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The City on a Hill:  
A Tradition-Historical Study of the Wealth of Nations Tradition

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M.A. Biblical Studies, Luther Seminary, 2008  
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An abstract of  
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## Abstract

### The City on a Hill: A Tradition-Historical Study of the Wealth of Nations Tradition

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Scholars doing tradition-historical work tend to view texts as the primary repositories of tradition. The unfortunate consequence of this *modus operandi* is that art-historical sources are typically overlooked in tradition-historical studies. Given the historic divide in academia between scholars of literature and scholars of art, the limiting of tradition to verbal media by biblical scholars is unsurprising. Recent efforts to integrate these two disparate fields, however, have cleared a methodological space in which one can reevaluate whether “tradition” is better understood as something other than just a verbal phenomenon. I suggest tradition is more fruitfully understood as a multi-medial category. Texts, in other words, are not the sole proprietors of tradition. In order to demonstrate the viability of this proposed revision to tradition history, this dissertation undertakes a tradition historical study of, what I call, the Wealth of Nations Tradition (WNT). The WNT is a trinodal constellation, in which (1) *foreign nations bring their* (2) *wealth to a* (3) *royal figure as an act of homage, honor, and submission*. This tradition occurs in the following texts: 1 Kgs 10:1-10, 13, 15//2 Chr 9:1-9, 12, 14; 1 Kgs 10:23-25//2 Chr 9:22-24; Pss 68:19, 30-32; 72:10-11; 76:12; 96:7-8//1 Chr 16:28-29; Isa 18:7; 45:14; 60:4-17; 61:5-6; 66:12; Zeph 3:10; 2 Chr 32:23. Each text is studied from the perspective of its compositional history, contents, genre, and social setting. These data are then silhouetted against the broader background of the visual and literary record of the WNT in the ancient Near East. In the final chapter, a synthetic “biography” of the biblical WNT is sketched. Significant continuities and differences are highlighted, as is the tradition’s development over time.

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In a now-famous letter, Mark Twain wrote, “It takes a thousand men to invent a telegraph, or a steam engine, or a phonograph, or a telephone or any other important thing—and the last man gets the credit and we forget the others.”<sup>1</sup> For the doctoral student, these words have a special meaning. Advisors, family members, friends, and other loyal companions all contribute in their own way to the creation of dissertations.

Two scholars deserve particular praise for their contributions to this project: Dr. Brent A. Strawn and Dr. Martti Nissinen. This dissertation was initially inspired by earlier work done by Dr. Strawn on Isaiah 60 and the Apadana Reliefs at Persepolis.<sup>2</sup> With a keen editor’s eye and profound command of the field, he shepherded this dissertation to its current state. I appreciate both his critical feedback and his mentorship. Although the idea for this dissertation was conceived at Emory University, the bulk of it was written under the watchful eye of Dr. Martti Nissinen (University of Helsinki), who was my gracious host at the University of Helsinki from January 2012-December 2013. The generous grants provided by the University of Helsinki and Emory University allowed me to focus fully on research and writing. The methodological cross-pollination this experience afforded is invaluable and marks this project in many subtle and explicit ways. Other scholars from the University of Helsinki who provided much appreciated help along the way include Anneli Aejmelaeus, Jutta Jokiranta, and Juha Pakkala.

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Finally, I want to thank my wife of 9 years, Katherine Chan, who has been my most important companion throughout graduate school. Day after day, she made our family a haven of grace, strength, and love.

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<sup>1</sup> Albert Bigelow Paine, ed., *Mark Twain’s Letters* (2 vols.; New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1917), 2:731.

<sup>2</sup> Brent A. Strawn, “‘A World under Control’: Isaiah 60 and the Apadana Reliefs from Persepolis,” in *Approaching Yehud: New Approaches to the Study of the Persian Period* (ed. L. Berquist. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007), 85-116.

*The City on a Hill: A Tradition-Historical Study of the Wealth of Nations Tradition*

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## 1. Tradition History and Art History: Toward a Synthesis

### 1.1 *Creatio ex Traditio*

. . . the prophets were never as original, or as individualistic, or in such direct communion with God and no one else, as they were then believed to be . . . they were in greater or lesser degree conditioned by old traditions which they re-interpreted and applied to their own times.<sup>1</sup>

--Gerhard von Rad

*I jump 'em from other writers but I arrange 'em my own way.*<sup>2</sup>

--Blind Willie McTell

*The kernel, the soul—let us go further and say the substance, the bulk, the actual and valuable material of all human utterances—is plagiarism. For substantially all ideas are second-hand, consciously and unconsciously drawn from a million outside sources, and daily use by the garnerer with a pride and satisfaction born of the superstition that he originated them . . . When a great orator makes a great speech you are listening to ten centuries and ten thousand men—but we call it his speech, and really some exceedingly small portion of it is his . . . It takes a thousand men to invent a telegraph, or a steam engine, or a phonograph, or a telephone or any other important thing—and the last man gets the credit and we forget the others.*<sup>3</sup>

--Mark Twain

*Everything is a remix.*<sup>4</sup>

--Kirby Ferguson

In the contemporary Western world, we often associate creativity with originality, novelty, and individuality.<sup>5</sup> Truly creative individuals, we assume, create as god does: *ex nihilo*. Perhaps this is why we so often associate creativity with isolation, idiosyncrasy, and radical other-ness: a truly creative individual cannot be like us; s/he must somehow embody transcendence. This

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<sup>1</sup> Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* (2 vols.; Old Testament Library; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 2:4.

<sup>2</sup> See Sean Wilentz, *Bob Dylan in America* (New York: Doubleday, 2010), 194. Paine, ed., *Mark Twain's Letters*, 2:731.

<sup>4</sup> Kirby Ferguson, "Embrace the Remix," n.p. [cited 10 May 2013]. Online: [http://www.ted.com/talks/kirby\\_ferguson\\_embrace\\_the\\_remix.html](http://www.ted.com/talks/kirby_ferguson_embrace_the_remix.html)

<sup>5</sup> Mark A. Runco and Robert S. Albert, for instance, argue that "originality" is "the critical contemporary marker of creativity. . . ." See their, "Creativity Research: A Historical View," in *The Cambridge Handbook of Creativity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 5.

concept is manifested in our intellectual property laws, which permit for a person or set of person's to own ideas, as if the idea itself were the sole creation of a single individual.<sup>6</sup> But if the epigraphs above are correct, then this contemporary understanding of creativity is wrongheaded.<sup>7</sup> Human creativity is not the capacity to generate something new out of nothing; rather, it is the ability to assemble, arrange, and reconfigure in fresh ways what is inherited from the past—tradition—and available in the present. Human creativity, in other words, is not *creatio ex nihilo*, but rather *creatio ex traditio*. Under the sun there is nothing new, only new arrangements of old compositions. Everything, as Kirby Ferguson puts it above, is a remix.

The texts of the HB are also remixes. Whether consciously or unconsciously, the HB's authors and editors integrated concepts, notions, and ideas from their environments into the texts they created. Sometimes these texts perpetuate the traditional material they inherit from the past, leaving it more or less untouched. At other times, traditional materials are refashioned into something novel. Whatever the case may be, every text in the HB, as Mark Twain would put it, is the work of "ten centuries and ten thousand men." The biblical texts, in other words, were created with preexistent matter. In this dissertation, the study of these inherited materials is called, "tradition history" (*Traditionsgeschichte*).

Conventionally, studies done under the guise of tradition history have been mono-medial, focusing primarily on verbal phenomena—i.e., texts and their oral antecedents. But a fundamental claim I want to make is that, by assuming (either implicitly or explicitly) that tradition is primarily a verbal phenomenon, scholars exclude a rich source of tradition: visual

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<sup>6</sup> On this matter, see again Kirby Ferguson, "Embrace the Remix," n.p. [cited 10 May 2013]. Online: [http://www.ted.com/talks/kirby\\_ferguson\\_embrace\\_the\\_remix.html](http://www.ted.com/talks/kirby_ferguson_embrace_the_remix.html).

<sup>7</sup> Within creativity studies, the "ex nihilo" problem has been of particular interest, since divine creativity would seem to provide a model for human creativity and innovation. For discussions of this issue, see, e.g., D.N. Perkins, "The Possibility of Invention," in *The Nature of Creativity: Contemporary Psychological Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 362-385; Terry Dartnall, "Creativity, Thought and Representational Redescription," in *Artificial Intelligence and Creativity: An Interdisciplinary Approach* (ed. Terry Dartnall; Studies in Cognitive Systems 17; Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic 1994), 43-62.

media.<sup>8</sup> *Tradition, however, is not media-bound*, and the iconographic stands alongside the verbal as a witness to tradition. When relevant visual materials are available, then, they should be utilized alongside verbal materials. Of course, the use of visual images in the study of the HB is nothing new and in fact has been on the rise in recent years.<sup>9</sup> Specific reflection on the role of iconography in tradition history, however, is largely unexplored territory.<sup>10</sup> In order to understand biblical traditions, however, art history and tradition history must become inseparable conversation partners.

But in order to clear a methodological space in which art history and tradition history can interact, it is first necessary to discuss why tradition history has, in most cases, overlooked iconographic resources. At the center of this oversight is how one defines “tradition.” Douglas Knight, in his dissertation on tradition history, catalogues no fewer than nine different ways of conceiving the tradition-historical approach. It is understood to be:

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<sup>8</sup> Only rarely do tradition-historical analyses consider how visual media might contribute. One important exception to this general trend is Richard Clifford’s revised dissertation on the cosmic mountain tradition, which includes a very brief discussion of cosmic mountain iconography found on cylinder seals. See Richard J. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament* (HSM 4; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), 93-97. He concludes that “The seals bring out graphically what the myth texts assume” (ibid., 97).

<sup>9</sup> There is no shortage of comparative research in biblical studies that utilizes iconography. See, e.g., Othmar Keel, *Die Welt der altorientalischen Bildsymbolik und das Alte Testament: Am Beispiel der Psalmen* (Zürich: Benziger Verlag), trans.: *The Symbolism of the Biblical World: Ancient Near Eastern Iconography and the Book of Psalms* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1997); *Deine Blicke Sind Tauben: Zur Metaphorik des Hohen Liedes* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1984); idem and Chrisoph Uehlinger, *Göttinnen, Götter und Gottessymbole: Neue Erkenntnisse zur Religionsgeschichte Kanaans und Israels aufgrund bislang unerschlossener ikonographischer Quellen* (Quaestiones disputatae 134; Freiburg: Herder, 1992); Brent A. Strawn, *What is Stronger Than a Lion?: Leonine Image and Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East* (OBO 212; Fribourg: Academic Press, 2005); Izaak J. de Hulster and Rüdiger Schmitt, *Iconography and Biblical Studies: Proceedings of the Iconography Sessions at the Joint EABS/SBL Conference, 22-26 July 2007, Vienna, Austria* (Münster : Ugarit-Verlag, 2009); idem, *Iconographic Exegesis and Third Isaiah* (FAT 36; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009); Joel M. LeMon, *The Iconography of Yahweh's Winged Form in the Psalms* (OBO 242; Fribourg: Academic Press, 2010); idem, “Iconographic Approaches: The Iconic Structure of Psalm 17,” in *Method Matters: Essays on the Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Honor of David L. Petersen* (ed. Joel M. LeMon and Kent Harold Richards; SBLRBS 56; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 143-68.

<sup>10</sup> The exegetical guides produced by Odil Hannes Steck and Uwe Becker gesture in this direction. See Odil Hannes Steck, *Exegese des Alten Testaments: Leitfaden der Methodik: Ein Arbeitsbuch für Proseminare und Vorlesungen* (rev. ed.; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1989), 130; *Exegese des Alten Testaments: Ein Methoden- und Arbeitsbuch* [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005], 128-29). For the English translation, see *Old Testament Exegesis: A Guide to the Methodology* (trans. James D. Nogalski; 2d ed.; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 123.

1. A meta-method that includes the totality of all approaches to textual analysis (e.g., text criticism, literary criticism, form criticism, motif criticism, etc).
2. A branch of *Formgeschichte*.
3. Essentially *Formgeschichte*.
4. An alternative to and replacement for the literary-critical method.
5. An investigative step clearly delineated (in subject matter and criteria) from all the other methods of text criticism, literary criticism, form criticism, *Gattung* criticism, and redaction criticism.
6. Tradition criticism alone.
7. First an analytic, synchronic examination of a tradition, followed by a synthetic, diachronic step.
8. An examination of a tradition primarily according to its formal aspects, taking the contents into consideration at a later phase of the exegesis.
9. The type of investigative approach and presuppositions identified with the “Uppsala School,” characterized by a “respect for tradition” and not just for documents, the assumption of a reliable and predominant oral tradition, and an antipathy toward the literary-critical method.<sup>11</sup>

Scholarly opinion is equally as divided over the primary scope of tradition history. According to these nine viewpoints, tradition history is concerned with:<sup>12</sup>

1. The history and nature of primarily oral materials, whereby the emphasis is put on this corpus in itself rather than on the oral materials as a prelude to further development of the written level.
2. Only the oral prehistory of a literary work.
3. The development of oral as well as written tradition units but not including the literary stages of composition and redaction.
4. The whole history of a literary piece—from its earliest beginnings as independent units of oral tradition, through its development, growth, and composition at the oral and written levels, and on to its redaction and finalization in its present form.
5. The compositional stage, virtually omitting its prehistory.<sup>13</sup>
6. The history of the occurrences of specific notions, motifs, themes, *Stoffe*.
7. The tradition streams—the milieu, background, heritage, or roots of the specific traditionists (especially with respect to the prophets).

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<sup>11</sup> This list was taken (sometimes word for word) and modified from Douglas A. Knight, *Rediscovering the Traditions of Israel* (3d ed.; Studies in Biblical Literature 16; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 20-21.

<sup>12</sup> With some modification, this list was taken from Douglas A. Knight, *Rediscovering the Traditions of Israel* (3d ed.; Studies in Biblical Literature 16; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 18-19.

<sup>13</sup> Knight’s own definition is closest to this one. In a recent essay, he writes, “The tradition under scrutiny for exegetes is the text, a specific portion of literature that may have come into being over a period of time but now exists in finished form as a written passage. The goal of the traditio-historical critic is to retrace this formation of the literary piece from its initial composition through its later stages of revision and to its final form in the text” (Douglas Knight, “Traditio-Historical Criticism: The Development of the Covenant Code,” in *Method Matters: Essays on the Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Honor of David L. Petersen* [ed. Joel M. LeMon and Kent Harold Richards; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009], 98). Later in the same essay, Knight contends that “The basic aim of any traditio-historical study should be to propose a plausible scenario whereby the given pericope came into existence, keyed to the traditionists and their ideologies and interests” (Ibid., 113).

8. The history of the people's reflection and rumination on the basically reliable historical account of past events.
9. The entire religious "heritage" of ancient Israel, defined broadly.<sup>14</sup>

A quick perusal of these two lists reveals that, with only a few exceptions, "tradition" is primarily defined in verbal terms. Knight himself concurs, noting that within biblical studies tradition history, "refers only to verbal traditions, that is, oral or written materials articulating in words that which is transmitted, such as stories, proverbs, laws, sayings, poetry, and teachings on the one hand and motifs, notions, themes, and ideas on the other...."<sup>15</sup> I do not question the accuracy of Knight's observation about the state of tradition history in biblical studies.<sup>16</sup> What I do question, however, is whether the method, as Knight defines it, is adequate to the task. If tradition history is truly concerned with things like "motifs, notions, themes, and ideas," as Knight clearly indicates, should not tradition history also concern itself with *all* media that contain such elements? That is, if tradition(s) exist outside of texts, should we not conform our methods to match the evidence? The realm of verbal communication, I argue, is not the sole proprietor of tradition. And if we continue on as if tradition belongs to the realm of texts alone,

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<sup>14</sup> For this last definition of tradition, see Helmer Ringgren, "The Impact of the Ancient Near East on Israelite Tradition," in *Tradition and Theology in the Old Testament* (ed. Douglas A. Knight; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977), 31-32.

<sup>15</sup> Knight, "Tradition History," *ABD*, 6:634.

<sup>16</sup> What Knight considers under the single category of tradition history—i.e., the study of verbal tradition "on the one hand" and the study of motifs, notions, etc. "on the other"—Steck actually separates into two operations: *Traditionsgeschichte* (tradition history) and *Überlieferungsgeschichte* (transmission history). *Überlieferungsgeschichte* is concerned with the literary and oral pre-history of a text, whereas *Traditionsgeschichte* is concerned with discerning elements from the text's *vorgegebene geistige Welt*. This dissertation, of course, utilizes the latter. Steck provides the following example of how distinction plays out exegetically: "Eine t.g.e Untersuchung von Jer 7,1-15 hat etwa nach der in V4.10 vorausgesetzten Vorstellung von dem im Jerusalemer Tempel gewährten Schutz, die ü.g.e Untersuchung hingegen nach den Vorstufen der jetzt vorliegenden deuteronomistischen Fassung des Textstücks Jer 7,1-15 selbst zu fragen (Steck, *Exegese des Alten Testaments*, 128). Transmission history, here, is concerned with the various forms of the text that preceded the text's present form, whether those forms are oral or literary. But the tradition historical approach wonders about the text's presuppositions—for example, the notion that Zion is inviolable. Where does this notion come from? What is its intellectual background? Is it associated with certain corners of Judahite society or even with particular genres? Tradition history, in other words, is interested in how such presupposed material impacts and is developed by the form of the text under investigation. Although Steck never made much use of visual evidence in his own work, he is to be credited for acknowledging that tradition is not the exclusive property of texts. Rather, tradition exists fluidly and organically within the realm of cultural or collective memory.

or to verbal media alone for that matter, we run the risk of overlooking a rich resource for tradition-historical research.

Over decades of research, Odil Hannes Steck has come to a similar conclusion.<sup>17</sup> For him, the scope of tradition history is much broader than most scholars permit. Tradition history is primarily concerned with reconstructing the *vorgegebene geistige Welt* (“antecedent intellectual world”) reflected in either a text or a group of texts.<sup>18</sup>

Die TG [Traditionsgeschichte] fragt für jede einzelne Wachstumsstufe nach dem besonderen Gepräge eines Textes durch geistes-, theologie- oder religionsgeschichtliche Zusammenhänge. Sie bestimmt dazu die von ihm vorausgesetzten, in ihn aufgenommenen, von seinem Verfasser verarbeiteten Denkstrukturen, Stoffe, Vorstellungen oder Vorstellungskomplexe sowie deren Abwandlung. Sie orientiert sich dabei in keinem an einer Thematik, wie sie vom heutigen Standpunkt aus konstruierbar wäre (etwa: das Mutterbild im AT), sondern an ganz bestimmten im Text gegebenen Anhaltspunkten, die den geprägten Sachgehalt einer Aussage und damit ihre Teilhabe an einer vorgegebenen geistigen Welt kennzeichnen, von seiten des Verfassers anzeigen und damit beim Adressaten assoziativ wachrufen. Parallel zum Befragung von Einzeltexten und diese übergreifend wendet sich die TG auch den geistes- und theologiegeschichtlichen Zusammenhängen selbst zu, insbesondere der Geschichte der verschiedenen Vorstellungen und ihrem Zusammenbestand im Rahmen einer größeren, profilierten Konzeption.<sup>19</sup>

This phrase, “antecedent intellectual world” refers to “the thought patterns, contents, concepts, or conceptual complexes which are presupposed by the text, incorporated into the text, or revised by the author.”<sup>20</sup> Steck’s own dissertation deals with the concept of the violent death of prophets.

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<sup>17</sup> Already in his dissertation, he began working out the methodological contours of tradition-history. See his *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des deuteronomistischen Geschichtsbildes im Alten Testament, Spätjudentum und Urchristentum* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1967). Much later in his career, however, he acknowledged the contribution images might play to tradition history: “Wie die bahnbrechenden Untersuchungen von O. Keel gezeigt haben, bieten auch *Ensembles von Zügen altorientalischer Bildsymbolik* gegebenenfalls ganz wesentliche Hilfen zur Erhellung der geistigen Welt, die einen Text prägt.” Steck, *Exegese des alten Testaments*, 130. Note also that Uwe Becker discusses iconography under “Traditionsgeschichte” (*Exegese des Alten Testaments*, 128-29).

<sup>18</sup> O.H. Steck, “Theological Streams of Tradition,” in *Tradition and Theology in the Old Testament* (ed. Douglas A. Knight; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977), 183-214. Cf. James Scott’s comments: “Tradition history asks the degree to which the contents of the author’s statements are either determined by preexisting elements from the author’s intellectual world or deviation from them” (“Tradition-Historical Interpretation,” in *Dictionary of Biblical Criticism and Interpretation* [ed. Stanley E. Porter; London: Routledge, 2007], 360).

<sup>19</sup> Steck, *Exegese des Alten Testaments*, 126-7.

<sup>20</sup> Steck, *Old Testament Exegesis*, 123.

He begins with Neh 9:26, which he argues is the earliest instantiation of the tradition, and traces the concept all the way through the literature of Second Temple Judaism and the NT.<sup>21</sup>

“Constellations” are closely related to Steck’s idea of *Vorstellungen*. The term, “constellation,” is used by Jan Assmann, Othmar Keel, Izaak De Hulster and others to refer to conceptual complexes that give structure and consistency to images, myths, narratives, works of art, etc.<sup>22</sup>

Under the category of constellation, one could include, for instance, *Tierkampfszenen*—literary and visual type-scenes in which a hero combats wild creatures.<sup>23</sup> Presentation scenes, so common in the miniature art of Mesopotamia, also fit into the category of constellation.<sup>24</sup> Many other examples could be provided.<sup>25</sup>

What distinguishes Steck’s understanding of tradition history is its flexible use of the term, “tradition.” Taking his definition as a starting-point, then, I define tradition and tradition history as follows: *Tradition* refers to concepts, notions, and constellations that are inherited from the broader intellectual environment. Understood in this way, tradition is not limited to

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<sup>21</sup> See his *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten*.

<sup>22</sup> See, e.g., Jan Assmann, “Die Zeugung des Sohnes: Bild, Spiel, Erzählung und das Problem des ägyptischen Mythos,” in *Funktionen und Leistungen des Mythos: Drei altorientalische Beispiele* (ed. J. Assmann, W. Burkert, and F. Stolz; OBO 48; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 13-61 (esp. 14 and 38); De Hulster, *Iconographic Exegesis and Third Isaiah*, 61; LeMon, *The Iconography of Yahweh’s Winged Form in the Psalms*.

<sup>23</sup> As Keel indicates, one finds the *Tierkampfszene* in ancient Near Eastern cylinder seals (e.g., the *Herr-der-Tiere* scene), the Gilgamesh Epic, Samson’s killing of a lion, and in Herakles various monster-killing deeds. In fact, one can view an exceptionally elaborate expression of this constellation just down the road at the British Museum in the lion-hunt scenes from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh.

<sup>24</sup> The only book-length treatment of the presentation scene that I am aware of is, Martha Haussperger: *Die Einführungszone: Entwicklung eines mesopotamischen Motivs von der altakkadischen bis zum Ende der altbabylonischen Zeit* (Münchener vorderasiatischen Studien; München: Profil Verlag, 1991).

