees at the origin of this term a reference to a rite, according to which the one who had to go into exile from his hometown or homeland would take a bit of dirt from his hearth or dust from the floor of his home.[55] Moreover, there are a number of biblical and ancient Near Eastern texts that describe the role of dust in different rites of mourning. It could suggest the sadness of the return to the original dust from which one was created or the severing of links with a city by shaking the dust off one's feet. Conversely, keeping a bit of dust from one's home could signify keeping some links with one's place of origin, despite being exiled. This suggestion is indirectly confirmed by David's dethronement in his home, the City of David, by his son Absalom. While fleeing, David meets Shimei, a Benjaminite. Shimei throws dust on David, the fugitive (2 Sam. 16.13 *wᵉʿippar beʿāpār* 'dusting him with dust'). With this symbolic gesture, Shimei adds to David's opprobrium as one rejected by the community. The same symbolic gesture is found among the Amorites in a Mari text (A. 2071.14-15)[56] where the corresponding expression occurs, *eperam ina qaqqadī-šu inappaṣū-ma* 'they will throw dust on his head'. In context, this act indicates the community's rejection of that person.

Mendenhall, see J. Sasson, 'Review of G. Mendenhall, *The Tenth Generation*', *JBL* 93 (1974), pp. 294-96.

53. M. Weippert, *Die Landnahme der israelitischen Stämme in der neueren wissenschaftlichen Diskussion* (FRLANT, 92; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967) = *The Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Palestine: A Critical Survey of Recent Debate* (SBT, II/21; London: SCM Press, 1971), p. 66.

54. E. Dhorme, 'Les Habirou et les Hébreux', *Revue historique* 78 (1954), pp. 256-64 (261).

55. Durand, 'Le problème des *ḫabiru*', p. 571; J. Bottéro, 'Les Habiru, les nomades et les sédentaires', in *Nomads and Sedentary Peoples* (ed. J.S. Castillo; 30th International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa 1976; Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1981), pp. 89-107; J. Szuchman (ed.), *Nomads, Tribes, and the State in the Ancient Near East. Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2009).

56. J.-M. Durand, *Archives épistolaires de Mari* 26/1 (ARM, 26; Paris: ERC, 1988), p. 538. The verb *napāṣu* *CAD* N/1, p. 285 (G u/a) *ippuṣ/inappaṣ* in this case means 'to hurl'.

The *'apiru* were outlawed people who had fled their sovereigns. They had no lands. Instead, they wandered in groups as marauders or rented out their services as mercenaries to warlords throughout the Fertile Crescent. Rather than an ethnic term, the word identified a social class of uprooted ones, outcasts, isolated from their families, clans and homelands. Thus, they came together to look for other means of economic survival.[57]

There are three elements in Zimrī-Līm's conquest of power over Mari that resemble the rise of David.[58] First, as already described above, there was the conflict between two houses. Zimrī-Līm belonged to the Līm Sima'lite clan who fought against the Addu Benjaminites. A second resemblance is the practice of taking the wives of the vanquished adversary. A third manner in which Zimrī-Līm's rise resembles David's attainment of power in the books of Samuel is the heterogeneous nature of Zimri-Lim's army.

5.2. *Taking the Wives of the Vanquished Predecessor*

One Mari text (A. 4636) gives the list of women that one finds in Yasmaḫ-Addu's 'harem', among 'palace ladies' now in Zimrī-Līm's hands, once he took over the city of Mari.[59] In the list, one finds daughters of several predecessors associated with Mari: Yaḫdun-Lim, Ḫadni-Addu and Sūmū-Yamam. It shows that most of the women who were in the service of Yasmaḫ-Addu stayed in Mari and continued their life in the service of the next occupant of the palace, Zimrī-Līm. They preserved the same order of enumeration, implying the same degree of importance and the same internal hierarchy. It is possible that, after Yasmaḫ-Addu left the Mari palace, the gates of the city of Mari were opened to the new ruler, Zimrī-Līm.[60] The transfer of power from one owner of Mari to another included acquisition of the predecessors' palace ladies.

This resembles two moments in David's career. First, in 1 Samuel 25 after the death of Nabal, a rich farmer from Carmel in the vicinity of Hebron, David took over Nabal's wife, Abigail, and probably his lands. Second, in 2 Sam. 12.8, Nathan reminds David what he had already received from Yhwh's hand: 'And I gave you your master's house, and your master's wives into your lap, and gave you the house of Israel and

57. D. Fleming, *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors: Mari and Early Collective Governance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 95-100; D. Fleming, 'Prophets and Temple Personnel in the Mari Archives', in *The Priests in the Prophets* (ed. L. Grabbe and A.O. Bellis; JSOTSup, 408; London: T. & T. Clark, 2004), pp. 44-64.

58. D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand, 'La prise de pouvoir par Zimri-Lim', *MARI* 4 (1985), pp. 293-343.

59. J.-M. Durand, 'Les dames du palais de Mari à l'époque du royaume de Haute-Mésopotamie', *MARI* 4 (1985), pp. 385-436 (431).

60. Charpin and Durand, 'La prise de pouvoir par Zimri-Lim', p. 323.

Judah'. Verse 8 is the only reference in the Hebrew Bible to David's taking Saul's wives. The Hebrew expression 'and I gave (*wā'etnâ*)… your master's wives into your lap (*w^{e}'et-n^{e}šê 'adōnêkā b^{e}ḥêqekā*)', referring to Saul's wife and a concubine now in David's possession, has a parallel in the Amorite Akkadian found in Mari documents. The idiomatic expression 'to place (a woman) in someone's lap' (*ana sūnim nadānum*), refers to a princess from Qaṭna added to Yasmaḫ-Addu's already large harem. It forms an exact equivalent of the Hebrew phrase.[61] In both cases, the expression is used of tribal chieftains and their wives. The capture of harems among tribal chiefs is a standard practice in the act of seizing power. Absalom's first political act once David fled Jerusalem was to publicly take possession of David's concubines (2 Sam. 16.22).

5.3. *The Heterogeneous Character of Zimrī-Līm's and David's Armies*

The army Zimrī-Līm used to conquer Mari shows a high degree of heterogeneity. It was composed of 'shepherds', of 'palace servants' designated by the term 'conscripts', as if he had to mobilize every person available. In the *Epic of Zimri-Lim*, the 'shepherds' were requisitioned when Zimrī-Līm ordered his chief officer to mobilize the sheikhs so that they might also bring along their Hanean semi-nomadic warriors. Thus, these 'shepherds' would join his military campaign.[62] In his conquest of power, Zimrī-Līm had to rely on hired hands and *'apiru* warriors.

In respect to David, one finds a similar heterogeneous army. 1 Samuel 22.2 indicates how 'everyone who was in distress, and everyone who was in debt, and everyone who was discontented, gathered to him; and he became captain over them. And there were with him about four hundred men'. In David's planned attack on Nabal's farm, 1 Sam. 25.13 states, 'and about four hundred men went up after David, while two hundred remained with the baggage'. The troop of *'apiru* warriors mentioned in Mari documents may have had 30, 50, 85 or as many as 400 men.[63] The number of David's troops corresponds to that of traditional *'apiru* warriors both in Mari and in Amarna documents (see below EA 76.17-29).

5.4. *The Seizing of Power by Idrimi from Alalaḫ in the Mid-Fourteenth Century* BCE

The Idrimi statue with an inscription dating from the mid-fourteenth century BCE was found in 1939 by the English archaeologist C.L. Woolley

61. J.M. Sasson, 'About "Mari and the Bible"', *RA* 92 (1998), pp. 97-123 (107); N. Ziegler, 'Le harem du vaincu', *RA* 93 (1999), pp. 1-26.

62. Charpin and Durand, 'La prise de pouvoir par Zimri-Lim', p. 327.

63. M. Guichard, 'Un David raté ou une histoire de habiru à l'époque amorite. Vie et mort de Samsī-Erah, chef de guerre et homme du people', in *Le jeune héros* (ed. J.-M. Durand, T. Römer and M. Langlois; Fribourg: Academic Press, 2011), pp. 29-93 (37), with references.

in a niche of a destroyed temple in Alalaḫ, modern Tell Atchana in the Orontes region. On account of the Second World War, the first publication of the inscription by S. Smith had to wait until 1949.[64] Amir Fink, however, has re-investigated the records and results of the old excavations at Tell Atchana. He has argued that Woolley missed the stratigraphy of the locus where the statue was found in 1939. By the time Woolley returned to the site in 1946, his misinterpretation could no longer be corrected since much of the physical record was no longer there to be re–examined.[65] Therefore, the statue was most probably smashed and buried at the moment of the Hittite conquest of Alalaḫ, in the mid-fourteenth century BCE, at the transition from Level IV to Level III.

The story of Idrimi from Alalaḫ is written in a particular kind of Akkadian full of Northwest Semiticisms akin to Amarna Akkadian.[66] The seizing of power by Idrimi, as told in the inscription, is presented according to the same pattern of relying on *'apiru* warriors. When Idrimi, son of Ilu-ili-ma, was young, an unfortunate event occurred (maybe a revolt or Hurrian pressure from Mitanni) that caused his family to flee Ḫalab (Aleppo), his paternal and ancestral home (l. 3, *bīt abīya*), and seek refuge with his mother in Emar, on the Euphrates.[67] Alone among his brothers, though he was the youngest, Idrimi decided to recover his patrimony. Just like David who was the youngest of Jesse's seven sons (1 Chron. 2.15, but cf. 1 Sam. 16.10), Idrimi was the youngest son, whose ambitions surpassed those of his older brothers. This literary motif occurs

64. S. Smith, *The Statue of Idri-mi* (Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara, 1; Ankara: British Institute of Archaeology, 1949), pp. 14-23; W.F. Albright, 'Some Important Recent Discoveries: Alphabetic Origins and the Idrimi Statue', *BASOR* 118 (1950), pp. 11-20. Albright compared Idrimi to biblical Joseph.

65. E. von Dassow, *State and Society in the Late Bronze Age Alalaḫ under the Mittani Empire* (ed. D.I. Owen and G. Wilhelm; Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians, 17; Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 2008), p. 31.

66. S. Izre'el, 'The Amarna Letters from Canaan', in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (ed. J.M. Sasson; New York: Scribner's, 1995), II, pp. 2411-19 (2412); R. Hess, 'Alalakh Studies and the Bible: Obstacle or Contribution?', in *Scripture and Other Artifacts: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Honor of P.J. King* (ed. M.D. Cogan *et al.*; Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1994), pp. 199-215; R. Hess, 'Canaan and Canaanite in Alalakh', *UF* 31 (1999), pp. 225-36.

67. B. Landsberger, 'Assyrische Königliste und "dunkeles Zeitalter"', *JCS* 8 (1954), pp. 47-73; J. Aro, 'Remarks on the Language of the Alalakh Texts', *AfO* 17 (1954–56), pp. 361-65; M. Tsevat, 'Alalakhiana', *HUCA* 29 (1958), pp. 109-35; A.L. Oppenheim, 'The Story of Idrimi, King of Alalakh', in *ANET* (ed. J.B. Pritchard; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 3rd edn, 1969), pp. 557-58; G. Giacumakis Jr, *The Akkadian of Alalakh* (Janua linguarum, series practica, 59; The Hague: Mouton, 1970); E. Greenstein and D. Marcus, 'The Akkadian Inscription of Idrimi', *JANES* 8 (1976), pp. 59-96.

again in the Assyrian inscriptions of Esarhaddon (680–669 BCE), who affirms, *ša aḫḫê-ya rabūti aḫū-šunu ṣeḫru anāku* 'Of my older brothers, I was their youngest brother'.[68]

Idrimi left his brothers in Emar and set forth, accompanied by his horse, chariot and driver, to recover his lost power. He sought refuge with the Sutû warriors. Crossing the desert, he arrived at the city of Ammiya in northern Canaan. There he found compatriots and warriors from Ḫalab (Aleppo) and its western territories: Mukiš, Niya and Ama'e. These different groups of people recognized him as the son of one of their former lords. They joined him in his goal to regain lost power. There, with a group of *'apiru* men, Idrimi spent seven years until, through a divinatory technique of observing the flight of birds, he discovered that the storm god Addu favored his quest.

Idrimi built ships. Together with his mercenaries and *'apiru* warriors, he set out for Mukiš, the territory of Alalaḫ and regained power over the city.[69] Upon his arrival at Mt Ḫazi (= Mt Cassius), the people of Niya, Ama'e, Mukiš and Alalaḫ welcomed him and made a treaty with him. However, Parattarna, king of the Hurrians, opposed Idrimi. After seven years, Idrimi sent an embassy to Parattarna. He mentioned his ancestor's service to Parattarna's ancestors and provided the latter with numerous gifts. The king of the Hurrians was finally persuaded. Idrimi swore fealty as a vassal and became king of Alalaḫ.

Idrimi attacked seven fortified towns in Ḫatti territory, taking many captives and much booty. With the spoils from his campaigns, Idrimi built himself a house fit for a king. Furthermore, he spread the wealth among his soldiers, family, friends and subjects. Those inhabitants of his realm who had no home he settled in appropriate dwellings. He attended to the worship of the gods of Alalaḫ. He put his son Addu-nirari in charge of these duties. Idrimi also used some of the captured booty to build himself 'a throne equal to the throne of other kings' (l. 81) in Alalaḫ.

David does something similar when he established political support groups with the elders of Judah by offering them presents from the part of the spoil he collected during his numerous raids (1 Sam. 30.26-31). The investment produced significant dividends since it was in Hebron that his supporters and the people of his tribe proclaimed him king. It is in Hebron that David established his headquarters with his wives and *'apiru* mercenaries, being officially recognized as 'king over the House of Judah' (2 Sam. 5.1-3). There he reigned 'seven years and six months'

68. R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien* (*AfO* Beiheft 9; Graz: Selbstverlag, 1956), p. 40 (A 18).

69. G. Buccellati, 'La "carriera" di David e quella di Idrimi re di Alalac', *Bibbia e oriente* 4 (1962), pp. 95-99; Lemche, 'David's Rise', p. 12.

(2 Sam. 5.5; 2 Kgs 2.11), before conquering the Jebusite fortress and transforming it into his new capital, the City of David.

Commenting on the Idrimi inscription, A.L. Oppenheim compared it to the story of David: 'All this seems to me to bespeak the existence of a specific literary tradition, totally different in temper and scope from that of the ancient Near East; of this tradition we have known only the later, far more substantial but equally admirable, fruits in the narrative of certain sections of the Book of Genesis and especially in the story of King David—another *document humain*.'[70]

Idrimi's success confirmed the divine favor he had received through auguries and other omens. For Idrimi as for David, personal triumph confirmed his divine election. Similarly, after David killed one hundred Philistines and brought the proof to Saul, the latter interpreted David's success as an indication that 'Yhwh was with David' (1 Sam. 19.27-28).

Moreover, the narrative of Idrimi's seizing power is punctuated with the figure seven. He stays seven years with the *'apiru* warriors. After seven years the god Addu becomes favorable to him. The Hurrian king is hostile to Idrimi yet another seven years. In the seventh year, Idrimi launches fruitful negotiations with his adversary. Idrimi fills his treasury with the spoils gathered from seven Hittite cities. With the booty he decides to build a palace. David is the youngest of the seven sons of Jesse. He stays seven years in Hebron before he manages to conquer a Jebusite fortress. By despoiling the Jebusites he appropriates their city for himself, and it becomes his own City of David. He also accumulates the necessary material for building a sanctuary. The number seven is conventional in the Idrimi and David stories.[71]

For another scholar, E. Greenstein, 'The lengthy narrative of Idrimi's adventures in obtaining and securing his throne is unlike any Mesopotamian text and has its closest parallels in the Egyptian Story of Sinuhe and the biblical stories of Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Jephthah, David, and Nehemiah; the many parts of the inscription display remarkable recurrence of motifs and key terms'.[72]

70. A.L. Oppenheim, 'Review of *The Statue of Idri-mi*, by S. Smith', *JNES* 14 (1955), pp. 199-200 (200).

71. Various aspects of Idrimi's career, such as the number seven, have been analyzed by M. Liverani, *Myth and Politics in Ancient Near Eastern Historiography* (ed. and intro. Z. Bahrani and M. van de Mieroop; Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004); J.A. Davies, 'Heptadic Verbal Patterns in the Solomon Narrative of 1 Kings 1–11', *TynB* 63 (2012), pp. 21-34.

72. E. Greenstein, 'Autobiographies in Ancient Western Asia', in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (ed. J.M. Sasson; New York: Scribner's, 1995), IV, pp. 2421-32 (2425).

5.5. *The Seizing of Power by 'Abdi-Aširta of Ammuru*

In the fourteenth century BCE, the Egyptian empire dominated the Levant up to the borders of the Hittite kingdom of Mitanni. It was a period of political turmoil and upheaval in the region where the two empires met. While the Assyrians and the Babylonians maintained good relations with Egypt, the Hittites in these times became sufficiently powerful to attract the Amorites to their side. The region between the two empires favored the power struggle of petty chiefs and princes of Canaan and Amurru. In this context of adverse political parties and conflicts, the city lords appealed to a class of warriors designated as ^{lú}GAZ^{meš} or ^{lú}SA-GAZ^{meš}. They could overturn the local potentates and take control of the cities while encouraging local populations to rebel against their overlords.[73]

Among the Amarna letters, the largest correspondence comes from Rib-Hadda of Byblos, one of the vassals of the pharaoh, whose city is located in northern Canaan and who was a rather prolific correspondent. To a single letter sent by the pharaoh, Rib-Hadda responded by writing nine missives, repeating his requests and complaints. Since we only have the accidental preservation of some of the Amarna letters, we do not know how many of the pharaoh's letters to Rib-Hadda were lost or which ones. The ratio one-to-nine is therefore speculative.

The correspondence of northern vassals of the pharaoh is generally divided into three periods: the first and second periods where the letters from Rib-Hadda predominate and a third, post-Rib-Hadda period. The letters EA 68-95 belong to the first period, when 'Abdi-Aširta of Amurru (EA 60-62) appears as Rib-Hadda's principal enemy during the reign of the pharaoh Amenophis III. The letters EA 101-138 and 363 belong to the second period, when 'Abdi-Aširta was succeeded by his sons and especially by Aziru, while Amenophis IV was the pharaoh.[74] We are interested in this second period.

The Amarna letters describe the intrigues and conflicts of kinglets and princes against the warlords and the ^{lú}GAZ^{meš}. W.L. Moran translates this logographic reading by *'apiru*, a term referring to outlaws whom the

73. S. Izre'el, 'The Amarna Letters from Canaan', in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (ed. J.M. Sasson; New York: Scribner's, 1995), II, pp. 2411-19 (2411).

74. On 'Abdi-Aširta and Aziru, the rulers of Amurru, see Y. Goren, I. Finkelstein and N. Na'aman, 'The Expansion of the Kingdom of Amurru according to the Petrographic Investigation of the Amarna Tablets', *BASOR* 329 (2003), pp. 2-11; H. Klengel, 'Aziru von Amurru und seine Rolle in der Geschichte der Amarnazeit', *MIO* 10 (1964), pp. 57-83; A. Altman, 'The Revolutions in Byblos and Amurru during the Amarna Period and their Social Background', *Bar-Ilan Studies in History* (ed. P. Artzi; Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1978), pp. 3-24.

princes and city lords designate as their principal enemies.[75] The land of Amurru is located north of Byblos in the mountain region between the Mediterranean coast and the Orontes valley. The region was covered with forests and unsuitable for agriculture. The term *amurru* means the 'west' in Akkadian and stands for the coastal area along the Mediterranean as seen by the peoples living in the east, in Mesopotamia. The warlords in that region were 'Abdi-Aširta and his sons, among whom Aziru became the chief warlord after the death of his father. The letters of Rib-Hadda of Byblos inform us that some inhabitants of the city of Byblos and of Ammiya (already mentioned in Idrimi's account above) joined the ^{lú}GAZ^{meš} (*'apiru*) and were in league with the Amurru enemies who sought more power. The people from Amurru recruited local farmers, the Ḫupšu, and encouraged them to rebel against their chiefs and lords. The correspondence of Rib-Hadda reflects the power struggle for control of the region in this northern part of the land of Canaan.[76]

According to a series of letters (EA 74, 76, 79, 82, 84, etc.), the warlord 'Abdi-Aširta of Amurru[77] appealed to the *'apiru* mercenaries and gave the Amurru region an important position among the city states of the Levant.[78]

In EA 76.17-29 Rib-Hadda writes to the pharaoh describing the military action of 'Abdi-Aširta: 'He has just gathered together all the *'apiru* against Šigata [and] Ampi, and [h]e himself has taken these two cities. [*I s*]*aid*, "There is no place where [me]n can enter against him. He has seized' [...] .... , [so] send me [a garris]on of 400 men *a*[*nd* x pairs of h]orses with all speed".'

The figure of 400 men is reminiscent of the number of men in David's troop about to attack Nabal's domain (1 Sam. 25.13). David continued to employ mercenaries in his army. Beside Uriah the Hittite, one reads

75. W.L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); M. Chaney, 'Ancient Palestinian Peasant Movements and the Formation of Premonarchical Israel', in *Palestine in Transition: The Emergence of Ancient Israel* (ed. D.N. Freedman and D.F. Graf; Sheffield: Almond Press, 1983), pp. 39-90.

76. G.W. Ahlström, 'Administration of the State in Canaan and Ancient Israel', in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (ed. J.M. Sasson; New York: Scribner's, 1995), I, pp. 587-603 (589).

77. G. Dossin, 'Amurru, dieu cananéen', in *Symbolae biblicae et mesopotamicae F.M. Th. de Liagre Böhl dedicatae* (ed. M.A. Beek; Leiden: Brill 1973), pp. 95-98 (96), considered the god Amurru as being specifically Canaanite. On the religion of the Amorites, see now J.-M. Durand, 'La religion amorrite en Syrie à l'époque des archives de Mari', in *Mythologie et religion des Sémites occidentaux* (ed. G. del Olmo Lete; OLA, 162; Louvain: Peeters, 2008), pp. 161-722.

78. H. Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausen v. u. Z.* II. *Mittel- und Südsyrien* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1969), II, pp. 247-250: 'Abdiaširta und die Ḫāpiru'.

about the faithful service of Ittai the Gittite[79] and other foreign troops that serve in his employ: the Cherethites, the Pelethites and the Gittites. These mercenaries followed David when he had to leave Jerusalem after Absalom's rebellion. Again, the figures are significant as they match those in other ancient Near Eastern documents of the times. The Gittites are described as a troop of '600 men who came to [David's] side from Gath' (2 Sam. 15.18).

Another letter (EA 71.16-22) reveals the composition of 'Abdi-Aširta's troops, 'What is 'Abdi-Aširta, servant and dog, that takes the land of the king for himself? What is his auxiliary force that it is strong? Through the *'apiru* his auxiliary force is strong!'

Geographically even closer to David, Lab'ayu from Shechem, together with his sons and with the help of the *'apiru* mercenaries, transformed their city located at the center of the land of Canaan into a powerful stronghold (EA 244 Lab'ayu about to seize Megiddo; 246.6 the sons of Lab'ayu have paid money to the *'apiru* mercenaries and the Sutean nomads in order to fight against Biridya the ruler of Megiddo; 243.21 'And the warring of the *'apiru* in the land is seve[re]').

The *'apiru* attract entire villages or groups from city-states who join their ranks (EA 74.21,36; 76.33-37; 77.28; 79.10,20,26; 81.13; 104.52-54; 111.17-21; 116.37).[80] Occasionally entire regions join the *'apiru* (EA 104.51-53; 144.24-26,29; 272.10-17; 273.12-14; 290.12). Some rulers also join their ranks and not only the lower social classes (EA 148.41-43). One must admit, however, that in some of these letters we might be dealing with hyperbole. Moreover, there is a tendency to use the term *'apiru* as a slur presenting the city as being full of *'apiru* and with its leader having gone over to the *'apiru*. The value of the historical information should, therefore, be judged independently for each letter. The *'apiru* are involved in military attacks and threaten the security of cities, and the goal of their attacks is to snatch control of the cities from the local rulers and take them away from Egyptian lordship (EA 68.13,17,18; 73.29,33; 75.10; 76.33-37; 83.16-18; 85.71-79; 87.21; 90.24; 91.4,24; 104.51; 118.37-39; 127.20; 185; 186; 207.21; 215.13-15; 243.20; 288.36-38; 366.12,21). They plunder lands and regions (EA 286.56; 313.5; 318.11). The *'apiru* also sell their military services to various local kinglets and fight for the

79. J.L. Wright, 'Between Nation and State in the Book of Samuel: The Case of Ittai the Gittite', in *Making a Difference: Essays on the Bible and Judaism in Honor of T.C. Eskenazi* (ed. D.J.A. Clines, K.H. Richards and J.L. Wright; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2012), pp. 343-52.

80. W. Zwickel, 'Der Beitrag der Ḫabiru zur Entstehung des Königtums', *UF* 28 (1996), pp. 751-66. The author interprets the Jephthah story in Judg. 10.6–12.7 and that of David against Nabal in 1 Samuel 25 in light of the behavior of *ḫabiru / 'apiru* groups of mercenaries as reflected in Amarna texts. David's 400 + 200 men would be one such group.

political causes of the latter (EA 76.17; 132.19-21; 195.27; 246.5-10). The kinglets reward the *'apiru* for the services rendered by giving them lands (EA 287.31; 289.21-24).

This feature of the *'apiru* resembles certain periods of David's career. Reckoning that Saul's superior forces would one day catch up with him, David opted to place his life in the hands of the Philistine king Achish, who received him as a vassal and granted him Ziklag as a dwelling place (1 Sam. 27.1-7). David became the personal bodyguard of a Philistine warlord (1 Sam. 28.2). Achish commanded him and his men to accompany the Philistine army into battle against Israel (1 Sam. 29.1). When the other Philistine warlords protested the wisdom of this decision, David returned to Ziklag and was spared the final confrontation with Saul and his countrymen. At Mt Gilboa, the Israelites were defeated by the Philistines, and Saul perished on the battlefield together with his sons Jonathan, Abinadab and Malchishua (1 Sam. 31.2).

6. *David, Nabal and Abigail in 1 Samuel 25 in Light of Ancient Near Eastern Hospitality Customs*

As far as David's conduct toward Nabal in 1 Samuel 25 is concerned, one could propose the presence of a literary *topos* based on an ancient Near Eastern hospitality custom that has been breached by Nabal. While the Masoretic text calls Nabal a Calebite (*klby*) (1 Sam. 25.3), the Syriac version plays with the root *klb*, which means 'dog', while the Septuagint renders it with an adjective (*kunikos*) meaning 'dog-like'.[81] The versions show that from earliest times Nabal's rude refusal was perceived as churlish, inhospitable, lacking basic humanity. Nabal is an opulent farmer with three thousand sheep and a thousand goats; he offers a feast for his shearers yet refuses to give food to famished outsiders. He does not respect the ancient custom of hospitality, which is sacred to Orientals. Moreover, when in 1 Sam. 25.7 David's envoys say to Nabal, 'nothing of theirs (Nabal's shepherds' flocks) was missing', repeated in v. 16, 'they were a wall around us both night and day', and in v. 21, the statements imply initially favorable contact between David's men and those of Nabal.[82] Ancient Near Eastern literature has numerous references to a ritual of hospitality, with a highly

81. Our word 'cynical' is derived from this Greek term.

82. However, according to R. Alter, *The David Story: A Translation with Commentary of 1 and 2 Samuel* (New York: Norton, 1999), p. 153, '[T]here is a certain ambiguity as to whether David was providing protection out of sheer good will or conducting a protection racket in order to get the necessary provisions for his guerilla band'.

coded pattern of behavior (*The Myth of Adapa*[83]; *Ištar's Descent to the Netherworld*[84]; *Gilgameš* epic tablet 2, where the wild man from the steppe Enkidu becomes used to urban life;[85] *Inana and Enki*, and *Nergal and Ereškigal*).[86] When Adapa arrives in heaven (Fragment B: 29′-32′) he is offered food, water, a clean garment, and oil for anointing, items which stand for the lowest common denominators of humanity and are also traditional tokens of hospitality.[87]

As J.-J. Glassner pointed out (see below), this 'anthropology of honor' linked to rites of hospitality permitting outsiders to integrate a community usually assumes the following pattern: (1) an exchange of conventional words, carefully avoiding to offend the other party—something that David and his men practiced but Nabal did not; (2) food, drink and conviviality—elements that Nabal categorically refused; (3) the occasion of a toast often becomes a prelude to a challenge followed by a confrontation or verbal joust. Its goal is to judge the newcomer according to the norms of the community. His strength, courage, quick wit, or any other quality may be put to the test. It is followed by an agreement and the acceptance of the newcomer.[88] In the article below, M. Garsiel's analysis of the exchange between Nabal and David reveals the presence of a subtle verbal joust. Nabal's behavior reflects the outright rejection of extending any form of hospitality to David and his men.

In the myth of *Nergal and Ereškigal*, god Ea warns Erra/Nergal against accepting anything offered to him in the netherworld as part of the hospitality extended to him as a guest in order to prevent him from being adopted by the realm of the dead. In this composition, the hospitality custom starts with food and ends with sex. M. Hutter has pointed out

83. T. Jacobsen, 'The Investiture and Anointing of Adapa', *AJSL* 46 (1930), pp. 201-203.

84. A. Draffkorn Kilmer, 'How Was Queen Ereshkigal Tricked? A New Interpretation of the Descent of Ishtar', *UF* 3 (1971), pp. 299-309.

85. A. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic* (2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), I, pp. 159-92.

86. G. Farber-Flügge, *Der Mythos 'Inanna und Enki' unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Liste der m e* (Studia Pohl, 10; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1973).

87. S.A. Picchioni, *Il poemetto di Adapa* (Assyriologia, 6; Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 1981), pp. 66-71; M. Liverani, 'Adapa hospite degli dei', in *Religioni e civilità: Scritti in memoria di Angelo Brelich* (ed. V. Lanternari, M. Massenzio and D. Sabbatucci; Bari: Dedalo, 1982), pp. 239-319 (308-11); S. Izre'el, *Adapa and the South Wind: Language Has the Power of Life and Death* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2001), p. 137, argues that these items are directly related to a rite of recovery from mourning.

88. J.-J. Glassner, 'L'hospitalité en Mésopotamie ancienne: Aspect de la question de l'étranger', *ZA* 80 (1990), pp. 60-75.

the semantic relationship between eating and sexual relationship in the text's use of the verb *šebû*, 'to become sated, to be satisfied'.[89]

Erra/Nergal should not sit on a chair offered to him as a guest; when offered food and meat he should not eat; the beer offered to him he should not drink; and the water to wash his feet he should refuse. The queen Ereškigal will offer herself to him for sex, which he should refuse (STT I § 28 ii 39′-48′). Ea warned him expressly, '(When) she (Ereškigal) has been to the bath, and dressed herself in a fine dress, allowing you to glimpse her body.... You must not [do that which] men and women [do]'.[90] Accepting any of these would make him remain in the netherworld forever, the place being the land of no return. While in the shorter (only 88 lines) fourteenth-century BCE Amarna version of the myth, Erra/Nergal becomes ruler of the netherworld by offending Ereškigal and using violence. In the longer version (about 400 lines), dating from the seventh century BCE, he achieves the same through a love affair.[91]

In the Amarna version, Erra/Nergal was supposed to be punished for having offended the messenger of Ereškigal. The great goddess of the netherworld demands that Erra/Nergal be sent to her to be killed (l. 27: *ana mūti*). Instead, she ends up making him her husband (l. 82: *ana muti*). The pun between the first word with a long (ū) and the second word with a short (u) expresses the gist of the entire epic. For the ancient Semitic world, this was more than just a simple wordplay; such assonance between words served to express deep underlying realities. The same worldview is reflected in the Hebrew narratives as, for example, in the story of Babel in Gen. 11.9, which contains a wordplay between the name of the city *Bābel* and the word *bālal*, meaning 'confusion'.[92] Aided by Ea's advice, Erra/Nergal reaches the netherworld accompanied by a troop of seven demons, personifications of plagues, who take up positions at each of the seven netherworld gates. With their help he makes a rush to kill Ereškigal, overpowers her and, becoming

89. M. Hutter, *Altorientalische Vorstellungen von der Unterwelt: Literar- und religionsgeschichtliche Überlegungen zu 'Nergal und Ereškigal'* (OBO, 63; Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag, 1985), p. 84. In his detailed study of the myth, Hutter focuses on the subtleties of the language in discussing the erotic components of food and drink, the motif of seductive bathing and the sexuality between the netherworld deities.

90. S. Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia: Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh and Others* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 168.

91. The Late-Assyrian version comes from Sultantepe. Ereškigal means 'The Mistress of the Great Land'; J. Bottéro and S.N. Kramer, *Lorsque les dieux faisaient l'homme* (Paris: Gallimard, 1989), pp. 437-64.

92. For a systematic analysis of such wordplays in the Hebrew Bible and their origin in the so-called Babylonian Hermeneutics, see D. Bodi, *Israël et Juda à l'ombre des Babyloniens et des Perses* (Paris: de Boccard, 2010), ch. 9: 'L'influence de l'herméneutique babylonienne sur les écrits bibliques', pp. 177-207.

her husband, remains thereafter as the king of that realm. In the description of Erra/Nergal's seizing power over a foreign realm, three times the verb *ṣabātu* 'to seize' is used: he seized Ereškigal by her hair; she negotiated a solution by offering to let him seize the rule over her domain; and finally he seized and kissed her as he agreed to marry her. Yet the use of the verb *ṣabātu* could only remind the reader/listener of the idiom *kussâm ṣabātu* 'to usurp the throne'.[93]

There are two passages in the Late-Assyrian version of the myth of *Nergal and Ereškigal* that describe Erra/Nergal's visit to Ereškigal, which ends in lovemaking. Initially, Erra/Nergal is an outsider god as far as the realm of the netherworld is concerned. On the first visit, of which many lines are missing, Nergal apparently heeds Ea's advice. But after a break in the text, the goddess is found stripping for her bath, and Erra/Nergal lets himself be seduced by her sight but in a calculated manner. The first time he is careful to make love to her for only six days, and on the seventh day he tricks her and escapes from her embrace. Vanishing from her sight he returns to his earthly realm. The second time, however, he stays, making love to her for seven days, completing a fateful cycle.[94] That is when the god Anu decrees that Erra/Nergal has become the ruler of the netherworld. The second passage in the Sultantepe version of the myth (vi:35-42) begins with the phrase 'And he went up to her and laughed', where *ṣaḫû* 'to laugh' has a sexual connotation, anticipating what is soon to come. The rest of the passage reads as follows,[95]

[*i*]*nnadrū-ma aḫḫū killallān īterb*[*ū-ma*]	They embraced one another
ana mayyāli šitmuriš	and passionately they got into bed together.
⌜I-*en*⌝= *ištēn ūma* ⌜II-*a*⌝=*šanâ ūma*	A first day and second day they
⌜*ṣallū-ma šar*⌝*rat Ereš*[*kigal u Er*]*ra*	made love, Queen Ereškigal and Erra;

93. R. Harris, *Gender and Aging in Mesopotamia: The Gilgamesh Epic and Other Ancient Literature* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), pp. 129-46: 'Gender and Sexuality in the Myth of Nergal and Ereshkigal' (133).

94. D. Freedman, 'Counting Formulae in the Akkadian Epics', *JANESCU* 2 (1970–71), pp. 65-81 (74-75).

95. O. Gurney, 'The Sultantepe Tablets: VII, The Myth of Nergal and Ereshkigal', *AnSt* 10 (1960), pp. 105-31 (131). This myth was initially discovered in Tell El-Amarna, where, together with the Adapa legend, it served as an Akkadian school text. While in the Amarna version Nergal becomes ruler of the netherworld through violence, in the Sultantepe version he achieves the same through a love affair. In Hebrew the term *ṣḥq/śḥq* 'to laugh' can also have a sexual connotation; see Bodi, *The Michal Affair*, pp. 47-49.

III-*šá*= *šalša ūma* [KI.MIN]	a third day, idem.
*IV-*a rebâ* [*ūma* KI.MIN]	a fourth day, idem.
⌜V-*šá* = *ḫanša ūma*⌝ [KI.MIN]	a fifth day, idem.
[VI-*šá šešša ūma* KI.MIN]	a sixth day, idem.
[VII-*u sebû ūmu*] *ina kašādi*	When the seventh day arrived,
[*Anu pâ-šu īpuš*]-*ma iqabbi*	Anu opened his mouth and said
[*ana Kaka sukkallī-šu*]	Speaking a word to his vizier Kaka
amat izzakkara	

Even in this sexual form of hospitality there is a definite code, a certain number of critical days after which the newcomer is accepted and adopted. In this case, it is the decisive and symbolic number seven. On the seventh day, Anu, the supreme god of the Babylonian pantheon, decrees that Erra/Nergal may stay in the 'world of no return' (kur-nu-gi$_4$= *erṣetu lā târi*) and reign there as the lord of death together with Ereškigal, his female counterpart.

Referring to the *Myth of Adapa* and to *Ištar's Descent*, A.D. Kilmer points out that the initial contact is crucial. If leniency is gained through manipulation of hospitality rules with flattery or humble supplication, the host will be bound to offer protection to the guest. The leniency consists in a friendly smile if not in a direct salutation. In the case of David and Nabal, 1 Sam. 25.7, 15-16, 21 imply initially favorable contact between David's men and those of Nabal. 'The salutation is as good as uttering an oath inasmuch as it commits the speaker. This is why a Bedouin may be silent to a stranger, or will question him before offering a salutation, and this is why a stranger may first approach a small child, for once the child has returned the salutation, the family may stand bound by the rule of hospitality.'[96] If this comparison is correct, Nabal would have been bound to respond favorably to the request of David's men, because his own shepherds had already practiced some form of bonding. David sends ten messengers with the specific salutation, 'Peace (*šlm*) be to you, and peace be to your house and peace be to all that you have' (v. 6) and with the request for hospitality, that is, food and protection. David expected to receive these in return since he himself had, in the past, given hospitality and protection to Nabal's shepherds. Nabal's violent refusal is a breach of the traditional rules of hospitality. Abigail, however, having heard of David's plan to destroy Nabal and all that is his, rushes out to meet David and his retinue with all the trappings of hospitality: bread, wine, meat, grain and fruit. In v. 28 she says, 'Forgive the offense (*pš'*) of your handmaid'. The term is highly significant since it is used for the transgression of covenants taken under oath (Hos. 8.1; Jer. 3.13). In Amos 5.12, one commits a *pš'* 'when turning away a needy person at the gate' (v. 13).

96. Draffkorn Kilmer, 'How Was Queen Ereshkigal Tricked'?, p. 306.

In the concluding verses of 1 Samuel 25, we find David attempting to increase his power by marrying the widow of a high-ranking member of the clan that controlled Hebron (v. 42), as well as another woman from nearby Jezreel (v. 43). The fact that Abigail arrives riding on a donkey and has no fewer than five ladies-in-waiting (1 Sam. 25.42) points out that Nabal, her first husband, was no commoner. J. Levenson assumes that Nabal was the *r'š byt 'b* or *nśy'* of the Calebite clan, a status to which David lays claim through his marriage to Nabal's wife. 'It may well be that David picked a quarrel with Nabal with precisely such a marriage in mind'.[97] The political import of David's marriages has already been recognized by Levenson and Halpern.[98] David seems to pursue a well-defined political plan of action. From a geographical point of view he occupies important territory. Hebron is a religious capital of Israel associated with the tombs of the patriarchs and the matriarchs (cf. above, A. Lemaire's article). Later, Absalom fomented his *coup d'état* against David from the historic capital Hebron, enjoining the messengers to proclaim, 'Absalom has become king at Hebron!' (2 Sam. 15.7-11). David already did something similar with respect to Saul. By settling in Hebron, the way was paved for David to become a prominent figure in the heartland of Judah. Abigail and Ahinoam constitute the beginning of David's 'royal economics of women'[99] to which other women are soon added. He now appears as an Oriental potentate. David's wives in Hebron provide him with his first sons (2 Sam. 3.2-23). The idea of securing a sufficient number of sons as potential successors is already present in David's political action.

97. J.D. Levenson, '1 Samuel 25 as Literature and as History', *CBQ* 40 (1978), pp. 11-28 (27).

98. J.D. Levenson and B. Halpern, 'The Political Import of David's Marriages', *JBL* 99 (1980), pp. 507-18. The authors assume that Abigail, Nabal's wife, was in fact David's sister. Accordingly, in the course of tradition transmission, this fact was suppressed because it placed David in the position of an adulterer (an incestuous one at that) and deflated David's royal designation (p. 516). The value of this suggestion is limited because of too many assumptions. They assume that Ahinoam the Jezreelite was in fact Saul's wife (1 Sam. 14.50), whom David took from Saul and married first before marrying Abigail. They argue that this represents the background of Nathan's remark that Yhwh gave David Saul's wives along with the kingship in 2 Sam. 12.8. See, however, B. Halpern, *David's Secret Demons* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004), p. 288: 'Ahinoam is probably Saul's wife or descendant. David took her later than is usually assumed.'

99. This expression corresponds better to the Northwest Semitic and Hebrew reality while the term 'harem' is inappropriate. This entire issue will be dealt with in my final monograph on *Abishag and David's Royal Economics of Women.* J. Goodnick Westenholz, 'Toward a New Conceptualization of the Female Role in Mesopotamian Society', *JAOS* 110 (1990), pp. 510-21 (514), pointed out that the term 'harem' suits the Ottoman world but is highly problematic when speaking of Northwest Semitic social realities pertaining to women.

Conclusion

We can draw an additional conclusion from the parallel with sexual forms of hospitality as described in the myth of *Nergal and Erškigal*. If this piece of ancient Near Eastern literature can be taken as an external chronological check, the older Amarna version speaks of Erra/Nergal taking power through violence while the Late-Assyrian, seventh-century BCE version describes how Erra/Nergal seizes power over another realm through a story of seduction and love. Significantly, the Abigal, Nabal and David story combines both aspects as it begins with violence and ends with marriage. From the point of view of comparative ancient Near Eastern literature, the dating of the Hebrew narrative in 1 Samuel 25 with the breach of the hospitality could be placed in the span between the ninth and the seventh centuries BCE, most probably in the eighth century BCE. The scribes at Hezekiah's court in Jerusalem (Prov. 25.1) are credited for the literary work on the compilation of Proverbs 25–29.[100] The Siloam inscription, dating from the time of Hezekiah, attests to the use of writing to mark important public events. It is also the time when the first fusion of the Northern and Southern traditions might have occurred after the fall of Samaria and Northern Israel. This date seems more appropriate in light of what we know about writing in ancient Israel. The Moabites, Israel's tiny neighbors, were already writing a lengthy commemorative Mesha stele in 850 BCE. However, it is less probable that any major writing existed in ancient Israel in the tenth century BCE since the direction of the Hebrew writing was not yet fixed at that time. In the Gezer calendar, dating from the same century, the writing is from right to left, while in the Khirbet Qeiyafa ostracon the writing is from left to right.[101]

The historical study of the period of Saul and David has to consider the events, notions, ideologies, circumstances and processes that are reflected in the biblical narratives, be they in brief anecdotes, conven-

100. The verse in Prov. 25.1 refers to wisdom writing and 1 Samuel 25 deals with the wisdom of a resourceful woman.

101. G. Galil, 'The Hebrew Inscription from Khirbet Qeiyafa/Neta'im', *UF* 41 (2009), pp. 193-242; E. Puech, 'L'ostracon de Khirbet Qeyafa et les débuts de la royauté en Israël', *RB* 17 (2010), pp. 162-84 (171). The Khirbet Qeiyafa ostracon was found in 2008 in the Shephelah, in a site identified with Sha'araim (in Hebrew 'Two Gates') because of the two gates found in the remains of the Elah fortress (Josh. 15.36; 1 Sam. 17.52). According to Puech, the Khirbet Qeiyafa ostracon represents the earliest known text relating to the establishment of some form of administration of the Israelite society, likely referring to the installation of the first tribal chieftain, Saul. Carbon-14 dating places the potsherd at the end of the eleventh, beginning of the tenth century BCE. Puech reads the text from left to right.

tional descriptions, traditional ancient Near Eastern literary motives or schematic representations. Moreover, as shown by a number of Mari parallels with the later Hebrew customs from the time of Saul and David, later compilation, composition or redaction does not rule out the preservation of earlier material useful for historical studies. Semi-nomadic societies show a remarkable conservatism in preserving ancient customs. 'In this respect it has to be borne in mind that tangible, realistic elements, even if found in anachronistic descriptions or frameworks, (may) reflect realities on which they were modeled'.[102]

David, with his heterogeneous troop of six hundred warriors (1 Sam. 22.2), appears as a traditional leader of *'apiru* mercenaries. He fits the manner of taking power in the ancient Near East since the Middle Bronze Age, the time of tribal leaders and warlords in the Northwest Semitic region. His seizing of political power resembles that of the Amorite warlord Zimrī-Līm in the eighteenth century BCE, Idrimi of Alalaḫ in the mid-fourteenth century BCE and 'Abdi-Aširta of Amurru and Rib-Hadda of Byblos also in the fourteenth century BCE.

The narratives about David's wars and loves, despite legendary claims by some scholars, seem to reflect authentic historical reminiscence of a stage when ancient Israelite semi-nomadic chieftains were fighting for political supremacy and subsequently becoming sedentary, adopting urban mores and lifestyles.

102. Z. Kallai, 'Biblical Narrative and History. A Programmatic Review', *WZKM* 96 (2006), pp 133-57 (137); J. Uziel and I. Shai, 'Iron Age Jerusalem: Temple-Palace, Capital City', *JAOS* 127 (2007), pp. 161-70.

4

Women and Hospitality Customs in the Ancient Near East

Jean-Jacques Glassner

Mesopotamia is a place of meeting. Disparate strands of heterogeneous populations come into contact, communicate and interact throughout the three millennia of ancient Mesopotamian history. The people that live there are not confined to living in insular communities, ignoring others. Sudden conflicts crop up, occasionally giving rise to murderous and bloody encounters. The soil of this region is drenched with the blood of numerous battles. At the same time, however, the large gamut of interactions opens the way to the possibility of social exchange and establishes complicities in customs, social practices and modes of thought.

In the midst of the multiple social constructions that historians elaborate on ancient Mesopotamia, one discerns the eminent place occupied by the feminine gender, although it is often neglected by researchers.[1]

The *Epic of Gilgameš* provides three clearly differentiated female characters.[2] First, there is the courtesan who is emancipated with respect to her body and allowed to freely move in the public domain. While liberated from constraints, her social status is, nevertheless, deprecated.

1. J. Asher-Grave, *Frauen in altsumerischer Zeit* (BM, 18; Malibu, CA: Undena, 1985); J. Asher-Grave, 'Stepping into the Maelstrom: Women, Gender and Ancient Near Eastern Scholarship', *NIN—Journal of Gender Studies in Antiquity* 1 (2000), pp. 1-22; Z. Bahrani, *Women of Babylon: Gender and Representation in Mesopotamia* (London; Routledge, 2001).

2. R. Harris, 'Images of Women in the Gilgamesh Epic', in *Lingering over Words: Studies in Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran* (ed. T. Abusch, J. Huehnergard and P. Steinkeller; HSS, 37; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1990), pp. 219-30; R. Harris, 'Inanna-Ishtar as Paradox and a Coincidence of Opposites', *History of Religions* 30 (1991), pp. 261-78; R. Harris, *Gender and Aging in Mesopotamia: The Gilgamesh Epic and Other Ancient Literature* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000).

She is ordinarily a devotee of the goddess Inanna-Ištar. Second, one finds the character of the faithful spouse, who reserves herself for her sole husband, is devoted to her children and is protected by her dress, by the door of her home and by a series of laws. Third, there is the character of the goddess Inanna-Ištar, who is free from any male guardianship, who chooses for herself her husbands and lovers, abandoning them when she so desires by degrading them or handing them over to death. By her own admission, she is a woman in the world of gods. This trait marks her personality. The ancient Mesopotamians see her as mistress of her body, freed from the limitations of maternity. Years later, Gustave Flaubert would meet her in Wâdi Halfa, in Egypt, and describe her with the traits of a courtesan, Kuchuk Hanem. She is the corrupting agent, bound to be sterile. In other words, she is a femme fatale; she is a maiden, a dancer, but also an educated woman quoting poetry. Even later, Julia Kristeva would deny monotheism the power to eliminate all feminine figures in the interest of a single God, seeing in the Madonna with child the return of the ancient Oriental goddess.

In Mesopotamia, the rules of hospitality stipulate that every newly arrived foreigner in a city should be dressed with festive clothes and fed at a banquet offered in his honor. This is followed with a normative contest between him and his hosts, ending with a winner and a loser. The confrontation can take different forms, either as a wrestling or as an oratory joust.[3] With four parts to the confrontation, we are in the presence of four constitutive elements of a hospitality code, which has been pointed out by Julian Pitt-Rivers for the eastern part of the Mediterranean seaboard.[4]

1. A banquet is offered in order to celebrate the arrival of the stranger, and food, drink and some convivial moments are shared.
2. The stranger is put to the test in an attempt to gauge his strength.
3. A form of confrontation or verbal joust tests his depth.
4. The competition ends with a peaceful conclusion.

The *Epic of Gilgameš* presents one such story in which a woman is present. The main protagonists, as we know, are the king of Uruk, who gave his name to the epic, and his companion, Enkidu. Gilgameš is described as a tyrant who abuses his subjects with his extraordinary physical force.

3. J.-J. Glassner, 'L'hospitalité en Mésopotamie ancienne: Aspect de la question de l'étranger', ZA 80 (1990), pp. 60-75; J.-J. Glassner, 'L'accueil de l'hôte en Mésopotamie ancienne', in *Voyages et voyageurs au Proche-Orient ancien* (Actes du Colloque de Cartigny 1988; Les Cahiers du CEPOA; Louvain: Peeters, 1995), pp. 77-90.

4. J. Pitt-Rivers, *Anthropologie de l'honneur: La mésaventure de Sichem* (Paris: Hachette, 1983).

In order to remedy this situation, the gods deliberate in their council and decide to create a rival. That is how Enkidu is born, a creature from the steppe, the progeny of a wild donkey and a gazelle, two animals that symbolize the wild life of the steppe in the imaginary world of ancient Mesopotamians. Enkidu eats grass, which he grazes on the ground, and drinks milk that he sucks directly at gazelles' teats. This hulky guy is the leader of his herd, which he protects by tearing away the nets dressed by hunters and by filling in the holes they have dug. A decision was made to capture Enkidu, and a plan was formulated: he was to be initiated into pleasure with the female sex. Enkidu is given over to the care of a courtesan named the Joyful One, and her intervention is a success. As soon as he is sexually initiated, the herd turns away from Enkidu, and the woman clothes the wild man with a part of her dress in order to bring him to the shepherd's hut where he is offered a meal. Elena Cassin has shown how, owing to the courtesan's decisive intervention, Enkidu's life progressively takes the side of civilization.[5] His initiation into the life of human society does not stop there. He remains a stranger to the inhabitants of the city of Uruk and still needs to go through the subsequent stages that will allow him to become a full member of this community. Several episodes follow that are apparently unrelated beyond being successive in time, the first one following the last step of his initiation into civilized life:

1. He is offered a meal made out of bread and beer when he reaches the hut of the shepherds accompanied by the courtesan.
2. He is revolted by the news he receives concerning Gilgameš, who exercises an extraordinary privilege of a sexual nature, the so-called *ius primae noctis*.[6]

5. E. Cassin, *Le semblable et le différent: Symbolisme du pouvoir dans le Proche-Orient ancien* (Paris: La Découverte, 1987), pp. 36-49.