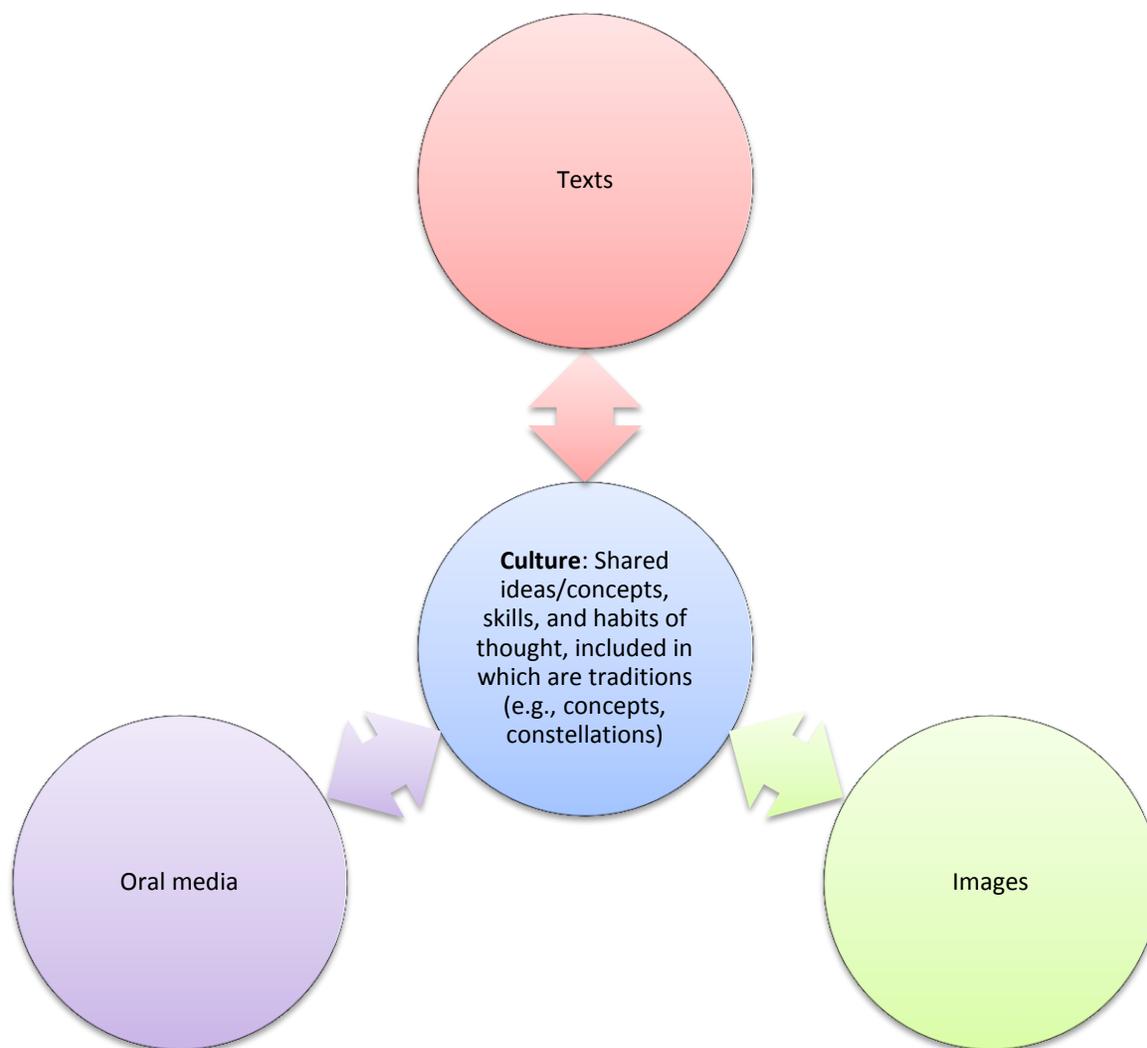
<sup>25</sup> For instance, Assmann describes the Re/Osiris dyad as an intermedial constellation that embodied two complementary aspects of time: “The Egyptians imagined the constellation in which Re and Osiris work together as embodiments of the two antinomic or complementary aspects of time, as a *ba* and a corpse, by analogy with the two aspects of the person in which the deceased led an eternal life, “going in” and “going out” as a *ba* in the *neheh*-time of the sun and “enduring” as a corpse in the *djet*-time of Osiris. *Ba* and corpse would unite at night, the *ba* alighting on the mummy in bird form, thus ensuring the continuity of the person. In the constellation of Re and Osiris, this model was applied to cosmic totality as a sort of formula.” See Jan Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 79. Concerning the *djet* and *neheh* aspects of time, Assmann writes, “Osiris was the god of the *djet* aspect of time. He could even be called *djet*, just as he was sometimes referred to as *sf*, ‘yesterday.’ ‘Yesterday’: that which has taken on form, that which has been realized, that which endures, in contrast to ‘tomorrow’ and *neheh*, the names of the sun god as that which comes and is possible.” Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, 78.

verbal media alone, but rather exists on the much broader plane of “culture,”<sup>26</sup> with texts and images constituting epiphenomenal expressions of tradition.<sup>27</sup> The following chart is illustrative of how I see tradition in relation to media and culture:

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<sup>26</sup> Following the Edinburgh anthropologist, Alan Barnard, I define culture as a “shared set of ideas, skills, and objects.” Alan Barnard, *History and Theory in Anthropology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 10. De Hulster, in *Iconographic Exegesis*, provides a slightly more detailed definition of culture: “This study suggests as a definition for culture: *a culture comprises (1) means and measures of adaptation to/of one’s environment, (2) the verbal, habitual and ritual actions of a community and (3) the ideas of a community.*” See *Iconographic Exegesis*, 54.

<sup>27</sup> In a single isolated sentence, Steck himself takes note of the value of iconographic evidence for tradition-historical research, though, to my knowledge, he never employs such evidence in his own publications: “As the ground breaking investigations of O. Keel have demonstrated ensembles of strands from ancient oriental pictorial symbols sometimes offer absolutely essential aids for illuminating the intellectual world which shapes a text.” Steck, *Old Testament Exegesis*, 127.



According to this concept map, tradition does not belong to any one media but rather exists within the broader matrix of culture.<sup>28</sup> Images, texts, and oral media (which are of course reconstructed based primarily upon texts) give one access to tradition. The two-way arrows indicate that there is always a complex interplay between the media generated by a given culture and the culture itself. The two, in other words, are never fully separable from one another, even though separating them visually here has heuristic value. With respect to tradition in particular, it

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<sup>28</sup> Of course, this chart is purely theoretical, meaning that there are certainly traditions that are not expressed visually. As scholars of the ancient world we are also bound by the evidence available.

is affected by the particular media in which it is expressed, so that the medium and the message, as it were, are mutually influenced.

As a method, then, the *tradition-historical approach* identifies, analyzes and reconstructs these inherited elements in terms of their content and diachronic development in the HB. This approach has the potential to provide extremely valuable information. In Steck's own words, tradition-historical analysis

will give the exegete reasons and scholarly evidence for perceiving the points at which the text creatively exceeds its own prior intellectual world and steps forth with a special, new assertion which at times may even reverse tradition or impose critical limitations. For tradition and innovation are the factors which mold most texts.<sup>29</sup>

Tradition history focuses its attention on how concepts from the larger culture are received in various kinds of media, in hopes of catching their creators in the act of transforming, maintaining, and even criticizing traditional material.

## 1.2 Tradition and Society

A few comments are in order regarding the relationship between tradition and social context/location. In the past, some scholars have made social context an essential element of tradition. Knight, for instance, avers that "a tradition is the immediate property of a group or a community, i.e., it has a direct function for the people who transmit it."<sup>30</sup> This claim makes sense in the context of his broader thesis that a tradition is a text, whose development should be traced as part of the tradition-historical task.<sup>31</sup> Given the technological and material constraints on

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<sup>29</sup> Steck, "Theological Streams of Traditions," 214. For an excellent, albeit dated, study of the prophetic rejection of its inherited traditions, see Walther Zimmerli, "Prophetic Proclamation and Reinterpretation," in *Tradition and Theology in the Old Testament*, 69-100.

<sup>30</sup> Knight, *Rediscovering the Traditions of Israel*, 21.

<sup>31</sup> See idem, "Tradition-Historical Criticism: The Development of the Covenant Code," 98.

writing in Iron Age Israel, texts would have been much more restricted socially than textual media are in the present day, making his observation all the more poignant. But when one defines tradition as I have—in terms of concepts, notions, and constellations that are inherited from the broader intellectual environment—it becomes problematic to make social location an essential part of tradition’s definition. A much more flexible view of the relationship between tradition and social location is needed.

Let me illustrate the point with an example. One well known biblical tradition claims that Zion is an inviolable city, whose welfare is watched over by Yhwh (see esp. Psalms 46, 48, 76). Although a number of prototypes have been suggested from the LB texts found at Ras Shamra/Ugarit<sup>32</sup> and Tell el-Amarna,<sup>33</sup> these are generally obscure and chronologically distant from the biblical texts. A more convincing prototype is found in royal inscriptions from the Iron Age. For instance, the Amman Citadel Inscription, found in an Iron Age level at Jebel ed-Dala ‘ah, proclaims that Milcom (patron deity of the Ammonites) will ensure the inviolability of their city:

] Milcom: “Build entrances around about [  
 ] for all who besiege you shall surely die [  
 ] I will utterly annihilate, and anyone who agitates against [  
 ] but among all the columns, the legitimate ones will lodge [  
 ] you shall indeed hang on the innermost door. You shall indeed  
 ] extinguish  
 ] you shall be feared among the gods. [  
 ] and security and . . . [  
 ] peace to you and . . . [<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> John H. Hayes, “The Tradition of Zion’s Inviolability,” *JBL* 82 (1963): 419-26.

<sup>33</sup> Other scholars propose that the inviolability of Zion has its roots in the LB Age when the Egyptian king had regarded Jerusalem as a special location. For instance, in EA 287 (a desperate message from ‘Abdi-Ḥeba to Pharaoh) the former says: “As the king has placed his name [*ša-ka-an* MU-*šu*] in Jerusalem forever, he cannot abandon it—the land of Jerusalem.” For this translation, see after William L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 328. For a discussion of this position, along with citations, see Othmar Keel, *Die Geschichte Jerusalems und die Entstehung des Monotheismus* (Ort und Landschaften der Bibel; 2 vols; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), 1:104, 120.

<sup>34</sup> After Martti Nissinen, with Contributions by C.L. Seow and Robert K. Ritner, *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East* (Writings from the Ancient World 12; Atlanta: Society for Biblical Literature, 2003), 202-3.

Similar statements about the inviolability of a city can also be found in the Aramaic Zakkur Stele. The inscription is found on three sides of a stele from Tell Afis. The stele honors Iluwer and celebrates the victory of Zakkur over his Aramean and Anatolian enemies. The relevant portion of the inscription reads as follows:

All these kings set up a siege against Hazr[ak].  
 They raised a wall higher than the wall of Hazr[ak]. They dug a moat deeper than [its] moa[t].  
 But I lifted my hands to Baalshamayn, and Baalshamay[n] answered me, [and] Baalshamayn [spoke] to me [thr]ough seers and through visionaries, [and] Baalshamayn [said], “F[e]ar not, for I have made [you] king, [and I who will st]and with [you], and I will deliver you from all [these kings who] have forced a siege against you!”<sup>35</sup>

These Iron Age royal inscriptions bear witness to a tradition that a deity protects the city over which the deity was a patron. The concept, then, that Zion is inviolable is not unique to Jerusalem, and one need not look for prototypes in texts from the LB. Rather, the defense of a given city was part of the patron deity’s obligation to its worshippers and was probably a belief held throughout much of the ancient Near East.<sup>36</sup>

Regarding social location, the aforementioned inscriptions were almost certainly produced under the auspices of royal courts. The importance of the inviolability tradition to ancient Near Eastern kings is illustrated in the promise of protection given by Isaiah to Hezekiah (see, e.g., 2 Kings 18-19; Isaiah 36-37). A number of biblical psalms reflecting this tradition, moreover, probably also have their origins in the official Jerusalem cult (see, e.g., Psalms 46, 48, 76). Jeremiah 7:1-15, however, is an excellent example of just how easily this tradition found its way into other social settings. In this text, the prophet vigorously opposes his audience’s trust in Zion’s inviolability. They cry out, “The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord...” (Jer 7:4).

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<sup>35</sup> See *ibid.*, 206.

<sup>36</sup> See also the very brief comments on the defeat of enemies at temples in Leslie J. Hoppe, *The Holy City: Jerusalem in the Theology of the Old Testament* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical, 2000), 32.

The inviolability tradition, in other words, finds its way into Jeremiah 7 for polemical reasons. Jeremiah 7, then, demonstrates the highly mobile nature of the notion that Zion is inviolable. The tradition is (1) part of temple and royal ideology, (2) a component in the religious belief system of some Judahites, and, at the same time, (3) integral to the polemic of this Jeremianic text. This list, moreover, does not even account for what role Jeremiah 7 might have played for the preservers and editors of Jeremiah. The inviolability tradition in other words is socially nomadic, existing in multiple social spheres simultaneously.

In none of this am I trying to say that tradition history should be done without regard for social context. In fact, quite the opposite is true. As the aforementioned examples shows, tracking where a tradition has migrated socially can provide very useful information. Determining the social settings in which a tradition functioned, then, is fundamental to the tradition-historical task, insofar as mapping where a tradition has travelled can help illuminate why it has changed or even remained the same over time and where it was deemed significant.

### 1.3 Tradition History (*Traditionsgeschichte*) and Transmission History (*Überlieferungsgeschichte*)

The discussion above assumes a distinction between *Überlieferungsgeschichte* (“transmission history”) and *Traditionsgeschichte* (“tradition history”). Methodologically, this is an important distinction to make because the two terms are often used synonymously in secondary literature. *Überlieferungsgeschichte* is concerned with the literary and oral history of a text, whereas *Traditionsgeschichte* is concerned with discerning inherited concepts and constellations from the

text's *vorgegebene geistige Welt*.<sup>37</sup> Both are distinct exegetical steps that are driven by fundamentally different questions. Let me provide two examples—one from the great American novel, *Moby Dick* by Herman Melville (1819-1891), and one from the book of Jeremiah—of how these two distinct approaches play out in textual analysis.

A transmission-historical study of *Moby Dick* would retrace the history of the novel from Melville's earliest drafts to its full-blown publication as a book. But this would be no easy task, as Ishmael, one of the main characters in *Moby Dick*, suggests when he says, "God keep me from even completing anything. This whole book is but draught—nay, but the draught of a draught."<sup>38</sup> The conclusion to a transmission-historical analysis of *Moby Dick* might sound something like this paragraph from James Barbour, a well-known proponent of the theory that *Moby-Dick* underwent a multi-stage compositional process:

*Moby-Dick* is the result of a planned composition extending through the first two stages of writing: progress on the original narrative was steady until August and then the cetology was added to it. The final stage of writing involved the revision and some eleventh-hour patchwork in joining two narratives. The parts Melville composed during these periods can be identified (the initial chapters have been generally accepted as part of the first story) by following Melville's methodology and tracing datable sources. For example, the cetological chapters were added to the early narrative; therefore, they should lead us back to the remains of the first whaling voyage. The later revision of the book was strongly influenced by Shakespeare; therefore, the echoes and obvious borrowings from the tragedies should allow us to identify the revised portions of the novel.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> See Steck, "Theological Streams of Tradition," 190. Douglas Knight has also pointed out this tendency in the work of Steck: "We have seen above that Steck proposes to distinguish sharply between 'Überlieferungsgeschichte' and 'Traditionsgeschichte.' The former corresponds more or less to our definition of tradition history . . . 'Traditionsgeschichte,' on the other hand, is the investigation of individual conceptions or notions ('Vorstellungen') as well as tradition streams ('theologische Strömungen')." Knight, *Rediscovering the Traditions of Israel*, 142-3. On a very general level, Knight has accurately described Steck's approach. Although, I do think that the scope of tradition-historical inquiry in Steck is somewhat broader. It is not only concerned with *Vorstellungen* and *Strömungen*; it is also concerned with the whole antecedent intellectual world of a text, and the way in which that world impresses itself on the text.

<sup>38</sup> Herman Melville, *Moby Dick or The White Whale* (Boston: The St. Botolph Society, 1892), 138.

<sup>39</sup> See James Barbour, "The Composition of *Moby-Dick*," in *On Melville* (ed. Louis J. Budd and Edwin H. Cady; Durham: Duke University press, 1988), 215. For additional discussion of this theory, see also John Whalen-Bridge, *Political Fiction and the American Self* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 61-63; Charles Olson, *Call Me Ishmael* (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1947); Howard Paton Vincent, *The Trying-Out of Moby Dick* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1949) and especially the other citations in Barbour's essay.

Were it not for details like “Moby-Dick,” “Melville,” and “Shakespeare” one could easily mistake this paragraph for an excerpt from a modern-day biblical studies monograph! Needless to say, a transmission-historical (i.e., *überlieferungsgeschichtliche*) study of *Moby-Dick* would ultimately have something to say about how the novel itself developed over time. Tradition history (*Traditionsgeschichte*), on the other hand, would have a very different focus. It might ask questions about Melville’s notion of “leviathan,” one of his favored designations for whales more generally. What cultural baggage did this term bear? What cultural force did it carry for Melville’s time that made it so compelling for him as a writer? What other literature from his day employed the term in such a way? What is its relationship to the Joban Leviathan? What relationship, if any, does Melville’s understanding of the leviathan have to Thomas Hobbes’ use of the term? Does Melville’s attitude toward leviathan change throughout the course of the novel?

Turning now to the HB, Steck himself provides an example of the difference between the two approaches from the book of Jeremiah:

Eine tge Untersuchung von Jer 7,1-15 hat etwa nach der in V4.10 vorausgesetzten Vorstellung von dem im Jerusalemer Tempel gewährten Schutz, die üg.e [überlieferungsgeschichtliche] Untersuchung hingegen nach den Vorstufen der jetzt vorliegenden deuteronomistischen Fassung des Textstücks Jer 7,1-15 selbst zu fragen.<sup>40</sup>

Transmission history, here, is concerned with the various forms of the text that preceded the text’s present form, whether those forms are oral or literary. But the tradition-historical approach wonders about the text’s presuppositions—for example, the notion that Zion is inviolable. Where does this notion come from? What is its intellectual background? Is it associated with certain corners of Judahite society or even with particular genres? Tradition history, in other words, is

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<sup>40</sup> Steck, *Exegese des Alten Testaments*, 128.

interested in how such presupposed material impacts and is developed by the form of the text under investigation.

#### 1.4 Iconography and the Tradition-History<sup>41</sup>

Having discussed how tradition can serve as methodological common ground for both art history and textual interpretation, it is now necessary to talk in greater detail about iconographic interpretation. It goes without saying that, to interpret an image takes a different set of skills than it takes to interpret a text, though there are overlapping principles to be sure. In what follows, I give special attention to the theoretical and methodological contours of iconographic interpretation.

According to Erwin Panofsky, iconography is “that branch of the history of art which concerns itself with the subject matter or meaning of works of art, as opposed to their form.”<sup>42</sup> Iconography presses beyond the mere description of formal features to ask about the art’s contents and significance when read against its broader cultural horizon. Panofsky proposes a tripartite interpretive schedule:

1. pre-iconographical description
2. iconographical description
3. iconographical interpretation.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Thanks are due to my classmate, Ryan Bonfiglio, whose own dissertation work, which focuses on developing a visual hermeneutics for biblical iconography, helped stimulate my own thinking on a number of issues. He also brought many of the secondary sources in this section to my attention.

<sup>42</sup> Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1967), 3.

<sup>43</sup> For a helpful chart, see Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, 14-15. De Hulster refers to these three levels as “representation, motif, and symbolic value.” De Hulster, *Iconographic Exegesis*, 76. For a summary discussion of Panofsky’s scheme, see Christoph Uehlinger, “Neither Eyewitnesses, Nor Windows to the Past, but Valuable Testimony in its Own Right: Remarks on Iconography, Source Criticism and Ancient Data-Process,” in *Understanding the History of Ancient Israel* (ed. H.G.M. Williamson; Proceedings of the British Academy 143; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 185-87; Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion, 2001), 35-36.

Stage 1, according to Roelof van Straten, is “the exact enumeration of everything that can be seen in the work of art without defining the relationships between things.”<sup>44</sup> Quite simply put, this stage is descriptive of “what can be seen naturally.”<sup>45</sup> Stage two (iconographical description) places the findings of Stage 1 within the broader context of the “history of motifs.”<sup>46</sup> That is, the iconographer asks about the conventionality of the subject matter. Panofsky provides the following example: “It [Stage 2] is apprehended by realizing that a male figure with a knife represents St. Bartholomew, that a female figure with a peace in her hand is a personification of Veracity, that a group of figures seated at a dinner table in a certain arrangement and in certain poses represents the Last Supper, or that two figures fighting each other in a certain manner represent the Combat of Vice and Virtue.”<sup>47</sup> This is the stage at which one determines how motifs, individual figures, and conventionality are linked to themes or concepts.<sup>48</sup> Panofsky writes further, “In doing this [Stage 2] we connect artistic motifs and combinations of artistic motifs (compositions) with themes or concepts.”<sup>49</sup> Stage three (iconographical/iconological interpretation), is the confluence of hard data and creativity. Here, the interpreter searches for the “intrinsic meaning or content” of the iconography:

It is apprehended by ascertaining those underlying principles which reveal the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophical persuasion—unconsciously qualified by one personality and condensed into one work.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Roelof van Straten, *An Introduction to Iconography* (Documenting the Image 1; Yverdon: Gordon and Breach, 1994), 4.

<sup>45</sup> De Hulster, *Iconographic Exegesis*, 76.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

<sup>47</sup> Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, 6.

<sup>48</sup> Van Straten rightly notes that, in order to complete the task of iconographical description, “one must have an extensive knowledge of the themes and subjects in art, as well as the many ways they have been represented.” Van Straten, *An Introduction to Iconography*, 6.

<sup>49</sup> Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, 6.

<sup>50</sup> See *ibid.*

The assumption in this quotation is that art is “symptomatic” of underlying cultural currents, values, ideologies, etc.<sup>51</sup> Through interpretation, something of those sub-surface forces can be uncovered. An easy way of summing up Panofsky’s proposal is to say that iconographic analysis happens in three stages: description, analysis, and interpretation.<sup>52</sup>

Panofsky’s interpretive scheme will be the primary foundation upon which I build my own. But I want to qualify it in two ways, by addressing the issue of artistic genre and the issue of art’s role as an agent in society. (1) *The Primacy of Genres*:<sup>53</sup> As De Hulster has already indicated, Panofsky does not pay sufficient attention to the notion of “genre.”<sup>54</sup> Genre in this context refers to artistic conventions. E.H. Gombrich cogently makes the case for the primacy of genre in art history:

Iconology must start with a study of institutions rather than with a study of symbols. Admittedly it is more thrilling to read or write detective stories than to read cookery books, but it is the cookery book that tells us how meals are conventionally composed and, *mutatis mutandis*, whether the sweet can ever be expected to be served before the soup. We cannot exclude a capricious feast which reversed all the orders and accounts for the riddle we were trying to solve. But if we postulate such a rare event, we and our readers should know what we are doing.<sup>55</sup>

Genre analysis, then, not only conditions and disciplines the interpreter, but it also helps her distinguish between originality and convention, and between what is conservative and what is revolutionary or subversive. What this means for the present study is that each piece of art considered will also be considered as part of a larger generic history—one instantiation of a conventional artistic category. For example, when analyzing wall reliefs at Persepolis, it will be

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<sup>51</sup> In a particularly insightful paragraph on iconographic interpretation, Panofsky writes, “But when we try to understand it as a document of Leonardo’s personality, or of the civilization of the Italian High Renaissance, or of a peculiar religious attitude, we deal with the work of art as a symptom of something else which expresses itself in a countless variety of other symptoms, and we interpret its compositional and iconographical features as more particularized evidence of this ‘something else.’” Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, 8.

<sup>52</sup> See De Hulster, *Iconographic Exegesis*, 72.

<sup>53</sup> The term, “primacy of genres,” was used by E.H. Gombrich to describe the need for genre study when interpreting art. See his *Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1972), 5, 7.

<sup>54</sup> De Hulster, *Iconographic Exegesis*, 82.

<sup>55</sup> Gombrich, *Symbolic Images*, 21.

important to ask about the category or genre of wall relief itself, and to consider to what degree the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis perpetuate, change, etc. the conventions of its prototypes.

(2) *Art, Agency, and Society*: Images and the media on which they are found are active cultural *agents* that participate in and shape their respective societies.<sup>56</sup> As agential artifacts, the interpreter should address its “pragmatic function, that is, the particular position within the total network of social communication of a society.”<sup>57</sup> Within the realm of ancient Near Eastern art history, we do well to pay close attention to Michael Baxandall, who states that,

The maker of a picture of other historical artifact is a man addressing a problem of which his product is a finished and concrete solution. To understand it we try to reconstruct both the specific problem it was designed to solve and the specific circumstances out of which he was addressing it.<sup>58</sup>

Although art is often thought of as being the product of some ethereal corner of the human subconscious (art-for-art’s sake), visual artifacts—especially from the ancient Near East—are best understood as responses to dilemmas, and therefore as problem-address-“agents”. Uehlinger helpfully expands on these concepts:

To sum up, practicing iconography or iconology in a social-historical perspective means that we consider images not only as pictures and representations of something else, as windows to the past, but in their very materiality as artifacts made by someone at some time, often on behalf of someone else, for a particular purpose and with an audience in mind.<sup>59</sup>

The key analytical question at this point, then, is not, what does artifact X mean, but rather, *what does artifact X do and what problem does it attempt to solve?*

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<sup>56</sup> David Morgan, for instance, writes, “I argue that as a subject matter, visual culture refers to the images and objects that deploy particular ways of seeing and therefore contribute to the social, intellectual, and perceptual construction of reality; as a professional practice of study, visual culture is that form of inquiry undertaken within a number of humanistic and social scientific disciplines whose object is the conceptual frameworks, social practices, and the artifacts of seeing.” See his *Sacred Gaze: Religious Visual Culture in Theory and Practice* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 27.

<sup>57</sup> See Uehlinger, “Neither Eyewitness,” 189. In this discussion, Uehlinger also cites extensively,

<sup>58</sup> See Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 14-15. See also the helpful exposition of the passage in Uehlinger, “Neither Eyewitness,” 188, where I first came across the work of Baxandall.

<sup>59</sup> See Uehlinger, “Neither Eyewitnesses,” 190.

In modern scholarship, the participatory or agential view of art finds its most powerful exponent in the work of Alfred Gell, the late anthropologist. In his breakthrough study, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*, Gell imagines an anthropological theory “in which persons or ‘social agents’ are, in certain contexts, substituted for by *art objects*.”<sup>60</sup> Instead of emphasizing symbolic communication, Gell chooses to place most of his emphasis on art’s “*agency, intention, causation, result, and transformation*” (emphasis his). He views art as a “system of action, intended to change the world rather than encode symbolic propositions about it.”<sup>61</sup> “Art,” in his view, is defined functionally, as objects that are the “equivalent of persons, or more precisely, social agents.”<sup>62</sup>

In the present model, I wed Panofsky’s concern for significance with the concerns of Gell for the agency of art. Neither is mutually exclusive of the other. Art is both functional and epiphenomenal, agential and symptomatic. Proper interpretation of art must recognize that art both *acts* within culture and, at the same time, *reflects* the underlying values and ideologies at play in that culture—all the while recognizing that such underlying cultural phenomena are mediated through the conventions of art and the skills and dispositions of the artist(s). One example from the popular iconography of America in WWII demonstrates the point. One of the most iconic images of America of this period is that of a stern and serious Uncle Sam pointing a finger at whomever happens to see the poster. He wears—of course—red, white, and blue. Beneath his imposing image is a bold set of lines reading something like, “I Want You for U.S. Army.” This poster both *reveals* and *acts* within society. Concerning the former, it is clear how American nationalistic ideology and values energize and animate the iconography of the poster. At the same time, these cultural resonances are particularized and made to address “you” in the

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<sup>60</sup> See Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 5.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

pointed finger of Uncle Sam, who tries to persuade you to join the ranks of American army soldiers. The poster, in other words, both reflects American values and, at the same time, attempts to use those values to convince Americans to serve.