6. B. Landsberger, 'Jungfräulichkeit: Ein Beitrag zum Thema "Beilager und Eheschliessung"', in *Symbolae iuridicae et historicae M. David dedicatae* (ed. J.A. Ankum, R. Feenstra and W.F. Leemans; Leiden: Brill, 1968), pp. 41-105, suggested the existence of a collective marriage where each man chose his spouse and where Gilgameš had the priority on the chosen bride. See also A. Finet, 'La lute entre Gilgamesh et Enkidu', in *Tablettes et images aux pays de Sumer et d'Akkad: Mélanges offerts à Monsieur H. Limet* (ed. Ö: Tunca and D. Deheselle; Liège: Université de Liège, 1996), pp. 45-50 (46): 'Le roi d'Uruk jouit du "droit de cuissage"'; J.H. Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), p. 182: 'It seems clear that the Old Babylonian version (Gilg. P) mentions the *ius primae noctis*'; A. Westenholz and Ulla Koch-Westenholz, 'Enkidu—the Noble Savage?', in *Wisdom, Gods and Literature: Studies in Assyriology in Honour of W.G. Lambert* (ed. A.R. George and I.L. Finkel; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2000), pp. 437-51 (441, *ius primae noctis*).

3. He confronts Gilgameš in a single combat.
4. The two adversaries eventually become friends.

The stages that Enkidu undergoes in order to achieve integration into the Uruk community strikingly resemble those described by J. Pitt-Rivers. In the case of Enkidu, however, we note the central role occupied by the female sex. The discovery of sexual pleasure with a woman causes the herd to turn away from him and makes him aspire to live in another kind of society. The discovery of the right of sexual privilege, which Gilgameš exercises over his subjects—the power to enjoy the bride on the wedding night before her husband—makes him discover another type of sexual relationship that he does not yet know and that he too would like to experience.

It is, therefore, a genuine challenge that he is confronted with when an unknown man heading to the wedding banquet informs him of the link that exists between marriage and the *ius primae noctis*. Enkidu decides to confront Gilgameš, the beneficiary of this particular sexual privilege, in a single combat. The form of the combat is not without importance because, as pointed out by J. Pitt-Rivers, the test of 'bravery' should correspond to the 'need to gauge' the stranger according to the 'norms of the community'.

The combat that opposes Enkidu and Gilgameš takes place at the doorway (*bābu*) of the wedding chamber. We know how the combat ends: Gilgameš is the winner.[7] One should bear in mind, however, that

For the mention of this practice in rabbinic sources see S. Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-fshuṭah: A Comprehensive Commentary on the Tosefta.* VI. *Order Nashim* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1967), VI, pp. 186-87, and S. Lieberman, *The Tosefta (The Order of Mo'ed)* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1969), I, 1. On the opinion that it represents a fantasy of the moderns, see A. Boureau, *The Lord's First Night: The Myth of the Droit de cuissage* (trans. L.G. Cochrane; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998). However, see M. Sahlins, *Islands of History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), passim.

7. At the end of the wrestling contest, Gilgameš has a knee bent while his other foot is on the ground, an explicit allusion to the attitude of the winner as it appears, for example, in the glyptic representations from Old Babylonian times. Another translation of this passage was suggested by A. Finet, 'La lute entre Gilgamesh et Enkidu', p. 50, for whom Enkidu has his knee bent while Gilgameš has his foot on the ground, the expression meaning that he was still standing upright, unvanquished. He adduces the sequence of analogous phrases in the epic, where the enclitic *-ma* functions as a conjunction of coordination marking a concomitant action. Among the examples of coordinated propositions, which he adduces in order to bolster his translation, there is never a change of subject: the same person is always the subject of both coordinated propositions. One should remember, however, that in his dream, Gilgameš sees a stone that fell from the sky and that he is unable to lift, which does not square with the solu-

the two heroes engaged in a normative combat, as indicated by the wording of the *Epic*: 'Gilgameš and Enkidu grappled each other, bending their backs like experienced wrestlers' (*Gilg.* II vi 222).[8] In other words, Enkidu has to rise to the occasion, take up the challenge and wrestle with Gilgameš, the leader of the Uruk community. He must conform to the rules that govern Uruk society, illustrated by the rules of wrestling. The recent work of Jan Keetman shows that wrestling was an art practiced by young people in Uruk.[9] He adduces the evidence from a text known as, 'Astrolabe B', which indicates that in the month of Abu, the gods Šamaš and Gibil wrestle in a single combat and that 'during nine days, the young people are engaging in athletic contests *ina* KÁ.ME/*-ú-nu*/KÁ.NE.NE, 'in their doorways'. Other allusions to ritualized combat taking place between the two door jambs are found in the Sumerian account of the death of Gilgameš;[10] in this case, it is a matter of honoring the dead.

Having lost the wrestling contest, Enkidu has not proven his capability of integrating into Uruk society. On the contrary, he displayed his inferiority. His future and his very life are in the hands of the one who vanquished him in the contest; the possibility of his being executed is real. Had the situation been reversed, Gilgameš would have risked his life, allowing Enkidu to become the king of Uruk. It is in this sense that one should understand Enkidu's declaration as he submits to Gilgameš, 'as one unique your mother bore you, the wild cow of the fold, Ninsunna. You are exalted over warriors: the kingship of the people Enlil fixed as your lot' (*Gilg.* II vi 234-38).[11]

tion offered by A. Finet. His translation was not taken up by the recent editor of the epic, A.R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic* (2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), I, p. 181.

8. A.R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, I, p. 181, translates the line in Gilg II iv 222, ^{d}GIŠ *ù* ⌜^{d}*en*⌝*-ki-du*$_{10}$ *iṣ-ṣa-ab-tu-ú-ma ki-ma le-i-im i-lu-du* in the following manner, 'Gilgameš and Enkidu grappled each other, bending their backs like a bull'.

9. J. Keetman, 'Der Kampf im Haustor. Eine der Schlüsselszene zum Verstandnis des Gilgamesch-Epos', *JNES* 67 (2008), pp. 161-73.

10. A. Cavigneaux and F.N.H. Al-Rawi, *Gilgamesh et la mort. Textes de Tell Haddad VI avec un appendice sur les textes funéraires sumériens* (CM, 19; Groningen: Styx Publications, 2000). On these texts, see Keetman, 'Der Kampf im Haustor,' p. 165, who corrects Cavigneaux's and Al-Rawi's translation.

11. In his dream didn't Gilgameš see the population of Uruk kiss the feet of the object that fell from the sky? According to Keetman, 'Der Kampf im Haustor,' p. 163, the intention of the gods was to give Enkidu the supreme power over Uruk. This interpretation, however, is highly problematic, see R.J. Tournay and A. Shaffer, *L'épopée de Gilgamesh* (LAPO, 15; Paris: Cerf, 1994), p. 60; J. Bottéro, *L'épopée de Gilgamesh: Le grand homme qui ne voulait pas mourir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1992), p. 79.

While in the Sumerian version, Enkidu became the servant of Gilgameš, in the Akkadian version, he becomes the friend. The king of Uruk gives him a place of honor next to himself. He cannot obtain, however, what victory in the contest would have secured him, socialized sexual relations by the bonds of marriage, or, in other words, full integration into Uruk society. He will have to satisfy himself with occasional sexual relationships of the type he experienced with the courtesan. That is the outcome of his being defeated in the contest.

The misadventure of Enkidu is not the fate of god Amurru in the myth bearing his name.[12] The latter, a nomad who lives in the vicinity of the city of Ninab, sells his strength as a worker with the city dwellers in exchange for a meager revenue: a ration of bread for a single man or two loaves for a married one. He receives two rations of bread, and this error in distribution arouses a desire in him to take a wife. He seizes the occasion of a feast to inquire about a prospective wife, participates in the contests and tournaments usual to this type of festival and comes out as a winner in all the contests. As a reward, he asks for and obtains the hand of the daughter of the king. The narrative sequence is clear:

1. A meal is offered, which in this case takes the form of food rations.
2. A challenge is set: the error in the allotted distribution of loaves.
3. Normative contests are organized.
4. The winner of the contest obtains a wife.

In conclusion, we observe that a foreigner who desires to establish himself in a permanent manner within a community must rise to the occasion and accept the challenge, under the risk of being rejected. Once the challenge is accepted, he has the possibility of obtaining a place in the welcoming community. Enkidu, who lost in the contest, failed to become a spouse, a head of the family, an owner, a dignitary; by contrast, he becomes the friend of the king and finds himself under the protection of the head of the community. Owing to this, he is no longer defenseless, although he is without any right.

The woman can play a central role in these procedures by her cunning, beauty, ingenuity, the place she occupies in the society and the concurrent stakes. Her sex is perceived as a place of mediation between two communities, from the external to the internal, from the wild to the civilized, from one social status to another.

12. J. Bottéro and S.N. Kramer, *Lorsque les dieux faisaient l'homme: Mythologie mésopotamienne* (Paris: Gallimard, 1989), pp. 430-37, 'Le Mariage de Martu'; Glassner, 'L'accueil de l'hôte en Mésopotamie ancienne', *passim*; J. Klein, 'The God Martu in Sumerian Literature', in *Sumerian Gods and their Representations* (ed. I.L. Finkel and M.J. Geller; CM, 7: Groningen: Styx, 1997), pp. 99-116.

5

The Story of David, Nabal and Abigail (1 Samuel 25): A Literary Study of Wordplay on Names, Analogies and Socially Structured Opposites

Moshe Garsiel

The story of David, Nabal and Abigail in 1 Samuel 25 is dovetailed in a story cycle pertaining to David's wanderings in the southern region of Saul's kingdom, among towns and villages inhabited by his compatriots from the tribe of Judah.[1] The fact that David musters a whole battalion, his reputation as a hero, his skills as a military commander and the support he enjoys from most of his tribesmen and others prompt King Saul to see in him a formidable rival who has aspirations as well as the power to overthrow his rule and eliminate his dynasty. Hence, despite his constant worries about containing the Philistine threat, the king with his elite troop of three thousands hand-picked warriors keeps pursuing David. Based on intelligence provided by David's enemies, the Calebite clan of the tribe of Judah, he tracks David and his troops in order to eliminate a dangerous rival.

The story in 1 Samuel 25 separates two parallel narratives that depict how Saul and his troops are trailing David and his men in the southeastern region of Mount Hebron. In both instances, David finds himself in an advantageous position where he can eliminate his pursuer—King Saul. Yet, David spares the king's life, and Saul admits David's ethical superiority. A close reading of the Abigail, Nabal and David narrative within the context of chaps. 24 and 26 reveals that the surrounding stories glorify David's moral superiority in comparison with

1. See M. Garsiel, *The Kingdom of David: Studies in History and Inquiries in Historiography* (Tel Aviv: Don, 1975 [Hebrew]), pp. 11-12. For a thorough analysis of David's wanderings, see S. Vargon, 'Saul's Pursuit of David in the Territory of Judah and its Geographic Background', in *Studies in Bible and Exegesis. IX. Presented to Moshe Garsiel* (ed. S. Vargon *et al.*; Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2009 [Hebrew]), pp. 369-92 [Eng. abstract, p. xxi].

the behavior of King Saul. While the king tries to kill his high-ranking officer (David) by various means and on different occasions, David does not allow himself to kill his foe, despite the repeated promptings from his own companions in arms to do so (24.4-7; 26.8-12). His comrades and his companion Abishai, son of Zeruiah (the latter name refers to David's sister), represent common sense: if someone is chasing you in order to kill you, you have the right and even the obligation to eliminate him first in self-defense. However, according to the text, David demonstrates an extraordinary superiority by sparing the life of the 'Lord's anointed'.

The parallel stories serve to elevate David's character and morality to the highest degree. Yet, that is probably the reason why the episode about David's encounter with Nabal was intentionally 'sandwiched' between them. Building on the surrounding story cycle, it establishes an analogy and a stark contrast.[2] The 'implied author' inserted 1 Samuel 25 between the episodes of the two pursuits to show that David does not always behave like an angel full of compassion. While occasionally David can behave as a generous human being, he is, nevertheless, susceptible to give in to sudden impulse and commit a heinous crime when his dispatched young men are insulted by a rich owner, Nabal. David immediately decides to solve the dispute by the sword, that is, by ruthless extermination of his enemy's family, slaves, aids, house and property. Using her intelligence, initiative, beauty, generosity, rhetoric and flattery, Abigail succeeds in preventing the choleric David from carrying out his murderous plan. The three subsequent narratives provide a 'delicate balance' pertaining to David's character and behavior.[3] To be more exact, the binding of those episodes together prods the reader to modify his judgment of both the protagonist (David) and the antagonist (Saul), especially when both rivals have to admit their misbehavior (24.16-41; 25.32-35; 26.21-25). Those three subsequent episodes prove that neither of the first two kings was perfect when confronted with insubordinate or provocative behavior. These narratives, together with the rest of the books of Samuel, convey overt or latent opposition against monarchy and dynasty. They reflect the anti-monarchical view of the second author

2. See J.D. Levenson, '1 Samuel 25 as Literature and as History', *CBQ* 40 (1978), pp. 11-28 (23-24); R.P. Gordon, 'David's Rise and Saul's Demise: Narrative Analogy in 1 Samuel 24–26', *TynB* 31 (1980), pp. 37-64; M. Garsiel, *The First Book of Samuel: A Literary Study of Comparative Structures, Analogies and Parallels* (Ramat Gan: Revivim, 1983 [Hebrew] [an English updated translation: 1985; Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, 2nd edn, 1990]); references are made to the English translations, pp. 122-33; D. Jobling, *1 Samuel* (Berit Olam; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1998), pp. 91-93.

3. On this narrative technique, see M. Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987), pp. 445-75.

of the book of Samuel, who in King Solomon's later years, composed, enlarged and edited an earlier, shorter version of David's story, written by his predecessor in Solomon's earlier years, as I recently suggested.[4]

1 Samuel 25 opens with the setting, describing the geographical location of the three main characters in this story. It immediately follows by more fully introducing two of the main protagonists: Nabal and his wife, Abigail. In the geographical setting, the MT reads: 'David went down to the wilderness of *Paran*' (v. 1).[5] LXX^{B} has here 'Maon', and a few other ancient translations read 'Shimeon'. P. Kyle McCarter notes that the MT version might seem to command authority as *lectio difficilior*, in spite of the fact that Paran appears to be too far away. The story allows one to infer that David and his troops were wandering in the eastern desert of Maon.[6] In my opinion, McCarter's stance should be preferred. One should follow the reading of the MT: 'the wilderness of Paran', meaning the whole area of the Sinai peninsula,[7] probably referring to an earlier stage of David's wanderings. It could have been a precautionary measure he took in reaction to the news of Samuel's death. David prefers to stay for some time out of reach of King Saul's spies and forces.[8] He later returned to the wilderness of Maon. In my judgment, the author deliberately mentioned 'the wilderness of Paran' as David's location because of its symbolic significance for the story,[9] as I will try to show.

In order to highlight the symbolic charge and the socially structured opposites represented in the narrative of 1 Samuel 25, it would be helpful to apply, on a limited scale, the literary approach borrowed from structuralism. The latter aims to reveal the analogies and links between the story's form and its content, on the one hand, and society's fundamental structures, on the other hand, placing the emphasis on the

4. See my recent articles, M. Garsiel, 'The Book of Samuel: Its Composition, Structure and Significance as a Historiographical Source', *JHS* 10 (2010), article 5 (electronic); 'Ideological Discordance between the Prophets, Nathan and Samuel, as Reflecting the Divergence between the Book of Samuel's Authors', in *The Ancient Near East in the 12th–10th Centuries* BCE: *Culture and History* (ed. G. Galil, A. Gilboa, A.M. Maeir and D. Kahn; AOAT, 392; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2012), pp. 175-98.

5. Biblical quotations in this article follow mostly the NJPS translation, with occasional amendments.

6. See P.K. McCarter, *I Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary* (AB; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980), p. 388.

7. See Y. Aharoni, 'Paran, Midbar Paran', *Encyclopaedia biblica*, VI, pp. 433-35.

8. See D.T. Tsumura, *The First Book of Samuel* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007), p. 575.

9. For an analysis of the desert motif in later times, see S. Talmon, 'The Desert Motif in the Bible and in Qumran Literature', in S. Talmon, *Literary Studies in the Hebrew Bible: Form and Content* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1993), pp. 216-54.

underlying fundamental contrasts and opposites.[10] We will begin with the protagonist (David) and his staying for a while in 'the *wilderness of Paran*' while the antagonist (Nabal), as well as his beautiful and clever wife, was staying at *Maon*. His farm work, livestock exploitation, as well as the feast of shearing, however, took place at nearby Carmel.

David's location contains two significant elements: *wilderness* and *Paran*. The former is a non-residential and non-cultivated area used by shepherds, whenever possible, as a natural grazing area where, in the manner of transhumant populations, they followed their flocks, wandering from one grazing place to another. The 'wilderness' was at the same time an area for nomads, outlaws and marauders, who caused shepherds severe troubles when occasionally encountering these groups. Being an outlaw himself (and a shepherd in his youth in the desert, 17.28), at this stage, David prefers the desert as his hiding place. According to the text, he has not, however, harmed the shepherds, but, on the contrary, offered them protection (25.7, 21). David's metonymic area, 'the desert', reflects metaphorically[11] his present position: he stays outside civilized society, which dwells in towns and villages. Yet, he is in constant need of food and other provisions from the sedentary and rich individuals living on the mountain ridge who abound in what David and his men lack.

The second term, *Paran*, links this narrative to two significant traditions from the past. The first one connects it with that of Ishmael when his mother received the prophecy about her son's and his descendants' future: 'He shall be a wild-ass (*pere*' a latent wordplay on the place name *Pār'ān*) of a man; his hand against everyone, and everyone's hand against him' (Gen. 16.11-12). Ishmael became an archer, dwelling in the *desert of Paran* (Gen. 21.20-21). The second one connects it to the tradition of the Hebrew slaves who ran away from the yoke of pharaoh in Exodus and spent forty years wandering in this desert. On the one hand, the desert carries the association of a no-man's land, inhabited by nomadic Ishmaelites and wild dangerous groups, and, on the other hand, it recalls the period of breaking away from Egyptian oppression on the journey

10. For a concise description and bibliography of the various contributions to this approach, see *Contemporary Literary Criticism: Literary and Cultural Studies* (ed. R.C. Davis and R. Schleifer; London: Longman, 2nd edn, 1989), pp. 143-203; for its application to the book of Samuel, see Jobling, *1 Samuel*. For another example, see H. Fisch, 'Ruth and the Structure of Covenant History', *VT* 32 (1982), pp. 425-37.

11. On many instances where metonymic elements of the setting carry symbolic significance, see M. Garsiel, 'Metaphorical and Metonymical Methods of Description in the Biblical Narrative', *Criticism and Interpretation: Journal for Literature, Linguistics, History and Aesthetics* 23 (1987 [Hebrew]), pp. 5-40.

to the Promised Land. To which of those various traditions of the past shall one associate David and his troops? Is David a dangerous marauder or a person in exile who fled to the desert waiting for an opportunity to return to civilized society?

The way Nabal is introduced pinpoints the opposing social positions of David and Nabal. While the former is dwelling in the desert, the latter is dwelling at a village named *Maon*, which means 'mansion'. Nabal is a sedentary person, representing the urban life and civilized community. The person at issue is a very rich man. The 'implied author' ironically depicts his material wealth even before mentioning his name. The narrator mentions *Carmel* (v. 2) as Nabal's and Abigail's second dwelling at the time of the shearing operation. The term indicates a fertile area of vineyards and other plantations. Thus, the symbolic meaning of the various place names latently creates the basic contrast between the rivals, David and Nabal.[12] The narrator commits immediate character assassination, describing Nabal, the Calebite, as a villain. Indeed, his name originally carried a positive connotation, 'noble', 'a leather wineskin', or a 'harp'. However, using descriptive overkill, the implied author focuses on the negative connotation: he is a 'churl' or a 'fool'. By the same token, his clan ancestor's name, *Caleb*, takes in this context the negative connotation of a 'dog'.[13] By contrast, his wife is depicted as intelligent and beautiful. Her name, Abigail, implies that she is a source of joy (*gyl*). Yet, some scholars derive the last component from the root *g'l* 'to redeem' in view of the fact that she succeeded in saving her whole family and property.[14] The narrator establishes an explicit contrast between the wife and her husband by using the words 'good' (*ṭôb*) and 'bad' (*ra'*) respectively (v. 3). This contrast will accompany us in the present narrative as well as in the surrounding ones.[15]

12. See M. Garsiel, 'Wit, Words, and a Woman: 1 Samuel 25', in *On Humour and the Comic in the Hebrew Bible* (ed. Y.T. Radday and A. Brenner; JSOTSup, 92; Sheffield: Almond Press, 1990), pp. 162-63; see also J. Lozovyy, *Saul, Doeg, Nabal, and the 'Son of Jesse': Readings in 1 Samuel 16–25* (Library of Hebrew Bible / Old Testament Studies, 497; London: T. & T. Clark, 2009), pp. 61-66.

13. The component *klb* (a dog) and the like is frequent in biblical and ancient Near Eastern onomastics. The dog may be a positive symbol indicating submission before the ruler or a negative simile, that of a despised animal. See I. Breier, 'The Element "*klb*" ("dog") in Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Names', in *Studies in Bible and Exegesis. IX. Presented to Moshe Garsiel* (ed. S. Vargon *et al.*; Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2009 [Hebrew]), pp. 329-48.

14. See C. Shraga Ben-Ayun, *David's Wives: Michal, Abigail, Bathsheba* (Tel Aviv: Yediot Acharonot, 2005 [Hebrew]), p. 93.

15. See D.M. Gunn, *The Fate of King Saul: An Interpretation of a Biblical Story* (JSOTSup, 14; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1980), pp. 97-102.

After the introduction and the exposition, the narrator opens the first scene with David giving instructions to ten of his men. The latter are ordered to take advantage of the feast of shearing, go uphill to Carmel and ask Nabal to supply David and his men with provisions at his discretion as repayment for the services and protection (v. 21) they provided during the entire grazing season. As noted by commentators who practice close reading, David was very careful in his choice of words in the message his men had to convey to Nabal. His envoys had to flatter Nabal, addressing him as an overlord, designating themselves as his 'slaves' (i.e., vassals), while David himself was to be referred to as 'your son David'.

One should not miss the significant repetition of the word 'peace' (*šālôm*) in David's instruction because it occurs four times. At first sight, the text and context appear to mean that David is sending his men on a peaceful mission, wishing prosperity to Nabal, his household and property. Yet, in this highlighted repetition of the word *šālôm*, a connotation might refer subtly and implicitly to David's ancestor Śālmôn (or Śalmâ [Ruth 4.20-21]; for another variant, Śalmâ', see 1 Chron. 2.11, 51, 54), who is regarded as the 'father' of Bethlehem (1 Chron. 2.51, 54). The derivation might be from *śalmâ-śamlâ* a 'cloak' or 'garment'.[16] But the literary meaning given to this name by the 'implied author' of our story is *Šālôm*, 'peace'. David declares his peaceful intentions. Yet, the ambiguity remains. When David repeatedly says that Nabal, his household and everything that belongs to him are under the word *Šālôm*, and if the word hints at Śālmôn the father of Bethlehem, it could imply that Nabal's clan, the Calebites, are now being annexed, coming under the control of the rival clan of Ram, Salmon's forefather. Moreover, in the Hebrew Bible, the verb *šlm* may refer to a vassal's surrender and submission to the suzerain (see 2 Sam. 10.19). Does David's delegation come in good faith and peace or with latent intentions and an ambiguous message implying that they were taking control over the whole area? The (Ram) Salmon's clan vis-à-vis the Calebite clan seem to be here in latent opposition.

When David's envoys arrive at Carmel and deliver the message, Nabal's reaction was an outburst of refusal, indignation, and insult:

> מִי דָוִד, וּמִי בֶן-יִשָׁי הַיּוֹם רַבּוּ עֲבָדִים הַמִּתְפָּרְצִים אִישׁ מִפְּנֵי אֲדֹנָיו:
> וְלָקַחְתִּי אֶת-לַחְמִי וְאֶת-מֵימַי וְאֶת טִבְחָתִי אֲשֶׁר טָבַחְתִּי לְגֹזְזַי
> וְנָתַתִּי לַאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר לֹא יָדַעְתִּי אֵי מִזֶּה הֵמָּה:
>
> Who is David? Who is the son of Jesse? There are many slaves nowadays who run away from their masters. Should I then take my bread and my water (LXX reads wine), and the meat that I slaughtered

16. See M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1928), p. 232.

> for my own shearers, and give them to men who come from I don't know where? (1 Sam. 25.9-11; NJPS).

In stating Nabal's rejoinder, the narrator changes the point of view. Earlier the envoys were defined as '(David's) young men', but now, in Nabal's view, they are no more than just 'slaves'! Furthermore, David and all his followers in the wilderness are under the category of 'slaves who run away from their masters'. Being of such a low class—in Nabal's eyes—they do not deserve sharing his bread and wine nor the meat from the slaughtered sheep prepared for his own shearers. In a way, Nabal acts like Laban, the Aramean, who refused to repay Jacob for his services. The similarity between the names (*nbl/lbn*—having the same consonants in the inverse order) hints at the relationship between the two individuals.[17]

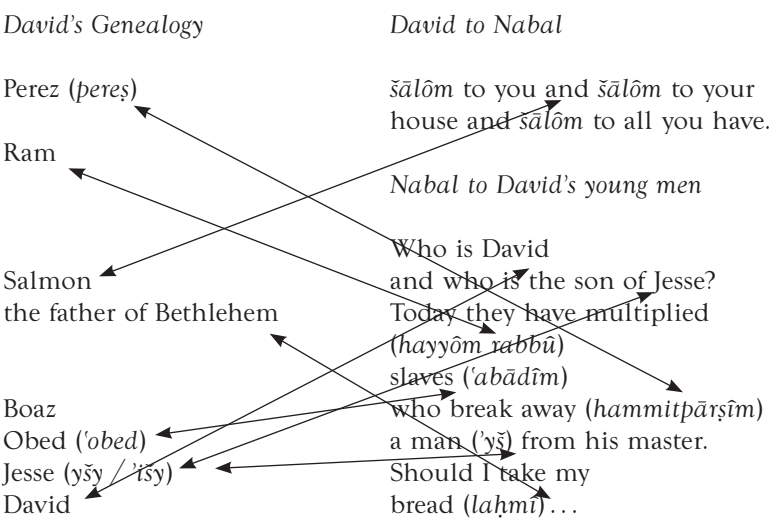
Nabal's refusal runs along two lines: (1) the lower social class of David and his followers; (2) the latent definition of the group as rebels against the king and his rule, with an implied accusation that the rebels are responsible for weakening the established leadership and causing chaos and anarchy in the kingdom. One should bear in mind that at Carmel, where Nabal had his farmstead, King Saul erected a monument commemorating his great victory over the Amalekites (15.12). His military campaign liberated the whole region of Judah, especially the southern part, from those dangerous marauders. On the one hand, Nabal's prosperous exploitation owed a lot to King Saul's military success, which brought peace to the region, an indispensible condition for economic growth. On the other hand, as a Calebite, his clan was in constant strife with the clan of Ram, which included Salmon, the 'father' of Bethlehem—David's hometown.[18] This may explain why the Calebite citizens of Ziph came twice to inform Saul about David's whereabouts (23.19-28; 26.1-2).[19] Nabal's response contains a subtle offense against David's clan and tribal genealogy,[20] as shown in the following chart.

17. See Garsiel, *First Book of Samuel*, pp. 127-33.

18. For a comprehensive discussion and earlier bibliography of Judah's clans, see G. Galil, 'The Formation and Development of the Clans of Hur, First Born of Ephrata', in *Studies in Bible and Exegesis*. IX. *Presented to Moshe Garsiel* (ed. S. Vargon *et al.*; Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2009 [Hebrew]), pp. 409-26; A. Demsky, 'The Clans of Ephrath: Their Territory and History', *Tel-Aviv 13* (1986), pp. 46-59.

19. See Vargon, 'Saul's Pursuit of David', pp. 381-87.

20. See Garsiel, *First Book of Samuel*, pp. 126-33; Garsiel, 'Wit, Words, and a Woman: 1 Samuel 25', pp. 161-68.



The implied author couched Nabal's refusal with words of sarcasm and subtle insult directed against David and his entire family.[21] Nabal's words disparage David and his father, Jesse, but also aim at his ancestor Perez (*pereṣ*), implied by the adjective *hammitpārṣîm*; it also includes the clan's forefather Ram,[22] his grandfather 'Obed (implied by *'abādîm*), and his hometown Bethleḥem (implied by *laḥmî*). While David's family and men are seen as a gang of slaves who broke away from their masters, Nabal places his clan at the other side of the equation—on the side of the masters. The words '*from* his masters' (*mippenê 'adōnāyw*) includes a wordplay on the forefather's name of Caleb, who was the son of *Jephunneh* (*yפnh*, root *pnh*; the pun on the words *pānîm—mippnê*).[23] In an offensive

21. Puns on names might take on comic, ironic, sarcastic, or cynical connotations, and this phenomenon is common in the Hebrew Bible and in ancient Near Eastern literature; see Y.T. Radday, 'Humour in Names', in *On Humour and the Comic in the Hebrew Bible* (ed. Y.T. Radday and A. Brenner; JSOTSup, 92; Sheffield: Almond, 1990), pp. 59-97; W.W. Hallo, 'Scurrilous Etymologies', in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish and Near Eastern Ritual, Law and Literature in Honor of J. Milgrom* (ed. D.P. Wright, D.N. Freedman and A. Hurvitz; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995), pp. 767-76.

22. The name Ram (RM) is obtained when reading backward starting with the last consonant of the first word and with the first consonant of the second word in Hebrew: *hayyôM Rabbû*.

23. For various meanings of the root *pnh* embedded in the name Jephunneh, see S.E. Loewenstamm, 'Jephunneh', *Encyclopaedia biblica*, III, p. 745 [Hebrew]. For a similar pun on the name of Jephunneh, see M. Garsiel, *Biblical Names: A Literary Study of Midrashic Derivations and Puns* (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University

way, Nabal defines the stark contrast, the unbridgeable gap, between the two clans. Being a Calebite, a descendant of Caleb son of Jephunneh, he belongs to the dominant and superior clan of the *masters*, while David and his men are in the category of *slaves* who broke away from their masters.

Hearing about Nabal's offensive response, David became infuriated. He did not take time to weigh the matter or consult his subordinates. In curt military style, he ordered four hundred of his men to gird their swords and follow him to Carmel.

The narrator now focuses on the situation at Carmel. There, on the hill, one of Nabal's shepherds informs Abigail about their master's odious response. The irony is that what Nabal just complained about concerning slaves who broke away from their masters now happens to him with one of his men who, together with his wife, plots behind his back. At Abigail's bidding, additional servants of Nabal will be involved in carrying the provisions to David.[24] The servant urges Abigail to take immediate action to avoid the pending disaster on all of them. In the servant's assessment of the situation, 'for harm threatens our master and *all his household*' (v. 17b); the two last words in Hebrew, *kl bytw*, create a wordplay on the clan's ancestral name, *klb* (Caleb). Moreover, in his warning, the servant refers to his master: 'He is such a nasty fellow *ben belîyya'al* that no one can speak to him' (1 Sam. 25.14-17, NJPS). The Hebrew expression *ben belîyya'al*, 'a scoundrel',[25] contains all the letters of the name Nabal—making yet another wordplay by equating his name with his character. These puns on names are present throughout the narrative. After Nabal's spiteful wordplays against David's family line, the implied author does the same concerning Nabal through the speech of his own servant and later in the lengthy discourse of his wife.

Abigail's reaction is immediate. She hurries to prepare various kinds of provisions. The Hebrew word *mhr* 'to hurry' characterizes Abigail's activity as it is mentioned three times (vv. 18, 23, 42) and is taken up again by David, who employs the same verb in praise of Abigail (v. 34). Rapid action was of the essence in this affair. Ironically, the list of provisions that Abigail prepared contains exactly the same items that Nabal refused to give earlier. She even adds a few more things. The quantity of food prepared being considerable, she uses donkeys to carry the loads. Noteworthy is the item of the two leather wineskins earlier

Press, 1991), pp. 29-30, 135-36. For another pun on the above name based on *pnym* (face), see Num 14.5-6.

24. See Levenson, '1 Samuel 25 as Literature and as History', p. 16.

25. So McCarter, *I Samuel*, p. 390.

denied by Nabal.[26] The Hebrew word for wineskins is *niblay*—very similar to the name Nabal! There is considerable symbolic irony in this: Abigail is going to deliver Nabal, or rather his symbol, the wineskins, into David's hands.

Sidestepping her husband, Abigail rode the donkey at some distance from her servants who were in turn driving heavily laden donkeys in front of her, comparable to the way Jacob went to meet Esau.[27] It is an attempt to propitiate an angry man. In a 'flashback' the narrator returns to David's reflections and intentions. David swears, 'May God do thus and more to the enemies of David if, by the light of morning, I leave one who pees against the wall' (vv. 22, 34). There are various explanations concerning the metaphor that David used twice in this narrative in his determination to annihilate Nabal's household.[28] In my opinion, David refers here cynically to a dog that urinates against the wall. With this image, David gets even with Nabal's earlier insults against his clan. Making a pun, David refers to the Calebites, degrading them to 'dogs', a common Near Eastern insult. He plans to exterminate them all; not a single one is going to survive until morning (notice the wordplay: *bōqer—beqîr*[29]). Coming down under the cover of the mountain (*besēter hāhār*, v. 20), Abigail meets David, quickly dismounts from her ride and prostrates herself twice on the ground before him in a sign of submission, as is customary when one meets a high official. She always refers to David as 'my lord' (*'dny*) (14 times; 2 x 7) and to herself as 'your maid-servant' (5 times *'amātekā* and once *šipḥātekā*). It is noteworthy that the word *'amātekā* may occasionally mean 'concubine' or 'mistress' (see, for example, Judg. 8.31; cf. 9.18). Does Abigail have latent intentions

26. One item calls for further discussion. In his refusal, Nabal mentions 'water', according to the MT (v. 11). This version was adopted by some scholars (e.g., Tsumura, *First Book of Samuel*, p. 581). The LXX, however, reads 'wine' instead of 'water'. In my opinion, the latter version is the more plausible one. It does not make sense that David sends his men to carry water all the way from Carmel to the desert. Six hundred warriors need a lot of water on a daily basis, and the ten men could not carry enough water even for just one day! Probably there were springs or cisterns in the vicinity that supplied his troops with water. Wine, in contrast, is a product that needs a lot of work to cultivate and produce, and the quantity needed is more limited.

27. For an elaborate discussion of this analogy, see Levenson, '1 Samuel 25 as Literature and as History', pp. 18-19; Garsiel, *First Book of Samuel*, pp. 130-32.

28. See S. Talmon and W.W. Fields, 'The Collocation משתין בקיר ועצור ועזוב and its Meaning', *ZAW* 101 (1989), pp. 85-112; J. Schwartz, 'Dogs, "Water" and Wall', *SJOT* 14 (2000), pp. 103-16.

29. See J.P. Fokkelman, *Narrative Art and Poetry in the Books of Samuel*. II. *The Crossing Fates* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1986), p. 495.

on becoming David's mistress, as she concludes her speech by making a wish: 'And when the Lord has prospered my lord, *remember your maid*' (1 Sam. 25.31)?[30] Did she offer herself to David?[31]

Abigail starts by blaming herself in order to get David's attention (v. 24). Then she embraces David's stance by denouncing her husband as a scoundrel and repeats a degrading pun on his name: *Nabal* means a 'boorish fellow'; and indeed he is one, since he is characterized by ill-mannered behavior and wantonness (*nebālâ*).

Abigail points out that the future ruler must come to power with no blood feud and should not take the law into his own hands. A just ruler is under obligation not to shed innocent blood. This point in Abigail's speech fits the general outlook of the book of Samuel, as I pointed out elsewhere.[32] David departs from Abigail using, once again, the word of blessing (*šālôm*) that has been used before in the initial message extended to Nabal. Now, however, it refers to Abigail. She is the one who will enjoy the 'blessing' of becoming one of David's wives. Her well-structured speech, with its rhetorical devices and the manner in which Abigail delivers it, calms David's murderous rage and makes him change his plans.[33]

Abigail returns to Nabal's house to find, in surprise—signified by *we-hinnēh*[34]—that her husband organized a veritable 'king's feast' (v. 36). This simile prompted some scholars to regard the whole episode as an analogy between King Saul and his 'surrogate', Nabal, the Calebite.[35] Nabal's imminent death anticipates what is soon going to happen to King Saul. Seeing her husband, Abigail finds him in a state of 'good heart', meaning, in a merry mood and very drunk. The word *lb* ('heart') plays off the names of Nabal and Caleb. Yet, the reader may wonder why

30. Several rabbinic commentators criticize Abigail for her concluding sentence, which they found too suggestive of proposed intimacy. See I.I. Hasidah, *Encyclopedia of Biblical Personalities: As Seen by the Sages of the Talmud and Midrash* (Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, 1999 [Hebrew]), p. 1.

31. For the discussion of rabbinic suggestions supporting this view, see below, Daniel Bodi's article, 'Was Abigail a Scarlet Woman?'

32. See Garsiel, *The Kingdom of David*, pp. 22-25, 87-92, 93-126, 198-202; Garsiel, *First Book of Samuel*, pp. 119-33; U. Simon, *Seek Peace and Pursue It: Topical Issues in the Light of the Bible, the Bible in the Light of Topical Issues* (Tel Aviv: Yediot Acharonot, 2002 [Hebrew]), pp. 177-217.

33. For further discussion of the interpretation of Abigail's speech and its literary structure and devices, see Ben-Ayun, *David's Wives*, pp. 93-122.

34. See A. Berlin, *Poetics and Interpretation of Biblical Narrative* (BLS, 9; Sheffield: Almond Press, 1983), pp. 62-69, 91-95.

35. See R.P. Gordon, *I and II Samuel: A Commentary* (LBI; Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1986), pp. 181, 186; R.P. Gordon, 'David's Rise and Saul's Demise: Narrative Analogy in 1 Samuel 24–26', pp. 37-61.

the narrator would have used the word *ṭwb* 'good' to describe Nabal's heart, since the initial antonyms, *ra'* 'bad, evil' and *ṭwb* 'good', defined Nabal and Abigail in a contrasting way? The following text offers a solution: 'The next morning, when Nabal had slept off the wine, his wife told him everything that had happened; and his *heart* died within him, and became like stone' (v. 37). The implied author uses two puns: (1) he describes how the 'wine gets out from Nabal', which, if taken literally, means that the wine gets out from a wineskin (*nbl*), echoing ironically Nabal's name. (2) When his heart becomes hard like stone—in Hebrew *le-'eben*—if read backward, one obtains the name Nabal. This is another example of linking a character's name with his fate.

The dramatic tension is resolved with a happy ending, except for Nabal. After the latter dies, David sends his man to fetch Abigail. Again, the text states that she reacts humbly and submissively: she 'bowed low with her face to the ground and said, "your handmaid (*'amātekā*) is ready to be your maidservant (*šipḥâ*), to wash the feet of my lord's servants"' (vv. 39-41). As mentioned above, the status of *'āmâ* occasionally stands for a concubine or a second-degree wife. David wants her to be his wife. Continuing in the same vein of humility and submissiveness, she suggests, however, that she wishes to be a mere maidservant, ready to wash the feet of David's men. The manner in which she arrives at David's camp reveals the difference between her rhetoric and the status she aspires to enjoy: 'Then Abigail rose quickly and mounted an ass, and *with five of her maids in attendance* she followed David's messengers; and she became his wife' (v. 42). Abigail is not going to be either a concubine or a maidservant. Even in her hurried departure, she is accompanied by five attending ladies who follow her as she rides on her donkey in a stately and coded manner of the people belonging to a socially high rank.[36]

The conclusion conveys important information about David's wives and their status at this stage of his political career (vv. 42-44). David lost his first wife, Michal, Saul's daughter, whom the king gave to another man as wife. In so doing, Saul publicly signified that David had no more link with the royal family and was disgraced and outlawed. David probably married Ahinoam of Jezreel some time earlier; and with Abigail joining him at the camp, he now enjoys two wives, maybe compensation for the one he lost.[37] Ahinoam came from Jezreel, a town of the tribe of

36. On the social and political significance of the act of 'riding on a donkey' in the semi-nomadic societies in the Hebrew Bible and the ancient Near East, see Daniel Bodi's article, 'David as an *'Apiru* . . .' in this volume (pp. 36-37).

37. Isa. 61.7, 'Because your shame was double . . . therefore you shall possess a double portion'; Joel 2.25, 'I will repay you for the years that the swarming locust has eaten'.

Judah, which stands for a sown plain where agrarian activity is practiced, while Abigail is connected with Maon and Carmel, which stand for urban life, wine and animal husbandry. From a literary point of view, David's marriage to these two women, who symbolize the urban and the agrarian life, resolves the structural opposition between David, the man of the wilderness, and David on his way to settle down, if only Saul would let him be.

6

Was Abigail a Scarlet Woman? A Point of Rabbinic Exegesis in Light of Comparative Material[1]

Daniel Bodi

Introduction

The narrative in 1 Samuel 25 describes how David acquired one of his wives. Nabal's refusal to offer hospitality to David and his fugitives, showing utter contempt toward the men that David sent asking for food and drink, provokes David's murderous rage. The latter is bent on exterminating Nabal's entire household. Without her husband's knowledge, Abigail intervenes in order to save his life and domain, as well as her own life and that of their servants. She takes the initiative, sends food and drink to David's men and negotiates directly with him. The rabbis in the Talmud are divided about Abigail's behavior. In rabbinic times such independent and assertive behavior on the part of a woman was unthinkable and unacceptable. Therefore, some rabbis attempted to discredit Abigail's valorous action and present her as a lewd and impudent woman who unashamedly offered herself to David. According to both Talmudic and some midrashic commentaries, Abigail used the seduction in order to divert the attention of the attackers. She uncovered herself, revealing her white thigh. She had such alluring power and erotic radiance that David marched 13.5 km in 'her light', either illumined by the dashing whiteness of her skin or profoundly affected by the erotic 'fire' of his desire for her. In the final part of this chapter, the use of the naked female body as a means of diverting the

1. A preliminary version of this study was published in D. Bodi, 'Was Abigail a Scarlet Woman?', in *Stimulation from Leiden* (ed. H.M. Niemann and M. Augustin; Collected Communications to the XVIIIth Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament, Leiden, 2004; Frankfurt am Mein: Peter Lang, 2006), pp. 67-79. B. Donnet-Guez, *Le roi David et ses femmes: Ambiguité de leur relation dans la littérature post-biblique* (Paris: Verapax, 2011), offers a close reading of Abigail in light of rabbinic texts.

murderous rage of warriors is compared to texts from Celtic and Greco-Roman antiquity that attest to the existence of such a method of defense.

1. *Rabbinic Interpretations of Abigail's Behavior*

Some rabbis did not appreciate Abigail's assertive behavior and apparently did not want the women of their times to follow the example of this biblical character. Skillfully exploiting the ambiguities of the biblical text by applying close reading, they carry out a veritable deconstruction of the biblical story and turn Abigail into a shamelessly bold, indecent and lewd woman.[2]

The rabbis elaborate on the biblical verse where Abigail is introduced: 'the woman was clever and beautiful' (*hāʾiššâ ṭôbat śekel wîpat tōʾar*) (1 Sam. 25.3). They speak of Abigail's charms, describing her as a woman with great seductive power. The mere thought of her would provoke violent passion in men. The Babylonian Talmud (*b. Meg* 15a) states, 'Yael inspired lust (*zinnetâ*)[3] with her voice; Abigail with the (mere) thought of her, Raḥab with her name[4] and Mikal, the daughter of Saul, with her looks'.[5] Concerning Raḥab, the prostitute, 'Rabbi Yiṣḥaq said, "Whoever says Raḥab, Raḥab, has immediately a pollution" (*miyyād nîqrî*). Said Rabbi Naḥman to him: "I say Raḥab, Raḥab, and nothing happens to me!" He replied: "I was speaking of one who knows her (sexually) and is intimate with her".'[6] The mention of pollution is repeated in the

2. E.L. Greenstein, 'Deconstruction and Biblical Narrative', *Prooftexts* 9 (1989), pp. 43-71.

3. The verb *zinnetâ*, from the root *znh*, is a piel perfect 3fs: 'Piel. *zînnâ* . . . to invite faithlessness, to excite the senses', also 'to suggest impure thoughts' (Raḥab); see Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumin, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York: Judaica Press, 1975), p. 406b. A. Steinsaltz translates this Aramaic verb into modern Hebrew with *lht ʾwwt*, meaning 'to provoke desire,' in *Talmud Bavli: Meseket Megillah* (ed. A. Steinsaltz; Jerusalem: Israel Institute for Talmudic Publications, 1989), *ad loc.*

4. Raḥāb is a personal name; the adjective means 'large, spacious, broad'; see Exod. 3.8, 'good and broad (*rḥbt*) land'. The etymology of the name Raḥāb reflects a verb meaning 'to open wide, to broaden'. Originally it might have been connected to a divine name or title, for instance *rāḥāb-ʾel*, 'the god has widened (the bosom?)'. Other similar names would be Rᵉḥoboam, Solomon's son, and Rᵉḥab-yāh(û) (1 Chron. 23.17), the last one being a theophoric name derived from the same root; see M. Noth, *Israelitischer Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung* (BWANT, III/10; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1928), p. 193. Originally, the name Raḥāb might have contained a theophoric element, probably some Canaanite fertility god.

5. *b. Meg.* 15a.

6. *Talmud Bavli, Meseket Megillah*, (ed. A. Steinsaltz), *ad loc.* Rahab, Josh. 2.1; Yael, Judg. 4.18; Abigail, 1 Sam. 25.31; Michal, 2 Sam. 6.16. For an English trans-

Jerusalem Talmud in connection with the effect that Abigail had on men. This juxtaposition of the same reactions in men assimilates Abigail to a prostitute.

1 Sam. 25.20 states, 'And as she rode on the donkey and came down under cover of the mountain (*bᵉsēter hāhār*), David and his men came down toward her; and she met them (*wat-tipgōš ʾōtām*)' (NRSV).

In this verse, two somewhat ambiguous elements of the Hebrew text were skillfully exploited by the rabbis in order to turn Abigail into an impudent woman. First, there is the mention of a 'secluded or secret spot of the mountain' (*bᵉsēter hāhār*), implying she indulged in some illicit activity requiring privacy with David; and second, the fact that some indecent gesture is imputed to her when she reached the men (*wat-tipgōš ʾōtām*).

The Jerusalem Talmud (y. *Sanh.* 2.3) and *Midrash Shemuel*[7] (23.11, referring to 1 Sam. 25.20) impute to Abigail the impudent or shameless behavior of uncovering herself, which made David's passion for her suddenly flare up. Her gesture would have been a direct response to the alarming report given to her by one of her servants in 1 Sam. 25.17, 'Now know this and consider what you should do; for evil has been decided against our master and against all his house; he is so ill-natured (*ben-bᵉlîyyaʿal*) that no one can speak to him' (NRSV). Here the Jerusalem Talmud continues, 'Thereupon she uncovered her thigh (*šôqāh*)[8] and they walked in her light/fire' (erotic radiance); 'and she met them' or 'reached them' (*wat-tipgoš ʾotām*, v. 20), 'and they all had emission of semen (*hûqrû qûlām*)'.[9]

The meaning of the verb *hûqrû* here in the Talmud is well known. The root *qr*ʾ, *qrh*, *qr*y in the hophal conjugation means 'to have a (nocturnal) pollution, to lose semen'.[10] The Jerusalem Talmud y. *Sanh.* 2.3, as well as the *Midrash Shemuel*, understood the Hebrew verb *pāgaš*, which means 'to meet' but also 'to strike against', in the sense of *pgʿ* 'to touch, to attain'. Wanting to avoid the implication that Abigail touched David and his men in an unseemly manner, Jastrow comments on this passage by saying that 'she struck them with her charms', provoking in men this kind of reaction. Marcel Schwab, the French translator of the Jerusalem Talmud, wanting to avoid obscene language in his translation, used a paraphrase that paradoxically makes it sound even worse. He says,

lation see *The Babylonian Talmud, Seder Moʾed Megillah* (trans. M. Simon; ed. I. Eppstein; New York: Rebecca Bennet Publications, 1959), p. 87.

7. *Midrash Shemuel* (Lemberg: Solomon Buber, 1893), *ad loc.*
8. In modern Israeli Hebrew the word *šôq* designates the chicken drumstick.
9. *Talmud Yerušalmî ʿim peruš qaṣar* (Jerusalem: Shilo, 5729 = 1969).
10. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumin*, p. 1418d.

'ils furent frappés de gonorrhée' ('they were struck with gonorrhea').[11] Schwab simply wanted to say that David's men had a seminal discharge comparable to the one that this sexually transmitted disease provokes in men.

The Jerusalem Talmud is saying that when David and his four hundred warriors (v. 13) met Abigail, she uncovered herself, and seeing her beautiful body and the light or erotic radiance that emanated from her flesh, the men had a pollution.

The Babylonian Talmud (*b. Meg* 14b),[12] as well as the *Yalquṭ Shimoni* (on 1 Sam. 25.26), turns the encounter between Abigail and David and her uncovering of herself into a conversation about the halakhah. Here too, the Talmudic discussion begins with the unusual mention of the hidden spot of the mountain (*bᵉsēter hāhār*) as in the biblical text. Why was it necessary to indicate this detail, the Talmud asks? The rabbis in the Talmud elaborate here what they think happened between Abigail and David. Abigail uncovers her thigh in order to call David's attention to a matter of ritual law.[13] She was having her period. It was too dark for David to discern whether the color of her menstrual blood was barring him from having intercourse with her. According to the halakhah, if the menstrual blood is light, it means that the period is over and the woman can have sex with a man. If, however, her menstrual blood is dark, she is barred from having sexual intercourse with a man. Since at night with a candlelight it is impossible to determine the color of a woman's blood, and wanting to have sex with her, David asked, 'Does one examine blood at night?' Thereupon Abigail smartly replied, 'Does one make judgments about capital cases?' She skillfully employed the rabbinic argument *qal waḥômer* or *a fortiori*: if David is unable to decide on such a minor matter, the situation is even more complex in deciding

11. M. Schwab, *Le Talmud de Jérusalem* (Paris: G.P. Maisonneuve, 1977), IV, *ad loc.*

12. *The Babylonian Talmud, Seder Mo'ed, Megillah* (trans. Simon; ed. Epp-stein), pp. 83-84.

13. In *b. Ber.* 4a, David is presented as an authority on the Torah and ritual matters, '"A prayer of David . . . Keep my soul for I am pious" (Ps. 86.1-2). . . . All the kings of the East and West sleep to the third hour [of the day], but I, "at midnight I rise to give thanks unto Thee" (Ps. 109.62). The other one says: Thus spoke David before the Holy One, blessed be He: "Master of the world, am I not pious? All the kings of the East and the West sit with all their pomp among their company, whereas my hands are soiled with the blood [of menstruation], with the foetus and the placenta, in order to declare a woman clean for her husband".' The restrictions of Lev. 12.2 do not apply to all cases of abortion nor is all discharge treated as menstrual, and David is represented here as occupying himself with deciding such questions of the halakhah instead of feasting; see *The Babylonian Talmud, Seder Zera'im, Berakoth* (trans. Simon; ed. Epstein), p. 11.

whether to carry out a capital punishment over a man. She was thus suggesting that David should refrain from killing Nabal. This explanation hangs on the Hebrew word *dāmîm* (in 1 Sam. 25.26, 'seeing the Lord has restrained you from bloodguilt' (*mibbô' bedāmîm*), literally 'from coming into blood', *dāmîm*, plural) to indicate two kinds of blood. 'This teaches us that Abigail uncovered her thigh and David walked three *parsā'ôt* [Persian miles, 'parasangs', or 'leagues'] in her light (*l'wrh*). And he said to her, "Listen to me", and she answered, "My lord shall have no cause of grief, or pangs of conscience" (1 Sam. 25.31)'. David's supposed words to Abigail, 'Listen to me' (not found in the biblical text), are explained as his proposal to make love to her on the spot.