As an anthropological model, Glen's theoretical work is truly innovative.<sup>63</sup> Within the world of ancient Near Eastern art analysis, however, the agential aspects of art have been recognized for some time, even though it rarely has an explicit role to play in iconographic interpretation. For instance, in Zainab Bahrani's discussion of *šalmu*, she helpfully sheds light on the Assyro-Babylonian ontology of the visual.<sup>64</sup> By problematizing the categories of "real/representation"<sup>65</sup> in Western interpretations of Mesopotamian art, she is able to show that this theoretical fallacy has led to gross misunderstandings of the art itself. Egyptian art, too, if it is to be properly understood, played a similarly active role in Egyptian society. It was not there just to be passively taken in. John Baines writes,

The significance of art can be seen in many facets of Egyptian civilization, and is commensurate with the preponderance of aesthetically formed material in the record. Art served the ordered cosmos, which was celebrated on behalf of the gods and which humanity (as represented by the king) and they defended against the forces of chaos. It defined, encapsulated and perpetuated that cosmos. At the same time it served the perpetual destinies of ruler and inner élite and circumscribed their lifestyles in relation to the rest of society.<sup>66</sup>

Egyptian art functioned on multiple societal and even mythic levels. To take just one example from the mortuary art of elite Theban tombs, Melinda Hartwig has recently argued that Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tombs served several purposes: They protected the body, acted as a vehicle for regeneration and eternal well-being in the life after, provided a space in which the

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<sup>63</sup> See Kate Sharpe, review of Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*, *European Journal of Archaeology* 7 (2004): 209-13.

<sup>64</sup> Zainab Bahrani, *The Graven Image: Representation in Babylonia and Assyria* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).

<sup>65</sup> See, *ibid.*, 122.

<sup>66</sup> See John Baines, "On the Status and Purposes of Egyptian Art," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 4 (1994): 88.

identity of the tomb owner(s) could be projected into the next world, functioned as a visitation area, and, finally, were “part of a vast complex of monuments in ancient Egypt dedicated to sacred permanence that linked society and visually reinforced its cultural identity.”<sup>67</sup> Elite tombs, and especially the art they contained, function both for the benefit of the living and for the benefit of the deceased, not to mention the fact that they provide a liminal meeting point at which the living ritually interact with the deceased. Similar functional descriptions could be made about the external reliefs on Egyptian temples or the colossal statues of pharaohs, all of which served apotropaic functions and worked toward the establishment and maintenance of *maat*.

Ancient Near Eastern Images, then, in addition to having aesthetic qualities, were functional “members” of society. They were objects with which people developed social relationships and objects that, in their own right, exhibited social agency. What Miranda Green says of images in late European antiquity is also relevant to ancient Near Eastern images: they are “dynamic tools used by the communities who produced and consumed them.”<sup>68</sup> A proper analysis of ancient Near Eastern art and iconography, then, will necessarily engage these artifacts on the level of their agency in society.

To tie all of this together, the iconographic interpretive schedule utilized in this study contains five sequential steps: (1) genre/category analysis, (2) pre-iconographic description, (3) iconographic analysis, (4) functional analysis, and (5) iconographic interpretation. The ordering of these steps is very purposeful. Steps 1-2, for example, are placed together because there is inevitably a degree of overlap. In order to place a given piece of art within an artistic genre, one

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<sup>67</sup> Melinda K. Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes: 1419-1372 BCE* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 1.

<sup>68</sup> Miranda Aldhouse Green, *An Archaeology of Images: Iconology and Cosmology in Iron Age and Roman Europe* (London: Routledge, 2004), 2.

must consider what it depicts. Step 5 (iconographic interpretation) takes up last place so that the interpretation of the iconography can draw on the findings of all the previous steps.

Based in part off Van Straten's schedule, which is itself an adaptation of Panofsky's, I propose the following third generation Panofskian schedule of interpretation:<sup>69</sup>

Interpretive Level/Object of Interpretation	Critical Question(s)	Description
Genre/Category Analysis	What is the genre/category?	The broader genre of the art. Medium (e.g., wall relief, plaster painting, stele, etc.), of course, plays an important role in determining the genre.
Pre-Iconographic Description	What is depicted?	At this point, one simply describes what can be seen in the composition. Panofsky refers to this as "primary or natural subject matter." <sup>70</sup>
Iconographic Analysis	What is the theme or subject?	This step involves "relating the elements of a representation with one another and formulating theme of the subject without attempting to discover a deeper meaning." <sup>71</sup> This stage may involve comparison with other visual sources on which similar themes and motifs are depicted and may also include consideration of their own history of development, though much of this is covered beneath my discussion of genre/category analysis.
Functional Analysis	How did the image, and the medium on which it is found, function in society?	This step considers how the item itself participates and contributes to its social surroundings.
Iconographic Interpretation	What are the deeper meanings?	This step involves "identifying the deeper (also the symbolic)

<sup>69</sup> For Van Straten's chart, see his *An Introduction to Iconography*, Diagram 1. Both Panofsky's and Von Straten's are helpfully reproduced in De Hulster, *Iconographic Exegesis*, figs. 3.3 and 3.4.

<sup>70</sup> Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, 5.

<sup>71</sup> Van Straten, *An Introduction to Iconography*, 16.

		meaning of a representation.... <sup>72</sup>
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Clearly, the interpretation of images is no simple task. It involves both disciplined attention to detail, along with a broader knowledge of the culture and society in which the image functioned. Because of the in-depth nature of this interpretive schedule, the present study cannot claim to be an exhaustive treatment of all the relevant art-historical materials. When I come to the art history section of the dissertation, only representative examples will be chosen, though abundant references will be made to related material.

### 1.5 Putting Theory into Practice: The Wealth of Nations Tradition

In order to demonstrate the viability of the tradition-historical approach as outlined above, the remainder of this dissertation undertakes a tradition historical study of, what I call, the Wealth of Nations Tradition (WNT). The WNT is a trinodal constellation, in which (1) *foreign nations bring their (2) wealth to a (3) royal figure as an act of homage, honor, and submission*. This tradition occurs in the following texts: 1 Kgs 10:1-10, 13, 15//2 Chr 9:1-9, 12, 14; 1 Kgs 10:23-25//2 Chr 9:22-24; Pss 68:19, 30-32; 72:10-11; 76:12; 96:7-8//1 Chr 16:28-29; Isa 18:7; 45:14; 60:4-17; 61:5-6; 66:12; Zeph 3:10; 2 Chr 32:23. The WNT is an ideal object of inquiry, since it is found, not only in the HB, but also throughout the ancient Near East, both in visual and textual sources.<sup>73</sup> The goals of this study, then, are (1) to demonstrate the viability of a multi-medial theory of tradition history by (2) tracing the WNT's development historically in the HB, in terms

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>73</sup> To date, the most in-depth study of this notion that also considers the art historical material, is Brent A. Strawn, "A World under Control: Isaiah 60 and the Apadana Reliefs from Persepolis," in *Approaching Yehud: New Approaches to the Study of the Persian Period* (ed. L. Berquist. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007), 85-116.

of its (i) contents (ii) genre, and (iii) social settings and by contrasting these data with the visual and literary record of the WNT in the ancient Near East.<sup>74</sup>

This dissertation makes two fundamental contributions to the field of biblical studies. First, on a methodological level, I show the value of using iconographic materials in tradition-historical analysis.<sup>75</sup> Heretofore, the value of visual resources in tradition history has not been fully explored or appreciated.<sup>76</sup> This is due, in part, to the often narrow way in which scholars define tradition. Following Steck, I construe “tradition” more broadly, to refer to inherited concepts and constellations from the larger environment. Second, this project creates a tradition-historical profile of the WNT in the HB. This biblical tradition has never been studied in a comprehensive manner before. Because of the abundance of related visual and literary resources from the ancient Near East, however, the WNT is a particularly interesting example of how both visual and verbal resources can provide insight into the development and background of biblical traditions.

The study proceeds as follows. Critical analysis of the biblical texts themselves is the necessary starting point. Chapter 2 examines each of the aforementioned biblical texts, with a

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<sup>74</sup> This project, then, resembles Steck’s own dissertation, insofar as it isolates a concept and then inquires into its tradition-historical background and development. Steck’s project, however, was somewhat broader; for he traced the violent fate of prophets throughout the HB, Second Temple literature, and early Christian literature. He writes, “Die vorliegende Untersuchung hat die Aufgabe, der Entstehung, Überlieferung und Verwendung der generellen Vorstellung vom gewaltsamen Geschick der Propheten bis ins Ur- und Frühchristentum nachzugehen.” See his, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten*, 18. My project, however, is concerned with how tradition-historical analysis can inform a reading of two chapters of late Israelite literature (Isaiah 60-61). These differences will have structural consequences for my own project. Steck’s dissertation is divided into four parts. (1) He begins with a study of the structure, word-field, range/scope, and geographical location of the oldest attested occurrence of the notion (i.e., Neh 9:26). (2) He then studies the notion in Josephus and in rabbinic and early Christian literature. (3) The third section concerns the “Problem der Vermittlung der Vorstellung in dieser Zwischenzeit [i.e., the time from the Maccabean revolt up to the writing down of the Mishnah] und dementsprechend auch die spätjüdischen Belege für die Vorstellung...” (ibid., 19). (4) The fourth part deals with the use of the notion of the violent end of the prophets in early Christianity. I will begin with a sketch of the notions development, both in the HB and in the art and literature of the Near East. The typologies developed here will help situate Isaiah 60-61 within a broader textual and visual spectrum.

<sup>75</sup> This approach assumes, of course, that such resources are available. When they are not, then tradition history must be flexible.

<sup>76</sup> For some exceptions, see Steck, *Exegese des alten Testaments*, 130; Becker, *Exegese des Alten Testaments*, 128-29.

particular emphasis on literary-, form-, and composition-critical concerns. These preliminary steps help in the creation of a profile of the WNT. Chapter 3 considers related ancient Near Eastern textual and visual material as a way of setting the biblical texts against a broader horizon. Chapter 4 brings the data from these chapters together into a synthetic tradition-historical statement about the WNT, its development and its relationship to the intellectual world it inherited.

## 2. The Wealth of the Nations Tradition in the Hebrew Bible

### 2.1 Defining the Body of Textual Evidence

The overarching goal of this chapter is to present a linguistic, generic, and diachronic profile of the biblical texts in which the WNT appears. As stated at the end of Chapter 1, in the WNT, *foreign nations bring their wealth to a royal figure as an act of homage, honor, and submission.*

This tradition finds expression in the following texts: 1 Kgs 10:1-10, 13, 15//2 Chr 9:1-9, 12, 14; 1 Kgs 10:23-25//2 Chr 9:22-24; 2 Chr 32:23; Pss 68:19, 30-32; 72:10-11; 76:12; 96:7-8//1 Chr 16:28-29; Isa 18:7; 45:14; 60:4-17; 61:5-6; 66:12; Zeph 3:10.

At the core of Chapter 2 is a set of analytical questions that will help create a tradition-historical profile of the aforementioned texts:

- Who brings the wealth to Zion?
- What goods are received?
- What terminology is used to describe how the wealth of nations comes to Zion?
- Who receives the wealth?
- What is the text's genre?
- What is the text's date?

Answering these questions on the level of individual texts allows one to probe broader tradition-historical issues: How did the tradition's contents develop chronologically? When was the tradition most widely attested? Are there certain genres that favor the WNT? Is the tradition more prevalent in poetry or prose? Are the recipients of the nations' wealth always the same?

But before engaging these texts directly, I need to justify the exclusion of several other texts or text groups, which, while containing material that is similar and even related to the WNT, are nonetheless tradition-historically distinct. This is a crucial step, for, in the past, some scholars have been wont to group these texts together with texts containing the WNT.

(1) The Assault of the Nations: This refers to texts in which foreign nations converge on Zion with militant intent (see, e.g., Pss 2; 46; 48; 76; Isa 36-37//2 Kgs 18-19; Jer 25:9; cf. Isa 17:12-14; 33:3).<sup>1</sup> Sometimes this tradition is used to legitimate Zion's centrality in the world (see, e.g., Pss 46; 48, etc.). In exceptional cases, and especially within the Jeremianic literature, the tradition is turned on its head and used to *undermine* Zion theology (see, e.g., Jer 25:9). Assumed by most of these texts is the belief that Zion is inviolable, because Yhwh, Zion's patron deity, will protect her.<sup>2</sup> The Assault of Nations tradition assumes that Jerusalem is under dire

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<sup>1</sup> The nations' assault on Zion has been discussed on many occasions. See, e.g., Hayes, "The Tradition of Zion's Inviolability," 419-26; Gunther Wanke, *Die Zionstheologie der Korachiten in ihrem traditions-geschichtlichen Zusammenhang* (BZAW 97; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1966), 70-99; Matthew J. Lynch, "Zion's Warrior and the Nations: Isaiah 59:15b-63:6 in Isaiah's Zion Traditions," *CBQ* 70 (2008): 244-63; Ben C. Ollenburger, *Zion, City of the Great King: A Theological Symbol of the Jerusalem Cult* (JSOT 41; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), 66-80; Levenson, "Zion Traditions," *ABD* 6:1099-1100; Leslie J. Hoppe, *The Holy City: Jerusalem in the Theology of the Old Testament* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2000), 31-32. J.J.M. Roberts, "Zion in the Theology of the Davidic-Solomonic Empire," in *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays: Papers Read at the International Symposium for Biblical Studies, Tokyo, 5-7 December, 1979* (ed. Tomoo Ishida; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1982), 93-108.

<sup>2</sup> The concept that a patron deity will protect the city to which it is bound is itself well known in the ancient Near East and is not at all specific to Jerusalem. For instance, the Amman Citadel Inscription, found in an Iron Age level at ed-Dala'ah, proclaims that Milkom (patron deity of the Ammonites) will ensure the inviolability of their city:

] Milkom: "Build entrances around about [  
 ] for all who besiege you shall surely die [  
 ] I will utterly annihilate, and anyone who agitates against [  
 ] but among all the columns, the legitimate ones will lodge [  
 ] you shall indeed hg on the innermost door. You shall indeed  
 ] extinguish  
 ] you shall be feared among the gods. [  
 ] and security and . . . [  
 ] peace to you and . . . [  
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After Nissinen, with Contributions by Seow and Ritner, *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East*, 202-3.

A very similar theology of inviolability can be found in the Aramaic Zakkur Stela. The inscription is found on three sides of a stele from Tell Afis. As the editors of the text indicate, the stela honors Iluwer and celebrates the victory of Zakkur over his Aramean and Anatolian enemies (*ibid.*, 203). The relevant portion of the inscription reads as follows:

All these kings set up a siege against Hazr[ak].  
 They raised a wall higher than the wall of Hazr[ak]. They dug a moat deeper than [its] moa[t].  
 But I lifted my hands to Baalshamayn, and Baalshamay[n] answered me, [and]  
 BaalShamayn [spoke] to me [thr]ough seers and through visionaries, [and]  
 Balshamayn [said], "[F[e]ar not, for I have made [you king, [and I who will  
 st]and with [yo], and I will deliver you from all [these kings who]

threat from the nations, which wish to inflict harm upon the city. While the nations certainly converge upon Zion in these texts—often *en masse*—as they do in the WNT, they do so with swords and siege equipment, not tribute and gifts. These significant differences suggest that the Assault of Nations tradition and the WNT have distinct tradition-historical backgrounds.<sup>3</sup>

(2) The Plundering of the Nations: I also exclude texts in which plunder and booty are collected as a result of Yhwh’s victory over the nations (Pss 68:19a; 76:5-6; Isa 33:4, 23; Zeph 14:14; cf. Ezek 39:9-10).<sup>4</sup> The fundamental difference between texts that contain the WNT and those in which booty is collected from a defeated enemy, is that in the former, the nations themselves bring the goods, typically as an act of political homage and submission, whereas in the latter, wealth is *taken* from them forcibly in the aftermath of battle. To put it somewhat bluntly, it is one thing to strip the dead and their cities of valuables, and quite another thing to receive goods from subjugated vassals as an acknowledgement of subservience. To be sure, both situations typically, but not necessarily, result from military dominance; the respective activities to which they refer (plundering and tribute-bearing), however, are of a fundamentally different kind.

Haggai 2:6-9 deserves special mention at this point. It should also be grouped in with texts in which booty is collected from the nations, and, therefore excluded from the present study of the WNT. While Hag 2:6-9 clearly imagines the wealth of nations coming to Zion, the wealth is gathered in as booty from war, not as a material show of political submission. David L. Petersen, for instance, writes:

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have forced a siege against you! (after *ibid.*, 206).

These Iron Age parallels suggest that the notion of inviolability was not unique to Jerusalem or Zion but rather was part of the deity’s obligation to the king, wherever he might be.

<sup>3</sup> See fn 2 where I discuss briefly the possible tradition-historical background of the Assault of Nations tradition.

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of this notion, see Roberts, “Zion in the Theology of the Davidic-Solomonic Empire,” 104. Similarly, texts in which Israel conquers nations are takes booty are also excluded (see, e.g., Josh 8:2).

A comparison of Haggai's expectation of riches from the nations with Isa. 60:5-11 is instructive. Here too there is talk of treasure flowing to Jerusalem. However, a different traditio-historical background is clearly at work in this deutero prophetic text. The motif in Isa. 60:1-11 is that of the pilgrimage of the nations to Jerusalem . . . In Haggai, the language derives from theophanic traditions and carries a punitive undertone toward the nations, an element missing from Isa. 60. In Haggai the nations are being shaken in order to jar loose their wealth.<sup>5</sup>

The wealth depicted in Hag 2:6-9, in other words, imagines the *re-plundering* of the nations as part of the post-exilic restoration of the temple. The temple vessels and other accoutrements are almost certainly in mind.<sup>6</sup> I will return to this text below in my discussion of von Rad, who famously claims that Isaiah 2, 60, and Haggai 2 are all developments of a single tradition.

(3) Temple-Building Narratives: I also exclude texts in which foreigners participate in temple building projects, either by providing manpower or raw materials (e.g., gold, bronze, or wood).<sup>7</sup> This is a well-developed and widely-attested notion in the HB (see, e.g., 1 Kgs 5:15-32; 7:13-51; 9:11-14; Zech 6:15 ; Ezra 1; 3:1-4:5; 6; 1 Chr 18:8; 22:2-19; 2 Chr 1:18-2:17; 4:11-16; 36:22-23). Victor Hurowitz has shown that such temple-building narratives are deeply rooted in ancient Near Eastern conceptions of kingship<sup>8</sup> and that they consistently follow a six-step sequence:

1. a reason to build or restore along with the command/consent of the god(s)
2. preparations for the project (i.e., enlisting workers, materials, laying foundations, etc.)
3. a description of the construction process and of the building itself
4. dedication of the building, which includes staffing it and celebrating the dedication with rituals
5. the giving of a prayer/blessing, seeking the well-being of the builder and building

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<sup>5</sup> David L. Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1-8* (OTL; London: SCM Press, 1985), 68.

<sup>6</sup> On this point, see *ibid.*, 68.

<sup>7</sup> For an excellent collection of essays on the topic of temple-building in the Near East, see Richard S. Ellis, Mark J. Boda and Jamie Novotny, eds., *From the Foundations to the Crenellations: Essays on Temple Building in the Ancient Near East and Hebrew Bible* (AOAT 366; Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2010).

<sup>8</sup> See Chapter 9 of his, *I Have Built You an Exalted House: Temple Building in the Bible in Light of Mesopotamian and Northwest Semitic Writings* (JSOTSup 115; JSOT/ASOR Monograph Series 5; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 171-223. For an adaptation/expansion of this outline, see Lisbeth S. Fried's helpful work, *The Priest and the Great King: Temple-Palace Relations in the Persian Empire* (BJSUCSD 10; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 160-61.

6. blessings and curses addressed to any future king who might repair the building<sup>9</sup>

While one must allow for a degree of flexibility when studying temple-building narratives, Hurowitz has clearly shown that they do follow a loose pattern. This 6-part pattern, moreover, transcends cultural, linguistic, and even chronological boundaries, such that it can be detected in a wide range of ancient Near Eastern sources, biblical and otherwise. References to foreign resources and workers are typically found in steps 2-3. Like the WNT, these texts depict nations bringing and/or sending their goods. Unlike the WNT, however, these depictions are embedded within a larger narrative context about the construction of a temple.

(4) Pilgrimage to Zion: Finally, I remove from consideration texts in which foreign nations make a pilgrimage or journey to Zion but come for reasons other than wealth-bearing (see, e.g., 1 Kgs 8:41-43; Pss 86:9; 102:23-25; Isa 2:2-5// Mic 4:1-5; 11:10; 55:5; Jer 3:16-18; Zech 8:20-23; 14:13-14, 16-19). In these texts, nations travel to Zion for other reasons: to seek out Yhwh's instruction or favor (see Isa 2:2-5; 11:10; Mic 4:1-4; Zech 8:20-23); to worship or pray (1 Kgs 8:41-43; Pss 102:23; 86:9); to gather around Yhwh's throne (see, e.g., Jer 3:16-18); to repatriate exiled Judahites (see, e.g., Isa 11:12; 43:6; 49:22-23; cf. Isa 48:20; Jer 40:12); and, in one unique case, to observe the Feast of Booths (Zech 14:13-19).<sup>10</sup> In one instance, the only reason given is that their trip is for Yhwh's sake (see Isa 55:5).<sup>11</sup> These texts clearly acknowledge the exalted status of Zion and of her God, but they lack any reference to foreigners bringing wealth as a sign of submission.

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<sup>9</sup> This pattern is mentioned in several places in his dissertation. For a convenient summary, see Hurowitz, *I Have Built You an Exalted House*, 311.

<sup>10</sup> Zech 14:13-19 seems to depict both the nations pilgrimaging to Zion (see esp. vv. 16-19) and the collection of booty (see esp. v. 14).

<sup>11</sup> In his comments on this passage, Paul compares Isa 55:5 to Isa 60:9, and assumes the nations are coming to bring their tribute/wealth (see Shalom M. Paul, *Isaiah 40-66: Translation and Commentary* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012], 439), but there is no evidence that this is their reason for coming to Zion.

The preceding paragraphs argue why, in my view, one should consider the WNT apart from the four text-types I have identified above (The Assault of the Nations, The Plundering of the Nations, Temple Building Narratives, and Journey to Zion). And yet, these distinctions are not always recognized by scholars. In fact, scholars frequently bunch the aforementioned texts together with the WNT texts. These texts are most often categorized under the title of *Völkerwallfahrt*, *Völkerzug*, pilgrimage of the nations, or the like.<sup>12</sup> What seems to inform this tendency in scholarship is the assumption that each of these treks to Zion draws on a common “pilgrimage to Zion” or “journey to Zion” prototype. In some cases, the journey prototype is used to speak about nations bringing wealth as tributaries. In other cases, nations seek Yhwh’s instruction or come to Zion to repatriate exiled Judahites. Some scholars even include assaults on Zion beneath this category (see below). Von Rad is an important proponent of this pilgrimage prototype theory and is probably also partly responsible for its wide dispersion. He made the well-known argument that Isa 2:2-5, Isaiah 60, and Hag 2:6-9—in this chronological sequence—represent variations on the “pilgrimage of the nations” tradition.<sup>13</sup> This proposal has won a great many followers. One recent proponent of this view is Matthew J. Lynch. (Note, however, that he prefers the designation, “convergence of the nations” rather than “pilgrimage of the nations.”) Under a subheading titled, “The convergence of the nations to Zion in response,” he groups a number of texts in which the nations come to Zion:

In a negative sense, the nations sometimes gather in unified opposition to Zion, either to launch physical war or to ridicule and shame Zion (Pss 2:1-2; 48:4; 76:3; cf. Ps 83:2-8).

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<sup>12</sup> For a helpful discussion of the terminological issues (i.e., is it a *Völkerwallfahrt* or a *Völkerzug*?) see Gary Stansell, “The Nations’ Journey to Zion: Pilgrimage and Tribute as Metaphor in the Book of Isaiah,” in *The Desert Will Bloom: Poetic Visions in Isaiah* (ed. A. Joseph Everson and Hyun Paul Kim; AIL 4; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 238-9. Among the most important articles on the pilgrimage of the nations, see Hans Wildberger, “Die Völkerwallfahrt zum Zion,” *VT* 7 (1957): 62-81.

<sup>13</sup> See Gerhard von Rad, “Die Stadt auf dem Berge,” in *Gerhard von Rad: Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* (Theologische Bücherei: Neudrucke und Berichte aus dem 20. Jahrhundert 8; München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1961), 214-224. Cf. e.g., Karl Pauritsch, *Die neue Gemeinde: Gott sammelt Ausgestossene und Arme (Jesaja 56-66)* (Analecta Biblical 47; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1971), 120.

In a positive sense, Zion is at times the “joy of all the earth” (Ps 48:2) or the recipient of the nations’ praise . . . The more positive activities in which the nations engage Zion relate primarily to Yhwh’s kingship (payment of tribute, praise for wise laws and decrees, worship, and envoys of restoration). Because Zion’s king (Yhwh) was seen as beneficent, the city was also understood to be the conduit of heavenly blessing for the nations (Pss 36:7-9; 65:4; 134; Isa 61:9, 11).<sup>14</sup>

All of the texts Lynch mentions here are unified by the fact that they depict nations coming to Zion. Pierre Grelot shows a similar tendency to group such texts together under a single category:

Pour évoquer la gloire de la nouvelle Jérusalem, Is. lx décrit une sorte de procession: tous les peuples se dirigent vers la ville sainte afin d’y porter leurs presents. L’idée reprend celle d’Is. ii 1-4, mais avec un aspect ritual plus prononcé (les offrandes ne sont pas mentionnées dans Is. ii). L’universalisme religieux est le même dans les deux textes.<sup>15</sup>

Isaiah 60, for Grelot, takes up an idea already present in Isa 2:1-4, but develops it along ritualistic lines. Or, in a recent essay, Gary Stansell states,

In the book of Isaiah, Israel’s historical pilgrimages, three main annual festivals, have been poetically reshaped into a dramatic, colorful metaphor that is found throughout the book’s three main divisions . . . Indeed, a certain prominence to the pilgrimage metaphor is given by its occurrence toward the beginning (Isa 2:2-4) and end of the book (Isa 60; 66:18-21), where we find visions of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Remarkably, it is the Gentiles, the “nations/peoples,” and their kings, who “stream” (Isa 2:2; cf. 66:12) to the Holy City. Moreover, often combined with this imagery of pilgrimage is a second metaphor that imaginatively and colorfully extends the pilgrimage of the nations and kings; they come to Zion, not with empty hands but bearing gifts or tribute, signified by the metaphor “wealth of nations.”<sup>16</sup>

Like von Rad, Stansell seems to understand texts like Isaiah 2 and Isaiah 60 to be instantiations of or expansions on a common pilgrimage prototype. A text like Isaiah 60-61, in his view, “extends” (i.e., is a development of) the more fundamental category of the pilgrimage of the nations.

<sup>14</sup> See Lynch, “Zion’s Warrior and the Nations,” 249-50.

<sup>15</sup> See Pierre Grelot, “Un parallèle Babylonien d’Isaïe LX et du Psaume LXXII,” *VT* 7 (1957): 319-21.

<sup>16</sup> Stansell, “The Nations’ Journey to Zion,” 233.

Let me be clear that I am in agreement with von Rad, Lynch, Grelot, Stansell and others that the texts that they group under the category of “pilgrimage,” “convergence,” and the like are closely related. I disagree, however, on the precise nature of this relationship. These texts do not share a common prototype (e.g., journey to Zion), but are rather part of a common tradition stream,<sup>17</sup> which is sometimes called the “Zion tradition” or the “Jerusalem cult theology.”<sup>18</sup> To put it differently, the texts that describe the nations coming to Zion are cousins, not siblings—meaning that they are part of the same family (Zion theology), but are not born of the same

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<sup>17</sup> A “tradition stream” differs from a “notion” or a “tradition” insofar as the former is a composite agglomeration of notional elements, motifs, etc. Tradition streams are historically durable ideological complexes in which individual traditions found. Steck notes that, “The nucleus of its [a tradition stream’s] identity is a peculiar, distinctive conceptional design of how to deal with experiences, and this is presented concretely in an arsenal of characteristic usage of language, genres, leading notions, and movements of thought. As an intellectual movement bearing such marks, a stream of tradition can extend to new experiences, new materials, oral and written traditions of different origin, and thus it can expand itself and undergo change. It will retain its identity and its existence as a tradition stream as long as the homogenous development of its own conceptual design maintains control of the way in which new impulses are assimilated.” Steck, “Theological Streams of Tradition,” 197. Among the most familiar traditions streams are the wisdom stream, apocalyptic, priestly, deuteronomic-deuteronomistic, and Zion streams. The WNT, of course, is part of the Zion stream. The borders between these tradition streams, however, are porous, and cross-over from different streams is prevalent throughout the HB.

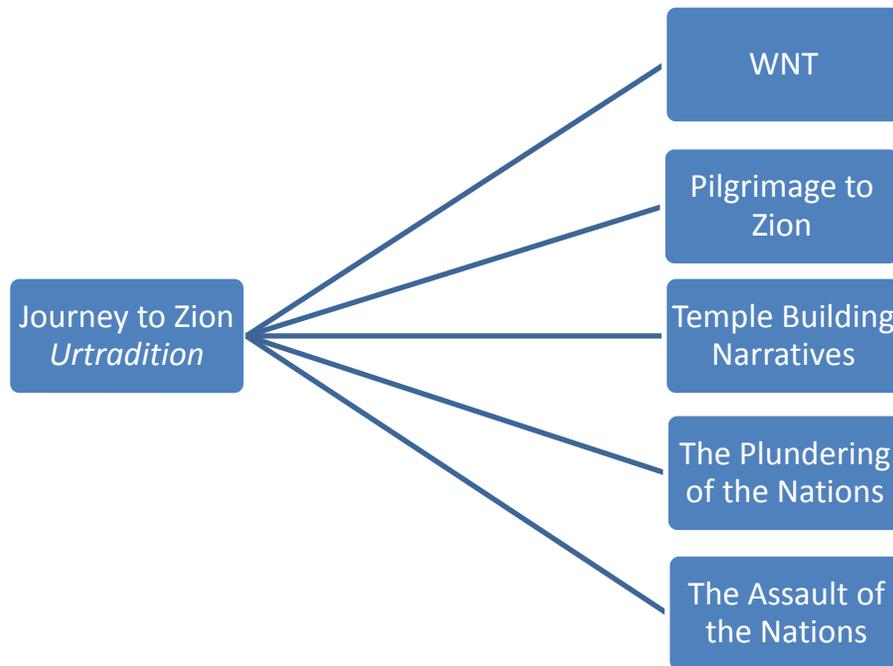
<sup>18</sup> According to the recent survey by Jaap Dekker, Edzard Rohland was the first scholar to use the term, “Zion Tradition,” in his 1956 Heidelberg Dissertation: See Edzard Rohland, “Die Bedeutung der Erwählungstraditionen Israels für die Eschatologie der Alttestamentlichen Propheten” (Ph.D. diss., Heidelberg, 1956). For the citation, see Jaap Dekker, *Zion’s Rock-Solid Foundations: An Exegetical Study of the Zion Text in Isaiah 28:16* (OtSt 54; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 283. Zion theology has been the focus of intense study by several generations of scholars. Major studies include: Kurt Galling, *Die Erwählungstradition Israels* (BZAW 48; Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1928); von Rad, “Die Stadt auf dem Berge,” 439-47; Wildberger, “Völkerwallfahrt zum Zion,” 62-81; Norman W. Porteous, “Jerusalem-Zion: The Growth of Symbol,” in *Verbannung und Heimkehr: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Theologie Israels im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.: Wilhelm Rudolph zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. A. Kuschke. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1961), 235-52; David Lemoine Eiler, “The Origin and History of Zion as a Theological Symbol in Ancient Israel” (Th.D. Diss. Princeton Theological Seminary, 1968); Fritz Stolz, *Strukturen und Figuren im Kult von Jerusalem: Studien zur altorientalischen, vor- und frühisraelitischen Religion* (BZAW 118. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1970); Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*; Martin Buber, *On Zion: The History of an Idea* (New York: Schocken Books, 1973); J. J. M. Roberts, “The Davidic Origin of the Zion Tradition,” *JBL* 92 (1973): 329-44; idem, “Zion in the Theology of the Davidic-Solomonic Empire,” *Studies in The Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays* (ed. Tomoo Ishida; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1982), 93-108; idem, “Solomon’s Jerusalem and the Zion Tradition,” in *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology: The First Temple Period* (ed. Andrew G. Vaughn and Ann E. Killebrew; SBLSymS 18; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 163-70; Jon Levenson, *Sinai and Zion: An Entry into the Jewish Bible* (New Voices in Biblical Studies; Minneapolis: Winston Press, 1985); idem, “Zion Traditions,” *ABD* 6:1098; Donald E. Gowan, *Eschatology in the Old Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986); Baruch J. Schwartz, “Torah from Zion: Isaiah’s Temple Vision (Isaiah 2:1-4),” in *Sanctity of Time and Space in Tradition and Modernity* (Jewish and Christian Perspectives 1; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 11-26; Richard S. Hess, *Zion, City of our God* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999); Dagmar Stoltmann, *Jerusalem - Mutter – Stadt: Zur Theologiegeschichte der Heiligen Stadt* (Münsteraner theologische Abhandlungen 57; Altenberge: Oros, 1999); Hoppe, *The Holy City*; Corrina Körting, *Zion in den Psalmen* (FAT 48; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006); Keel, *Die Geschichte Jerusalems*. For a helpful survey of Zion theology in the book of Isaiah, see Dekker, *Zion’s Rock-Solid Foundations*, 265-337.

parent (i.e., a common pilgrimage prototype). And just as many families share a common ethos, the various notions discussed here share several fundamental assumptions, all of which spring from three central tenants: that (1) Yhwh is a king; (2) he has chosen Zion (2a) as his royal abode and (2b) as the center of his governance; (3) thus, Zion is the *axis mundi*, where order is both established and quintessentially expressed and where chaos (historically or mythically manifest) meets its end.<sup>19</sup> A visual representation is helpful at this point. Scholars holding to the “prototype” view (e.g., von Rad), imagine that the WNT, Assault of the Nations tradition, etc., are related to one another in the following way:

Graphic A:

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<sup>19</sup> For a similar understanding of the Zion tradition stream, see J.J.M. Roberts, “The Enthronement of Yhwh and David: The Abiding Theological Significance of the Kingship Language of the Psalms,” *CBQ* 64 (2002): 676. For the proposal that Yhwh’s kingship and election of Zion form its central tenants, see, again, Roberts, “Zion in the Theology of the Davidic-Solomonic Empire,” 93-108. Jaap Dekker defines the Zion tradition in this way: “The Zion tradition is that group of Israel’s traditions related to the unique place and significance of Zion on the journey God has made with his people.” Dekker, *Zion’s Rock-Solid Foundations*, 317. While there are numerous excellent points in this definition, it fails to capture the fundamental institution that permeates nearly every tradition associated with Zion: The kingship of Yhwh. In what is a standard study on the topic, Edzard Rohland proposes that the Zion tradition contained four motifs: Zion is Zaphon’s peak; the paradise river flows from it; God defeats the chaotic waters there; and God defeats the kings and their people there. See his, “Die Bedeutung der Erwählungstraditionen Israels für die Eschatologie der Alttestamentlichen Propheten,” 142. For a summary of Rohland’s position, see Roberts, “The Davidic Origin of the Zion-Tradition,” 329.



I have suggested, however, that the relationship is more accurately described in the following way:

Graphic B



Graphic A imagines that the traditions in which people come to Zion are distant relatives of a common journey-to-the-city *Urtradition*. This explanation, however, is problematic. First the *Urtradition* explanation does not respect the profound differences between, say, a large-scale assault on Zion and a religious pilgrimage to Zion. From a distance, these two activities share some features (e.g., many people come to Zion), but the similarities end there. Second, there is little if any evidence that such an *Urtradition* ever existed, either in the ancient Near Eastern evidence or in HB. In other words, while we have plenty of evidence for people assaulting cities, bringing tribute, collecting booty, journeying to religious sites, etc. I am aware of no external evidence (either texts or images) attesting to a “journey-to-the-city” tradition.

Graphic B provides the most compelling explanation of the evidence. According to Graphic B, the various journeys to Zion developed, at least in large part, independent of one another. These discrete traditions were at some point in Judahite history called upon to support the claim that Yhwh had chosen Jerusalem as the seat of his kingdom. Just as a new king might use deeply embedded symbols to create legitimacy for his new reign, so ancient Judahites over the centuries drew upon a wide variety of royal symbols and traditions from the surrounding cultures to create legitimacy for Yhwh’s rule.

An example from von Rad’s study is illustrative at this point. Isaiah 2:2-5 depicts the nations of the earth coming to Zion in order to hear Torah, receive instruction, and learn to live in peaceful ways. At the center of Isaiah 2 is the fusion of the two foremost cosmic mountains in the Hebrew Bible: Sinai (the mountain of divine instruction and revelation) and Zion (the mountain of Yhwh’s royal habitation).<sup>20</sup> Isaiah 60 however, draws its inspiration primarily from

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<sup>20</sup> The fusion of Sinai and Zion has been most thoroughly studied by Levenson in *Sinai and Zion*, though he does not discuss Isaiah 2:2-5 in much detail. In fact, there are only two references to this text, both of which are rather brief. Levenson’s most detailed discussion of Isaiah 2 is in Chapter 2, “Zion, the Mountain of the Temple.” In the relevant subsection, he discusses Zion as the “junction between heaven and earth” (125). The sacred city, even

the institution of tribute-bearing,<sup>21</sup> and Hag 2:6-9, as noted above, was developed from the concept of plunder and booty.<sup>22</sup> The problem with clumping these three texts together under the same category is that each of them draws on a different prototype (holy mountain traditions, tribute bearing, plunder, etc.).

(5) Historical Notices: Finally, I exclude several historical notices from Samuel-Kings and Chronicles which, while mentioning foreign wealth coming to Jerusalem, seem unrelated to the Zion-theological stream (see 2 Sam 8:2, 6//1 Chr 18:2, 6; 2 Chr 17:10-11; 26:8). Form-critically, they belong to the realm of annalistic literature or perhaps even administrative record keeping.<sup>23</sup>

In summary, the preceding paragraphs isolate a discrete family of texts that bear witness to the WNT: 1 Kgs 10:1-10, 13, 15//2 Chr 9:1-9, 12, 14;10:23-25//2 Chr 9:22-24; Isa 18:7; 45:14; 66:12; Zeph 3:10; Pss 68:19, 29-32; 72:10-11; 76:12; 96:7-8//1 Chr 16:28-29; 2 Chr 32:23. In these texts, *foreign nations bring their wealth to a royal figure as an act of homage, honor, and submission*. Texts with similar content but different tradition-historical backgrounds have been excluded. The remainder of this chapter is dedicated to a detailed analysis of each text

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without the presence of the temple, “is the conduit through which messages pass from earth to heaven. . . .” (ibid.). He goes on to discuss priests, who function as mediators of divine messages through Urim and Thummim and who also send offerings (human messages to Yhwh) to heaven. Priests also “instruct Israel in the name of God” (cf. Mal 2:6-7). At this point, Levenson writes, “Later, this instruction in Torah [referring to Mal 2:6-7] which emanates from the Temple on Zion will come to be projected onto the age-to-come, when the nations stream to the cosmic mountain in Jerusalem, now visibly elevated above the rest of the world, and mundane existence comes to be radically transfigured according to a vision of cosmic peace. But this eschatological vision is not different in essence from what was held to take place at the Temple all along—the enthronement and glorification of YHWH in his cosmic abode, the pilgrimage of his worshippers, and his instruction of them in his sacred law, which transforms and elevates them” (126). It would seem by this, that Levenson interprets Isaiah 2 as an eschatological extension of the priests’ pedagogical duties. I do not disagree with this conclusion entirely, but I wonder if it seems too circumscribed. With so much evidence that Zion has assimilated the characteristics of Sinai, it seems likely that Isaiah 2 also participates in this trend, the primary differences being that (1) Yhwh’s law-giving role is now given a universal scope and (2) there is no human mediator like Moses.

<sup>21</sup> See also Stansell, “The Nations Journey to Zion,” 238.

<sup>22</sup> Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1-8*, 68.

<sup>23</sup> 1 Kgs 10:15//2 Chr 9:14 are exceptions to this exception. I include them in my analysis of the WNT because they seem to be part of a Persian period editorial layer (1 Kgs 4:20, 5:1, 4-6, 9-14; 10:1-10, 13, 23-25) that is informed by the WNT. For additional details about this layer, see my discussion of the related texts below.

in which the WNT appears, with particular attention to the texts' generic and composition-historical profiles.

## 2.2 Poetry, Colometry, and Compositional History

Even a brief glance at the texts under consideration (1 Kgs 10:1-10, 13, 15//2 Chr 9:1-9, 12, 14; 1 Kgs 10:23-25//2 Chr 9:22-24; Pss 68:19, 30-32; 72:10-11; 76:12; 96:7-8//1 Chr 16:28-29; Isa 18:7; 45:14; 60:4-17; 61:5-6; 66:12; Zeph 3:10; 2 Chr 32:23) indicates that, with only a few exceptions (1 Kgs 10:1-10, 13, 15//2 Chr 9:1-9, 12, 14; 1 Kgs 10:23-25//2 Chr 9:22-24; 2 Chr 32:23), the WNT is primarily a poetic phenomenon. Even though remarkable gains have been made in the study of Hebrew poetry,<sup>24</sup> composition-historical analysis of Hebrew poetry continues to pose significant challenges to scholars.

But determining how a tradition developed over time requires that one be able to analyze texts in a diachronic manner, even difficult poetic texts. To this end, two scholarly insights guide my thinking when it comes to composition-historical analysis of Hebrew poetry. The first concerns the relationship between Hebrew poetry and lyric verse—a relationship which in my view is too often overlooked in discussions about the history of a poem's composition. Using recent research, I argue that Hebrew poetry frequently exhibits features of lyric verse and that these features are too often underappreciated in discussions of the compositional history of biblical poems, especially in continental biblical scholarship. The second insight comes from the

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<sup>24</sup> Introductions to the basics of Hebrew poetry are manifold. See especially reference dictionaries like *ABD* and *NIDB*. For book-length treatments, see, e.g., Wilfred G.E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry* (JSOTSup 26; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984); idem, *Traditional Techniques in Classical Hebrew Verse* (JSOTSup 170; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994); Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Poetry* (New York: Basic Books, 1985); Adele Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985); Luis Alonso Shökel, *A Manual of Hebrew Poetics* (Roma: Editrice pontificio biblico, 1988); and J.P. Fokkelman, *Reading Biblical Poetry: An Introductory Guide* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001).

colometric approach to Hebrew poetry, pioneered especially by scholars such as Oswald Loretz and Ingo Kottsieper.<sup>25</sup> Both of these insights, which I discuss in greater detail below, guide my composition-historical analysis of the biblical texts.

### 2.2.1 Lyric Poetry and Compositional History

Fred Gaiser, professor of Old Testament at Luther Seminary, has a note posted in his office that says, “It’s poetry, stupid.” The note is there as a reminder to himself that poetry has its own rules and that one needs to know those rules in order to interpret properly the poetry of the HB. What Gaiser’s aphorism lacks in subtlety it makes up for in lucidity: *poetry must be interpreted on its own terms.*

Whenever a scholar makes a decision about the secondary or primary nature of a verse, word, etc., s/he bases that decision—consciously or unconsciously—on a notion of what the text *should* look like, how it *should* read, and what features it *should* exhibit. Textual aesthetics—i.e., what constitutes the beautiful, appropriate, or correct—form of a text, are deeply intertwined with literary-critical practices. But recognizing that our interpretations are informed by particular aesthetic assumptions should not lead us to purge all assumptions—an impossibility to be sure—but rather to examine carefully the appropriateness of the assumptions we have, to see whether they accord with the particular type of literature we are reading.

S.R. Driver once claimed that “Hebrew poetry is almost exclusively *lyric*.”<sup>26</sup> But as with many literary terms (e.g., metaphor, irony, burlesque, etc.), scholars wrangle over how best to

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<sup>25</sup> See Oswald Loretz and Ingo Kottsieper, *Colometry in Ugaritic and Biblical Poetry: Introduction, Illustrations and Topical Bibliography* (UBL 5; Altenberge: CIS-Verlag, 1987),

<sup>26</sup> See his *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (New York: Meridian Books, 1956 [orig: 1897]), 360.

define lyric poetry.<sup>27</sup> I will not bog down the current argument with the finer points of these discussions. Recent attempts to study the phenomenon of lyric verse in the HB, especially by F.W. Dobbs-Allsopp, Brent Strawn, and Katie Heffelfinger provide helpful starting points for the present discussion. In an article on lyric poetry in the Hebrew Bible, Brent Strawn notes that

It is the density of brief scale, lack of plot or argumentation, prominence of the speaking voice over developed characterization, radical dependence on the language—especially expressive language—and the like that distinguish lyric.<sup>28</sup>

Strawn further argues that, because of its lack of cohesive devices like plot or argumentation, the lyric relies instead on “language alone.”<sup>29</sup> Unlike the storyteller, who can hang his words on the line of a narrative, or the rhetor who constructs an argument based upon a concatenated sequence of propositions, the lyric poet builds her edifice on the foundations of language’s innate qualities (e.g., polysemy, sound, rhythm, etc.). The result is that non-narrativity, linear disjunction, and literary “extravagance,”<sup>30</sup> are all marks of lyrical poetic compositions. Heffelfinger, in her dissertation on Second Isaiah (supervised by Strawn), writes that

lyric poetry is a form that particularly revels in tensions, paradox, and disjunction – and Second Isaiah is a particularly tensive text. Second Isaiah alludes. It insinuates. It implies. Multiple levels of meaning are common and Second Isaiah repeatedly employs ambiguity, apparently intentionally.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Lyric and poetry are often used synonymously, but this is an incorrect conflation of terminology. Lyric is, according to James William Johnson, “one of the three general categories of poetic lit., the others being narrative (or epic) and dramatic” (see his, “Lyric,” in *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, 713).

<sup>28</sup> Brent A. Strawn, “Lyric Poetry,” in *Dictionary of the Old Testament: Wisdom, Poetry & Writings* (ed. Tremper Longman III and Peter Enns; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2008), 438.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 439. Similarly, Allsopp, in his introduction to *Lamentations*, writes, “One of the chief obstacles facing the lyric poet is the limitation of scale that this mode typically imposes. Lyric poems are invariably short because they typically do not organize their discourse by means of cohesion aiding devices (such as plot, argument, or consistency of character). With only language itself as its chief medium of discourse, it is difficult for the lyric poem to sustain itself over long stretches of time and space.” See his *Lamentations* (Interpretation; Louisville: John Knox, 2002), 20-21.

<sup>30</sup> For the notion of extravagance in lyric poetry, see Jonathan Culler, *Literary Theory: A Very Short Introduction* (Very Short Introductions; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 77-79.

<sup>31</sup> Katie M. Heffelfinger, *I Am Large, I Contain Multitudes: Lyric Cohesion and Conflict in Second Isaiah* (BIS 105; Boston: Brill, 2011), 32.

Lyric verse, in Heffelfinger's view, is inherently uneven, fragmented, and "tensive." J. Cheryl Exum, in the introduction to her commentary on the Song of Songs, rightly refers to lyric as "a discontinuous form..."<sup>32</sup> But the disjunctive aspects of lyric poetry do not prevent it from achieving cohesion. Lyric poetry generates cohesion, however, differently than narratives or epic poems do. Lyric verse uses tools like voice, not sequence; imagery, not plot; rhythm and sound, not story. Dobbs-Allsopp lays out these points quite clearly:

One way to begin gaining a firmer fix on the lyric is, following the lead of N. Frye, to say what it is not: the lyric is not a narrative; or better, it is *chiefly*, as I have already said, a nonnarrative, nondramatic, nonrepresentational kind of poetry (here accenting the modal sense of the term). It is the non-centrality, and indeed frequent absence, of features and practices (plot, character, and the like) that are otherwise definitive of more discursive modes of literary discourse (e.g., narrative, drama) that so distinguishes the medium of lyric verse and shapes the basic contours of its discourse. As J. Culler succinctly states, "narrative poems recount an event; lyrics . . . strive to be an event." The outstanding characteristic of biblical poetry, of course, is its fundamental nonnarrativity.<sup>33</sup>

These attempts to define lyric verse emphasize three central points that are important for the study of Hebrew poetry: (1) Lyric verse is episodic; (2) lyric uses language in an "extravagant" manner (see below for discussion); (3) "lyric commonly exhibits a high level of vocality, musicality, and a density of tropological language (metaphor, word play, enjambment, ellipsis, and the like)."<sup>34</sup>

*Episodicity:* Lyric poetry exhibits high degrees of disjunction, fragmentation, and parataxis. Negatively put, lyric poetry is non-narrative and in Exum's words, "discontinuous."<sup>35</sup> When reading lyric, it is not uncommon to encounter jarring shifts between topics, perspectives,

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<sup>32</sup> J. Cheryl Exum, *The Song of Songs* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2005), 42.

<sup>33</sup> F.W. Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Psalms and Lyric Verse," in *The Evolution of Rationality: Interdisciplinary Essays in Honor of J. Wentzel van Huyssteen* (ed. F. L. Shultz; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 350. See also his more circumscribed comments in idem, "Poetry, Hebrew," in *The New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (ed. Katherine Doob Sakenfeld; Nashville: Abingdon, 2009), 4:554. For the reference from Northrop Frye, see his "Approaching the Lyric," in *Lyric Poetry: Beyond New Criticism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 31. For the quotation from Culler, see Culler, *Literary Theory*, 73.

<sup>34</sup> Heffelfinger, "I Am Large, I Contain Multitudes," 51.

<sup>35</sup> Exum, *Song of Songs*, 42.

and even speakers. It is too often the case, however, that when biblical critics meet such features, they are wont to attribute them to secondary editorial activity. It is part of our training as biblical scholars to pick out literary incongruities and to see within them evidence of later editorial development. But we sometimes forget that literary features like tension, parataxis, disjunction, and shifts in perspective are not always signs of editorial incursion. Sometimes such features constitute the very fabric of poetry. Lyric verse is just such a literary category.