David desires Abigail so much that he is able to walk three Persian miles either in the light that emanates from her dashing white skin or propelled by the burning fire of passion she ignited in him. A Persian mile (*parsā'*, pl. *parsîn*, or *parsā'ôt*) corresponds to 4.5 km; David walks a total of 13.5 km, or about 8 miles.[14] For some rabbinic commentators, Abigail was an irresistible femme fatale.

Tosafot Meg. 14b comments on 1 Sam. 25.26 and *Metsudat David* on 1 Sam. 25.33 by saying that God prevented David from bloodguilt twice: on the one hand from killing Nabal, who was innocent, and on the other hand from having a sexual relationship with Abigail while she was in a state of ritual impurity.[15]

The question of menstruation, female ritual impurity in respect to Abigail, is probably prompted by a somewhat similar situation that occurred between Bathsheba and David where the biblical text in 2 Sam. 11.4 mentions the following detail: 'So David sent (*wayyišlaḥ*) messengers and fetched her (*wayyiqqāḥehā*) and she came to him (*wattābô' 'ēlāyw*), and he lay with her (*wayyiškab 'immāh*), she having just cleansed herself from her impurity (*mitqaddešet miṭṭum'ātāh*), and she returned to her house'. Already in rabbinic times, the need was felt to study David's wives as a 'homologous series' of texts, in this case, juxtaposing the narrative of Abigail with that of Bathsheba.[16]

There are two interpretations of the expression 'in her light', an erotic one and a more spiritual one:

14. A. Even-Shoshan, *Hammillôn heḥadaš* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Kiryath-Sepher, 1969), II, p. 1101b, *parsā'*, a measure of distance, 4.5 km or 8,000 cubits.

15. According to the purity laws in Lev. 15.19-28, during her period the woman is impure, as well as the seven days after her period is over. The halakhah on this law is found in the Talmudic tractate *Niddah*. See R. Biale, *Women and Jewish Law: An Exposition of Women's Issues in Halakhic Sources* (New York: Schocken Books, 1984), pp. 147-74, 'Niddah—Laws of the Menstruant'.

16. See A. Berlin, 'Characterization in Biblical Narrative: David's Wives', *JSOT* 23 (1982), pp. 69-85, who juxtaposes the behavior of Abigail to that of Bathsheba.

1. It means that David was completely consumed by his desire for Abigail. According to *Tosafot Meg.* 14b, 'In books where Hebrew is vocalized, some say to have found the term *le-'urāh* ("in her fire"), the meaning being that David desired her so much that he was able to walk three Persian miles in the fire of desire'. Indeed, if *l'wrh* is not vocalized, it can be read either as *l^{e}'ôrāh* 'in her light' or *l^{e}-'urāh* 'in her fire'. The latter rendering would imply Abigail's extraordinary erotic radiance that provoked David's passionate desire to posses her.
2. According to L. Ginzberg,[17] the expression *hal^{e}kû l^{e}-'ôrāh* 'they walked in her light' should be taken literally. A light was emanating from Abigail. The Talmud speaks of the concept of 'bright light' or radiance that emanates from the body of persons, either man or woman, distinguished for their exceptional beauty (*b. Ket.* 65a; *b. Ber.* 5b). In *b. Meg.* 15a, Sarah, Rachel and Abigail are three women from the Hebrew Bible who were recognized as undisputed beauties. As for a fourth, Esther, Vashti, Jael and Michal are the competitors.

When examined closely, however, the Talmudic passage adduced speaks again of erotic radiance emanating from the uncovered parts of the female body.

The passage in *b. Ket.* 65a, seems to reflect another affect of the erotic radiance of a female that is portrayed as a femme fatale. The passage deals with a discussion about how many cups of wine a woman should be allowed to drink. Ḥoma, Abaye's widow, after her husband died, came to Rabba, the president of the rabbinic court, and asked him, '"Grant me an allowance of wine". "I know", he said to her, "that Naḥmani ['My Comforter' was one of the names of Rabbi Abaye] did not drink wine". "By the life of the Master [I swear]", she replied, "that he gave me to drink from [drinking] horns like this". As she was showing it to him, her arm was uncovered and a light shone/fell upon the court. Rabba rose, went home, and solicited Rabbi Ḥisda's daughter (i.e., had sex with his wife). "Who has been today at the court?" inquired Rabbi Ḥisda's daughter. "Ḥoma, the wife of Abaye", he replied. Thereupon, she [Rabbi Ḥisda's daughter] followed her, striking her [Ḥoma] with the straps [of leather] of a chest [or a key according to Rashi] until she chased her out of all Maḥuza (a Jewish trading center near Babylon). "You have", she said to her, "already killed three [men], and now you come to kill another [man]".'[18] The wife of Rabba was reacting as a jealous woman, concerned

17. L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (7 vols.; Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1909–56), VI, p. 275 n. 137.

18. *The Babylonian Talmud, Seder Nashim, Kethuboth* (trans. S. Daiches; ed. I.W. Slotki; New York: Rebecca Bennet Publications, 1959), II, pp. 393-94.

for her husband. She was referring to the fact that Ḥoma had already thrice married and each one of her husbands had died (*b. Yeb.* 64b).

According to the Babylonian Talmud (*b. Meg.* 14b), pushed by a violent desire to posses her, David attempts to persuade her to give in to his demand by saying to her, 'Listen to me' which meant, 'Let me make love to you'. One of the *teshuvôt* (*responsa*)[19] explains that the expression 'to come to blood' does not necessarily mean to shed blood. It could also be understood as 'to come[20]—on a woman—in blood', meaning to have a sexual relationship with a ritually impure woman. Abigail's response in 1 Sam. 25.31, 'My lord shall have no cause of grief, or pangs of conscience' would have been an expression of her refusal to comply with David's request.

The midrashic commentaries point out that Abigail was conscious of her indecent behavior. Being married, she should not have attracted the passionate attention of another man. Therefore, in the first words she addresses to David, she recognizes her responsibility: 'She was alluding to her own guilt, the one of having uncovered her thigh and not to have behaved with the required modesty. Therefore, she said to David, "Upon me alone, my lord, be the guilt"' (1 Sam. 25.24).[21]

Commenting on 1 Sam. 25.31, where Abigail addressed David saying, 'then remember your handmaid', Rabbi Yiṣḥaq pronounced something of a curse: "May your destiny be annihilated and your salvation disappear", for she lifted her eyes on David when she was still the wife of (another) man; consequently, the biblical text had her name written with a defect: one pronounces Abigail but writes it Abigal' (cf. 1 Sam. 25.32 *'bygl* [*'abîgal*]).[22]

19. Steinsaltz, *Babylonian Talmud, Meg.* 14b, quotes the *responsum* of Rabbi Levi ben Haviv.

20. In modern Israeli Hebrew, the verb *bā'* 'to come' has the same sexual connotation as in English. In biblical Hebrew, when the verb 'come to' or 'come into' has a masculine subject and 'into' is followed by a feminine object, it stands for penetrating or possessing a woman sexually. In Deut. 21.13, an Israelite who has captured a beautiful woman whom he desires sexually must wait a month for her to lament her parents. Then he may 'go in to her': *tābô' 'ēlêhā ûbe'altāh wehāyetâ lekā le'iššâ* 'you shall go in to her, and be her husband, and she shall be your wife'. Here, the expression has a sexual sense as well as in Ahitophel's political advice to Absalom in 2 Sam. 16.21 on how to seize power by a public act of appropriating for himself David's concubines, *bō' 'el-pilagšê 'ābîkā* 'go in to your father's concubines'.

21. J. Couli, *Yalquṭ Meam Loez*, Shemuel I and II (Jerusalem: H. Vegeschel, n.d.), commenting on 1 Sam. 25.24.

22. *Midrash Shemuel* 23.12; *Yalquṭ Shimoni, Nevi'îm u-ketuvîm* (Jerusalem: H. Vegeshel, n.d.), *ad loc.*, and Ralbag commenting on 1 Sam. 25.32 in the Rabbinic Bible.

Throughout 1 Samuel 25, Abigail's name is spelled *'bygyl* (['ª*bîgayil*] 1 Sam. 25.3, 14, 18, 23, 36, 40, 42). Only once, however, immediately after her request to be remembered by David in v. 32, her name is spelled without the *yod*. Most rabbinic commentators found this omission to be significant. Thus, Rabbi David Qimḥi (Radaq) in the *Miqrā'ôt gᵉdôlôt* comments on 1 Sam. 25.32 saying, 'She had blinked to David; therefore the Scriptures had blemished her name'.[23] Another midrashic commentary says, 'In order to explain the absence of the *yod*, the Scriptures have reacted as if she had trespassed the ten commandments'.[24] In Hebrew, the letter *yod* has the numerical value 'ten'. According to the Talmud, the absence of the *yod* in her name indicates that she had shown herself unworthy of the letter with which the name of God begins (*b. Sanh.* 2.3).

There are some rabbis, however, who harbor no grudge against Abigail's behavior and interpret her request in a more positive way, as an example of shrewdness on her part. Thus, *b. Meg* 14b quotes the opinion of Rabbi Naḥman commenting on 1 Sam. 25.30-31, 'Rabbi Naḥman says, as the proverb (*pitgam*) says, "a woman speaks and spins wool at the same time"; and others say, "the goose is modest and humble, but its eyes see far away"'. This last proverb is also explained in a similar way in *b. B. Qam.* 92b.

The conversation between Abigail and David is interpreted by some rabbis as an indication of her prophetic gift.[25] According to *Lam. R.* 21.1, the Holy Spirit was upon her when she told David, 'the soul of my lord shall be found in the bundle of life'. Owing to her prophetic powers she foretold David's sin with Bathsheba when she said, 'My lord shall have no cause of grief' (1 Sam. 25.31), literally, 'this shall be no grief to you' (implying, however, that the affair with Bathsheba will) (*b. Meg.* 14a). For Rashi, Abigail prophesied, prompted by the divine spirit, that her husband Nabal would not live long.

2. *Diverting the Murderous Rage of the Warriors by Females Showing their Nudity*

There is a continuous discussion among scholars of classical Roman antiquity and in the field of Celtic and mediaeval studies concerning the particular behavior of women facing the furor of warriors. In order to divert the murderous rage of the warriors, ancient texts mention women

23. The Rabbinic Bible, *Miqrā'ôt gᵉdôlôt, Nebî'îm ri'šônîm* (Jerusalem: Pardes, 1959).

24. Couli, *Meam Loez*, commentary on 1 Sam. 25.31.

25. *B. Meg.* 14a, 'There are seven prophetesses. Who are they? Sarah, Miriam, Deborah, Hannah, Abigail, Huldah (and) Esther'.

uncovering themselves. The gesture, however, does not have a univocal meaning, and historians are somewhat divided in their interpretations. In certain texts, naked women appearing in front of warriors might be using their nudity as an expression of supplication. In other texts, it appears that they used sex as a ruse in order to divert their attention and abate their murderous rage.

The following example comes from the first century BCE. Caesar (101–44 BCE), in his *Bellum gallicum*, mentions the following incident that occurred with the women when Ceasar's legions besieged Gergovia in 52 BCE, a Gallic camp in the southern part of Gaul:

> *Matres familiae de muro vestem argentumque iactabant et pectore nudo prominentes, passis manibus obtestabantur Romanos, ut sibi parcerent neu, sicut Avarici fecissent, ne a mulieribus quidem atque infantibus abstinerent: nonnullae de muris per manus demissae sese militibus tradebant.*
>
> Matrons cast clothing and silver from the wall, and with bare breasts and outstretched hands implored the Romans to spare them, and not to do as they had done at Avaricum, holding their hand not even from women and children. Some of the women were lowered by hand from the wall, and were fain to deliver themselves to the troops.[26]

When all resistance seemed useless, some native Gallic, that is, Celtic, women took off their clothes and climbed down naked to meet the Roman soldiers. In this text several things seem to be combined: Giving silver as gifts to Roman legionnaires, making the gesture of supplication with open arms, some females showing their naked breasts and other women climbing down the wall offering themselves to the soldiers. It is a gesture of propitiation and a desperate attempt to calm down the destructive and murderous rage of the warriors.

The behavior of the women is not just a simple act of supplication. The gifts of silver made to the Roman soldiers show that some Gallic women want to bribe or propitiate them with their presents, while other women want to entice them by offering themselves to the soldiers and save their lives by sacrificing their honor. Moreover, this procedure is part of a well-known behavior among Celtic populations, found equally in ancient Ireland and in mediaeval texts describing attempts to calm down the murderous rage of warriors gone berserk.

One of the most archaic motifs in the legend of the Celtic hero Cúchulainn, pronounced *Coohoolin*, dating from first-century BCE Ireland, is the story of his youthful exploits. The young Cúchulainn was extremely precocious, possessing extraordinary strength. He was capable

26. Julius Caesar, *The Gallic War* (ed. H.J. Edwards; Loeb Classical Library; London: W. Heinemann, 1917; 1966), 7.47, pp. 448-49.

of putting himself in a state of exceptionally destructive furor. In a series of feasts he broke fifteen weapons that were handed to him by the king of Ulster before finding the one suiting him. Then he broke the shaft of a chariot, and single-handedly killed three famous warriors, guardians of Ulster territory. To subdue his murderous fury, the Ulstermen sent forth a troop of naked women to meet him. That did not help, because the youth hid his face from them to avoid seeing their nudity. Thereupon, he was plunged into three vats of cold water. The staves and hoops of the first vat burst asunder with the heat emanating from his body. The water in the second vat boiled, and even in the third, the water became hot. When his murderous rage had been calmed, they dressed him in fresh clothes and finally brought him to the king.[27]

There are variant versions of the same motif. In *Tâin Bô Cuâlgne* (*Yellow Book of Lecan*) and in *Lebor na h-Uidre*, Cúchulainn returns from battle still consumed and burning with murderous furor (*ferg*). He is met by a group of twenty nude women. 'Here', says his wife, Mugain, showing him her naked breasts, 'here are the warriors who will do combat with you'. She eventually calms him with three vats of cold water.[28] In the *Book of Leinster*, the women meet the enraged warriors, showing them 'their nakedness and their *pudenda*'.[29] The furor (*ferg*) designates the transfiguring rage of the warrior. It stands for a bodily conflagration, a permanent state of frenetic ardor. It is as troublesome as it is precious. The warrior is not its master and seems to be possessed by it. Coming back to his hometown before assuming his new role as its protector, the warrior constitutes a public menace and has to be appeased before being able to reintegrate into the community.

In *Fled Brecrend*, a similar elaborate procedure is employed by the Celtic queen Medb in order to appease the furor of the warriors returning from Cruachan after a battle. This text too describes beautiful females showing their naked bodies with shining white skin:

> [Send them] beautiful women, said Medb,
> with beautiful breasts, with handsome nakedness [and] a body of sparkling whiteness,
> with a troop of young girls, ready, assembled;
> may the fortress be open, may the castle be . . .

27. A. Rees and B. Rees, *Celtic Heritage: Ancient Tradition in Ireland and Wales* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1961), pp. 246-48.

28. G. Dumézil, *Heur et malheur du guerrier: Aspects mythiques de la fonction guerrière chez les Indo-européens* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969) = *The Destiny of the Warrior* (trans. A. Hiltebeitel; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 134-35.

29. J. Maureau, 'Les guerriers et les femmes impudiques', *AIPHOS* 11 (1951), pp. 283-300 (291 n. 2).

may the vats with very cold water and beds be readied;
[may they bring] good food and good beer, noble and intoxicating.[30]

Moreover, in the Middle Ages, it was believed of the Scandinavian *berserkir*—the warrior elite who wrought havoc upon the enemy—that as long as their *berserk gangr*, or 'berserk frenzy', lasted, they were invincible, being so strong that nothing could resist them. Once this furor had passed, they became weak, impotent, (*ómáttugr*) to the point of having to lie down with what amounted to an illness.[31]

The murderous fury of the warrior is like a fire that possesses and physically devours the man, providing him with extraordinary force in combat and giving him the appearance of an incandescent mass.[32]

3. *When Gods like Men Go Berserk*

P. Kyle McCarter has analyzed two texts from the Ba'l cycle in Ugaritic mythology dealing with divine rage and altered states of warrior gods. The first text is *KTU* 1.3, II 3, also known as 'Anat's Bloodbath', and the second is 'Ba'l's victory over the Sea' in *KTU* 1.2, I 38-41, showing how Ba'l goes berserk and attacks the messengers of Yamm, 'Sea'.[33] Ba'l losing his temper is described as the god becoming sick with anger: *'appa 'aniša zabūlu ba'lu* 'Then Prince Ba'l became sick, unwell' (*KTU* 1,2 I 38). Though the messengers have come on a diplomatic mission, in rage and out of control, Ba'l attacks them to the point that he has to be restrained by Athirat and Anat, a wrathful goddess prone to berserk behavior. In 'Anat's Bloodbath' the goddess 'makes war in the valley, between two cities, her knees are plunged in the blood of heroes, her thighs in the gore of warriors' (*KTU* 1.3 II 6-7, 13-15). Other lines of the myth describe Anat's altered state in which she is having hallucinations, slaughtering and cackling maniacally:

But she was not satisfied with making war in the valley,
with fighting between the two cities.
(So) she arranged the chairs as warriors,

30. Françoise Le Roux, 'La mort de Cúchulainn', *Ogam—Tradition celtique* 18 (1966), pp. 365-89; 'Pectore nudo', pp. 369-72 (370). This author points out that the gesture has different meanings depending on context.

31. Dumézil, *The Destiny of the Warrior*, p. 123. The term *berserkir* means 'warrior clothed in bearskin', p. 141.

32. Dumézil, *The Destiny of the Warrior*, p. 138.

33. P. Kyle McCarter, 'When the Gods Lose their Temper. Divine Rage in Ugaritic Myth and the Hypostasis of Anger in Iron Age Religion', in *Divine Wrath and Divine Mercy in the World of Antiquity* (ed. R.G. Kratz and H. Spieckermann; FAT, 2, 33; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), pp.78-91. The first text, *KTU* 1.3, II 3, is further analyzed by J.-M. Husser in his article below.

> arranged the tables as troops,
> the footstools as heroes.
> She made war fiercely and looked.
> Anat fought and watched.
> Her liver was swollen with laughter.
> Her heart was filled with joy.
> Anat's liver was fixated,
> And she plunged her knees in the blood of heroes,
> Her thighs in the entrails of warriors,
> Until she was satisfied with making war
> in the house (*KTU* 1,3 II 19-29).

Anat thinks she is fighting real-life warriors, but in fact she is fighting chairs that in her imagination look like warriors. In other words, she is 'tilting at windmills', like Don Quixote, who fights the windmills that he imagines to be giants, as found in the novel by Cervantes. In McCarter's words, 'Her behavior is consistent with what today might be described as acute stress disorder with its sensations of intense horror in response to the extreme emotions of warfare. This impression is reinforced as the episode continues and Anat's real-world victories prove psychologically insufficient, so that her dissociative disconnection from normal experience leads her into the realm of hallucination.'[34]

Being *ʾnš*, 'sick' or 'unwell', is a Ugaritic metaphoric expression designating unpredictable and dangerous behavior when gods are 'not themselves' until their rage is appeased and they return to a state of normalcy. The cognates of the Ugaritic term, however, may provide the explanation for this mythological elaboration. The Ugaritic term *ʾnš* corresponds to Akkadian *nīšu* 'man', mostly pl. *nišū* 'people', as well as to Hebrew *ʾenôš* 'man', pl. *ʾanāšîm* 'men', in the sense of a 'weak, feeble, mortal creature', as implied in Ps. 8.5, 'What is man (*ʾenôš*) that you are mindful of him, mortal (*ben-ʾādām*) that you care for him?' The authors

34. McCarter, 'When the Gods Lose their Temper', p. 84. The Greeks also sing of the warrior's rage. Achilles' rage is the main theme of the *Iliad*. The first two lines of the *Iliad* (1.1-2) read: 'Sing, Goddess, of the rage of Peleus' son Achilles, the accursed rage that brought great suffering to the Achaeans'. Achilles' consuming rage (*mēnis*, 'lasting rage') is at times an asset in the combat against the Trojan enemy, but at other times the warrior becomes a danger to his own troops since he cannot be cooled. Zeus himself took note of Achilles' rage and sent the gods to restrain him so that he would not go on to sack Troy itself, seeming to show that the unhindered rage of Achilles could defy fate. For Hellenistic philosophers Achilles represents the violent man, enslaved to his passions, in contrast to Odysseus, who incarnates the wise, resourceful person. Ajax, another Greek hero, dies insane, having massacred the sheep destined to feed the Greek troops, and realizing his error, kills himself. See P. Grimal, *Dictionnaire de la mythologie grecque et romaine* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1999), pp. 8, 24.

of the Ugaritic myths project on their gods the behavior observed of human warriors. In other words, when Ugaritic gods occasionally behave like men, or human warriors, they go berserk. These episodes about Ba'l and Anat would be the earliest mythological descriptions of the ravages inflicted on warriors by the so-called combat stress.[35]

4. *David's Murderous Rage*

The narrative in 1 Samuel 25 is about how David got one of his wives, but it serves a far more important function in the sense that it constitutes a decisive stage in depicting David's psychological make-up.[36] David is a hot-blooded, impulsive individual, too quick in shedding blood. Apparently overcome by a murderous rage, David has a propensity 'to go berserk'.

The traditional understanding of the threat uttered by David is that he was bent on exterminating the entire household. In v. 22 he literally says, 'God do so to the enemies of David and more so, if by morning I leave so much as the one who urinates against the wall (*mštyn bqyr*) who belong to him'. David repeats the same phrase in v. 34.

David uses a well-known Oriental, roundabout way of swearing solemnly, 'God do so to the enemies of David', meaning, 'God do so to David'. This type of periphrasis is found in eighteenth-century BCE Mari letters, as in the case of Inib-šarri denouncing to her father the treacherousness of her second husband, Ibâl-Addu, king of Ašlakkā, and Zimrī-Līm's vassal: *iyattam ul ilqe* (29) *qaqqad ayyāb bēlīya* 30 $^{\text{I}}$*Ibal-*$^{\text{d}}$[*Addu*] (31) *uqallil* 'To me, he did not show contempt, but Ibâl-Addu has despised the enemies of my lord (Zimrī-Līm)'.[37] This particular manner of speech, using periphrasis, provides yet another link between 1 Samuel 25 and the story of Inib-šarri, as described by Michaël Guichard in this volume. The mediaeval rabbinic commentators had already pointed out the use of the term 'enemies of' as a euphemism in the books of Samuel (Rashi on 1 Sam. 20.16; 2 Sam. 12.14); Radaq (1 Sam. 20.16; 25.22; 2 Sam. 12.14). The same periphrastic way of expressing the curse is found in an Egyptian text known as the 'Coptos Decree', dating from the eighteenth century BCE.[38] It really amounts to an invocation of a curse on

35. R.R. Grinker and J.P. Spiegel, *Men under Stress* (New York: McGraw–Hill, 1963), offer sixty-five case histories of World War II Air Force veterans suffering from combat stress.

36. R.P. Gordon, *I and II Samuel: A Commentary* (LBI; Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1988), p. 181.

37. The Inib-šarri's letter in ARMT, 2, 113.28-30; and see M. Anbar, 'Un "euphémisme biblique" dans une lettre de Mari', *Or* 48 (1979), pp. 109-11.

38. R. Yaron, 'The Coptos Decree and 2 Sam xii 14', *VT* 9 (1959), pp. 89-91; line 6 of the inscription reads, 'His name shall not be remembered in this temple,

himself if he does not carry out his homicidal intention of exterminating Nabal and his household. If he does not succeed in killing Nabal and his household, by spite, David is bent on turning his murderous rage against himself. Apparently, this rage can become so self-destructive that even the use of a periphrasis is preferable.

The expression 'the one who urinates against the wall' (*mštyn bqyr*) is usually taken to designate all the male descendants of Nabal's household down to his farm dog. Rashi explained the term *mštyn* in the usual manner, pointing out, '(*mštyn bqyr*) even a dog whose manner is to urinate against the wall'. The same interpretation is suggested by Radaq and by Isaiah of Trani. In modern Israeli Hebrew, the word *mištānâ* designates a public toilet or *urinoir*.

The expression *mštyn bqyr* is used several times in the Hebrew Bible (1 Kgs 14.10; 16.11; 21.21 and 2 Kgs 9.8), in significant contexts, referring to the extirpation and complete extermination of the royal house. All the male members of the reigning dynasties of Jeroboam, Ahab and Baasha are killed.[39] It is a coded expression epitomizing the violent termination of a king's rule in a coup d'état, with complete annihilation of all the descendants, potential successors to the throne. Following this intertextual lead, A. Caquot and P. de Robert suggested that David was bent on exterminating even the little boy of Nabal's household who had not yet learned how to cover his feet and was still urinating against the wall (cf. 1 Sam. 24.4).[40]

The KJV rendered the expression in the following manner: 'any that pisseth against the wall'. In his commentary, P. Kyle McCarter followed this literal translation and rendered it, 'of all he has who piss against the wall'. His comment on this rendering is to the point: 'The verb has become vulgar in modern English, but perhaps a vulgarism is appropriate on David's lips in his present state of mind'.[41] For J. Gray, the expression 'is a typical example of the direct, graphic, uninhibited speech of the

according as it is done toward one like him, who is hostile toward the enemies of his god'. The expression 'being hostile to the enemies of his god' stands for 'being hostile to his god'.

39. S. Talmon and W.W. Fields, 'The Collocation משתין בקיר ועצור ועזוב and its Meaning', *ZAW* 101 (1989), pp. 85-112 (94). The authors suggested that the expression *mštyn bqyr* stands for a high dignitary, 'predominantly of royal status, who had the privilege of using, and of relieving himself in a private upper chamber' (p. 101). This would imply that David's rage was heightened by the connivance between Saul and Nabal, who hosted one of Saul's royal dignitaries on his domain.