As an example, take Isaiah 60-61. These chapters, while conceptually centered on Zion's glorious future, do not present this vision in a sequential, linear manner, but rather in an episodic, often disjointed and paratactic way. Isaiah 60:4-17, for instance, where the WNT is most prevalent, is a non-narrative, non-linear concatenation of brief poetic "snapshots" of Zion's future (admittedly, an anachronistic metaphor): the repatriation of Zion's children (v. 4); the nations' wealth arrives at Zion (vv. 5-7); repatriation of Zion's children (v. 9); foreigners rebuilding Zion's ruins (v. 10a); a fragment about Yhwh's former wrath and present compassion (v. 10b); the nations' wealth comes to Zion (v. 11, 13); the renaming of Zion by foreigners (v. 14b), etc. These verses do not have a story to tell but they do have a vision to cast. What provides this vision with cohesion is a prophetic voice claiming that Zion's future will be (quite literally) a bright one (see Isa 60:1-3). Chapter 60, moreover, is full of exaggeration and hyperbole: The sun will *no longer be necessary* for existence on earth, for Yhwh himself will provide enough light (Isa 60:19-20); violence will *never* be heard in Zion's land again (Isa 60:18); *all* the people of Zion will be righteous (Isa 60:21), etc.

Chapter 61 is similarly non-sequential. The chapter opens with the voice of an unspecified individual (see below for further discussion of this individual's identity), who proclaims that the spirit of Yhwh has commissioned him with a particular task. This task is then

delineated through a long chain of infinitive verbs (Isa 61:1-3). This vocational report concludes with the statement that the prophet has been called to proclaim a year of favor and a day of vengeance “for our God” (v. 2a). Without any explanation or transition, however, v. 3c shifts its attention abruptly from “us” to “them” and affirms that they will be called “oaks of righteousness.” There is no clear link between the calling received by the prophet, proclaimed in direct speech, and the statement that they will be called “oaks of righteousness.” Nor is there any indication as to why the 1pl (“our God”) in v. 2 suddenly shifts to 3pl (“them”) in v. 3. While it is clear that the oaks of righteousness are somehow connected to the call of the individual, the precise relationship between the two is entirely unclear. Another shift occurs in v. 4. At this point, the poem lays aside the status of the mourners and turns its attention to the ancient ruins of Zion, which “they”—probably a reference to the oaks of righteousness, or perhaps simply an indefinite verb that can just as easily be translated passively—will rebuild. Verse 5 changes topic yet again, and focuses its attention on foreign laborers who will tend flocks, serve as ploughmen, and work as vinedressers. The unidentified voice now directly addresses its audience, stating that “you” will be priests of God (v. 6) and will consume the wealth of nations (a theme taken up from Isaiah 60). Verse 7 changes topics again, focusing now on matters of shame and restoration. It states that because their shame was double, they would inherit double. Their restoration will be commensurate with their suffering. The divine voice interjects in v. 8 with direct speech, proclaiming his love of justice and hatred toward offerings accompanied by robbery. Yhwh further promises that “I will faithfully give them their due, and I will make an eternal covenant with them” (v. 8). Two final transitions occur in vv. 10-11. Verse 10 is almost certainly a hymnic fragment that returns the reader to the voice that opened the poem. It is clearly not Yhwh of v. 9, since the verse hymns Yhwh for clothing the speaker in victory garments and a righteous robe.

Verse 11 concludes the hymn with an assurance that Yhwh will cause righteousness and praise to sprout up before all nations.

It should be clear by now that, whatever unity Isaiah 60-61 has, it isn't the kind one finds in a narrative. There is no story to be found here. What one finds are a series of poetic snapshots centered on Zion's glorious future. Many of the poetic texts examined below have similar lyric features, and this must be taken into consideration when composition-historical reconstructions are made.

*Extravagance:* Culler writes, "Exaggeration is the name of the game here: the tiger is not just orange but 'burning'; the wind is the very 'breath of Autumn's being' and, later in the poem, savior and destroyer."<sup>36</sup> Lyric verse consistently moves beyond naturalistic description and plunges deep into the waters of hyperbolic representation and personification. Lyric lifts prosaic speech into an entirely different register. For example, 2 Kgs 25:9 says, "He [Nebuzaradan] burned the House of Yhwh, the House of the King, and all the houses of Jerusalem, and all every great house he burned with fire." Lamentations 2:1, however, puts matters in decidedly lyric terms:

How Yhwh has covered Daughter Zion with his wrath  
He has cast her down from heaven to earth, the beauty of Israel.

Jerusalem is no longer Jerusalem, but *Daughter Zion*. What assails the city is not Babylonian weapons but the *wrath of Yhwh*. Jerusalem is not destroyed, but *cast down from heaven to earth*. The upper limits of cosmic geography are used to paint a picture for the reader of just how far Jerusalem had fallen. In Psalm 72—one of the psalms exhibiting the WNT—Yhwh is not just angry, he "girds" his last ounce of rage (*š'ryt ḥmt ṯgr*) like a garment (v. 11). In lyric, the non-human creation comes to life:

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<sup>36</sup> Culler, *Literary Theory*, 77.

Let the heavens be glad  
 and the earth rejoice  
 let the sea and its fullness thunder! (Ps 96:11).

The entire dominion of God—heaven, earth, and sea—are animated in praise of Yhwh.

*Vocality, Musicality, and Tropological Language:* As Heffelfinger notes, “lyric commonly exhibits a high level of vocality, musicality, and a density of tropological language (metaphor, word play, enjambment, ellipsis, and the like).”<sup>37</sup> That Hebrew poetry is rich in imagistic language is acknowledged by all. As an example, however, Isaiah 60-61 again are exemplary. This heavy use of metaphorical language emerges already in the first verses, where personified Zion is addressed as a woman (“Arise! Shine!,” Isa 60:1). Yhwh, in turn, takes on solar characteristics (see Isa 60:1-2, 19-20). A mind-bending tangle of abstract and concrete terminology occurs in v. 3, where concepts like beauty, joy, and praise, will be exchanged for ashes, mourning, and a faint spirit (Isa 61: 3b). The prophet’s audience, having exchanged their mourning for joy, will be called, “oaks of righteousness” (Isa 61:3c). The poem then turns to limning Jerusalem’s desolate state (Isa 61:4), which is then followed by a vivid description of how the audience will “consume” the nations’ wealth (v. 6b). Using a metaphor that is very difficult to discern, the poet asks,

Who are these that fly like a cloud,  
 like doves to their cotes? (Isa 60:8)

In the world of the poem, “peace” is personified and will somehow serve as Zion’s overseer (Isa 60:17c). The list of metaphors and images could easily go on. It suffices to say that these chapters make frequent use of metaphors, tropes, and images, qualities inherent to lyric verse.

Over the next few chapters, I will argue that many of the poems discussed fall somewhere along the spectrum of lyric poetry. This observation has profound implications for compositional

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<sup>37</sup> Heffelfinger, “I Am Large, I Contain Multitudes,” 51.

history. As my discussion of the secondary literature will show, many of the features inherent to lyric poetry are used as evidence of secondary reworking. Secondary reworking of Hebrew poetry occurred—of this we can be certain. But in order to develop a more convincing set of tools for recognizing additions, one must first and foremost reckon with the literary nature of the composition itself. One cannot undertake redaction-criticism on the genealogies in 1 Chronicles 1-9 until one first reckons with the literary category of genealogy. One cannot do redaction criticism of Daniel 2 without first understanding the broader genre of the court tale. Only in the wake of this preliminary analytical work can one determine whether a given textual phenomenon is better explained as a lyric feature of the text or as the result of editorial activity.

### 2.2.2 Colometry and Poetic Analysis

In addition to applying a lyric optic to my reading of Hebrew poetry, I also employ the insights of colometric analysis. Often misunderstood, colometry simply is, “the demarcation of the smallest poetic members or elements [i.e., cola].”<sup>38</sup> On a basic level, then, colometry fundamentally concerns itself with the poetic feature of *lineation*.<sup>39</sup> Lineation refers to the creation of discrete lines through various literary devices, parallelism itself being among the most prevalent tools of lineation in the Hebrew poet’s repertoire. The same is true for modern poetry. In Shira Wolosky’s words, “The art of stopping or continuing lines, or establishing line breaks, is called *lineation*” (her emphasis).<sup>40</sup> The presence of lineation or of lines constitutes a

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<sup>38</sup> See Loretz and Kottsieper, *Colometry in Ugaritic and Biblical Poetry*, 24.

<sup>39</sup> For a discussion of lineation and scribal practice, see F.W. Dobbs-Allsopp, “Space, Line, and the Written Biblical Poem in Texts from the Judean Desert,” in *Puzzling Out the Past: Studies in Northwest Semitic Languages and Literatures in Honor of Bruce Zuckermann* (ed. Marilyn J. Lundberg, Steven Fine, and Wayne T. Pitard; Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 55; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 19-61.

<sup>40</sup> See Shira Wolosky, *The Art of Poetry: How to Read a Poem* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 18.

basic difference between poetry and prose. Practitioners of colometry recognize this phenomenon and set out to identify lines and their constituent parts, proceeding under the assumption that properly interpreting Hebrew poetry is dependent upon the proper analysis of a given poem's lines.

A fundamental assumption of the colometric approach is that, while exceptions exist, line length in Hebrew poetry is fairly regular. Line length somehow (whether consciously or unconsciously) informed how Hebrew scribes created poetry.<sup>41</sup> When one factors in the heavy use of *matres lectionis* in biblical Hebrew (of course, not used consistently across the HB), poetic lines tend to be 10-16 consonants long, as opposed to Ugaritic texts, which typically exhibit 9-12 consonants.<sup>42</sup> Neither enumerative range constitutes a hard and fast rule, but rather both serve as general principles that help attune the reader's eyes to possible expansions, "disturbances," or literary anomalies. Such expansions were common in ancient Near Eastern texts.<sup>43</sup> Colometry is rarely ever sufficient evidence on which to make a redaction-critical case. Its results can, however, support such a case.

In the colometric analyses presented in Chapter 2, each "colon"<sup>44</sup> is assigned a numerical value based on the number of consonants, including *matres lectionis*. Consonants are used rather than stress or syllables, because consonants provide a certain, non-hypothetical way of measuring line length, whereas stress and syllable counting require a greater speculation with regards to both vocalization and syllabification.

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<sup>41</sup> For other helpful attempts to quantify the length of Hebrew cola, see esp. Michael Patrick O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure* (Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns, 1980) and the helpful evaluation and review in William L. Holladay, "Hebrew Verse Structure Revisited (I): Which Words 'Count?'," *JBL* 118 (1999): 19-32; idem, "Hebrew Verse Structure Revisited (II): Conjoint Cola and Further Suggestions," *JBL* 118 (1999): 401-16.

<sup>42</sup> Loretz and Kottsieper, *Colometry in Ugaritic and Biblical Poetry*, 40, 49.

<sup>43</sup> See Karel Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2007), 125-32; Jeffrey H. Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1982), 61.

<sup>44</sup> Following Loretz and Kottsieper, I define a "colon" as "the smallest unit of construction within a poetic structure." See their, *Colometry in Ugaritic and Biblical Poetry*, 24.

I typically present my colometric findings in a three-column table such as this one, which I have taken from my analysis of Psalm 96 in Chapter 2, though I will on occasion simply put the colometric analysis in parenthesis next to a verse number: e.g., v. 1 (15/15):

Verse	Hebrew Text	Colometric Analysis
v. 1	<i>šyrw lyhwh šyr ḥdš</i> <i>šyrw lyhwh kl h'rs</i>	15/15
v. 2	<i>šyrw lyhwh brkw šmw</i> <i>bšrw mywm lywm yšw ṯw</i>	16/18
v. 3	<i>sprw bgwym kbwdw</i> <i>bkl h'mym npl'wtw</i>	14/16

As this table shows, cola are grouped together in a single cell to indicate their mono-, bi-, or tri-colonic relationship to one another. In this case, Ps 96:1-3 contain three bicola with consonant counts of 15/15 (bicolon 1), 16/18 (bicolon 2), and 14/16 (bicolon 3). Occasionally, my consonant counts deviate from the actual consonant count as reflected in the MT, and this is because evidence suggests that an alternative reading of the text is preferable (see, e.g., Isa 60:2a where the definite article before *hšk* is considered a secondary dittographic error, or Isa 60:9a, where I read *kly* instead of *ky ly* [resulting in 3 consonants rather than 4]). All reconstructions are explained and justified either in the main body of the text or in the footnotes. Finally, in cases where I determine a given verse, word, phrase, etc. to be secondary, said textual elements are marked with [ ] in both the transliteration and the translation.

## 2.3 A Linguistic, Generic, and Diachronic Profile of the Biblical Texts

## 2.3.1 1 Kgs 10:1-10, 13//2 Chr 9:1-9, 12

Citation	1 Kgs 10:1-10, 13//2 Chr 9:1-9, 12 <sup>45</sup>
Who brings the wealth to Zion?	1 Kgs 10:1, 4, 10, 13//2 Chr 9:1, 3, 9, 12: <i>mlkt šb'</i> (Queen of Sheba)
What goods are received?	1 Kgs 10:2//2 Chr 9:1: <i>bḥyl kbd m'd</i> (“accompanied by exceedingly great wealth”) 1 Kgs 10:2//2 Chr 9:1: <i>bśmym</i> (“spices”) 1 Kgs 10:2: <i>wzḥb rb m'd</i> (“much gold”); 2 Chr 9:1: <i>wzḥb lrb</i> (“gold in abundance”) 1 Kgs 10:2//2 Chr 9:1: <i>w'bn yqrh</i> (“precious stone”) 1 Kgs 10:10//2 Chr 9:9: <i>m'h w'srym kkr zḥb</i> (“120 talents of gold”) 1 Kgs 10:10: <i>wbśmym hrbh m'd</i> (“large amount of spices”); 2 Chr 9:9: <i>wbśmym lrb m'd</i> (“and spices in great abundance”) 1 Kgs 10:10//2 Chr 9:9: <i>w'bn yqrh</i> (“precious stone”)
What terminology is used to describe how the wealth of nations comes to Zion?	1 Kgs 10:1//2 Chr 9:1 (x2): <i>wtb'</i> (“she came”) 1 Kgs 10:2 (x2)//2 Chr 9: <i>wtb'</i> (“she came”) 1 Kgs 10:2//2 Chr 9:1: <i>gmlym nś'ym</i> (“[accompanied by] camels carrying”) 1 Kgs 10:7//2 Chr 9:6: <i>b'ty</i> (“I came”) 1 Kgs 10:10//2 Chr 9:9: <i>wtn</i> (“she gave”) 1 Kgs 10:10//2 Chr 9:9: <i>ntnh</i> (“she gave”)
Who receives the wealth?	Solomon
What is the text's genre?	Legend
What is the text's date?	Oral Circulation: Monarchic Period Written Composition: NB or Persian Period

<sup>45</sup> 1 Kgs 10:1-10, 13 and 2 Chr 9:1-9, 12 are virtually identical, apart from a few minor changes, most of which are orthographic. When there are significant, non-orthographic differences between Kings and Chronicles, these are noted in the table by providing transliterated text from both books.

### 2.3.1.1 Contents and Genre

In this charming account, the Queen of Sheba pays Solomon a visit after hearing about his famed wisdom.<sup>46</sup> She comes with hopes of testing the famous king (*lnstw*, 1 Kgs 10:1; 2 Chr 9:1) with riddles (*bhydwt*, 1 Kgs 10:1; 2 Chr 9:1).<sup>47</sup> But this international exchange also afforded the queen an opportunity to put her wealth and prestige on display: She came in full glory, accompanied by “exceedingly great wealth” (*bhyl kbd m’d*, 1 Kgs 10:2; 2 Chr 9:1). The queen was so impressed—by Solomon’s answers to her questions (1 Kgs 10:3-4; 2 Chr 9:1-3), his palace (1 Kgs 10:4; 2 Chr 9:3), the food at his table (1 Kgs 10:5; 2 Chr 9:4), his servants and their raiment (1 Kgs 10:5; 2 Chr 9:4), and his offerings at the temple (1 Kgs 10:5; 2 Chr 9:4)—that she was left breathless (1 Kgs 10:5; 2 Chr 9:4). And yet, in spite of her breathlessness, she was still able to muster enough of a voice—perhaps with a little help from a deuteronomistic editor—to bless Yhwh for putting such a marvelous ruler upon the throne (1 Kgs 10:9; 2 Chr 9:8). The most relevant point for this study, however, is the fact that the Queen of Sheba not only displays her

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<sup>46</sup> Sheba may refer to “Saba” of SW Arabia (i.e, Yemen). See Kenneth A. Kitchen, “Egypt and East Africa,” in *The Age of Solomon: Scholarship at the Turn of the Millennium* (ed. Lowell K. Handy; Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East 11; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 106-53. Josephus’ later identification of her as “Nikaulē,” ruler of “Egypt and Ethiopia” is probably without historical grounding (see the various references to her realm in *Ant.* 8.158-175). Her association with Ethiopia, of course, plays an important role in Ethiopian national identity. See the discussion in Mordechai Cogan, *1 Kings* (AB 10; New York: Doubleday, 2001), 315.

<sup>47</sup> A rich set of legends revolves around Solomon’s ability to solve riddles. Josephus relates a legend in which Solomon and King Hiram of Tyre used to send one another hard questions:

For very many years among the Tyrians documents have been written for public purposes and preserved with exceptional care, relating to memorable matters in their internal affairs and as performed among others . . . It is not unreasonable that the construction of our sanctuary should be in their records; for Eiromas [Hiram], the king of the Tyrians, was a friend of our king Solomon, a friendship he had inherited from his father. He shared Solomon’s ambition for the splendor of the building: he donated 120 talents of gold and cutting down the finest timber from the mountain called Libanos, sent it for the roof. Solomon gave him, in return, among many other gifts, some territory in Galilee in the place called Chaboulon. What drew them together in friendship most of all was their love of wisdom: they used to send each other problems, demanding a solution, and Solomon was better in such matters, being generally wiser. Many of the letters that they wrote to one another are preserved to this day among the Tyrians (*C. Ap.*, I, 17 §107, 109-111).

For this translation, see John M.G. Barclay, *Against Apion: Translation and Commentary* (Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary 10; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 68-70.

extravagant wealth, she also gives some of it to Solomon: “And she gave the king 120 talents of gold, a large amount of spices, and precious stones” (1 Kgs 10:10; 2 Chr 9:9). Solomon returns the favor, giving the queen “all of her desire and whatever she requested” (1 Kgs 10:13; 2 Chr 9:12), besides what he had given her “according to the hand of the king” (1 Kgs 10:13; cf. 2 Chr 9:12).<sup>48</sup>

But what kind of exchange is this exactly? Is it the kind known, for instance, from the LB Age, in which monarchs of equal rank are understood to be siblings in a giant Near Eastern village?<sup>49</sup> Or is one of the two parties superior to the other? As Roger Nam has recently argued, several pieces of evidence suggest that Solomon is the superior partner in an asymmetrical relationship:

1. The queen gives obeisance to Solomon and recognizes his deity. But no commensurate act is undertaken by Solomon.
2. Solomon shows himself to be intellectually superior.<sup>50</sup>

These features indicate that she is most likely the junior member in the relationship. Their economic exchange, as Nam rightly notes, is an example of “asymmetrical reciprocity.”<sup>51</sup>

Form-critically, Solomon’s encounter with the Queen of Sheba is a “legend.”<sup>52</sup> Long defines legend as follows:

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<sup>48</sup> Second Chronicles in the MT reads: *mlbd šr hby ħ l hmlk*: “apart from that which she brought to the king.”

<sup>49</sup> The diplomatic exchange of the LB Age is most well-known from the plentiful cuneiform missives from the Amarna Archive. For helpful discussions of this period and the associated texts, see, e.g., Mario Liverani, *Prestige and Interest: International Relations in the Near East ca. 1600-1100 B.C.* (History of the Ancient Near East/Studies 1; Padua: Sargon, 1990); Raymond Cohen and Raymond Westbrook, eds., *Amarna Diplomacy: The Beginnings of International Relations* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000); Trevor Bryce, *Letters of the Great Kings of the Ancient Near East: The Royal Correspondence of the Late Bronze Age* (London: Routledge, 2003); Amanda Podany, *Brotherhood of Kings: How International Relations Shaped the Ancient Near East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 191-216. For the texts from Amarna, see Moran, *The Amarna Letters* along with the more recent translation in Jana Mynářová, *Language of Amarna – Language of Diplomacy: Perspectives on the Amarna Letters* (Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, 2007). For Hittite diplomatic letters, see Gary M. Beckman and Harry A. Hoffner, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.; WAW 7; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999); Harry A. Hoffner and Gary M. Beckman, *Letters from the Hittite Kingdom* (WAW 15; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009).

<sup>50</sup> Roger Sanburm Nam, *Portrayals of Economic Exchange in the Book of Kings* (BIS 112. Leiden: Brill, 2012), 84-85.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 100.

A narrative concerned primarily with the wondrous, miraculous, and exemplary. Legend is aimed at edification rather than merely entertainment, instruction, or even imaginative exploration of the storyteller's art. Thus legends often encourage awe for a holy place (e.g., Judg 6:19-24), ritual practice (2 Macc 1:19-22), and holy men (e.g., Gen 22:1-19; 1 Kgs 12:33-13:34; 14:1-18; 17:1-19:21; 2 Kgs 1:2-16; 2:1-25) who may be models of devotion and virtue. Legend differs from . . . history and . . . historical story in its refusal to be bound by a drive to recount real events as they happened; it differs from the more artistic . . . story in giving less attention to developed points of narrative interest, such as description, artistic structure, and plot. Legend belongs to the world of oral folklore and storytellers. Legends took varied forms and were told in royal court, at religious shrines, in family and tribal settings, and on pilgrimages to holy sites.<sup>53</sup>

As the quotation above indicates, legendary accounts of various kinds are well known in the HB. Many of the stories related to Elijah and Elisha share these features (e.g., the resurrection of the widow of Zaraphath's son in 1 Kings 17; Elijah's miraculous departure in a whirlwind in 2 Kings 2, etc.). The story of Hezekiah's healing (Isaiah 38) also fits within this category.

The entire Solomonic Narrative, in fact, is laced with legendary accounts. Both the story of Solomon's dream at Gibeon (1 Kgs 3:3-15) and the story of the two prostitutes are clearly legendary in nature (1 Kgs 3:16-28), evoking wonder at God's gift of wisdom to Solomon. The final line in the legend of the two prostitutes indicates precisely the point of these legends: "All Israel heard the judgement that the king had made, and *they were in awe of him*, for they perceived that godly wisdom was within him, to render judgment" (1 Kgs 3:28, emphasis mine). While perhaps preserving some vestige of an historical event or era (see more below), the Queen of Sheba legend is couched in legendary language and ideas, and is concerned with drawing out in the reader the same response given by the queen: awe and wonder at both the king and his deity.

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<sup>52</sup> Burke O. Long, *1 Kings: With an Introduction to Historical Literature* (FOTL 9; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), 119.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 252.

### 2.3.1.2 Compositional History

The dating of 1 Kgs 10:1-10, 13 and 2 Chr 9:1-9, 12 is a complex matter, for the chapters into which the story is embedded show signs of significant editorial activity. As many scholars maintain, the story of Solomon's encounter with the Queen of Sheba has been secondarily interwoven with other materials, the most notable of which is Solomon's joint mercantile naval expeditions with Hiram (1 Kgs 9:26-28; 10:11-12, 16-22).<sup>54</sup> While critical analysis suggests that these traditional elements were originally independent of one another, the editors of the Solomonic narrative have clearly organized their inherited materials around the idea that Solomon is the unrivaled recipient of international wealth.<sup>55</sup>

The literary seams between the Queen of Sheba legend and the Hiram material are very clear. Note, for instance, how easily 1 Kgs 10:11-12 flows out of 1 Kgs 9:26-28: 1 Kings 9:26-28 and 10:11-12 both deal with Hiram's fleet (see 9:27-28; 10:11) and with trading expeditions to Ophir (9:28; 10:11). The Queen of Sheba account, however, fits only awkwardly into the texts about Hiram's exploits with Solomon. That is, the exchange of gifts, which begins in v. 10 and which we expect to continue in v. 11, is interrupted by a *Wiederaufnahme* of the Ophir trading account (vv. 11-12). Because of this disjunction, Solomon's gift to the queen is delayed until v.

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<sup>54</sup> Nadav Na'aman, "Sources and Composition in the History of Solomon," in *The Age of Solomon: Scholarship at the Turn of the Millennium* (ed. Lowell K. Handy; Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East 11; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 72-73; Thomas Römer, *The So-Called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Historical and Literary Introduction* (London: T & T Clark, 2005), 100n54; Martin J. Mulder, *1 Kings 1-11* (Historical Commentary on the Old Testament; Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 507; Ernst Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige: 1 Könige 1-16* (ATD 11; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), 120.

<sup>55</sup> Würthwein, for instance, writes regarding 9:26-10:29, "In diesem Abschnitt sind eine Reihe von Einheiten sehr verschiedener Herkunft zusammengestellt, die sich alle um das Thema, „Reichtum und Pracht der Salomonische Zeit“ ranken" (Würthwein, *Das erste Buch der Könige*, 115). Long has also observed several recurrent foci throughout 1 Kings 9-10: (1) Wealth "comes" ( $\sqrt{bw}$ ) to Solomon (see, e.g., 9:28, 10:10, 22, 25); (2) the first large block (9:26-10:22) is framed by material related to Hiram and Solomon's mercantile fleets frames the narratives (see 9:26-28; 10:22); (3) 10:14-21 + 22 contained a "visible logic: the income to Solomon, and its amounts; its uses in manufacturing golden objects; and finally, v. 22, its means of supply to Solomon"; (4) the incomparability of Solomon's wealth (10:10, 12b, 20b). See Long, *1 Kings*, 116.

13. Quite apart from the whole of matter of content, the generic differences between the accounts of Solomon's trading ventures and the legend of the Queen of Sheba suggest disparate origins for these various narrative strands.<sup>56</sup>

In addition, as Noth observed, there is reason to believe that the Queen of Sheba legend itself underwent light editorial expansion, particularly in v. 9, and possibly even in v. 1.<sup>57</sup> Verse 1 reads as follows:

v. 1: *mlkt šb' šm' t' t' šm' šlmh lšm yhwh wtb' lntw bhydwt*  
 v. 1: The Queen of Sheba heard about Solomon's fame concerning the name of Yhwh, and she came to test him with riddles.

Some commentators have argued that the awkward prepositional phrase, *lšm yhwh*, bears the marks of a Deuteronomistic editor.<sup>58</sup> The phrase, in fact, is missing from the Targum and from 2 Chr 9:1. Other proposals include that the loss of a portion of v. 1 accounts for the awkward phrase,<sup>59</sup> or that *lšm yhwh* was originally a *Randglosse* connected with v. 4b.<sup>60</sup> The phrase, "the name of Yhwh," is not itself uniquely deuteronomistic/deuteronomomic (see, e.g., Job 1:21; Pss 102:16, 22; 113:1, 2, 3; Isa 18:7; 56:6; 59:19; Joel 2:26; Mic 5:3), though it does occur in Deuteronomy (see, e.g., Deut 5:11; 28:10; 32:3). Given its awkward fit in v.1, *lšm yhwh* is probably secondary. But whether it can be assigned to a deuteronomistic/deuteronomomic editor is difficult to determine based on a mere prepositional phrase. Whatever the case, James

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<sup>56</sup> For similar conclusions, see also Na'aman, "Sources and Composition in the History of Solomon," 73-4; Mulder, *1 Kings 1-11*, 507.

<sup>57</sup> Noth: "Der Komplex 9 10-10 29 ist fast durchweg vordeuteronomistisch. Es fehlt nahezu ganz an Spuren einer deuteronomistischen Redaktion. Lediglich die Geschichte von Besuch der Königin von Saba scheint leicht deuteronomistisch bearbeitet zu sein." Martin Noth, *Könige I* (BKAT IX/1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1968), 208.

<sup>58</sup> Mulder, for instance, refers to *lšm yhwh* as a "dtr. gloss." (*1 Kings*, 511).

<sup>59</sup> Noth thinks that the original reading was probably *wē'et šēma' habbayit āšer bānāh šēlōmōh*. See his *Könige I*, 203.

<sup>60</sup> See Arnold B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel* (7 vols.; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1908), 7:237.

Montgomery is certainly right when he states that the phrase was added “*ad majorem gloriam Dei*.”<sup>61</sup>

The queen’s speech in v. 9, however, is an entirely different case. Noth is almost certainly correct that v. 9 is a “Zusatz von Dtr.”<sup>62</sup> The queen’s speech reads as follows:

v. 6: *wṭ’mr ’l hmlk ’mt hyh hdbṛ ’šr šm ’ty b’ršy ’l dbryk w’l ḥkmtk*  
 v. 7: *wl’ h’mnty ldbrym ’d ’šr b’ty wtr’ynh ’yny whnh l’ hgd ly ḥšy hwspt ḥkmh wṭwb ’l ḥšmw’h ’šr šm ’ty*  
 v. 8: *’šry ’nšyk ’šry ’bdyk ’lh h’mdym lpnyk tmyd ḥšm ’ym ’t ḥkmtk*  
 v. 9: *yhy yhwḥ ’lhyk brwk ’šr ḥpš bk ltk ’l ks’ yšr’l b’ḥbt yhwḥ ’t yšr’l l’lm wyšymk lmlk l’šwt mšpṭ wšdqh*

v. 6 She said to the king, “The rumor I heard in my land was true, concerning your words and your wisdom.”  
 v. 7: But I didn’t believe the words until I came and saw with my own eyes. And indeed, not half was told to me: you exceed in wisdom and goodness the report that I heard.  
 v. 8: Happy are your men, happy are these servants of yours, who are standing before you continually, hearing your wisdom.  
 v. 9: Blessed is Yhwḥ your God, who delighted in you, to place you on the throne over Israel. It is because Yhwḥ loves Israel forever that he made you king to do justice and righteousness.

Stefan Wälchli points to several features in v. 9 that suggest deuteronomistic involvement in this speech. First, the phrase, *ks’ yšr’l* (“throne of Israel”), is limited to deuteronomistic contexts (1 Kgs 2:4; 8:20 [2 Chr 6:10], 25 [2 Chr 6:16]; 9:5; 10:9 [cf. 2 Chr 9:8, which reads *ks’w*, “his {Yhwḥ’s} throne”]; cf. Jer 33:17 [*ks’ byt yšr’l*]).<sup>63</sup> Second, the infinitival phrase, *b’ḥbt yhwḥ* (“it is because Yhwḥ loves”) recalls deuteronomic formulations (see, e.g., Deut 4:37; 7:8, 13; 10:15; 23:6).<sup>64</sup> And finally, *yhy yhwḥ ’lhyk brwk*, is similar to a number of texts that bear the marks of

<sup>61</sup> James A. Montgomery, *The Book of Kings* (ed. ; Henry Snyder Gehman; ICC; Edingburgh: T & T Clark, 1986), 228. See also Mulder, *1 Kings*, 510-11. The addition may have been modeled on Josh 9:9 or (coincidentally) Isa 60:9. After arguing that *lšm yhwḥ* was originally a *Randglosse* for v. 4, Ehrlich makes the interesting observation that “Bei der Unterbringung des Zusatzes an dieser Stelle mag man wohl an Jos. 9,9 und Jes 60,9 gedacht haben.” (*Randglossen*, 7:237).

<sup>62</sup> Noth, *Könige I*, 226. See also Mulder, *1 Kings*, 519.

<sup>63</sup> See Stefan Wälchli, *Der weise König Salomo: Eine Studie zu den Erzählungen von der Weisheit Salomos in ihrem alttestamentlichen und altorientalischen Kontext* (BWA(N)T 8; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1999), 96.; see also H.-J., Fabry, “כסא,” *TDOT*, 7:243. See also Noth, *Könige I*, 183, 208.

<sup>64</sup> See Wälchli, *Der weise König Salomo*, 96. See also Noth, *Könige I*, 208; Cogan, *1 Kings*, 313.

deuteronomistic editing (e.g., 1 Sam 25:32, 39; 1 Kgs 1:48; 5:21; 8:15, 56).<sup>65</sup> While no one of these terminological features on their own proves the deuteronomistic origins of v. 9, the sum total strongly suggests that such is the case.

Given these observations about the compositional history of the text, the question of the dating of the Queen of Sheba legend becomes two-fold: (1) When was the story initially composed, either in oral or written form? (2) And when was it integrated into Kings and edited?

Several pieces of evidence suggest that 1 Kgs 4:20, 5:1, 4-6, 9-14; 10:1-10, 13, 23-25 were all added to 1 Kings 1-11\* together at some point, perhaps in the early- to mid-Persian period, and probably as part of a single editorial event that emphasized the universal fame of Solomon and the superlative nature of his wisdom.<sup>66</sup> R.B.Y. Scott has put forth the most forceful arguments for this position.<sup>67</sup> He points to a number of terminological and thematic features that are present in these verses but are largely limited to Late Biblical Hebrew.<sup>68</sup>

- 1 Kgs 4:20; 5:15: “Judah and Israel”: This word pair, used in this order and as a designation for the whole people, is found elsewhere only in 2 Chr 16:11; 25:26; 28:26; 32:32. Scott neglects to mention Jer 23:6: *bymyw twš ‘yhwdh wyšr’l* (“in his days, Judah and Israel will be saved”).<sup>69</sup>
- 1 Kgs 4:20: “eat, drink, and rejoice”: The verbal roots *’kl*, *šth*, and *šmh*, coordinated in this manner, are found only in Eccl 8:15; cf. Eccl 2:24; 3:13; Esth 9:17-19, 22.

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<sup>65</sup> See Wälchli, *Der weise König Salomo*, 96. In fact, 1 Sam 25:39 and 1 Kgs 5:21 are so similar that they may be from the same deuteronomistic hand, as already noted by Timo Veijola. See his *Die ewige Dynastie: David und die Entstehung seiner Dynastie nach der deuteronomistischen Darstellung* (Sarja-Ser. B Nide-Tom. 193; Helsinki: Sumalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1975), 53.

<sup>66</sup> R.B.Y. Scott, “Solomon and the Beginnings of Wisdom in Israel,” in *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East* (ed. M. Noth and D. Winton Thomas; VTSup 3; Leiden: Brill, 1955), 266.

<sup>67</sup> Scott, “Solomon and the Beginnings of Wisdom in Israel,” 262-79. This argument is also adopted by John Van Seters and Nadav Na’aman. See John Van Seters, *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 308 and Nadav Na’aman, “Sources and Composition in the History of Solomon,” 73.

<sup>68</sup> The following list is adapted from Scott, “Solomon and the Beginnings of Wisdom,” 268-69.

<sup>69</sup> Not surprisingly, there is some debate over the dating of Jer 23:5-6. A number of scholars understand it to be authentically Jeremianic, whereas others date it later than his career. Even if one dates it to Jeremiah’s career, as is done, for instance, by William Holladay (see his *Jeremiah I* [Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986], 616-17) and Jack Lundbom (see his *Jeremiah 21-36* [AB 21B; New York: Doubleday, 2004], 171, 176), Scott’s argument is not seriously injured, given that Jeremiah’s career straddles the end of the monarchy and the beginning of the exile.

- 1 Kgs 5:1, 4; 10:1, 24, 25: These verses contain an Aramaizing use of the participle for finite verbs, with and without *hyh*.<sup>70</sup>
- 1 Kgs 5:4: “beyond the river” (*br hnhr*): This refers to the area west of the Euphrates, a usage found 16 times in Ezra-Nehemiah and nowhere else.<sup>71</sup>
- 1 Kgs 5:9: “understanding” (*tbnwnh*): this word occurs primarily in Proverbs and is rare in pre-exilic texts. Scott’s statement is generally accurate but a little misleading. *tbnwnh* is also found in the following texts: Exod 31:3; 35:31; 36:1; Deut 32:28; 1 Kgs 7:14; Job 12:12-13; 26:12; 32:11; Pss 49:4; 78:72; 136:5; 147:5; Prov 2:2-3, 6, 11; 3:13, 19; 5:1; 8:1; 10:23; 11:12; 14:29; 15:21; 17:27; 18:2; 19:8; 20:5; 21:30; 24:3; 28:16; Isa 40:14, 28; 44:19; Jer 10:12; 51:15; Ezek 28:4; Hos 13:2; Obad 1:7-8. His statement depends upon the late dating of a large number of texts whose dates are disputed (e.g., the Joban texts, the texts from Exodus, and Obadiah, to mention just a few). Needless to say, this is not the strongest stone in Scott’s foundation.
- 1 Kgs 5:9: “largeness of mind” (*rhb lb*): the closest parallel, Scott argues, is the late Ps 119:32. He further notes that *lb*, with the meaning “mind, intelligence,” is most common in the book of Proverbs.
- 1 Kgs 5:11: “be wise” ( $\sqrt{hkm}$ ): Scott observes that most of the occurrences are post-exilic. This statement is generally correct, though the instances in Psalms (19:8; 58:6), Job (32:9; 35:11),<sup>72</sup> along with those in Proverbs, are difficult to date.
- 1 Kgs 5:11: “Ethan, Heman, Calcol, Darda”: Scott draws attention to the fact that these names are found elsewhere only in 1 Chr 2:6 and derivative psalm titles (see Psalms 88 and 89).<sup>73</sup> In addition, according to Appendix A in the recently published, *Hebrew Inscriptions: Texts from the Biblical Period of the Monarchy with Concordance*, none of these names appear in inscriptional evidence.<sup>74</sup> Neither do any of their names appear in Tal Ilan’s remarkable lexica of Jewish names in Late Antiquity.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> For examples of *hyh* + participle in Aramaic, see Ezra 4:24; 5:11; Dan 6:11. For the participle without *hyh*, see Dan 5:5. For a discussion of these grammatical features in Aramaic, see Heinz-Dieter Neef, *Arbeitsbuch Biblisch-Aramäisch: Materialien, Beispiele und Übungen zum Biblisch-Aramäisch* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 142; Franz Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic* (Porta Linguarum Orientalium 5; 6<sup>th</sup> ed.; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1995), 59.

<sup>71</sup> In Josh 24:2, the reference is to the area east of the Euphrates. See Scott, “Solomon and the Beginnings of Wisdom,” 268.

<sup>72</sup> The secondary or late nature of Elihu is much debated and is not certain. See the discussion and literature cited in David J.A. Clines, *Job 21-37* (WBC 18A; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2006), 708-9. Most recently, Choon-Leong Seow has argued, on linguistic grounds, that Elihu’s speech was *not* secondarily added, as scholars often suppose. See his “The Distinctiveness of Elihu’s Style Reconsidered.” (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, San Francisco, CA., November 20, 2011).

<sup>73</sup> For these results, see also the entries for these names in Ran Zadok, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy and Prosopography* (OLA 28; Leuven: Peeters, 1988).

<sup>74</sup> See F.W. Dobbs-Allsopp, J.J.M. Roberts, C.L. Seow, and R.E. Whitaker, *Hebrew Inscriptions: Texts from the Biblical Period of the Monarchy with Concordance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

<sup>75</sup> See Tal Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity: Part I: Palestine 330 BCE-200 CE* (Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 91; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002); idem, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity: Part III: The Western Diaspora: 330 BCE-650 CE* (Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 126; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008); idem, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity: Part IV: The Eastern Diaspora: 330 BCE-640 CE* (Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 141; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011).

- 1 Kgs 5:13: “trees” (*šym*): Based on C.F. Burney’s study of the Hebrew text of Kings, Scott argues that the plural form of this verb is used in mostly poetic or late texts.<sup>76</sup>
- 1 Kgs 10:2, 10, 25: “spice(s)” (*bšmym* and *bšm*): Scott claims that, of the 25 occurrences of the word outside this chapter, 22 are found in P texts, the Song of Solomon, Esther, and Chronicles. Other occurrences can be found in Isaiah (Isa 3:24; 39:2 [cf. 2 Kings (20:13)]) and Ezekiel (Ezek 27:22).
- The N stem of *lm* (see 1 Kgs 10:3 and 2 Chr 9:2) is only attested in P, Job, Ecclesiastes, and the parallel texts in Chronicles.
- 1 Kgs 10:8: “happy!” (*šry*): Scott says that this term is most common in late Psalms and Proverbs. The term is found in the following texts: Deut 33:29; 1 Kgs 10:8 (cf. 2 Chr. 9:7); Job 5:17; 31:7; Pss 1:1; 2:12; 17:5; 32:1-2; 33:12; 34:9; 40:5; 41:2; 65:5; 84:5-6, 13; 89:16; 94:12; 106:3; 112:1; 119:1-2; 127:5; 128:1-2; 137:8-9; 144:15; 146:5; Prov 3:13; 8:32, 34; 14:21; 16:20; 20:7; 28:14; 29:18; Eccl 10:17; Isa 30:18; 32:20; 56:2; Dan 12:12
- 1 Kgs 10:15: “governor” (*phh*): Scott rightly observes that, apart from a few occurrences in pre-exilic texts (e.g., 2 Kgs 18:24; cf. Isa 36:9), most occurrences of *phh* are in post-exilic contexts.

While there are a few holes in Scott’s argument, by and large, the overall force of the argument is compelling. In addition to these linguistic points, Scott also correctly notes that the Queen of Sheba’s visit to Solomon shows a general interest in the opulence of court life, a common theme in Persian and Hellenistic period literature.<sup>77</sup> This thematic feature, however, is problematic, since feasting is an age-old aspect of royal representation.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> C.F. Burney writes, “Elsewhere the pl. use appears to be late or poetical; Isa. 44.14; Ezek. eight times; Joel 1.12, 19; Song of Sol. 2.3; 4.14; Ps. 96.12||I Chr. 16.33; Ps. 104.16†.” See his, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1903), 52.

<sup>77</sup> Scott writes, “The bliss of his subjects, the far extent of his dominions, the power of his chariot force, the superlativeness and fame of his intellect, the incomparable splendor of his court, the vast size of his harem,—all this in manner and conception is of one piece. It is surely significant that such extravagant descriptions of royal magnificence are found elsewhere in the Bible only in Esth., Dan. i-vi, and Chron. The pomp and splendor of courts and palaces are the subjects of midrashic tales in Esth. and Dan i-vi, and in these pictures the wise men at the royal court are a frequent feature. The Chronicler makes a fabulous character of David, as this folklore in the first Book of Kings makes of Solomon: David musters armies of fantastic size; like Solomon, his fame is world wide, and his riches—including three thousand talents of Ophir gold—are enormous.” (“Solomon and the Beginnings of Wisdom,” 267). It is well-known that Hellenistic sources show an obsession with extravagant life in the Persian royal court (e.g., Ctesius, Dinon, etc.). In his magisterial history of the Persian empire, Pierre Briant writes, “In a very general way, the fourth-century authors and Alexander’s historians were guided by the desire to evoke a sense of wonder in their readers by dwelling on what they considered most characteristic of the Great King’s court—its opulence, which they took as both a manifestation of its power and proof of its weakness.” Pierre Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002), 255.

<sup>78</sup> The bibliography on feasting in the ancient Near East grows on a yearly basis. See esp. Harold Liebowitz, “Military and Feast Scenes on Late Bronze Palestinian Ivories,” *IEJ* 30 (1980): 163-169; Michael Dietler and Brian Hayden, eds, *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics and Power* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001); David P. Wright, *Ritual in Narrative: The Dynamics of Feasting, Mourning, and Retaliation Rites in the Ugaritic Tale of Aqhat* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2001);

All of these arguments suggest a date after 587 and before the composition of Chronicles, which assumes the legend's presence in the Book of Kings. Not surprisingly, the dating of Chronicles is a matter of vigorous debate. This issue is further complicated by a fundamental lack of agreement on a compositional model (i.e., single-author, block, multiple redactional layers, etc.). Throntveit may be right when he claims that, "No other book in the Old Testament has been the recipient of more conjectured dates than Chronicles."<sup>79</sup> Ralph Klein has helpfully documented the most important data available for the dating of Chronicles.<sup>80</sup> One can safely assume that Chronicles was composed either within the Persian period (sometime in the 520s at the earliest)<sup>81</sup> or the Hellenistic period (mid-second century at the latest).<sup>82</sup> The latter is supported by Sir 47:9-10, which seems to presuppose the Chronicler's representation of David, and by Eupolemos' history (ca. 150 B.C.E.), which shows familiarity with a Greek version of Chronicles. A full-fledged evaluation of this evidence is beyond the scope of this study. I follow

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Tamara L. Bray, ed. *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires* (New York: Kluwer Academic, 2003); Abraham Malamat, "The King's Table and the Provisioning of Messengers," *IEJ* 53 (2003): 172-177; David Charles Kraemer, *Jewish Eating and Identity through the Ages* (New York: Routledge, 2007); Nathan MacDonald, *Not Bread Alone: The Uses of Food in the Old Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Jacob L. Wright, "Commensal Politics in Ancient Western Asia: The Background to Nehemiah's Feasting (Part I)," *ZAW* 122:2 (2010): 212-233; idem, "Commensal Politics in Ancient Western Asia: The Background to Nehemiah's Feasting (Part II)," *ZAW* 122:3 (2010): 333-352; idem and Michael J. Chan, "Feasting, Bronze and Iron Age," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Bible and Archaeology*; Peter Altmann, ed. *Festive Meals in Ancient Israel: Deuteronomy's Identity in Their Ancient Near Eastern Context* (BZAW 424; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011).

<sup>79</sup>Mark A. Throntveit, *When Kings Speak: Royal Speech and Royal Prayer in Chronicles* (SBLDS 93; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1987), 97.

<sup>80</sup>Ralph Klein, *1 Chronicles* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006), 13-16. See also Steven L. McKenzie, "The Chronicler as Redactor," in *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture* (ed. M. Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie; JSOTSup 263; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 70-90.

<sup>81</sup>F.M. Cross posits a three-block model: Chr<sub>1</sub> (composed in support of Zerubbabel just after 520 B.C.E.); Chr<sub>2</sub> (written after Ezra's mission in 458 B.C.E.); Chr<sub>3</sub> (edited ca. 400 B.C.E. or shortly thereafter). See F.M. Cross, "A Reconstruction of the Judean Restoration," *JBL* 94 (1975): 4-18. See also David Noel Freedman, "The Chronicler's Purpose," *CBQ* 23 (1961): 436-42, on which Cross depends heavily. Mark Throntveit, too, belongs to the ranks of those who propose an early date; he argues that the main edition of Chronicles was composed between 527 and 517 B.C.E. See his Mark Throntveit, *When Kings Speak: Royal Speech and Royal Prayer in Chronicles* (SBLDS 93; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 97-107.

<sup>82</sup>For a helpful, albeit somewhat dated, chart outlining the various chronological possibilities, see *ibid.*, 97. See also the discussion in Peter B. Dirksen, *1 Chronicles* (trans. Anthony P. Runia; Historical Commentary on the Old Testament; Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 5-6.

a number of scholars, however, in assigning Chronicles to the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>83</sup> The the Queen of Sheba legend into 1 Chronicles 9, then, probably also took place at this time.

Regarding the Book of Kings, the Queen of Sheba legend, along with the other related additions (1 Kgs 4:20, 5:1, 4-6, 9-14; 10:1-10, 13, 23-25), were probably integrated into the Solomonic narrative (1 Kgs 1-11\*) as part of a series of deuteronomistically-oriented supplements (DtrS).<sup>84</sup> That said, I would venture to posit that, while the written composition of the Queen of Sheba legend is probably from either the NB or Persian period, an oral prototype may already have existed in the monarchic period.<sup>85</sup> The legend itself—or at least certain bits and pieces of it—was not a pure invention of these later periods, but was probably put into

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<sup>83</sup> See, e.g., H.G.M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 15-17; Sara Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster, 1993), 23-28; Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, 5-6.

<sup>84</sup> A full theory of the redaction of Samuel-Kings is beyond the scope of this study, for such a presentation would require a discussion of all the Former Prophets and, arguably, the Pentateuch as well. I follow the broad outlines of the compositional theory laid out by Reinhard Kratz. In Kratz's view, the redaction of the "Hexateuch"—in name only, since it initially excludes Genesis—is intimately related to the deuteronomistic editing of Samuel-Kings. Similar to Noth, the deuteronomistic redaction begins around 560 (DtrG [*Geschichte*]), after the law had already been firmly established in the context of the "Hextateuch." This initial deuteronomistic redaction *only* included Samuel-Kings\*. Limiting the initial redaction to Samuel-Kings gives full weight to the early criticisms of Noth's theory, e.g., by von Rad, who rightly questioned whether the editor of Judges, with for instance his cyclical reconstruction of history, could really be the same editor of kings, which presents history as if it were a chronicle (see Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* [2 vols; OTL; Louisville: Westminster, 2001], 1:347). Cf. also Arthur Weiser, who argued that each of the historical books was edited in different ways and by different deuteronomistic redactors (*Einleitung in das Alte Testament* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963], 117-66). See also the discussion in Thomas Römer and Albert de Pury, "Deuteronomistic Historiography (DH): History of Research and Debated Issues," in *Israel Constructs its History: Deuteronomistic Historiography* (ed. Albert de Pury, Thomas Römer, and Jean-Daniel Macchi; JSOTSup 306; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 61. The second major redactional phase was undertaken by DtrR (*Richter*). This editor is responsible for the creation of the era of the Judges, which bridges the Hexateuch (i.e., the history of the *people* of Israel) and Samuel-Kings (i.e., the history of the *monarchy*). This editor, then, is effectively responsible for the creation of the "Enneateuch" ([Genesis]+Exodus-Kings). His work is found primarily in Josh 11:16a $\alpha$ , 23b; Judg 2:8-9, along with the cyclical scheme of Judges in 3:7-16:31. See also the chart in Reinhard Gregor Kratz, *The Composition of the Narrative Books of the Old Testament* (trans. John Bowden; London: New York T&T Clark, 2005), 208. Finally, numerous supplements (DtrS) to the Enneateuch were added after the combinatory work of DtrR.