40. A. Caquot and P. de Robert, *Les livres de Samuel* (CAT, 6; Geneva: Labor & Fides, 1994), p. 310 n. 19.

41. P.K. McCarter, Jr, *I Samuel* (AB, 8, Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980), p. 398.

Israelite peasant'.[42] The idiom is pejorative, even in biblical Hebrew. To say that a man pisses against the wall is another way of saying that he is a dog. The term *kalbu*, 'dog', is used as a term of abuse in eighteenth-century BCE Mari letters, 'Even though they may be royal sons, what are they? Dogs!' (ARMT, 1, 27.28).[43] Moreover, it also has some connections with the fact that Nabal was from the tribe of *Caleb* (*klb*), which means 'dog'. As admirably analyzed in Moshe Garsiel's article above, in 1 Samuel 25, Nabal and David throw slurs on each other and on their respective clans, attesting to a deeply ingrained hostility between them spanning several generations. Endemic animosity between clans is an additional link between the behavior of Amorite semi-nomadic clans and the Hebrew ones. Boiling with anger, David loses control of decent speech and gives vent to his murderous rage.

Some years ago, David Winton Thomas suggested interpreting Samson's behavior when he was in a murderous rage as an example of a warrior 'boiling with anger', which strangely resembles the 'berserk' phenomenon described above.

In Judg. 16.20, Samson, who after a killing spree fell asleep on the knees of a Philistine prostitute, awakes at the threat of the Philistines saying, 'I will go out as at other times, and shake myself free' (from bonds) (*w^{e}'innā'ēr*). The verb *nā'ar*, in the niphal conjugation, means 'to shake' (oneself). Thomas pointed out that the translation 'shake myself' was unsatisfactory. It follows the LXX *ektinachthēsomai* and the Vulgate *me excutiam*. Nothing is said, however, of his having been bound on this occasion, and it is not recorded elsewhere that he 'shook himself'.[44] Thomas suggested, therefore, to translate this verb as 'I will show myself angry', or 'I will boil with anger'. He took the clue from the Syriac rendering in the Peshiṭṭa version (*'štnd bhwn*), 'I will punish them', where the suffix *bhwn* refers to the Philistines. Likewise, the Aramaic version in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan has *'itgabbar*, 'I will prevail', from the root *gābar*, which in the hithpael means 'be uppermost, prevail, to be strong'.[45] Thomas was right in suggesting that the Hebrew root *nā'ar* used in the niphal should be connected with the Arabic root *nġr*, meaning

42. J. Gray, *I and II Kings* (OTL; Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1976), p. 337.

43. J.-M. Durand, *Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari*, 1 (LAPO, 16; Paris: Cerf, 1997), p. 499, following the interpretation of W. von Soden, 'Zu den politischen Korrespondenzen des Archivs von Mari', *Or* NS 21 (1952), pp. 75-86 (78).

44. D. Winton Thomas, 'A Note on the Hebrew Text of Judges 16.20,' *AfO* 10 (1935–36), pp. 162-63.

45. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim*, p. 208b; in hithpael the root means 'to swell, to grow strong, to make oneself master'.

'to boil, be in violent commotion, be very angry.'[46] In Judg. 14.19, on a previous occasion, when Samson had smitten the Philistines, 'his anger was kindled' (*wayyiḥar 'appô*). Samson was able to accomplish his feats in a state of boiling anger akin to the behavior of berserk warriors.

In my opinion, one should probably recognize here the state of extreme anger of a warrior who has become 'berserk'. His murderous anger was uncontrollable and wrought havoc on enemy ranks. Moreover, after his murderous exploits, Samson associated with prostitutes, something that resembles the presence in Roman and Celtic texts of 'lewd women' whose role was to calm down the uncontrollable rage of the warriors through the use of sex and make them sociable again.

There is another ambiguity in the Hebrew text that has been rightfully pointed out by the rabbis. Abigail's lad says in 1 Sam. 25.17, 'Now, therefore, know this and consider what you should do; for evil is determined against our master and against all his house; he is so ill-natured (*ben-bᵉliyyaʿal*)[47] that one cannot speak to him' (NRSV). The final statement in this verse is ambiguous. Rabbi David Qimḥi wondered whether Abigail's servant was in fact referring to David as the 'Son of Beliyya'al', a completely uncontrollable, hellish fellow, bent on murdering anyone who had anything to do with Nabal. The servants of Nabal are aware of David's extremely hostile attitude. David is in the grip of a murderous rage, and they wonder how to bring David back to reason and sanity.

In v. 25, Abigail will skillfully use the same expression in order to dissipate all ambiguity and exculpate David by qualifying her husband with the same epithet.

5. *Conclusion*

The hallmark of rabbinic interpretations of Abigail's behavior is their extreme attentiveness to the ambiguities of the Hebrew text, which they exploit to the fullest.

In light of our analysis, it appears that the rabbis projected on Abigail some of the devices the Palestinian populations of their times used in order to divert the murderous rage of the Roman legions who did a lot of raping.

Both classical sources and texts dealing with Celtic and mediaeval history attest to the practice of females uncovering themselves in order

46. W. Lane, *Arabic–English Lexicon* (London: Wiliams & Norgate, 1863), part 8, p. 2815.

47. D. Winton Thomas, '*Belîyyaʿal* in the Old Testament', in *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of R.P. Casey* (ed. J.N. Birdsall and R.W. Thompson; Freiburg: Herder, 1963), pp. 11-19.

to divert the murderous rage of warriors. The rabbinic tradition imputes to Abigail the same kind of behavior. In order to save her life and that of her household, she met David and his men and uncovered herself. By this device she diverted David's murderous rage.

The Jerusalem Talmud assimilates Abigail to Raḥab, the prostitute. Just as Raḥab provoked pollution in men by the mere mention of her name, Abigail too had the same effect on David's men by uncovering herself.

The Babylonian Talmud gives the story a slightly more serious aspect by turning Abigail's uncovering of her thigh into an examination of her menstrual blood by David, which ends up as a learned, scholarly discussion about the halakhah pertaining to sex with a menstruating woman and capital punishment, with Abigail using the rabbinic argument *qal waḥômer*.

Nevertheless, on this particular matter, the rabbinic interpretative tradition amounts more to an example of eisegesis, 'reading into a text', than to a respectful handling of the biblical text. We probably learn more about male sexual fantasies than about Abigail's character. Their depiction of Abigail as a lewd woman is tendentious. The reason for this is to be found in the fear of the rabbis that the women of their times might take Abigail's assertive and resourceful behavior as an example. For certain rabbis, a pious woman should not be assertive in public, and should avoid taking decisions independently from her husband.

7

Anat and the Warriors: Gender Definition and the Ambivalence of the Feminine in Ugaritic Mythology

Jean-Marie Husser

Introduction

When it comes to the beauty, wisdom and cunning of women in the ancient Near East, a detour into the imagination of mythology and epic poetry is essential. For it is through this genre of literature that ancient and traditional societies construct their identity and define the roles of different players. Rather than give us information about precise historical facts, these accounts refer to cultural phenomena, structures and symbolic functions, knowledge of which is indispensable to an understanding of the societies that we are studying. This is certainly true of how gender identity is formed. If there is any feminine figure in Canaanite mythology likely to stimulate reflection on the subject of this symposium, it is the goddess Anat. She is represented in the texts as a very young woman, who is both impetuous and capricious, renowned for her beauty *(n'm)* and grace *(tsm)*,[1] but also for her passion for hunting, her warlike character, her excessive violence and taste for blood. If it is generally accepted that sexuality and eroticism are among her attributes, after the fashion of Ištar, to define Anat as goddess of love and fertility seems too simplistic. This interpretation has been rightly questioned by Peggy L. Day and Neal H. Walls.[2] Walls's argument has convincingly freed the goddess from the interpretative framework of the 'myth-and-ritual school' and her association with fertility rites. By placing the interpretation of this divine figure within gender studies, Walls has succeeded in modifying an important part of our understanding of Ugaritic mythology. This paper builds on Walls's argument.

1. *KTU* 1.10: ii 16; 1.14: iii 41-42; 1.92: 27-30

2. P.L. Day, 'Why Is Anat a Warrior and Hunter?', in *The Bible and the Politics of Exegesis: Essays in Honor of Norman K. Gottwald* (ed. W. Jobling *et al.*; Cleveland: Pilgrim Press, 1991), pp. 141-56; N.H. Walls, *The Goddess Anat in Ugaritic Myth* (SBLDS, 135; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1992).

Because of her implication in the very masculine world of hunting and war, Anat is characterized by a very particular kind of femininity, conveyed, among others, by the epithet *batulatu*, which is exclusively reserved for her in Ugaritic texts (and used more than fifty times). From the numerous studies of this term in Hebrew and Ugaritic, it seems clear that the usual translation 'virgin' is not an accurate rendering of an epithet that refers more to the social status of the young woman than to her virginity as such.[3] In fact, *batulatu* implies feminine sexuality that is not yet mature and refers to an age group and social status that remain ill defined due to the fact that the young woman is not married or not yet a mother.[4] Close in age and in social status to young people who are not yet married, Anat, described as the 'tomboy goddess' by Dennis Pardee[5], shares their passion for hunting and inspires them with courage in war and combat, whose fury and cruelty she personifies. As huntress and warrior, she therefore reverses the roles assigned to men and women in ancient Western Semitic societies. By means of a double transgression—with regard to femininity on the one hand and the practice of war and of hunting on the other—she embodies for young *men* a sort of absolute virility to which they accede as they step into adulthood. Without going so far as to describe her as bisexual, it is nevertheless clear that Anat assumes and symbolizes the same ambivalence as regards gender that characterizes Inanna-Ištar in a similar context.[6] These are divinities whose feminine sexuality is strongly asserted but whose behavior is sometimes virile and who occasionally take on masculine traits. In other words, Anat is fully feminine, but her adolescent sexuality is still relatively ill defined. As a result, she is gender ambivalent, and this makes her likely to transgress the social codes that define gender.

1. *Anat and the Warriors*

The role of Anat in the practice of war is well illustrated by the strange account of the massacre of the warriors in the third tablet of the *Baal*

3. See in particular C. Locher, *Die Ehre einer Frau in Israel* (OBO, 70; Fribourg, Switzerland: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986).

4. On the age and sexuality of Anat, see Walls, *Anat*, p. 78-86, 209-10. As J.F. Parker remarks, 'Beyond the helplessness of childhood and before the obedience of wifery, these young women are poised to be agents of destiny'; in 'Women Warriors and Devoted Daughters. The Powerful Young Woman in Ugaritic Narrative Poetry", *UF* 38 (2006), pp. 557-75 (557).

5. D. Pardee, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), p. 274.

6. See B. Groneberg, 'Die sumerisch-akkadische Inanna-Ištar: Hermaphroditos?', *WO* 17 (1986), pp. 25-46; J.-J. Glassner, 'Inanna et les Me', in *Nippur at the Centennial* (ed. M. de Jong Ellis; Papers Read at the 35e RIA; Philadelphia, PA: S.N. Kramer Fund, 1992), pp. 55-86.

Cycle (*KTU* 1.3 ii). In it, she manifests surprising violence and cruelty. Situated between two major lacunae, at the end of column 1 and at the beginning of column 2, the text is nevertheless a clearly defined and very-well-structured literary unit. It is framed by two groups of lines that describe Anat getting ready, washing, putting on her make-up and perfume. The structure of the text contrasts two combats or rather two massacres in which the goddess is engaged, one 'in the valley, between the two towns' and the other 'in the house, between the tables'.[7] Nothing is known of the warriors massacred by the goddess, other than that she met them for the first time 'at the foot of the mountain' (*bšt ġr* l. 4) and that they come from far and wide: 'she massacres the people of the sea shore, she destroys the men of the East'.[8] A few additional details distinguish the two massacres: the first is followed by the deportation of the civilian population (ll. 15-16), while the second makes the bloodthirsty goddess exult with joy, for, as the text says, 'victory is in the hands of Anat' (l. 26). Another difference is that Anat 'is not satisfied by the massacre in the valley' (l. 19: *wl šb't tmtḫṣ b'mq*), whereas 'she slaughters to satiety in her house' (l. 29: *'d tšb' tmtḫṣ bbt*). After the slaughter, the house is carefully cleaned of the blood of the heroes, and Anat herself washes and tidies the furniture (ll. 31-37).

Significant breaks in the tablet prevent us from understanding how this episode relates to the *Baal Cycle*. In its current state, it was interpreted for many years according to the *seasonal pattern*, a rite that was supposed to hasten the return of the rains. This interpretation has no following today.[9] An alternative interpretation was proposed by Jeffrey Lloyd,[10] who suggested that the second massacre was the mythical transposition of the ritual execution of prisoners, which may have taken place after the battle evoked by the first massacre. Carried out in Anat's sanctuary, the function of this very special form of sacrifice was to complete her victory by exhausting the destructive forces at work in war—here represented by

7. *KTU* 1.3: ii: *tmtḫṣ b'mq tḫtṣb bn qrytm* (ll. 5-6, 19-20) // *tmtḫṣ bbt tḫtṣb bn ṯlḥnm* (ll. 29-30). See J. Tropper, 'Anats Kriegsgeschrei (*KTU* 1.3 II 23)', *UF* 33 (2001), pp. 567-71.

8. *KTU* 1.3: ii 7-8: *tmḫṣ lim ḫp ym // tṣmt adm ṣat šp̄š*. As Nicolas Wyatt notes, in his *Religious Texts from Ugarit* (Biblical Seminar, 53; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), p. 73 n. 17, this description of Anat's enemies shows that she is not fighting against any particular camp but that she is the origin of the battle whoever the combatants; she is the fury of war personified.

9. Walls (*Anat*) argues that it should be read as a descriptive element of the personality of the goddess without any narrative link to the rest of the myth.

10. J.B. Lloyd, 'Anat and the "Double" Massacre of *KTU* 1.3 ii', in *Ugarit, Religion and Culture* (ed. N. Wyatt, W.G.E. Watson and J.B. Lloyd; UBL, 12; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1996), pp. 151-65.

Anat—and to purify the combatants by shedding the last blood of battle in the sacred context of a ritual, described as a feast. To end the carnage of battle in the sanctuary was to celebrate victory 'in the hands of Anat' and, thereby, ensure the complete extinction of battle fury, personified by the goddess. Though hypothetical, this interpretation has convinced recent commentators that it is the only way to make sense of the behavior of the goddess and the episode as a whole.

The text itself, however, is very elliptical and offers no clue as to how the ritual massacre of prisoners of war, of which there is no trace elsewhere in Ugarit, may have taken place. In addition, the vocabulary used of the preparations for the massacre does not refer directly to a cultic context: the seats, tables and stools constitute the necessary accoutrements for a feast in a palace rather than a sacrificial rite in a temple. Though the myth may have kept the vague memory of an archaic practice of this sort, the account simply says that the warriors were invited to a feast and were treacherously massacred 'between the tables'. It is, therefore, not necessary to refer to a ritual to hear what the myth seems to convey, namely that the battle—any battle—is Anat's feast, a feast to which she invites young men whose flesh and blood nourish the goddess. Her cruelty is in fact the cruelty of battle, which severs the heads and limbs of young men. Anat thus appears as the divine hypostasis of the brutality of combat and of warriors' fury, of the fever that enables them to overcome their fear and increase their strength tenfold. The fact that the violence of war and its sanguinary fury are attributed to a feminine figure is not exceptional in mythology; the female warrior appears as the ultimate transgression of the rules defining gender and thus embodies a sort of paroxysm of the virile values associated with war.[11]

11. Here we should cite the famous words of J.-P. Vernant, who brilliantly summarizes the anthropological dimension of the association of women and war in ancient Greece: 'Marriage is for the girl what war is for the boy: for each of them these mark the fulfilment of their respective natures as they emerge from a state in which each still shared in the nature of the other. Thus a girl who refuses marriage, thereby also renouncing her "femininity", finds herself to some extent forced towards warfare and paradoxically becomes the equivalent of a warrior. This is the situation in the myth of females like the Amazons and, in a religious context, of goddesses such as Athena: their warrior status is linked to their condition as a *parthenos* who has sworn everlasting virginity. It could even be said that this deviation both from the normal state of women, who are destined for marriage, not warfare, and from the normal state of warriors who are men, not women, gives a special intensity to warrior values when these are embodied in a girl' (*Myth and Society in Ancient Greece* [trans. J. Lloyd; Brighton: Harvester Press; Atlantic Highland, NJ: Humanities Press, 1980], pp. 23-24).

2. *Anat and Aqhat*

Anat's role in the *Legend of Aqhat* illustrates her involvement in the equally masculine world of hunting.[12] In recounting the death of the son of Danel,[13] killed by a falcon during a hunting expedition, the story employs a motif common in the mythologies of the ancient eastern Mediterranean, that of the slain hunter.[14] The bird of prey was sent by Anat to avenge the affront she suffered when the hero refused to give her his bow. The contents of the story and its epic genre clearly reflect the values and social code of a palatial aristocracy of the late Bronze Age, whose ideology they helped to structure. In this social context, the death of Aqhat forms the counter-example of a hero, the breakdown of a relationship that should have been established between the goddess and the young man when the latter entered adulthood. I have suggested that this episode should be interpreted with reference to a rite of passage for boys entering adulthood, in which the hunt is both an ordeal and a symbolic code, Anat playing the role of divine mediator.[15] Without seeking to specify the *realia* of this ritual, which, moreover, is not mentioned in the text, it can be demonstrated that the account suggests the existence of such a rite by virtue of the reference made to a symbolic code whose purpose is to structure the young man's integration into the class of adult men. This symbolic code functions by inverting the signs of masculinity and femininity in a way that is characteristic of rites of passage and of puberty.[16]

12. See Day, 'Why Is Anat a Warrior and Hunter?', pp. 141-56; P. Day, 'Anat: Ugarit's "Mistress of Animals"', *JNES* 51 (1992), pp. 181-90.

13. *KTU* 1.17: vi – 1.18: iv.

14. As regards this motif, see P. Xella, *Problemi del mito nel vicino oriente antico* (AION 36, Suppl. 7; Naples: Istituto Orientale di Napoli, 1976), pp. 61-91; J.E. Fontenrose, *Orion, the Myth of the Hunter and the Huntress* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981); A. Schnapp, *Le chasseur et la cité: Chasse et érotique dans la Grèce ancienne* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1997), ch. 3: 'La métaphore du chasseur', pp. 72-122.

15. J.-M. Husser, 'La mort d'Aqhat: Chasse et rites de passage à Ugarit', *RHR* 225 (2008), pp. 323-46. My thanks to J.-J. Glassner for our exchanges on this subject and for sending me his article 'Inanna et les Me' (quoted in n. 6), which provides an important element of comparison from Sumer and reinforces my interpretation of Anat's personality and my hypothesis regarding her role in a rite of passage.

16. This interpretative framework is analagous to that used by P. Vidal-Naquet in 'Le chasseur noir et l'origine de l'éphébie athénienne' (*Le chasseur noir* [Paris: La Découverte, 2nd edn, 1991]), pp. 151-75, who writes on p. 163: 'le passage de l'enfance à l'âge adulte, celui de la guerre et du mariage, est dramatisé, dans le rite et dans le mythe, au moyen d'une loi qu'on pourrait appeler loi d'inversion symétrique'.

The young man's accession to adulthood is signified in the story by the gift his father makes to him of a legendary bow, accompanied by advice to guide his conduct as a huntsman. At the key moment, when the boy is about to assume his masculinity in the company of adult men, the bow and intervention of the goddess Anat function as symbolic mediators. In this context, the prestigious weapon constitutes an obvious symbol of masculinity and virility.[17] By asking Aqhat to give her the bow he has just received, Anat in fact invites him to embark upon a process in which gender is ambivalent. The undeniable sexual dimension of Anat's request nevertheless remains veiled under the guise of a hunting partnership. In the initiatory context to which this story seems to refer, the sexual significance of the bow leads to two possible interpretations: either Anat demands the young man to symbolically give up his virility—ritually and temporarily—or she invites him to enter into a sexual relationship. Whatever the nature of the request, the fact that the young man is addressed by an adolescent goddess whose behavior is clearly virile recalls the inversion of signs characteristic of rites of passage. The dynamic of the plot lies in Aqhat's inability to decipher this situation and to enter into the ambivalent relationship that the goddess seeks to establish with him. In the eyes of the young man, the goddess's request is merely a transgression of the socially accepted code as to what constitutes femininity. To close the discussion and make his refusal final, he retorts with masculine disdain, 'bows are for warriors; are women to go hunting these days?' (*KTU* 1.17: vi 39-40). Aqhat refutes the role inversion proposed by the goddess on the basis of gender roles prevalent in Ugaritic society, one dominated by values associated with masculinity: arms for men, the distaff for women.[18] According to my reading, therefore, Aqhat's refusal to give his bow to Anat is to be understood as a mistake in the ritual context of his accession to manhood.

In the legend, the sanction for this mistake will therefore be death, and the murder of the hero is entrusted to Yatipanu, a mercenary in the service of the goddess. In a passage that is, unfortunately, badly damaged (*KTU* 1.18: I), and in which only a few words remain in each

17. This symbolic significance was the subject of debate to determine whether it really was a symbol of masculinity or virility; for a summary and bibliographical references, see J.-M. Husser, 'Chasse et érotisme dans les mythes ougaritiques', *Ktèma* 33 (2008), pp. 235-44 (241).

18. From the point of view of gender definition, the best parallel to Aqhat's response is in the *Odyssey* 21.350-54, when Penelope tries to settle the dispute between Ulysses and her suitors regarding the archery competition and when Telemachus sends his mother back to women's work: 'So go to your quarters now and attend to your own work, the loom and the spindle, and see that the servants get on with theirs. The bow is the men's concern, and mine above all; for I am master in this house' (trans. E.V. Rieu; London: Penguin Books, 1946).

line, it is understood that Anat draws Aqhat into her trap by inviting him to take part in a hunting expedition on the pretext, it seems, of introducing him to this sport.[19] But is this an initiation only into the art of hunting? In the invitation the goddess makes to the young man, there is a much-debated line: 'Listen, I [beg] you valorous [Aqhat]: you are my brother and I [am your sister]'.[20] The usual interpretation of this passage recognizes in the terms 'brother' and 'sister'—the latter restored—'common expressions for lovers in the ancient Near East',[21] by means of which Anat declares her love for the young man. This reading has been challenged by those who refuse the restoration *a[ḫtk]* 'your sister', while others accept the parallelism 'my brother'//'your sister'[22] but interpret it either as an expression of equal rank between the goddess and the young prince[23] or as a false declaration of reconciliation with the purpose of ambushing him.[24]

It is difficult to decide on a definitive solution in a text that is irremediably damaged, and even if we accept the likely restoration 'your sister', the question of the meaning of these terms remains open. If one recognizes that they have an amorous connotation, this implies that the introduction to hunting was accompanied by sexual initiation or was simply the pretext for the latter. Though the text cannot provide any certainty, this possibility would be in keeping with the personality of the goddess and with the sexual symbolism of the bow in the passage about which I have already briefly spoken. It may also be that the hunting excursion is simply a metaphor for erotic play, as can be observed elsewhere in Ugaritic texts[25] and in practically every other literature. According to this verbal code, woman is the object of man's intense desire, in the same way as game is desired by the hunter, in both

19. *KTU* 1.18: i line 27: *lk tlk bṣd*[ ] 'You should come to hunt [ ]'; line 29: *almdk ṣ*[d: 'I shall teach you how to h[unt]'.

20. *KTU* 1.18: i 23-24: *šmᶜ m*[ᶜ laqht ġ]*zr at aḫ wan a*[ḫtk]. The restoration of the end of line 24 (*a*[ḫtk]) is called into question by some.

21. T.H. Gaster, *Thespis* (New York: Norton, 1950), p. 290; M. Dijkstra and J.C. de Moor, 'Problematical Passages in the Legend of Aqhâtu', *UF* 7 (1975), pp. 171-215 (194).

22. H.H.P. Dressler considers these words to be the beginning of an invitation to hunt: 'Come, o brother, and myself will [. . .]', in 'The Metamorphosis of a Lacuna. Is *at.aḫ.wan* . . . a Proposal of Marriage?', *UF* 11 (1979), pp. 211-17; this reading is taken up by Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, p. 279.

23. With reference to usage in letters and to diplomatic language, see P. Xella, 'Tu sei mio fratello ed io sono tua sorella (*KTU* 1.18 I 24)', *AuOr* 2 (1984), pp. 151-53.

24. D. Pardee, 'The Aqhat Legend', in *The Context of Scripture*. I. *Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World* (ed. W.W. Hallo; Leiden: Brill, 1997), p. 348.

25. Husser, 'Chasse et érotisme'.

cases expressed by the verb *ḥamada*, 'to ardently desire'.[26] The pursuit of the prey, the nets to ensnare it, and the hunter's darts to wound it, all speak unambiguously of man's sexual domination of woman.

In the end then, Anat's invitation to come and 'hunt' with her was only a ruse to draw Aqhat into a trap, and the role of the young man in this game was not that of a hunter but of a prey. Aqhat's death reverses the roles in the hunt; instead of being the hunter, he becomes the game.[27] This reversal of the situation also signifies the symbolic reversal of the sexes that takes place between Aqhat and the goddess. By becoming her prey, Aqhat is transformed into a woman, while the goddess takes on the role of the hunter, in other words, the man he was incapable of becoming. Thus, Anat brings about by other means—the death of the hero—the symbolic sex reversal that Aqhat previously refused. Only now, the young man's regression to the role of prey signifies that he is kept in the sphere of the feminine, that is, the world of childhood that he was unable to relinquish, and his physical death signifies his social death, his incapacity to accede to the world of adults. This reading of the text also helps us understand why the goddess mourns him and weeps over the disappearance of the bow as soon as he is dead. What we are tempted to understand as the expression of an odd psychological make-up, or even as the manifestation of the goddess's perversity,[28] is in fact a symbolic game in story form, in which Anat is the divine mediator permitting progression from childhood to adulthood thanks to the ambivalent femininity she embodies. This aspect of the goddess will become all the more apparent in what follows.

3. *Pughat*

The third recovered tablet of the *Legend of Aqhat* (*KTU* 1.19) tells of the sorrow of Danel after the death of his son, the search for his body and his burial, the long period of mourning that follows, and finally Pughat's departure to avenge her brother. The drama of Aqhat's death finds its inevitable aftermath here for, as is the rule in this society, his murder calls for vengeance by death. A sudden new development in the story, with fresh transgression of the codes regulating the definition of gender, this revenge will be carried out by another young woman, the

26. *KTU* 1.92: 6.29; 1.12: i 38.