<sup>85</sup> John Gray's remarks are duly noted. In response to Scott's argument, he writes, "R.B.Y. Scott points out certain late features in the phraseology and vocabulary of this passage . . . While this may be true, the transmission of the tradition in a late source does not disprove the antiquity of the tradition itself, and Scott himself suggests that the tradition of Solomon's wisdom reflects the revival of the glory of his reign in the time of Hezekiah, when there was a tradition of wisdom literature (Prov 25:1)." John Gray, *I & II Kings* (2d ed.; OTL; London: SCM Press, 1970), 144-45. John Van Seters is far too dismissive of Gray's point ("Gray's treatment of Scott's argument . . . is unacceptable," see his *In Search of History*, 308). If Von Rad has taught biblical scholarship anything it is that the Hebrew Bible is filled with instances of *Vergegenwärtigungen*. Is it really so far-fetched, then, to propose that an oral legend of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba was recast in the guise of Persian period tales about the opulence of courts?

writing at that point. While difficult to determine with certainty, Solomon may have taken on greater significance for exiled or newly returned Judahites in the Persian period who had become enchanted with the glory and opulence of imperial courts. As a result, they re-created a national hero in the image of their overlords. That Solomon would serve as an idealized figure is more likely in the case of Chronicles, however, since deuteronomistic editors tint the Queen of Sheba account in the Book of Kings with irony.<sup>86</sup>

### 2.3.2. 1 Kgs 10:15//2 Chr 9:14

Citation	1 Kgs 10:15//2 Chr 9:14
Who brings the wealth to Zion?	1 Kgs 10:15//2 Chr 9:14: <i>wkl mlky h 'rb</i> <sup>87</sup> (“and all the kings of Arabia”) 1 Kgs 10:15//2 Chr 9:14: <i>wphwt h 'rs</i> (“and the governors of the land”)
What goods are received?	1 Kgs 10:15//2 Chr 9:14 (unspecified) 1 Kgs 10:14 (x2): <i>(h)zhb</i> (“gold”) 2 Chr 9:14: <i>zhb wksp</i> (“gold and silver”)
What terminology is used to describe how the wealth of nations comes to Zion?	1 Kgs 10:15 (no verb) 2 Chr 9:14: <i>mby 'ym</i> (“brought,” x2)
Who receives the wealth?	2 Chr 9:14: <i>lšlmh</i> (“to Solomon”)
What is the text’s genre?	Notice
What is the text’s date?	NB or Persian period

<sup>86</sup> As numerous commentators have indicated, when the Queen of Sheba praises Solomon’s wisdom, his divine election, and then concludes by mentioning his charge to keep justice and righteousness (see 1 Kgs 10:6-9), there may be an “implicit critique.” See Terence E. Fretheim, *First and Second Kings* (Westminster Bible Companion; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999), 60. For a similar view, see Eric A. Seibert, *Subversive Scribes and the Solomonic Narrative: A Rereading of 1 Kings 1-11* (Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 426; New York: T & T Clark, 2006), 177-80.

<sup>87</sup> Second Chr 9:14 contains a number of pluses, including participles to indicate more precisely the action of the subjects (*mby 'ym*), the addition of the prepositional phrase “to Solomon,” and the nominal pair, “gold and silver.”

### 2.3.2.1 Contents and Genre

First Kgs 10:15 and 2 Chr 9:14 contain a very brief notice<sup>88</sup> about the yearly wealth Solomon receives (I include v. 15 in my translation below for context):

The weight of gold which came to Solomon each year was 666 talents of gold, apart from what came from the tradesmen and the goods of merchants and all the kings of Arabia and the governors of the land (1 Kgs 10:14-15).

As in 1 Kgs 10:1-10, 13, 23-25 (plus the parallel verses in Chronicles), v. 15 presents Solomon as an internationally recognized political power, who receives tribute and taxes, not only from the governors (*phwt*) of his own land, but also from all the kings of Arabia.

### 2.3.2.2 Compositional History

As noted in my discussion of the Queen of Sheba legend, 1 Kings 10:15 is probably part of a larger, NB or Persian period redactional insertion into the Solomonic narrative.<sup>89</sup> This editorial layer exalts Solomon as a global emperor, primarily by depicting him as a recipient of large amounts of tribute.

### 2.3.3 1 Kgs 10:23-25//2 Chr 9:22-24

Citation	1 Kgs 10:23-25//2 Chr 9:22-24
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<sup>88</sup> Notices are brief reports of events or states of affairs. They typically read like official annals/royal records and in some cases may originate from such sources. Long, in his commentary on Kings, gives 1 Kgs 3:1 as an example (Long, *1 Kings*, 253): “Solomon became the son in law to Pharaoh, king of Egypt. He married Pharaoh’s daughter. He brought her to the City of David until he completed construction on his palace, the temple of Yhwh, and the surrounding wall of Jerusalem.” Simon DeVries, similarly, refers to 2 Chr 9:14 as a “statement,” which he defines as “a brief oral or written notation or description of a situation or circumstance” (Simon DeVries, *1 and 2 Chronicles* [FOTL XI; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989], 432).

<sup>89</sup> In my introduction to this chapter, I state that I exclude notices from the discussion of the WNT. But given 1 Kgs 10:15//2 Chr 9:14’s connection to this redactional layer, which draws on themes within Zion theology—and the WNT in particular—I include 1 Kgs 10:15//2 Chr 9:14 here.

Who brings the wealth to Zion?	1 Kgs 10:24: <i>wkl h 'rṣ</i> (“all the earth”); 2 Chr 9:23: <i>wkl mlky h 'rṣ</i> (“every king of the earth”) 1 Kgs 10:25//2 Chr 9:24: <i>whmh</i> (“they” [all the earth/every king of the earth”])
What goods are received?	1 Kgs 10:25//2 Chr 9:24: <i>mnḥtw kly ksp wkly zhb wślmwt wnšq wbsmym swsym wprdym dbr šnh bšnh</i> (“his own tribute—items of silver, items of gold, garments, weapons, and spices, horses and mules, on a yearly basis”)
What terminology is used to describe how the wealth of nations comes to Zion?	1 Kgs 10:25//2 Chr 9:24: <i>mb 'ym</i> (“brought”)
Who receives the wealth?	Solomon (determined from context)
What is the text’s genre?	Claim to Universal Sovereignty
What is the text’s date?	NB or Persian Period

### 2.3.3.1 Contents and Genre

These verses declare that, with respect to wealth and wisdom, Solomon was greater than all the kings of the earth (1 Kgs 10:23; 2 Chr 9:22). And like the Queen of Sheba—who probably serves as an exemplar of the general trend stated in 1 Kgs 10:23-25//2 Chr 9:22-24—the whole earth (*kl h 'rṣ*) sought audience with him, in order to hear his sagely musings and bring him yearly tribute gifts (*mnḥtw . . . dbr šnh bšnh*). These gifts included items of silver and gold, garments, weapons, spices, horses and mules (1 Kgs 10:25; 2 Chr 9:24).

Apart from a few minor variations, some of which are orthographic (e.g., *mb 'ym* [1 Kgs 10:25] and *mb y 'ym* [2 Chr 9:24]), the two texts are identical. The only difference of significance for this study is found in 1 Kgs 10:24; 2 Chr 9:23. The former reads, *wkl h 'rṣ mbqšym 't pny šlmh lšm ' ḥkmtw* (“The *entire earth* sought the face of Solomon to hear his wisdom,” emphasis mine). The latter reads *wkl mlky h 'rṣ mbqšym 't pny šlmh lšm ' ḥkmtw* (“And *every king of the earth* sought the face of Solomon to hear his wisdom”). The Chronicler’s version of the story is more universal in scope, and makes Solomon an awe and wonder for the entire world population,

whereas in 1 Kings 10, he is only held in such high regard by kings. The one is perhaps not so different qualitatively than the other, insofar as Solomon's ability to awe and subjugate the leaders of every society—i.e., the earth's kings—is certainly just as impressive as his ability to awe and subjugate all the earth's population.

In terms of genre, 1 Kgs 10:23-25//2 Chr 9:22-24 most closely resemble statements found in ancient Near Eastern royal inscriptions and literature in which monarchs claim to have subjugated the whole earth. Such statements are widespread in first millennium Mesopotamia and Egypt. Assyrian kings, for instance, claim to be *šar kiššati* ("king of the universe"), a term introduced to the ancient Near East by Naram-Sin (ca. 2254-2218 B.C.E.), whose dynasty ruled from Kiš (the pun with *kiššati* is intentional).<sup>90</sup> With regards to Assyrian titulary, however, the term was initially used by Shamshi-Adad I (1808-1776 B.C.E.) and was probably connected to his military conquests.<sup>91</sup> *šar kibrāt arba'i* ("king of the four quarters") is another title that was introduced by Naram-Sin, but which crops up frequently in NA inscriptions. The title first entered into Assyrian titulary during the climactic reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243-1207 B.C.E.).<sup>92</sup> Both titles are very common in NA royal texts. For instance, Esarhaddon (681-669 B.C.E.) claims,

The palace of Esarhaddon, great king, mighty king, king of the world [LUGAL *kiš-šá-ti*], king of Assyria, governor of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four

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<sup>90</sup> In fact, the word *kiššati* was developed from the word, Kiš. See Albert Kirk Grayson, *From the Beginning to Ashur-resha-ishi I* (ARI 1; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972), 3n19, along with the literature cited there. The consonance between these two words was utilized in literary settings, for instance, in the text, *šar tamhari* ("King of Battle"), which deals with Sargon's campaign against Purušhandu (an Anatolian city):

"[upon the ear]th(?). What can Kiš take from the midst of Akkade? [*mi-na i-na qé-re-eb URU.Ak-kà-dì ki-iš-ši li-il-qut*. We swore (loyalty) by the name of [Sar]gon, king of the universe [*ki-iš-šu-ti*], we went down (and now) we are facing violence and we are not (particularly) heroic."

For the text and translation, see Joan Goodnick Westenholz, *Legends of the Kings of Akkade: The Texts* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 114-15.

<sup>91</sup> Barbara Cifola, *Analysis of Variants in the Assyrian Royal Titulary from the Origins to Tiglath-Pileser III* (Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici; Series Minor XLVII; Napoli 1995), 12.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

quarters [LUGAL *kib-rat LÍMMU-ti*], true shepherd, favorite of the great gods, whom from his childhood the gods Aššur, Šamaš, Bēl, and Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, (and) Ištar of Arbela named for the kingship of Assyria....<sup>93</sup>

Both *šar kiššati(m)* (here LUGAL *kiš-šá-ti*) and *šar kibrāt arba'i* (here LUGAL *kib-rat LÍMMU-ti*) are comparable—conceptually but not philologically—to 1 Kgs 10:23 (cf. 2 Chr 9:22): *kl mlky h'rš* (“all the kings of the earth”), insofar as all of them describe the universal domain of the ruler.<sup>94</sup>

Royal texts and inscriptions from Egypt also make incredible claims about the breadth of the king’s rule. From reliefs of Osorkon I/Sekhemkheperra (924-889 B.C.E.) at the Bubastite Portal at Karnak, we read,

Recitation by Mut, Lady of heaven, Mistress of the gods: ‘I am your mother who created your beauty in order that I might place you as unique lord of humanity, with all foreign countries (being) under your sandals like Re forever.’<sup>95</sup>

In this case, the Pharaoh’s universal rulership is based on his divine birth to Mut. Similar words, also spoken by Mut, are recorded on the Gebel Es-Sililah Quarry Stele no. 100 from the reign of Sheshonq I/Hedjkheperra (945-924 B.C.E.):

Words said by Mut the great, Lady of Asheru, Mistress of all the gods: “O King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Hedjkheperre-setepenre, Son of Re, Shesho(n)q, beloved of Amon, I

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<sup>93</sup> See Esarhaddon 1, obv. lines i1-7 (Erle Leichty, *The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria [680-669 BC]* [The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 4; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011], 11). This text and translation can also be found on the website of the University of Pennsylvania’s Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period (RINAP) project (<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap>).

<sup>94</sup> For additional references to *šar kiššati*, see Ashurnasirpal II Inscription, obv. line 126 (Albert Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC [1114–859 BC]* [RIMA 2; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991], 211); Shalmaneser III Inscription, obv. line 1 (Albert Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC II [858-745 BC]* [RIMA 3; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996], 132); Chicagoer Prismas, obv. line 2 (Riecke Borger, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke 2* [Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1963], 62); cf. Sennacherib Inscription, obv. line 2 (Daniel David Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib* [The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 2; Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1924], 23). For these texts, and a discussion of their relationship to Isaiah 10, see Michael J. Chan, “Rhetorical Reversal and Usurpation: Isa 10:5-34 and the Use of Neo-Assyrian Royal Ideology in the Construction of an Anti-Assyrian Theology,” *JBL* 128 (2009): 717-733.

<sup>95</sup> For the text and translation, see Robert K. Ritner and Edward Franke Wentz, *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt’s Third Intermediate Period* (WAW 21; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature), 232.

have granted all life, stability, and dominion, all health and all joy, all foreign lands being beneath your sandals.<sup>96</sup>

Here, the Pharaoh's universal rule is grounded in the goddess' bestowal of dominion upon him.

A much earlier text from the reign of Akhenaten/Neferkheperurawaenra (1352-1336 B.C.E.)

associated with a tribute scene from one of the Aten temples at Karnak represents a similar view:

[Giving] adoration to the Good God by the chiefs of [every] foreign country.  
[Presenting] tribute to the victorious king by the chiefs [of] Naharin (and) the chiefs of Kush. [The] chiefs of every remote foreign country [have come, bearing] every sort of good thing so that they may live.<sup>97</sup>

“Every foreign country” and “every good thing” are stock phrases in Egyptian royal texts. The expansive titulary of Amenhotep III/Nebmaatra (1390-1352 B.C.E.) bears witnesses to the same phenomenon.<sup>98</sup> He is, “Great of Terror in Every Foreign Land” (Two Ladies), one “Who Tramples the Tribesmen and Seizes their Land” (Golden One), and, one “Who Smites the (eastern) Bedouin and Subdues the Libyans” (Golden One). He is also “Bull of the Kings, Who Subdues the Nine Bows” (Golden One). The Colossi of Memnon are called “Nebmaatre-is-the-Ruler-of-Rulers.” The architraves from the Portico of the Luxor temple refer to him as “Mighty Bull, Sharp of Horns, Whose Arm is Not Opposed in Any Land.”<sup>99</sup> These titles represent in various ways the king's dominance over every foreign land and depict him as a terrifying, divinely-appointed mythic force that ensures the obedience of *every* foreigner.

Persian texts, too, herald the global rule of the Great King. For instance, DPG—an inscription from the reign of Darius I (522-486 B.C.E.) that was found on the south wall of the Persepolis terrace wall—states the following:

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 189.

<sup>97</sup> William J. Murnane, *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt* (SBL Writings from the Ancient World 5; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), §10-I.2, p. 38.

<sup>98</sup> For a discussion of Amenhotep III's titulary, see Lanny Bell, “Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka,” *JNES* 44 (1985): 285-7.

<sup>99</sup> For these titles, see *ibid.*, 286-7.

A great (god is) Auramazda, who is the greatest among all the gods, who created heaven and earth, created mankind, who gave all well-being to mankind who dwell therein, who made Darius king, and bestowed on Darius the king kingship over this wide earth, in which there are many lands: Persia, Media and the other lands of other tongues, of mountains and plains, from this side of the sea to that side of the sea, from this side of the desert to that side of the desert.<sup>100</sup>

Darius' kingship, in this text, is grounded in a theology of creation: Auramazda—greatest of the gods and creator of the cosmos—has given Darius the right to rule the created order. The famous Cyrus Cylinder also proclaims the global and even cosmic kingship of the Persian monarch.

Me, Cyrus, the king, who worships him [Marduk], and Cambyses, my very own son, as well as all my troops he blessed mercifully. In well-being we [walk] happily before him. [At his] great [command] all the kings, who sit on thrones, from all parts of the world, from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea, who dwell [in distant regions], all the kings of Amurru, who dwell in tents, brought their heavy tribute [*bi-lat-su-nu ka-bi-it-ti*] to me and kissed my feet in Babylon.<sup>101</sup>

Keep in mind, however, that the Cyrus Cylinder is not cast in the standard language of Persian imperial monuments; it was formulated to appeal to the traditional sense of its Mesopotamian audience (cf. also Darius I's hieroglyphic inscription, DSab). In particular, the Cyrus Cylinder was based upon the building inscriptions of Ashurbanipal.<sup>102</sup> A number of other Persian texts that make similar claims for the Great King are discussed in greater detail in §3.3.2.

Examples could easily be multiplied.<sup>103</sup> Suffice it to say, the claims about Solomon's global fame and rule are part of this type of discourse. Given the conventional nature of these claims to universal dominion, one should use great caution when attempting to extract historical

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<sup>100</sup> Amélie Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire* (London: Routledge, 2007), 483. Cf. *inter alia* DZc, DPe, DPf, DSe, DSf in *ibid.*, 485-86, 488, 491, 492.

<sup>101</sup> For this translation, see Amélie Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire: A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period* (London: Routledge, 2007), 71-72. For the text, see Hanspeter Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids von Babylon und Kyros' des Großen* (AOAT 256; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2001), 550-54.

<sup>102</sup> See Janos Harmatta, "Les modèles littéraires de l'édit babylonien de Cyrus," in *Commémoration Cyrus: Actes du Congrès de Shiraz 1971 et autres études rédigées à l'occasion du 2500<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de la fondation de l'Empire perse* (*Acta Iranica* 1; Téhéran: Bibliothèque Pahlavi; Leiden: Brill, 1974), 29-44.

<sup>103</sup> The Achaemenid evidence is particularly abundant. See, e.g., the inscriptions in Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 469-87.

information from them.<sup>104</sup> The statement in 1 Kgs 10:23-25; 2 Chr 9:22-24, then, stands within the broader category of official royal literature, whose task it is to aggrandize the king and ascribe to him the ideal attributes of kingship.

### 2.3.3.2 Compositional History

For a discussion of the dating of vv. 23-25, see §2.3.1.2. Verses 23-25 all belong to the same editorial layer that included 1 Kgs 4:20, 5:1, 4-6, 9-14; 10:1-10, 13, 23-25. With the help of linguistic evidence taken from a study by Scott, I have dated them to the NB or Persian Period.

### 2.3.4 2 Chr 32:23

Citation	2 Chr 32:23
Who brings the wealth to Zion?	v. 23: <i>rby</i> m (“many”) <sup>105</sup>
What goods are received?	v. 23: <i>mnḥh</i> . . . <i>mgdnwt</i> (“tribute . . . precious items”)
What terminology is used to describe how the wealth of nations comes to Zion?	v. 23: <i>mby</i> ’ <i>ym</i> (“brought”)
Who receives the wealth?	v. 23: <i>lyhwh</i> . . . <i>lyḥzqyhw</i> (“to Yhwh . . .to Hezekiah”)
What is the text’s genre?	Notice
What is the text’s date?	4 <sup>th</sup> Cent. B.C.E.

<sup>104</sup> An example of how ideology is often immune to the realities of history comes from the period of the Amarna correspondence. All throughout this period, pharaohs continued to claim universal rule over all foreign nations. And yet, based on what we know from the letters themselves, the pharaoh was but one monarch in a “village” of sibling monarchs (his “brothers”). William Murnane’s comments are apt: “Any comparison of Egyptian and cuneiform sources mentioning Egypt illustrates the gulf between pharaonic policy in practice and the monotonous triumphalism laid on, for home consumption, in the monuments. Pharaoh, though he occasionally found ways to impress his innate superiority upon other Great Kings of the Near East, was nonetheless forced to deal with them from a position of mutual respect and reciprocity quite alien to Egypt’s traditional approach to lesser humans outside its borders.” See William J. Murnane, “Imperial Egypt and the Limits of Power,” in *Amarna Diplomacy: The Beginnings of International Relations* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 110.

<sup>105</sup> The “many” who bring their wealth to Yhwh and Hezekiah are probably “all the nations” (*kl ḥgwym*) mentioned at the end of the verse.

### 2.3.4.1 Contents and Genre

Second Chronicles 32:23 is a unique notice found at the conclusion of the Chronicler's highly modified version of Sennacherib's failed siege of Jerusalem (see 2 Chr 32:1-23): "Many brought tribute to Yhwh to Jerusalem, and precious items to Hezekiah king of Judah" (*wrbym mby'ym mnhh lyhwh lyrwšlm wmgdnwt lyhzqyhw mlk yhw dh wyns' l'yny kl hgwym m'hry kn*, v. 23). The claim is unique in two ways. First, neither 2 Kings 19 nor Isaiah 37 contain this verse. The other two versions end with a brief account of Sennacherib's murder and the ascension of Esarhaddon to the throne (see 2 Kgs 19:37; Isa 37:38) just before transitioning to the story of Hezekiah's illness. Second, apart from Isaiah 60 (see esp. Isa 60:7, 9, 13), this is the only text in which both a king *and* Yhwh are explicitly described as "co-recipients"<sup>106</sup> of the wealth of nations (*lyhwh . . . lyhzqyhw*). As Lynch has recently argued, the co-receipt of tribute in 2 Chronicles 32 is part of a larger trend in Chronicles in which kings participate in and benefit from various aspects of divine kingship.<sup>107</sup>

### 2.3.4.2 Compositional History

As with many of the other texts from Chronicles mentioned above—especially the non-synoptic material—2 Chr 32:23 is probably from the Chronicler's own hand, and not the result of a third

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<sup>106</sup> Matthew J. Lynch, "Agents of Exaltation: Monotheism, Divine Supremacy, and Focal Institutions in the Book of Chronicles" (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 2012), 280.

<sup>107</sup> See *Ibid.*, 233-92.

source or of *Fortschreibung*.<sup>108</sup> Accordingly, v. 23 dates to the time of the original composition of Chronicles, sometime in the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. B.C.E.

### 2.3.5 Isa 18:7

Citation	Isa 18:7
Who brings the wealth to Zion?	v. 7: <i>m 'm mmšk wmwrt' wm 'm nwr ' mn hw ' whl 'h gwy qw qw wmbwsh 'šr bz 'w nhrym 'ršw</i> (“a people tall and smooth-skinned, and from a people feared from near and far, a nation of strength and down-treading, whose land rivers cut”)
What goods are received?	v. 7: <i>šy</i> (“a gift”)
What terminology is used to describe how the wealth of nations comes to Zion?	v. 7: <i>ywbl</i> (“will be brought”)
Who receives the wealth?	v. 7: Yhwh
What is the text’s genre?	Oracle Concerning Cush
What is the text’s date?	NB or Persian Period?

#### 2.3.5.1 Contents and Genre

Scholars often classify Isa 18:1-7 as an “Oracle Against/Concerning Foreign Nations” (OAN). It is highly unlikely, however, that such a genre actually exists.<sup>109</sup> This conclusion is hinted at in John Hayes’ early study on these oracles, where he states that “such oracles were used in multiple contexts in ancient Israel.” Moreover, “The oracles in the prophetic books should not be evaluated on the basis of any one particular Gattung. Diversity in form and usage should be expected.”<sup>110</sup> Similar evaluations have been reached in more recent research. In his dissertation, Jonathan Liu writes, “There appears to be no single literary Gattung in the OAN.” He goes on to

<sup>108</sup> See also Kratz, *The Composition of the Narrative Books of the Old Testament*, 44.

<sup>109</sup> See also Friedrich Fechter, *Bewältigung der Katastrophe: Untersuchungen zu ausgewählten Fremdvölkersprüchen im Ezechielbuch* (BZAW 208; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1992), 304.

<sup>110</sup> See John H. Hayes, “Usage of Oracles against Foreign Nations in Ancient Israel,” *JBL* 87 (1968): 92.

say that the OAN are related to one another on the level of “subject matter, theme, and intention.”<sup>111</sup> Rainer Albertz has helpfully outlined some of the more drastic differences among OAN. The OAN, in his words, come in the following forms:

relatively short announcements of disaster without motivation (Zeph 2:12; Obad 5-7; Isa 13:17-22; Ezek 26:7-14) or with motivation (Amos 1:3ff.; Ezek 25:1-5; 25:1-5; etc.), which formally resemble the prophetic oracles of judgment against Israel, as well as descriptions of disaster of varying length (Jer 46:3-11, 12-19; 50:21-28; 51:27-33; etc.), which use exhortations to fight or flee, cries of horror, and similar devices to anticipate dramatically the political collapse of the nation in question. We also find artfully constructed laments over the fall of foreign cities (Ezek 26:17-18; 27:1-36; etc.), taunt songs (Ezek 28:11-19; 31:1-18; etc.), accounts of visions (Isa 21:1-10), and a few other minor genres.<sup>112</sup>

The differences between the so-called OAN texts is significant, and suggest that these disparate texts do not belong to a single, all-encompassing genre. Given the generic ambiguity of Isa 18:1-7, then, it seems best to define the text according to its main topic: It is quite simply an oracle concerning Cush. This particular generic designation recognizes its oracular and prophetic nature, without tying it specifically to a broader generic category—the existence of which is unlikely. The social location of the oracle will be discussed below in my discussion of the text’s date.

With regards to the WNT, the relevant verse for this study is v. 7:

At that time, a gift will be brought to Yhwh of Hosts—from<sup>113</sup> a people tall and smooth-skinned,<sup>114</sup> and from a people feared from near and far,<sup>115</sup> a nation of strength<sup>116</sup> and down-treading, whose land rivers cut<sup>117</sup>—to the of the Name of Yhwh of Hosts, Mt. Zion.

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<sup>111</sup> Jonathan F. Liu, “Hope According to the Sovereignty of Yahweh: A Theology of the Oracles Against the Nations in Jeremiah 46-49” (Ph.D. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 2010), 1.

<sup>112</sup> See Rainer Albertz, *Israel in Exile: The History and Literature of the Sixth Century B.C.E* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 181.