27. This position as game is underlined by the means used by Anat to kill Aqhat: Yatipanu is transformed into a falcon and swoops down on the young man to hit him on the head. The whole passage clearly refers to a technique of falconry. See W.G.E. Watson, 'The Falcon Episode in the Aqhat Tale', *JNSL* 5 (1977), pp. 71-72.

28. This is the view of B. Margalit, *The Ugaritic Poem of AQHAT: Text, Translation, Commentary* (BZAW, 182; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1989).

sister of the hero. And the ruse this feeble woman adopts to kill the brutal warrior requires that she take the form of the goddess Anat, whose antithesis she would appear to be.

Indeed, Aqhat's sister seems, in the first part of this episode, to be in every respect the ideal daughter in a patriarchal society; besides, she is simply called *pughatu* 'the young girl' without any other given name. The epithets that characterize her as 'water bearer' *(ṯkmt my)*, 'she who gathers dew from the fleece' *(ḥspt lšʿr ṭl)*, and 'she who knows the movement of the stars' *(ydʿt hlk kbkbm)* (*KTU* 1.19: ii 1-2) present her as an expert in rural economy, like Abigail, or the ideal woman in Proverbs 31. The story describes her in the service of her father, harnessing his donkey and helping him in his saddle (1.19: ii 7-11). Finally she weeps for her brother, killed hunting, with a grief that is sincere. Seven years went by and, after offering the sacrifice to mark the end of the mourning, the young girl asks her father for his blessing—another expression of her filial piety—and gets ready to avenge her brother. At this point, we witness the transformation of the modest young girl into a female warrior (*KTU* 1.19: iv 41-46).

t[ ] . bym . trtḥ[ṣ]	[ ] in the sea she wash[ed] herself,
[42] *w . tadm . tidm . bǵlp ym*	she rouged herself with shellfish from the sea,
[43] *dalp . šd . ẓuh . bym .*	whose source is a thousand acres in the sea.
t[ḫt] [44] *tlbš . npṣ . ǵẓr .*	Un[derneath] she donned warrior's equipment,
tšt . ḫ[lpn .] b [45] *nšgḥ*	she put a da[gger] in her sheath,
ḫrb . tšt . bt ʿr[th]	a sword she placed in [her] scabbard.
[46] *wʿl . tlbš . npṣ . aṯt*	And on top she donned women's clothes.

Thus equipped, she goes to the encampment of Yatipanu, the mercenary of Anat and her brother's assassin, with the intention of killing him. When she arrives at the camp of this roughneck soldier, a break in the text makes interpretation uncertain (*KTU* 1.19: iv 49-52).

mǵy[t] [50] *pǵt . lahlm.*	Pughat came to some tents.
rgm . lyṯ[pn . y] [51] *bl .*	Word was brought to Yatipan:
agrtn . bat . bḏdk .	'Our employer has come to your tent,
[pǵt / ʿnt] [52] *bat . b<a>hlm .*	[Anat] has come to the tents'.

Depending on whether we choose to read Anat or Pughat at the end of line 51, we understand the term *agrtn* at the beginning of the line either as 'she, who hired us, our boss' or 'she whom we hired'. According to the first alternative, the soldiers think that they recognize Anat in the young woman wearing warrior's tackle under her dress. In the second, they do not see the warrior's gear hidden under her dress and take Pughat for a prostitute whom they have hired. What follows does not help us choose

between these options, despite the fact that Yatipanu asks the woman to bring him a drink. Therefore, like Wyatt, I opt for the first hypothesis, for Pughat has prepared herself in the same way as Anat before she went to battle, apparently with the intention of passing herself off as the goddess.

The text that follows is unfortunately lost, but there is little doubt as to the conclusion of the episode; the parallel with the story of Judith, which contains the same narrative motif, was noted long ago.[29] Therefore, a further inversion of gender takes place here through the mission the young girl takes on to avenge her brother, her fighting tackle and the confusion that her disguise creates in the mind of the roughneck soldier. Pughat's disguise mixes provocative eroticism with warlike violence, the very ingredients that nourish the fantasies of a masculine society of warriors. If Pughat presents herself in the guise of Anat, her behavior is devoid of any of Anat's excess. If the goddess is characterized by violence and passionate reactions, Pughat is moderate in all her actions, including her decision to go and kill the assassin of her brother and in her strategy, which is very well devised. In her capacity as a well-brought-up young girl, capable, if need be, of transgressing the rules of behavior governing the sexes, she appears as the human double and opposite of the goddess.

We find, without a doubt, in the antithetical relationships the story establishes between Aqhat and the two feminine protagonists—the goddess Anat and his sister Pughat—a schema identical to the Sumerian myth constructed around Dumuzi and Inanna, on the one hand, and Dumuzi and his sister Geshtinanna on the other. In both cases, the relationship of the hero to the goddess ends in death. In both cases, the young women display opposing feelings for him—seduction followed by vindictive anger on the part of the goddess, compassion and unfailing solidarity on the part of his sister.[30] If this parallel does not allow us to reconstruct the legend of Aqhat on the model of the Sumerian myth, it does highlight a recurring narrative structure in the mythologies of the ancient Near East, placing the hero in a triangular relationship with two types of women who are opposites by nature and by the quality of their relationship with him—the divine lover, seductive, jealous, and vindictive on the one hand, the human sister, a paragon of virtue, showing solidarity and compassion on the other.

These two female figures do not compete with each other however, because their respective natures—human for one and divine for the other—sets them on different levels. Nevertheless, and despite everything

29. See discussion of this passage by S.B. Parker, *The Pre-Biblical Narrative Tradition* (SBL Resources for Biblical Studies, 24; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1989), pp. 129-34.

30. See C. Fontaine, 'The Deceptive Goddess in Ancient Near Eastern Myth: Inanna and Inaraš', *Semeia* 42 (1988), pp. 84-102.

that opposes them, they appear as the two sides of a single person, the mythical construction of an ambivalent image of women. Of these two, one is acceptable to society, is indeed the paradigm of the young woman of good breeding and manners, while the other is not. Yet, it is the socially unacceptable side that Anat embodies: disrespect of parental authority,[31] sexual provocation,[32] violence and cruelty.[33] We find in the goddess everything that a patriarchal society does not accept in female behavior. By means of the excesses of her nature, Anat is the counter-model of the good woman, who is modest and submissive to masculine authority. Contrary to the interpretation of B. Margalit, this portrait of Anat in the myth is not designed to discredit the goddess and her cult. Rather, it corresponds to one of her functions, which is to personify the negative forces and transgressive behavior from which society seeks to protect itself. By taking on the aggressiveness and violence that are typically masculine, and whose excess is liable to express itself in the family, in relationships between the sexes and in war, this ambiguous feminine figure, at the same time, ensured that these excesses were held in check. The difference in nature and sex meant that the mythical structure maintained a radical otherness between Anat and young men, thereby preventing the latter from identifying too closely with the masculine values that she personifies and whose excesses endanger the equilibrium of society.

31. *KTU* 1.3: iv 53-55; v 1-4, 19-25; 1.8: i 11-12.

32. Apart from the invitation to Aqhat discussed above and contrary to common opinion, the mythological texts do not explicitly document this erotic aspect of the goddess. Rather, we owe the image of the young nude with pronounced private parts and surrounded by wild beasts to iconography. See I. Cornelius, *The Many Faces of the Goddess: The Iconography of the Syro-Palestinian Goddesses Anat, Astarte, Qedeshet and Asherah, c. 1500–1000* BCE (OBO, 204; Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004).

33. *KTU* 1.3: ii; 1.6: ii 30-35.

Bibliography

Ackroyd, P.R., 'The Succession Narrative (So-Called)', *Interpretation* 35 (1981), pp. 383-96.

Ahlström, G.W., 'Administration of the State in Canaan and Ancient Israel', in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (ed. J.M. Sasson; New York: Scribner's, 1995), I, pp. 587-603.

Albright, W.F., 'Some Important Recent Discoveries: Alphabetic Origins and the Idrimi Statue', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 118 (1950), pp. 11-20.

Alter, R., *The David Story: A Translation with Commentary of 1 and 2 Samuel* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999).

Altman, A., 'The Revolutions in Byblos and Amurru during the Amarna Period and their Social Background', in *Bar-Ilan Studies in History* (ed. P. Artzi; Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1978), pp. 3-24.

Anbar, M., 'Un "euphémisme biblique" dans une lettre de Mari', *Orientalia* 48 (1979), pp. 109-11.

Aro, J., 'Remarks on the Language of the Alalakh texts', *Archiv für Orientforschung* 17 (1954–56), pp. 361-65.

Asher-Grave, J., *Frauen in altsumerischer Zeit* (Bibliotheca mesopotamica, 18; Malibu, CA: Undena, 1985).

— 'Stepping into the Maelstrom: Women, Gender and Ancient Near Eastern Scholarship', *NIN–Journal of Gender Studies in Antiquity* 1 (2000), pp. 1-22.

The Babylonian Talmud, Seder Mo'ed Megillah (ed. I. Epstein; trans. M. Simon; New York: Rebecca Bennet Publications, 1959).

The Babylonian Talmud, Seder Zera'im, Berakoth (ed. I. Epstein; trans. M. Simon; New York: Rebecca Bennet Publications, 1959).

The Babylonian Talmud, Seder Nashim, Kethuboth (ed. I.W. Slotki; trans. S. Daiches; 2 vols.; New York: Rebecca Bennet Publications, 1959).

Bahrani, Z., *Women of Babylon: Gender and Representation in Mesopotamia* (London: Routledge, 2001).

Batto, B.F., *Studies on Women at Mari* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974).

Bebe, P., *Isha: Dictionnaire des femmes et du Judaïsme* (Paris: Calmann–Lévy, 2001).

Beltz, W., *Die Kaleb-Traditionen im Alten Testament* (Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament, 98; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1974).

Berlin, A., 'Characterization in Biblical Narrative: David's Wives', *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 23 (1982), pp. 69-85.

— *Poetics and Interpretation of Biblical Narrative* (BLS, 9; Sheffield: Almond Press, 1983).

Bittel, K., 'Bildliche Darstellungen Ḫattušili III in Ägypten', in *Kaniššuwar: A Tribute to H.G. Güterbock* (ed. H.A. Hoffner, Jr, and G.M. Beckman; Assyriological Studies, 23; Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1986), pp. 39-48.

Bodi, D., *The Michal Affair: From Zimri-Lim to the Rabbis* (Hebrew Bible Monographs, 3; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2005).
— 'Was Abigail a Scarlet Woman?', in *Stimulation from Leiden* (ed. H.M. Niemann and M. Augustin; Collected Communications to the XVIIIth Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament, Leiden, 2004; Frankfurt am Mein: Peter Lang, 2006), pp. 67-79.
— 'Les différents genres de la correspondance divine', *Ktèma* 33 (2008), pp. 245-58.
— *Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel* (ed. J.H. Walton; Zondervan Illustrated Bible Backgrounds Commentary, 4; Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2009).
— *The Demise of the Warlord: A New Look at the David Story* (Hebrew Bible Monographs, 26; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2010).
— *Israël à l'ombre des Babyloniens et des Perses* (Collection de l'Université Marc Bloch—Strasbourg, Etudes d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, Paris: de Boccard, 2010).
— 'Akkadian and Aramaic Terms for a "Favorable Time" (*ḫidānu*, *adānu* and *'iddān*): Semitic Precursors of Greek *kairos*?', in *Time and History in the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the 56th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Barcelona* (ed. L. Feliu, J. Llop, A. Millet Albà, and J. Sanmartín; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2013), pp. 47-56.
— 'The Retribution Principle in the Amorite View of History: Yasmaḫ-Addu's Letter to Nergal (ARM I, 3) and Adad's Message to Zimrī-Līm (A. 1968)', *ARAM* (2014) (Oxford: Oxford Oriental Institute), forthcoming.
Borger, R., *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien* (*Archiv für Orient–forschung* Beiheft, 9; Graz: Selbstverlag, 1956).
Bottéro, J., 'Les Habiru, les nomades et les sédentaires', in *Nomads and Sedentary Peoples* (ed. J.S. Castillo; 30th International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa 1976; Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1981), pp. 89-107.
— *L'épopée de Gilgamesh: Le grand homme qui ne voulait pas mourir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1992).
Bottéro, J., and S.N. Kramer, *Lorsque les dieux faisaient l'homme: Mythologie mésopotamienne* (Paris: Gallimard, 1989).
Brooks, S.S., 'From Gibeon to Gibeah: High Place of the Kingdom', in *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel* (ed. J. Day; London: T. & T. Clark, 2005), pp. 40-59.
Buccellati, G., 'La "carriera" di David e quella di Idrimi re di Alalac', *Bibbia e Oriente* 4 (1962), pp. 95-99.
Boureau, A., *The Lord's First Night: The Myth of the Droit de cuissage* (trans. L.G. Cochrane; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).
Caquot, A., and P. de Robert, *Les livres de Samuel* (CAT, 6; Geneva: Labor & Fides, 1994).
Cassin, E., 'Le droit et le tordu I', in *Le semblable et le différent, symbolisme du pouvoir dans le Proche-Orient ancien* (Paris: La Découverte, 1987), pp. 50-71.
Cavigneaux, A., and F.N.H. Al-Rawi, *Gilgamesh et la mort: Textes de Tell Haddad VI avec un appendice sur les textes funéraires sumériens* (Cuneiform Monographs, 19; Groningen: Styx Publications, 2000).
Charpin, D., 'Un souverain éphémère en Ida-Maraṣ: Išme-Addu d'Ašnakkum', *MARI* 7 (1993), pp. 165-91.

— 'Une campagne de Yahdun-Lîm en Haute-Mésopotamie', in *Recueil d'études à la mémoire de Maurice Birot* (ed. D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand; Florilegium marianum, 2, Mémoires de NABU, 3; Paris: SEPOA 1994), pp. 177-200.
— *Hammu-rabi roi de Babylone* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2003).
Charpin, D., and J.-M. Durand, 'Relectures d'ARM VII', *MARI* 3 (1983), p. 88.
— 'La prise de pouvoir par Zimri-Lim', *MARI* 4 (1985), pp. 293-343.
Charpin, D., and N. Ziegler, *Mari et le Proche-Orient à l'époque amorrite: Essai d'histoire politique* (Florilegium marianum, 5; Mémoires de NABU, 6; Paris: SEPOA, 2003).
Chaney, M., 'Ancient Palestinian Peasant Movements and the Formation of Premonarchical Israel', in *Palestine in Transition: The Emergence of Ancient Israel* (ed. D.N. Freedman and D.F. Graf; Sheffield: Almond Press, 1983), pp. 39-90.
Clements, R.E., *Abraham and David: Genesis XV and its Meaning for Israelite Tradition* (SBT, II/5; London: SCM Press, 1967).
Cogan, M., 'Chronology', in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (ed. D.N. Freedman; New York: Doubleday, 1992), I, pp. 1002-11.
Conrad, J., 'Zum geschichtlichen Hintergrund der Darstellung von Davids Aufstieg', *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 97 (1972), cols. 321-32.
Cornelius, I., *The Many Faces of the Goddess: The Iconography of the Syro-Palestinian Goddesses Anat, Astarte, Qedeshet and Asherah, c. 1500–1000* BCE (Orbis biblicus et orientalis, 204; Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004).
Couli, J., *Yalquṭ Meam Loez, Shemuel I and II* (Jerusalem: H. Vegeschel, n.d.) [Hebrew].
Dalley, S., *Myths from Mesopotamia: Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh and Others* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).
Dassow, E. von, *State and Society in the Late Bronze Age Alalaḫ under the Mittani Empire* (ed. D.I. Owen and G. Wilhelm; Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians, 17; Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 2008).
Davies, J.A., 'Heptadic Verbal Patterns in the Solomon Narrative of 1 Kings 1–11', *Tyndale Bulletin* 63 (2012), pp. 21-34.
Davis, R.C., and R. Schleifer (eds.), *Contemporary Literary Criticism: Literary and Cultural Studies* (London: Longman, 2nd edn, 1989).
Day, P.L., 'Why Is Anat a Warrior and Hunter?', in *The Bible and the Politics of Exegesis: Essays in Honor of Norman K. Gottwald* (ed. D. Jobling *et al.*; Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press, 1991), pp. 141-56.
— 'Anat: Ugarit's "Mistress of Animals"', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 51 (1992), pp. 181-90.
Démare-Lafont, S., '"A cause des anges". Le voile dans la culture juridique du Proche-Orient ancien', *Etudes de droit privé en souvenir de Maryse Carlin* (ed. O. Vernier; Paris: Editions la mémoire du droit, 2008), pp. 235-54.
Demsky, A., 'The Clans of Ephrath: Their Territory and History', *Tel-Aviv 13* (1986), pp. 46-59.
Dhorme, E., 'Les Habirou et les Hébreux', *Revue historique* 78 (1954), pp. 256-64.
Dietrich, W., *Prophetie und Geschichte: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk* (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, 108; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972).

Dietrich, W., '*dāwīd, dôd* und *bytdwd*', *Theologische Zeitschrift* 53 (1997), pp. 17-32.
Dijkstra, M., and J.C. de Moor, 'Problematical Passages in the Legend of Aqhâtu', *Ugarit-Forschungen* 7 (1975), pp. 171-215.
Donnet-Guez, B., *Le roi David et ses femmes: ambiguité de leur relation dans la littérature post-biblique* (Paris: Verapax, 2011).
Dossin, G., 'Archives de Sûmum-Iamam, roi de Mari', *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 64 (1970), pp. 17-44.
— 'Amurru, dieu cananéen', in *Symbolae biblicae et mesopotamicae F.M.Th. de Liagre Böhl dedicatae* (ed. M.A. Beek; Leiden: Brill 1973), pp. 95-98.
— *Correspondance féminine* (ARM, 10; Paris: Geuthner, 1978).
Draffkorn Kilmer, A., 'How Was Queen Ereshkigal Tricked? A New Interpretation of the Descent of Ishtar', *Ugarit-Forschungen* 3 (1971), pp. 299-309.
Dressler, H.H.P., 'The Metamorphosis of a Lacuna. Is *at.aḫ.wan* . . . a Proposal of Marriage?', *Ugarit-Forschungen* 11 (1979), pp. 211-17.
Dumézil, G., *Heur et malheur du guerrier: aspects mythiques de la fonction guerrière chez les Indo-européens* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969) = *The Destiny of the Warrior* (trans. A. Hiltebeitel; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).
Durand, J.-M., 'Les dames du palais de Mari à l'époque du royaume de Haute-Mésopotamie', *MARI* 4 (1985), pp. 385-436.
— 'Les anciens de Talḫayum', *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 82 (1988), pp. 97-113.
— *Archives épistolaires de Mari* 26/1 (ARM, 26; Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1988).
— 'Le mythologème du combat entre le dieu de l'orage et la mer', *MARI* 7 (1993), pp. 41-61.
— *Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari 1* (LAPO, 16; Paris: Cerf, 1997).
— *Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari 2* (LAPO, 17; Paris: Cerf, 1998).
— *Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari 3* (LAPO, 18; Paris: Cerf, 2000).
— *Le culte d'Addu d'Alep et l'affaire d'Alahtum* (Florilegium marianum, 7; Mémoires de NABU, 8; Paris: SEPOA, 2002).
— 'Assyriologie: L'étude de la société et du peuplement du Proche-Orient au XVIIIe siècle av. notre ère', *Annuaire du Collège de France* 104 (2003–2004), pp. 817-59.
— 'Assyriologie: Le problème des *ḫabiru*', *Annuaire du Collège de France* 105 (2004–2005), pp. 563-84.
— 'La religion amorrite en Syrie à l'époque des Archives de Mari', in *Mythologie et religion des Sémites occidentaux* (ed. G. del Olmo Lete; Orientalia lovaniensia analecta, 162; Louvain: Peeters, 2008), pp. 161-722.
Edel, E., *Die ägyptisch–hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache.* I. *Umschriften und Übersetzungen.* II. *Kommentar* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1994).
Edelman, D.V., *King Saul in the Historiography of Judah* (*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, Supplement Series, 121; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991).
— 'Saul ben Kish in History and Tradition', in *The Origins of the Ancient Israelite States* (ed. F. Fritz and P.R. Davies; *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, Supplement Series, 228; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996).
Edwards, H.J., *Caesar, The Gallic War* (trans. H.J. Edwards; Loeb Classical Library; London: W. Heinemann, 1917; 1966).

Even-Shoshan, A., *Hammillôn heḥadaš* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Kiryath-Sepher, 1969).
Farber-Flügge, G., *Der Mythos 'Inanna und Enki' unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Liste der me* (Studia Pohl, 10; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1973).
Finet, A., 'La lute entre Gilgamesh et Enkidu', in *Tablettes et images aux pays de Sumer et d'Akkad: Mélanges offerts à Monsieur H. Limet* (ed. Ö. Tunca and D. Deheselle; Liège: Université de Liège, 1996), pp. 45-50.
Finkelstein, I., 'The Archaeology of the United Monarchy: An Alternative View', *Levant* 28 (1996), pp. 177-87.
— 'State Formation in Israel and Judah: A Contrast in Context, A Contrast in Trajectory', *Near Eastern Archaeology* 62 (1998), pp. 35-52.
— 'The Rise of Jerusalem and Judah: The Missing Link', *Levant* 33 (2001), pp. 105-15.
— 'Khirbat en-Nahas, Edom and Biblical History', *Tel-Aviv* 32.1 (2005), pp. 119-25.
— 'The Last Labayu: King Saul and the Expansion of the First North Israelite Territorial Entity', in *Essays on Ancient Israel in its Near Eastern Context: A Tribute to N. Na'man* (ed. Y. Amit, E. Ben Zvi, I. Finkelstein and O. Lipschits; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006), pp. 171-87.
Finkelstein, I., and N.A. Silberman, *The Bible Unearthed: Archaeology's New Vision of Ancient Israel and the Origin of its Sacred Texts* (New York: Free Press, 2001).
— *David and Solomon: In Search of the Bible's Sacred Kings and the Roots of Western Tradition* (New York: Free Press, 2006).
— 'Temple and Dynasty: Hezekiah, the Remaking of Judah and the Rise of the Pan-Israelite Ideology', *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 30 (2006), pp. 259-85.
Fisch, H., 'Ruth and the Structure of Covenant History', *Vetus Testamentum* 32 (1982), pp. 425-37.
Fischer, A.A., *Von Hebron nach Jerusalem: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Studie zur Erzählung von König David in II Sam 1–5* (Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 335; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004).
Fleming, D., *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors: Mari and Early Collective Governance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
— 'Prophets and Temple Personnel in the Mari Archives', in *The Priests in the Prophets: The Portrayal of Priests, Prophets, and Other Religious Specialists in the Latter Prophets* (ed. L. Grabbe and A.O. Bellis; *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, Supplement Series, 408; London: T. & T. Clark, 2004), pp. 44-64.
Fokkelman, J.P., *Narrative Art and Poetry in the Books of Samuel*. II. *The Crossing Fates* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1986).
Fontaine, C., 'The Deceptive Goddess in Ancient Near Eastern Myth: Inanna and Inaraš', *Semeia* 42 (1988), pp. 84-102.
Fontenrose, J.E., *Orion, the Myth of the Hunter and the Huntress* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981).
Freedman, D., 'Counting Formulae in the Akkadian Epics', *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University* 2 (1970–71), pp. 65-81.
Galil, G., 'The Formation and Development of the Clans of Hur, First Born of Ephrata', in *Studies in Bible and Exegesis: Presented to Moshe Garsiel* (ed. S. Vargon *et al.*; Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2009 [Hebrew]), IX, pp. 409-26.
— 'The Hebrew Inscription from Khirbet Qeiyafa/Neta'im', *Ugarit-Forschungen* 41 (2009), pp. 193-242.

Garsiel, M., *The Kingdom of David: Studies in History and Inquiries in Historiography* (Tel Aviv: Don, 1975 [Hebrew]).
— *The First Book of Samuel: A Literary Study of Comparative Structures, Analogies and Parallels* (Ramat Gan: Revivim, 1983 [Hebrew]; an English updated translation: 1985; Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, 2nd edn, 1990). References are made to the English translations.
— 'Metaphorical and Metonymical Methods of Description in the Biblical Narrative', *Criticism and Interpretation: Journal for Literature, Linguistics, History, and Aesthetics* 23 (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1987 [Hebrew]), pp. 5-40.
— 'Wit, Words, and a Woman: 1 Samuel 25', in *On Humour and the Comic in the Hebrew Bible* (ed. Y.T. Radday and A. Brenner; *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, Supplement Series, 92; Sheffield: Almond Press, 1990), pp. 161-68.
— *Biblical Names: A Literary Study of Midrashic Derivations and Puns* (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1991).
— 'The Book of Samuel: Its Composition, Structure and Significance as a Historiographical Source', *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 10 (2010), article 5 (electronic).
— 'Ideological Discordance between the Prophets, Nathan and Samuel, as Reflecting the Divergence between the Book of Samuel's Authors', in *The Ancient Near East in the 12th–10th Centuries* BCE: *Culture and History* (ed. G. Galil *et al.*; Alter Orient und Altes Testament; Münster, forthcoming).
Gaster, T.H., *Thespis* (New York: Norton, 1950).
George, A.R., *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic* (2 vols.; Oxford: University Press, 2003).
Giacumakis, G., Jr, *The Akkadian of Alalakh* (Janua linguarum, series practica, 59; The Hague: Mouton 1970).
Ginzberg, L., *The Legends of the Jews* (7 vols.; Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1909–56).
Glassner, J.-J., 'L'hospitalité en Mésopotamie ancienne: aspect de la question de l'étranger', *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete* 80 (1990), pp. 60-75.
— 'Inanna et les me', in *Nippur at the Centennial* (ed. M. de Jong Ellis; Papers Read at the 35e RIA; Philadelphia, PA: S.N. Kramer Fund, 1992), pp. 55-86.
— 'L'accueil de l'hôte en Mésopotamie ancienne', *Voyages et voyageurs au Proche-Orient ancien* (Actes du Colloque de Cartigny 1988; Les Cahiers du CEPOA, Louvain: Peeters, 1995), pp. 77-90.
Goodnick Westenholz, J., 'Toward a New Conceptualization of the Female Role in Mesopotamian Society', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 110 (1990), pp. 510-21.
Gordon, R.P., 'David's Rise and Saul's Demise: Narrative Analogy in 1 Samuel 24–26', *Tyndale Bulletin* 31 (1980), pp. 37-64.
— *I and II Samuel: A Commentary* (Library of Biblical Interpretation; Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1988).
Goren, Y., I. Finkelstein and N. Na'aman, 'The Expansion of the Kingdom of Amurru according to the Petrographic Investigation of the Amarna Tablets', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 329 (2003), pp. 2-11.
Gray, J., *I and II Kings* (Old Testament Library; Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1976).

Green, B., *How Are the Mighty Fallen? A Dialogical Study of King Saul in 1 Samuel* (*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, Supplement Series, 365; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003).

Greenstein, E.L., and D. Marcus, 'The Akkadian Inscription of Idrimi', *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University* 8 (1976), pp. 59-96.

Greenstein, E.L., 'Deconstruction and Biblical Narrative', *Prooftexts* 9 (1989), pp. 43-71.

— 'Autobiographies in Ancient Western Asia', in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (ed. J.M. Sasson; New York: Scribner's 1995), IV, pp. 2421-32.

Grimal, P., *Dictionnaire de la mythologie grecque et romaine* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1999).

Grinker, R.R., and J.P. Spiegel, *Men under Stress* (New York: McGraw–Hill, 1963).

Grønbaek, J.-H., *Die Geschichte vom Aufstieg Davids (1. Sam. 15–2. Sam. 5). Tradition und Komposition* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1971).

Groneberg, B., 'Die sumerisch-akkadische Inanna-Ištar: Hermaphroditos?', *Die Welt des Orients* 17 (1986), pp. 25-46.

Guichard, M., 'Le Šubartum occidental à l'avènement de Zimrī-Līm', in *Recueil d'études à la mémoire d'André Parrot* (ed. D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand; Florilegium marianum 6, Mémoires de NABU, 7, Paris: SEPOA, 2002), pp. 119-68.

— *La vaisselle de luxe des rois de Mari* (Matériaux pour le Dictionnaire de Babylonien de Paris tome II; ARM, 31; Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 2005).

— 'Šuduhum, un royaume d'Ida-Maraṣ, et ses rois Yatâr-malik, Hammī-kūn et Amud-pā-El', in *Entre les fleuves*. I. *Untersuchungen zur historischen Geographie Obermesopotamiens im 2. Jahrtausend* (ed. E. Cancik-Kirschbaum and N. Ziegler; Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient, 20; Gladbeck: PeWe-Verlag), 2009), pp. 88-89.

— 'Un David raté ou une histoire de habiru à l'époque amorite. Vie et mort de Samsī-Erah, chef de guerre et homme du people', in *Le jeune héros* (ed. J.-M. Durand, T. Römer and M. Langlois; Fribourg: Academic Press, 2011), pp. 29-93.

Gunn, D.M., *The Story of King David: Genre and Interpretation* (*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, Supplement Series, 6; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1979, 1989).

— *The Fate of King Saul. An Interpretation of a Biblical Story* (*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, Supplement Series, 14; Sheffield: JSOT Press 1980).

Gurney, O., 'The Sultantepe Tablets: VII, The Myth of Nergal and Ereshkigal', *Anatolian Studies* 10 (1960), pp. 105-31.

Hallo, W.W., 'Scurrilous Etymologies', in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom* (ed. D.P. Wright, D.N. Freedman and A. Hurvitz; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995), pp. 767-76.

Halpern, B., *David's Secret Demons: Messiah, Murderer, Traitor, King* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001, 2004).

Harris, R., 'Images of Women in the Gilgamesh Epic', in *Lingering over Words: Studies in Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran* (ed. T. Abusch, J. Huehnergard and P. Steinkeller; Harvard Semitic Studies, 37; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1990), pp. 219-30.

— 'Inanna-Ishtar as Paradox and a Coincidence of Opposites', *History of Religions* 30 (1991), pp. 261-78.

— *Gender and Aging in Mesopotamia: The Gilgamesh Epic and Other Ancient Literature* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000).
Hasidah, I.I., *Encyclopedia of Biblical Personalities: As Seen by the Sages of the Talmud and Midrash* (Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, 1999 [Hebrew]).
Hess, R., 'Alalakh Studies and the Bible: Obstacle or Contribution?', in *Scripture and Other Artifacts: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Honor of P.J. King* (ed. M.D. Cogan *et al.*; Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1994), pp. 199-215.
— 'Canaan and Canaanite in Alalakh', *Ugarit-Forschungen* 31 (1999), pp. 225-36.
Homer, *Odyssey* (trans. E.V. Rieu; London: Penguin Books, 1946).
Husser, J.-M., 'La mort d'Aqhat: chasse et rites de passage à Ugarit', *Revue d'histoire des religions* 225 (2008), pp. 323-46.
— 'Chasse et érotisme dans les mythes ougaritiques', *Ktema* 33 (2008), pp. 235-44.
Hutter, M., *Altorientalische Vorstellungen von der Unterwelt. Literar- und religionsgeschichtliche Überlegungen zu 'Nergal und Ereškigal'* (Orbis biblicus et orientalis, 63; Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag, 1985).
Izre'el, S., 'The Amarna Letters from Canaan', in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (ed. J.M. Sasson; New York: Scribner's, 1995), II, pp. 2411-19.
— *Adapa and the South Wind: Language Has the Power of Life and Death* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2001),
Jacobsen, T., 'The Investiture and Anointing of Adapa', *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature* 46 (1930), pp. 201-203.
Jastrow, M., *A Dictionary of the Targumin, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York: Judaica Press, 1975).
Jean, C.-F., *Archives royales de Mari II, lettres diverses* (Textes cunéiformes du musée du Louvre; Paris: P. Geuthner, 1941).
— *Lettres diverses* (ARM, 2; Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1950).
Jobling, D., *1 Samuel* (Berit Olam; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1998).
Kallai, Z., 'Biblical Narrative and History. A Programmatic Review', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 96 (2006), pp. 133-57.
Keetman, J., 'Der Kampf im Haustor. Eine der Schlüsselszene zum Verständnis des Gilgamesch-Epos', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 67 (2008), pp. 161-73.
Keys, G., *The Wages of Sin: A Reappraisal of the 'Succession Narrative'* (*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, Supplement Series, 221; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996).
Klein, J., 'The God Martu in Sumerian Literature', in *Sumerian Gods and their Representations* (ed. I.L. Finkel and M.J. Geller; Cuneiform Monographs, 7: Groningen: Styx, 1997), pp. 99-116.
Klengel, H., 'Aziru von Amurru und seine Rolle in der Geschichte der Amarnazeit,' *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 10 (1964), pp. 57-83.
— *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausen v. u. Z.* II. *Mittel- und Südsyrien* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1969), II, pp. 247-50.
Knoppers, G.N., *Two Nations under God: The Deuteronomistic History of Solomon and the Dual Monarchies.* I. *The Reign of Solomon and the Rise of Jeroboam* (Harvard Semitic Monograph Series, 52; 2 vols.; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1993).
— 'The Vanishing Solomon: The Disappearance of the United Monarchy from Recent Histories of Ancient Israel', *Journal of Biblical Literature* 116 (1997), pp. 19-44.

— 'The Davidic Genealogy: Some Textual Considerations from the Ancient Mediterranean World', *Transeuphratène* 22 (2001), pp. 35-50.
Kupper, J.-R., *Correspondance de Baḫdi-Lim, préfet du palais de Mari* (ARM, 6; Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1954).
Lafont, S., 'Le roi, le juge et l'étranger à Mari et dans la Bible', *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 92 (1998), pp. 161-81.
— 'Nouvelles données sur la royauté mésopotamienne', *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 73 (1975), pp. 473-500.
Landsberger, B., 'Assyrische Königliste und "Dunkeles Zeitalter"', *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 8 (1954), pp. 47-73.
— 'Jungfräulichkeit: Ein Beitrag zum Thema "Beilager und Eheschliessung"', in *Symbolae iuridicae et historicae M. David dedicatae* (ed. J.A. Ankum, R. Feenstra and W.F. Leemans; Leiden: Brill, 1968), pp. 41-105.
Lane, W., *Arabic–English Lexicon* (London: Wiliams & Norgate, 1863).
Lemaire, A., 'Cycle primitif d'Abraham et contexte géographico-historique', in *History and Traditions of Early Israel: Studies Presented to Eduard Nielsen* (ed. A. Lemaire and B. Otzen; *Vetus Testamentum*, Supplement Series, 50; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993), pp. 62-75.
Lemche, N.P., 'David's Rise', *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 10 (1978), pp. 2-25.
Lemos, T.M., *Marriage Gift and Social Change in Ancient Palestine: 1200 BCE to 200 CE* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
Levenson, J.D., '1 Samuel 25 as Literature and as History', *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 40 (1978), pp. 11-28.
Levenson, J.D., and B. Halpern, 'The Political Import of David's Marriages', *Journal of Biblical Literature* 99 (1980), pp. 507-18.
Levy, T.E., 'Reassessing the Chronology of Biblical Edom: New Excavations and 14C Dates from Khirbat en-Nahas (Jordan)', *Antiquity* 302 (2004), pp. 865-79.
— 'Edom and Copper: The Emergence of Ancient Israel's Rival', *Biblical Archaeologist Reader* 32.4 (2006), pp. 24-35, 70.
Lieberman, S., *Tosefta Ki-fshuṭah: A Comprehensive Commentary on the Tosefta*. VI. *Order Nashim* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1967).
— *The Tosefta (The Order of Mo'ed)* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1969).
Lion, B., 'Les familles royales et les artisans déportés à Mari en ZL 12', *Nomades et sédentaires dans le Proche-Orient ancien, Amurru* 3 (ed. C. Nicolle; 46e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Paris 2000; Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 2004), pp. 217-24.
Liverani, M., 'Adapa hospite degli dei', in *Religioni e civilità: Scritti in memoria di Angelo Brelich* (ed. V. Lanternari, M. Massenzio and D. Sabbatucci; Bari: Dedalo, 1982), pp. 239-319.
— *Myth and Politics in Ancient Near Eastern Historiography* (ed. and intro. Z. Bahrani and M. van de Mieroop; Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004).
Locher, C., *Die Ehre einer Frau in Israel* (Orbis biblicus et orientalis, 70; Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986).
Loretz, O., *Habiru-Hebräer: Eine sozio-linguistische Studie über die Herkunft des Gentiliziums* 'ibrî *vom Appelativum* ḫabiru (BZAW, 160; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984).

— 'Der juridische Begriff *niḥlatum/nḥlt/naḥᵉlāh* "Erbbesitz" als amurritisch-kanaanäische Hintergrund von Psalm 58', *Ugarit-Forschungen* 34 (2002) 453-79.

Lloyd, J.B., 'Anat and the "Double" Massacre of KTU 1.3 ii', in N. Wyatt, W.G.E. Watson, J.B. Lloyd (eds.), *Ugarit, Religion and Culture* (UBL, 12; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1996), pp. 151-65.

Lozovyy, J., *Saul, Doeg, Nabal, and the 'Son of Jesse': Readings in 1 Samuel 16–25* (Library of Hebrew Bible / Old Testament Studies, 497; London: T. & T. Clark, 2009).

Lundbom, J.R.,'Abraham and David in the Theology of the Yahwist,' in *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of D.N. Freedman* (ed. C.L. Meyers and M. O'Connor; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1983), pp. 203-209.

Malamat, A., 'Mari and the Bible: Some Patterns of Tribal Organization and Institution', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 82 (1962), pp. 143-50.

— '*Ummātum* in Old Babylonian Texts and its Ugaritic and Biblical Counterparts', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 11 (1979), pp. 527-36.

— *Mari and the Early Israelite Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

Marello, P., 'Vie nomade', in *Recueil d'études en l'honneur de Michel Fleury* (ed. J.-M. Durand; Florilegium marianum, Mémoires de NABU, 1; Paris: SEPOA, 1992), pp. 115-25.

— 'Esclaves et reines', in D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand, *Recueil d'études en l'honneur de Maurice Birot* (Florilegium marianum 2; Mémoires de NABU, 3; Paris: SEPOA, 1994), pp. 115-129.

Margalit, B., *The Ugaritic Poem of AQHAT. Text, Translation, Commentary* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 182; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989).

Maureau, J., 'Les guerriers et les femmes impudiques', *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 11 (1951), pp. 283-300.

Mazar, A., 'Iron Age Chronology: A Reply to I. Finkelstein', *Levant* 19 (1997), pp. 157-67.

— 'Jerusalem in the 10th Century B.C.E.: The Glass Half Full', in *Essays on Ancient Israel and its Near Eastern Context: A Tribute to N. Na'aman* (ed. Y. Amit, E. Ben Zvi, I. Finkelstein and O. Lipschits; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006), pp. 255-72.

McCarter, P. Kyle, Jr, *1 Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary* (Anchor Bible, 8; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980).

— 'When the Gods Lose their Temper. Divine Rage in Ugaritic Myth and the Hypostasis of Anger in Iron Age Religion', in *Divine Wrath and Divine Mercy in the World of Antiquity* (ed. R.G. Kratz and H. Spieckermann; Forschungen zum Alten Testament, 2/33; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), pp. 78-91.

Mendenhall, G.E., 'The Hebrew Conquest of Palestine', *Biblical Archaeologist* 25 (1962), pp. 66-87.

— *The Tenth Generation: The Origins of the Biblical Tradition* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).

Midrash Shemuel (Lemberg: Solomon Buber, 1893) [Hebrew].

Murakami, H., *Kafka on the Shore* (trans. P. Gabriel; London: Vintage Books, 2005).

Miqrā'ôt gᵉdôlôt, Nebî'îm ri'šônîm (The Rabbinic Bible; Jerusalem: Pardes, 1959) [Hebrew].

Moran, W.L., *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

Na'aman, N., 'The Pre-Deuteronomistic Story of King Saul and its Historical Significance', *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 54 (1992), pp. 638-58.

— 'The Contribution of the Amarna Letters to the Debate on Jerusalem's Political Position in the Tenth Century BCE', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 304 (1996), pp. 17-27.

— 'Sources and Composition in the History of David', in *The Origins of the Ancient Israelite State* (ed. V. Fritz and P.R. Davies; *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, Supplement Series, 228; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), pp. 170-86.

Nicholson, S., *Three Faces of Saul: An Intertextual Approach to Biblical Tragedy* (*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, Supplement Series, 339; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002).

Nissinen, M., *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East* (ed. P. Machinist; with contributions by C.L. Seow and R.K. Ritner; Writings from the Ancient World, 12; Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003).

Noth, M., *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1928).

— *Geschichte Israels* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 6th edn, 1968).

— *The Deuteronomistic History* (*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, Supplement Series, 15; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981).

Oppenheim, A.L., 'Review of *The Statue of Idri-mi*, by S. Smith', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 14 (1955), pp. 199-200.

— 'The Story of Idrimi, King of Alalakh', in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (ed. J.B. Pritchard; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 3rd edn, 1969), pp. 557-58.

Pardee, D., 'The Aqhat Legend', in *The Context of Scripture*. I. *Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World* (ed. W.W. Hallo; Leiden: Brill, 1997).

— *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

Parker, J.F., 'Women Warriors and Devoted Daughters. The Powerful Young Woman in Ugaritic Narrative Poetry', *Ugarit-Forschungen* 38 (2006), pp. 557-75.

Picchioni, S.A., *Il poemetto di Adapa* (Assyriologia, 6; Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 1981).

Pitt-Rivers, J., *Anthropologie de l'honneur: La mésaventure de Sichem* (Paris: Hachette, 1983).

Polzin, R., 'HWQY' and Covenant Institutions in Israel', *Harvard Theological Review* 62 (1969), pp. 227-40.

Pongratz-Leisten, B., *Herrschaftswissen in Mesopotamien: Formen der Kommunikation zwischen Gott und König im 2. und 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (State Archives of Assyria Studies, 10; Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 1999).

Puech, E., 'L'ostracon de Khirbet Qeyafa et les débuts de la royauté en Israël', *Revue biblique* 17 (2010), pp. 162-84.

Radday, Y.T., 'Humour in Names', in *On Humour and the Comic in the Hebrew Bible* (ed. Y.T. Radday and A. Brenner; *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, Supplement Series, 92; Sheffield: Almond, 1990), pp. 59-97.

Rees, A., and B. Rees, *Celtic Heritage: Ancient Tradition in Ireland and Wales* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1961).

Roberts, J.J.M., *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Collected Essays* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2002).
Römer, T., *La première histoire d'Israël: L'école deutéronomiste à l'oeuvre* (Geneva: Labor & Fides, 2007).
Römer, W., *Frauen über Religion, Politik und Privatleben in Māri* (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker and Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins, 1971).
Roux, F. Le, 'La mort de Cúchulainn', *Ogam—Tradition celtique* 18 (1966), pp. 365-89.
Sahlins, M., *Islands of History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).
Sasson, J.M., 'Biographical Notices on Some Royal Ladies from Mari', *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 25 (1973), pp. 63-67.
— 'Review of G. Mendenhall, *The Tenth Generation*', *Journal of Biblical Literature* 93 (1974), pp. 294-96.
— 'About "Mari and the Bible"', *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 92 (1998), pp. 97-123.
— 'The Servant's Tale: How Rebekah Found a Spouse', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 65 (2006), pp. 241-65.
Schearing, L.S., 'Abigail', in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary.* 1. A–C (ed. D.N. Freedman; New York: Doubleday, 1992), pp. 15-16.
Scheffler, E., 'Saving Saul from the Deuteronomist', in *Past, Present, Future: The Deuteronomistic History and the Prophets* (ed. J.C. de Moor and H.F. van Rooy; Oudtestamentische studiën, 44; Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 263-71.
Schmid, H., 'Melchisedek und Abraham, Zadok und David', *Kairos* 7 (1965), pp. 148-51.
Schnapp, A., *Le chasseur et la cité: Chasse et érotique dans la Grèce ancienne* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1997).
Schwab, M., *Le Talmud de Jérusalem* (Paris: G.P. Maisonneuve, 1977).
Schwartz, J., 'Dogs, "Water" and Wall', *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 14 (2000), pp. 103-16.
Shraga Ben-Ayun, C., *David's Wives: Michal, Abigail, Bathsheba* (Tel Aviv: Yediot Achronot, 2005 [Hebrew]).
Simon, U., *Seek Peace and Pursue It: Topical Issues in the Light of the Bible, the Bible in the Light of Topical Issues* (Tel-Aviv: Yediot Acharonot, 2002 [Hebrew]).
Smith, S., *The Statue of Idri-mi* (Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara, 1; Ankara: British Institute of Archaeology, 1949).
Soden, W. von, 'Zu den politischen Korrespondenzen des Archivs von Mari', *Orientalia* NS 21 (1952), pp. 75-86.
Soggin, J.A., *Introduction to the Old Testament* (trans. J. Bowden; Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1976).
Speiser, E.A., '"People" and "Nation" of Israel', *Journal of Biblical Literature* 79 (1960), pp. 157-63.
Stamm, J.J., *Beiträge zur hebräischen und altorientalischen Namenskunde* (Orbis biblicus et orientalis, 30, Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1980).
Steinsaltz, A. (ed.), *Talmud Bavli: Meseket Megillah* (Jerusalem: Israel Institute for Talmudic Publications, 1989).
Sternberg, M., *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987).
Streck, M.P., *Das amurritische Onomastikon der altbabylonischen Zeit.* I. *Die Amurriter.*

Die onomastische Forschung, Orthographie und Phonologie, Nominalmorphologie (Alter Orient und Altes Testament, 271/1; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2000).

Szuchman, J. (ed.), *Nomads, Tribes, and the State in the Ancient Near East: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives* (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2009).

Talmon, S., 'The Desert Motif in the Bible and in Qumran Literature', in S. Talmon, *Literary Studies in the Hebrew Bible: Form and Content* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1993), pp. 216-54.

Talmon, S., and W.W. Fields, 'The Collocation משתין בקיר ועצור ועזוב and its Meaning', *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 101 (1989), pp. 85-112.

Talmud Yerušalmî 'im peruš qaṣar (Jerusalem: Shilo, 5729 = 1969 [Hebrew]).

Thomas, D.W., 'A Note on the Hebrew Text of Judges 16.20,' *Archiv für Orientforschung* 10 (1935–36), pp. 162-63.

— '*Belîya'al* in the Old Testament', in *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of R.P. Casey* (ed. J.N. Birdsall and R.W. Thompson; Freiburg: Herder, 1963), pp. 11-19.

Tigay, J.H., *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982).

Toorn, K. van der, 'Saul and the Rise of the Israelite State Religion', *Vetus Testamentum* 43 (1993), pp. 519-42.

— 'The Significance of the Veil in the Ancient Near East', in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom* (ed. D.P. Wright, D.N. Freedman and A. Hurvitz; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995), pp. 327-40.

Tournay, R.J., and A. Shaffer, *L'épopée de Gilgamesh* (LAPO, 15; Paris: Cerf, 1994).

Trible, P. *Texts of Terror: Literary-Feminist Readings of Biblical Narratives* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1984).

Tropper, J., 'Anats Kriegsgeschrei (KTU 1.3 II 23)', *Ugarit-Forschungen* 33 (2001), pp. 567-71.

Tsevat, M., 'Alalakhiana', *Hebrew Union College Annual* 29 (1958), pp. 109-35.

Tsumura, D.T., *The First Book of Samuel* (New International Commentary on the Old Testament; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007).

Ussishkin, D., 'Solomon's Jerusalem: The Text and the Facts on the Ground', in *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology: The First Temple Period* (ed. A.G. Vaughn and A.E. Killebrew; SBL Symposium Series, 18; Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 103-11.

Uziel, J., and I. Shai, 'Iron Age Jerusalem: Temple-Palace, Capital City', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 127 (2007), pp. 161-70.

Van Seters, J., *Abraham in History and Tradition* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1975).

Veijola, T., 'Salomo—der Erstgeborene Bathsebas', in *Studies in the Historical Books of the Old Testament* (ed. J.A. Emerton; *Vetus Testamentum* Supplement, 30; Leiden: Brill, 1979), pp. 230-50.

Vermeylen, J., 'La maison de Saül et la maison de David. Un écrit de propagande théologico-politique de 1 S 11 à 2 S 7', in *Figures de David à travers la Bible* (ed. L. Desrousseaux and J. Vermeylen; Lectio divina, 177; Paris: Cerf, 1999), pp. 34-74.

— *La loi du plus fort: Histoire de la rédaction des récits davidiques de 1 Samuel 8 à 1 Rois 2* (Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium, 154; Leuven: Peeters, 2000).

Vernant, J.-P., *Myth and Society in Ancient Greece* (trans. J. Lloyd; Brighton: Harvester Press; Atlantic Highland, NJ: Humanities Press, 1980).
Vidal-Naquet, P., *Le chasseur noir* (Paris: La Découverte, 2nd edn, 1991).
Wagner, N.E., 'Abraham and David?', in *Studies in the Ancient Palestinian World Presented to F.V. Winnett* (ed. J.W. Wevers and D.B. Redford; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), pp. 117-40.
Wallis, G., 'Eine Parallele zu Richter 19 29ff und 1 Sam. 11 5ff aus dem Briefarchiv von Mari', *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 64 (1952), pp. 57-61.
Walls, N.H., *The Goddess Anat in Ugaritic Myth* (SBL Dissertation Series, 135; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1992).
Watson, W.G.E., 'The Falcon Episode in the Aqhat Tale', *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 5 (1977), pp. 71-72.
Way, K.C., *Donkeys in the Biblical World: Ceremony and Symbol* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011).
Weinfeld, M., 'The Covenant of Grant in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 90 (1970), pp. 186-88.
Weippert, M., *Die Landnahme der israelitischen Stämme in der neueren wissenschaftlichen Diskussion* (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, 92; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967) = *The Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Palestine: A Critical Survey of Recent Debate* (Studies in Biblical Theology, II/21; London: SCM Press, 1971).
Westbrook, R., *Old Babylonian Mariage Law* (*Archiv für Orientforschung*, Beiheft, 23; Horn: Berger & Söhne, 1988),
Whybray, R.N., *The Succession Narrative: A Study of II Sam. 9–20 and 1 Kings 1 and 2* (Studies in Biblical Theology, II/9; London: SCM Press, 1968).
Wright, J.L., 'Between Nation and State in the Book of Samuel: The Case of Ittai the Gittite', *Making a Difference: Essays on the Bible and Judaism in Honor of T.C. Eskenazi* (ed. D.J.A. Clines, K.H. Richards and J.L. Wright; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2012), pp. 343-52.
Würthwein, E., *Die Erzählung von der Thronfolge Davids—theologische oder politische Geschichtsschreibung?* (Theologische Studiën, 115; Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1974).
Wyatt, N., *Religious Texts from Ugarit* (Biblical Seminar, 53; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998).
Xella, P., *Problemi del mito nel vicino oriente antico* (Annali del'Istituto Orientale di Napoli, 36, Suppl. 7; Naples: Istituto Orientale di Napoli, 1976).
— 'Tu sei mio fratello ed io sono tua sorella (*KTU* 1.18 I 24)', *Aula orientalis* 2 (1984), pp. 151-53.
Yalquṭ Shimoni, Nevi'îm u-ketuvîm (Jerusalem: H. Vegeshel, n.d.) [Hebrew].
Yaron, R.,'The Coptos Decree and 2 Sam xii 14', *Vetus Testamentum* 9 (1959), pp. 89-91.
Ziegler, N., *Le harem de Zimrî-Lîm* (Florilegium marianum, 4, Mémoires de NABU, 5; Paris: SEPOA, 1999).
— 'Le harem du vaincu', *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 93 (1999), pp. 1-26
Zwickel, W., 'Der Beitrag der Ḫabiru zur Entstehung des Königtums', *Ugarit-Forschungen* 28 (1996), pp. 751-66.

Index of Passages

Index of Authors