<sup>113</sup> This translation assumes that the older reading is, *m’ m* (“from a people”), rather than simply *’ m* (“a people”). This case is strengthened by (1) the fact that *m’ m* is present in the parallel line (*w m’ m nwr’ mn hw’ whl’ h*) and (2) that the *mn* is also attested in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>114</sup> MT reads *w mwrṭ* from  $\sqrt{mrṭ}$  (“make smooth,” “polish,” etc.). *w mwrṭ* is almost certainly the Pual participle without the preformative *mn*. See also *GKC* §57s, Bernhard Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja Übersetzt und Erklärt* (HKAT 3; Göttingen, 1902), 137-37; Marta Høyland Lavik, *A People Tall and Smooth-Skinned* (VTSup 112; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 45n6; Hans Wildberger, *Isaiah 13-27* (Continental Commentaries; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1997), 45.

Verse 7, in fact, repeats much of v. 2, except for the mention of the conveyance of a gift to Mt. Zion. The repeating of v. 2 in v. 7 suggests that the description in v. 7 pertains to the same people-group in v. 2, most likely the Cushites.

Isaiah 18:1-7 is a subunit within a larger oracle that begins at 17:1. Sweeney argues for this position by providing the following reasons:

1. Isa 18:1-7 lacks the standard formula, *mś' X* ("oracle concerning X"), which is typical for oracles concerning foreign nations (see Isa 13:1; 14:28; 15:1; 17:1; 19:1; 21:1, 11, 13; 22:1; 23:1). 18:1 begins, rather, with *hwy*.
2. Sweeney also notices that 17:1-18:7 is bound together by references to agricultural imagery; for example, 17:4-6, 10-11, 13; 18:3-6 all contain references to agricultural and harvest imagery. In chapter 17, as in chapter 18, this imagery is used in the service of an announcement of divine judgment.
3. Finally, he observes that the *mś' X* forms typically include references to Yhwh's action. But this does not take place until Chapter 18, in vv. 3-6 to be precise.<sup>118</sup>

This argument, which I find convincing, has important implications for understanding the identity of the one being judged in 18:1-7, all of which will be discussed below.

<sup>115</sup> The referent of *hw'* is uncertain. Some translate it temporally: "to a people feared from *that day* and onwards" (see Lavik, *A People Tall and Smooth-Skinned*, 44), whereas the majority opt for a geographical/spatial translation: "to a people feared near and far" (NRSV; cf. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13-27*, 206; Wim Beuken, *Jesaja 13-27*. HTKAT; Freiburg: Herder, 2007), 146 ["von einem weit und breit gefürchteten Volk"]). *hl'h*, of course, can have both temporal (1 Sam 18:9) and spatial connotations (Gen 19:9; Num 17:2, etc.). But given the emphasis in this verse on the geography of this people, it seems best to go with the majority translation: "feared near and far" or the like.

<sup>116</sup> *qw qw* is problematic. Heb. *qw* means "measuring line" or "string." If one accepts this derivation, then the *qw-qw* might be translated as something line, "line upon line" (see Lavik, *A People Tall and Smooth-Skinned*, 44). Vulgate and the LXX derive the root from *qwh* ("hope"). One of the most widely accepted theories derives the meaning of the word from Arabic *qwy* "to be strong/become strong" (Wildberger, *Isaiah 13-27*, 208; Beuken, *Isaiah 13-27*, 146). *qw lqw* is used in Isa 28:10, 13, but the contexts are quite different. Blenkinsopp seems to associate *qw-qw* with Isa 28:10, 13, but he then translates *qw-qw* as, "conquering" (Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1-39* [AB 19; New York: Doubleday, 2000], 308-9). Following the majority view, I accept the proposal that derives the etymology of *qw-qw* from Arabic.

<sup>117</sup> *bz'* is unique to vv. 2, 7, and the meaning is quite uncertain. 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> reads *bz'y*, which is not very helpful on the level of etymology and meaning. *BDB*'s solution to derive the root from Syriac *bz'* ("tear," "cut") remains the most compelling solution. See also Wildberger, *Isaiah 13-27*, 208; John D.W. Watts, *Isaiah 1-33* (WBC 24; Waco: Word Books, 1985), 244; Lavik, *A People Tall and Smooth-Skinned*, 44. The versional divergences—many of which read  $\sqrt{bzz}$  ("plunder")—probably reflect puzzlement rather than an accurate understanding of the root.

<sup>118</sup> See Marvin Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39* (FOTL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 256-7; Brevard S. Childs, *Isaiah* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster, 2001), 135-6.

Chapter 18 itself divides into the following smaller units: vv. 1-2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. The oracle opens with the interjection, *hwy*, which has three typical uses in the HB: (1) in funerary laments (see, e.g., 1 Kgs 13:30; Jer 22:18; 34:5); (2) as “vocative appeals” meant to grab an audience’s attention (see, e.g., Isa 55:1) or present a warning (Zech 2:10); (3) and in prophetic indictments (Isa 10:5; 17:12; 28:1; Jer 22:13).<sup>119</sup> In all of this, the interjection indicates a heightened state of attention and alarm. The funerary context does not match Isaiah 18, leaving only options 2 and 3, which potentially overlap. As Wildberger and Lavik note, woe oracles typically include an identification of the entity under judgment, which is then linked to a descriptive participial phrase.<sup>120</sup> This is precisely how vv. 1-2 are structured: *hwy* is followed by the description, *’rš šlšl knpym* (“land of winged beetle [*šlšl knpym*]”<sup>121</sup>), which in turn, is followed by the participial phrase, *hšlh bym šyrym* (“the one who sends envoys”). *hwy*, then, would seem to introduce an element of, which would have colored how the subsequent verses were interpreted.

Cush is the primary subject of vv. 1-2. It refers to a region south of Egypt that, during the Iron Age, was between the first and sixth cataracts of the Nile.<sup>122</sup> Cush is also referred to by the appellation, Nubia. In terms of the oracle’s historical context, which I will discuss in greater

<sup>119</sup> See *ibid.*, 46-47.

<sup>120</sup> See Wildberger, *Isaiah 13-27*, 216; Lavik, *A People Tall and Smooth-Skinned*, 48; also Beuken, *Jesaja 13-27*, 164, etc.

<sup>121</sup> The meaning of *šlšl* is uncertain. A long-held suggestion is that *šlšl* refers to a locust-like insect. For this view, see, e.g., Duhm, *Jesajabuch*, 137; Otto Kaiser, *Isaiah 13-39* (London: SCM Press, 1974), 89; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1-39*, 308; Lavik, *A People Tall and Smooth-Skinned*, 52. This entomological interpretation corresponds well to Deut 28:42, which unambiguously uses *hšlšl* to describe insects: *kl ’šk wpry ’dmtk yyrš hšlšl*: “all your trees and all the fruit of your land, *hšlšl* will take over.” *šlšl* is also found in Job 40:31 (*wbšlšl dgym* “or with a fish-harpoon”), but “harpoon” does not make sense in the present context. Some commentators, following Greek sources and the Targum, interpret *šlšl* as referring to ships. For instance, Wildberger, followed by Watts, proposes the translation, “land of the winged boats” (*Isaiah 13-27*, 207; cf. Watts, *Isaiah 1-33*, 243-44; Rodney Steven Sadler, *Can a Cushite Change His Skin?: A Examination of Race, Ethnicity, and Othering in the Hebrew Bible* [Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 425; New York: T & T Clark, 2005], 51). For an extended discussion of this issue, along with a lengthy bibliography, see Lavik, *A People Tall and Smooth-Skinned*, 49-52. Recently, a detailed and convincing argument has been made to understand *šlšl knpym* as a reference to the Egyptian scarab beetle, which was well-known in Judah of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. See Meir Lubetski, “Beetlemania of Bygone Times,” *JSOT* 91 (2000): 3-26.

<sup>122</sup> See Rodney S. Sadler, Jr., “Cush, Cushite,” in *The New Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible* (ed. Katharine Doob Sakenfeld et al; Nashville: Abingdon, 2006), 813. See also the helpful comments in Brent A. Strawn, “What is Cush Doing in Amos 9:7? The Poetics of Exodus in the Plural\*,” *VT* 63 (2003): 101-103.

detail below, it may be significant that Egypt's 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (mid-8<sup>th</sup> to mid-7<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C.E.) was Cushite, i.e., from Nubia, and that Isaiah of Jerusalem's own career is well within this period. Cush is described in these verses as the land of the “winged beetle” (*šlšl knpym*), which sends envoys (*hšlh bym šryym*) in reed vessels. Another group (probably Isaiah's Judahite audience) is issued a command to send messengers to Cush: “Send swift messengers to a nation tall and smooth-skinned, to a people feared from near and far, a nation of strength and down-treading, whose land rivers cut.”<sup>123</sup> This hyperbolic description portrays Cush as powerful, distant, and even exotic—features consonant with other “mighty-Cush” texts.<sup>124</sup> Aarne Toivanen effectively captures this aspect of Cush's image in the HB:

The purpose of this detailed and colourful description is not only to inform but also to create the impression of an exotic though obviously powerful and skillful people. The leaders in Jerusalem have reason to respect this far-off and proud group. The text is formulated in poetic form, but clearly also has an appealing, operative function to the reader . . . It attempts to arouse the reader's curiosity and respect mingled with fear.<sup>125</sup>

This grandiose and exotic image of Cush not only inspires respect, awe, and wonder, but it also underscores the significance of v. 7, which claims that this very people—the smooth-skinned, mighty, and feared people of Cush—are Yhwh's tributaries.

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<sup>123</sup> See above for translational issues. See also Blenkinsopp and Sweeney, who also think that Judeans are addressed here (Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1-39*, 309-10; Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39*, 257). For a contrary view, see R.E. Clements, *Isaiah 1-39* (New Century Bible Commentary; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 164-65.

<sup>124</sup> Sadler points to a number of biblical texts that either assume or depict Cush as a powerful military force. He notes that “The biblical authors knew the Cushites principally as soldiers participating in the Judean army (2 Sam 18), in their own Cushite-led forces (2 Kgs 19; Isa 37), or in larger Egyptian military coalitions (e.g., 2 Chronicles; Isa 20; 43; 45) . . . Because Cushites were so frequently seen in these roles, the ‘Cushite’ became a trope representing military might and the false pride that resulted from trusting in human strength (e.g., Isa 20:3-5; Nah 3:9). As such, Cushites served both to enact YHWH's will (2 Kgs 19; 2 Chr 12; 21:16-17; Isa 37) and to oppose it (Isa 20:3-5). Their service as the ‘strength’ of the Egyptian expeditionary forces (Nah 3:9) over the centuries was likely the reason for their *entrée* into the Levant (2 Chr 12; 14; 16; 21).” Sadler, *Can a Cushite Change His Skin?*, 146.

<sup>125</sup> Aarne Toivanen, “A Bible Translation as the Communication of Alien Culture,” *Temenos: Studies in Comparative Religion Presented by Scholars in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden* 26 (1990): 132. I originally found this quote in Sadler, *Can a Cushite Change His Skin?*, 55. See also Lavik, who writes, “By highlighting the physical appearance, the rhetorical effect is to portray a people far away with bodies that look differently from the audience's bodies. The description of the Cushites as tall and smooth-skinned, line upon line and down-treading can suggest that the device of hyperbole is at work.” Lavik, *A People Tall and Smooth-Skinned*, 93.

But this largely positive image of Cush generates some confusion, for, given the *hwy* interjection, one expects that the nation described in the oracle will also be the object of divine judgment. But this is probably part of an attempt to entrap the audience rhetorically, much as Nathan did to David (2 Sam 12:1-15). Lavik writes:

The audience is led to believe that what will come is a judgment over the Cushites. However, the expected description of the Cushites' bad conduct is replaced by a positive portrayal of them in v. 2. What is then the sinful action to which the הוּי is spoken?<sup>126</sup>

The first two verses, then, concern diplomatic activity between Judah and Cush, but the reason for the *hwy* remains veiled for now.

Verse 3 (Unit 2) shifts its vantage point from diplomatic exchanges to *kl yšby tbl wškny 'rš* ("All who reside upon the world, and all inhabitants of the earth"). The speaker, who is unspecified, states that the inhabitants of the earth will see a standard and hear the sound of a ram's horn. When considered across the HB, both *ns* ("standard") and *šwpr* ("horn") can have positive and negative meanings,<sup>127</sup> but given the *hwy* in v. 1, it is likely that these serve as some sort of inauspicious warning.<sup>128</sup> The tremors of judgment are all around. But who exactly is being judged?

Verses 4-6 contain a divine message that is inundated with agricultural, meteorological, and even zoological imagery. After the messenger formula, (*ky kh 'mr yhwh 'ly*), v. 4 reads: "I will be quiet and will look on from<sup>129</sup> my place, like heat glowing because of light, like a cloud of dew on the day of harvest."<sup>130</sup> Yhwh's inaction, however, ends abruptly in v. 5: "For before

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., 88.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., 110-115.

<sup>128</sup> See *ibid.*, 117.

<sup>129</sup> The /b-/ here seems to be one of source, indicating the place from which Yhwh looks, as one finds in Ugaritic (see Daniel Sivan, *A Grammar of the Ugaritic Language* [HDO 28; Leiden: Brill, 1997], 194-95).

<sup>130</sup> "on the day of harvest" takes the OG's reading to be more original than MT: "For thus spoke the Lord to me: There will be security in my city, like the light of the midday heat and like a cloud of dew on the day of harvest" (ὅτι οὕτως εἶπέ μοι κύριος ἀσφάλεια ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ πόλει ὡς φῶς καύματος μεσημβρίας καὶ ὡς νεφέλη δρόσου ἡμέρας ἀμήτου ἔσται). This reading is supported by the Vulgate and Syriac. See also Wildberger, *Isaiah 13-27*, 208.

harvest time, as soon as the time of budding is past, and a blossom will have already become ripening grapes,” Yhwh will cut (*wkrt*) shoots (*hzlzl*) and hew away (*hsyr htz*) tendrils (*hntyšwt*) (v. 5b).<sup>131</sup> The divine gardener will bring about destruction in his fields (cf. Isa 5:1-7), leaving the left-overs to the birds and the beasts (v. 6).

But what does all of this mean? What does Yhwh’s silence indicate, and then his sudden burst into action? Several possibilities exist. And yet, Wildberger seems correct to connect the use of *’šqwṭh* (v. 5) with Isaiah’s earlier message to Ahaz (“Take care to stay calm [*hšmr whšqt*], and not fear,” Isa 7:4) and with Isa 30:15 (“In quietness and confidence [*bhšqt wbbṭhh*] will be your strength”).<sup>132</sup> In this reading, Yhwh exhibits the very characteristics he was demanding of his people, and especially his rulers. Along similar lines, John Hayes and Stuart Irvine write, “Yahweh will take the same posture in this situation that Isaiah recommended to Ahaz in the days of the earlier coalition—unsupportive of the revolt (see Isa. 7:3-9).”<sup>133</sup> By adopting a posture of trust in Yhwh, Isaiah’s audience would thereby participate in the disposition of their Heavenly Monarch, who looks down calmly and quietly on history from his heavenly abode.

Yhwh’s destructive activity in v. 5 raises again the issue of the object of judgment in this oracle. As noted above, the presence of *hwy* in v. 1 suggests that some people, nation, or the like, finds itself in Yhwh’s crosshairs. Scholars typically identify the object of judgment with one of four characters: (1) Assyria, (2) Cush (sometimes including Egypt), (3) Judah (also the

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<sup>131</sup> There is some debate over the identity of these verbal subjects. Procksch, for example, renders the subject indefinitely (“one”), rather than identifying the subject with Yhwh. See Otto Procksch, *Jesaia I: übersetzt und erklärt* (KAT 9; Leipzig: A. Deichertsche, 1930), 241. Similarly, Beuken writes, “Auch hier tritt JHWH nicht selbst auf, sondern verbirgt sich hinter dem unpersönlichen ‘man’ des Vergleiches.” Beuken, *Jesaja 13-27*, 168. I agree with Lavik, however, who understands vv. 5-6 as referring to Yhwh. She notes that vv. 5-6 are “further explanations of what YHWH has told ‘me’ (in v. 4), and are thus closely related to what Yhwh has said in v. 4.” See Lavik, *A People Tall and Smooth-Skinned*, 155.

<sup>132</sup> Wildberger, *Isaiah 13-27*, 219-20. For a summary of interpretive suggestions, see Lavik, *A People Tall and Smooth-Skinned*, 145-46.

<sup>133</sup> John H. Hayes and Stuart A. Irvine, *Isaiah the Eighth-Century Prophet: His Times & His Preaching* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1987), 256.

audience), (4) and the Northern Kingdom.<sup>134</sup> (5) Some scholars even propose that the object of Yhwh's judgment is undefinable.<sup>135</sup> But before making a decision, we should lay out the facts found in the text itself that might relate to the identification of nations:

1. The only nation explicitly identified in Isa 18:1-7 is Cush (see v. 1). But, if one considers 17:1-18:7 to be a single unit, then it opens up the possibility that the Northern Kingdom (see Isa 17:4-6) or Damascus (see Isa 17:1-3) are under judgment.
2. The description of Cush in Isa 18:1-7 is quite positive, making it unlikely that Cush is the object of judgment here.<sup>136</sup>
3. By virtue of the fact that the oracle was probably given to a Judahite audience, the Southern Kingdom is a possible candidate, though Judah is never explicitly mentioned.
4. Yhwh will do damage to some sort of agricultural plot, probably a vineyard (v. 5). The aftermath, in turn, will be left for the birds and the beasts. There is no explicit statement indicating that the agricultural plot being destroyed is meant to represent a nation. Although given the widespread use of agricultural imagery to represent national entities in Isaiah, foreign and domestic alike (see, e.g., Isa 5:1-7; Isa 10:17-19, 33-34; 11:1, 17:5-6, etc.), it would not be surprising if the verdure Yhwh destroys here is meant to represent a nation or a select group within a nation.

If one agrees with Sweeney's proposal that Isa 17:1-18:7 are a self-contained unit, as I do, then the Israelian kingdom of the north, whose judgment has already been described in agricultural terms in 17:5-6, is the most likely candidate.

Verse 7 begins with the claim that, "At that time (*b' t hhy*) tribute will be brought to Yhwh of Hosts...." and then goes on to borrow almost word-for-word from the description of Cush in v. 2, creating a clear inclusio at the oracles edges.<sup>137</sup> Even though v. 7 borrows the words of v. 2, the oracle does not end as it began. In v. 7, no one receives a command to send delegates to this exotic and powerful people; rather, the Cushites bring a gift (*šy*) to Yhwh of Hosts at Mt.

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<sup>134</sup> For the Northern Kingdom as a possible candidate, see Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39*, 257.

<sup>135</sup> For citations and a detailed discussion of these positions, see, Lavik, *A People Tall and Smooth-Skinned*, 179-84.

<sup>136</sup> See also the helpful comments in Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39*, 254.

<sup>137</sup> Other texts with this formula include Jer 3:17; 4:11; 8:1; 31:1; Zeph 3:20. See Simon J. De Vries, *From Old Revelation to New: A Tradition-Historical and Redaction-Critical Study of Temporal Transitions in Prophetic Prediction* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 65, 74, 125.

Zion. The message seems clear enough: Cush may be a powerful nation, feared far and wide—certainly a fitting description for the people who dispossessed Egypt of its power!—but, after witnessing Yhwh’s display of power against the Northern Kingdom in vv. 4-6, even Cush will become a tributary.

### 2.3.5.2 Compositional History

On multiple levels, Isa 18:1-7 is an extremely complex text. There is some evidence to suggest that v. 7, which is important for this study, is a secondary expansion on the oracle.

Colometrically speaking, the text can be analyzed in the following way.

Verse	Hebrew Text	Colometric Analysis
v. 1	<i>hwy ʾrṣ ṣlṣl knpym ʾsr m ʾbr lnhry kwš</i>	15/15
v. 2a	<i>hšlh bym šyrym wbkly gm ʾl pny mym</i>	12/16
v. 2b	<i>lkw ml ʾkym qlym ʾl gwy mmšk wmwrt ʾl ʾm nwr ʾmn hw ʾwhl ʾh</i>	13/14/18
v. 2c	<i>gwy qw qw wmbwsh ʾsr bz ʾw nhrym ʾrṣw</i>	13/16
v. 3a	<i>kl yšby tbl wškny ʾrṣ</i>	9/8
v. 3b	<i>knś ʾns hrym tr ʾw wktq ʾšwpr tšm ʾw</i>	14/14
v. 4a	<i>ky kh ʾmr yhwh ʾly</i>	14
v. 4b	<i>ʾšqwth<sup>138</sup> w ʾbyth bmkwny kḥm šḥ ʾly ʾwr k ʾb tl bḥm qšyr</i>	18/11/12
v. 5a	<i>ky lpny qšyr ktm prḥ wbsr gml yhyh nšh</i>	16/14
v. 5b	<i>wkrt hzlzlym bmzmrwt w ʾt hntyšwt hsyrt htz</i>	18/17
v. 6a	<i>y ʾzbw yḥdw l ʾyḥ hrym wlbhmt h ʾrṣ</i>	17/10

<sup>138</sup> This colon is remarkably short. Something may have fallen out.

v. 6b	wqš 'lyw h'yt wkl bhmt h'rš 'lyw t'hrp	11/19
v. 7	b 't hhy' ywbl šy lyhwh šb'wt 'm mmšk wmwrt wm 'm nwr' mn hw' whl'h gwy qw qw wmbwsh 'šr bz'w nhrym 'ršw 'l mqwm šm yhwh šb'wt hr šywn	Prose

The vast majority of scholars assume that v. 7 is a later addition.<sup>139</sup> In support of this view, they typically appeal to either the verse's contents and/or to its prosaic features. Hamborg, for instance, writes, "The subject matter of xviii 7, on the other hand, is different, and there is little continuity between xviii 7 and xviii 1-6. xviii 7 should therefore be seen as an addition."<sup>140</sup>

Wildberger, writing about v. 7, argues,

As is true with the more common phrase בים ההוא (on that day) see 17:4, 7, 9), בעת ההיא (in that time) serves as a redactional link (cf. passages such as Jer. 4:11; 33:15; Zeph 1:12; 3:20), and the fact that it is in prose betrays it as secondary; it directly contradicts what has just been said. Further evidence for this being a reinterpretation is found in the use of so many vocabulary items from v. 2 to describe the Cushites. Finally, מקום שם יהוה (the place of the name of Yahweh) sounds deuteronomic.<sup>141</sup>

Similarly, Willem Beuken writes,

Die Zeitangabe »in jener Zeit« lässt an eine redaktionelle Zufügung denken. Der Begriff ist hier nicht eschatologisch gemeint (*pace Wildberger*); er gibt ein neues Geschehen in der »Vielgestaltigkeit der Zukunft« an (vgl. Jer 3,17; 4,11; 8,1; 31,1; Zef 3,20....<sup>142</sup>

There are some scholars, however, who are willing to defend the originality of the verse. Brevard Childs, for instance, avers,

Verse 7 serves as a concluding statement that returns to the theme of Ethiopia's ambassadors and to a mighty and conquering nation . . . Verse 7 is not a late scribal gloss,

<sup>139</sup> See, e.g., Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 139; G.R. Hamborg, "Reasons for Judgement in the Oracles against the Nations of the Prophet Isaiah," *VT* 31 (1981): 148; Clements, *Isaiah 1-39*, 166; De Vries, *From Old Revelation to New*, 68; Matthijs J. De Jong, *Isaiah among the Ancient Near Eastern Prophets: A Comparative Study of the Earliest Stages of the Isaiah Tradition and the Neo-Assyrian Prophecies* (VTSup 117; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 148-49. For a more extensive bibliography, see the discussion and review of literature in Lavik, *A People Tall and Smooth-Skinned*, 212-13.

<sup>140</sup> Hamborg, "Reasons for Judgement in the Oracles against the Nations of the Prophet Isaiah," 148.

<sup>141</sup> Wildberger, *Isaiah 13-27*, 209.

<sup>142</sup> Beuken, *Jesaja 13-27*, 169.

but integral to the editor's intention in shaping the entire passage as a testimony to God's future rule over the nations of the world.<sup>143</sup>

Childs makes the important point that v. 7 does play an integral role in the poem and is not contradictory to what precedes it.

Childs is correct that, on a thematic level, v. 7 compliments the rest of Isa 18:1-6 rather than contradicts it. Complimentary content, however, is not necessarily a sign of originality, since complementarity can be created just as easily by editors as by "original" authors. Other signs, however, suggest that v. 7 was secondarily added or else somehow corrupted in the process of transmission. Unlike vv. 1-6, which divide quite easily into bi- and tri-cola, v. 7 resists such divisions, suggesting, as scholars have long argued, that v. 7 is a prose gloss. Additionally, the final two words, *hr šywn* (Mt. Zion), which clarify the phrase *mqwm šm yhwh šb'wt*, resemble some of the geographical glosses identified, for instance, by Emmanuel Tov as "short explanations or names and words."<sup>144</sup>

The 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E. is the most fitting historical setting for the original oracle (Isa 18:1-6\*), especially given the dominance of the Cushite 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty in Egypt.<sup>145</sup> Additionally, given the emphasis on inter-state delegates, the royal court seems like the most appropriate setting for such an oracle. Whether one can actually discern behind Isaiah 18 the specific reception of a Cushite delegation or King Hosea's dispatch of delegates to King So is debatable,

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<sup>143</sup> Childs, *Isaiah*, 138-9. Christopher Seitz, similarly, writes, "Such an interpretation is further strengthened by the final verse (v. 7), which has not misunderstood the preceding oracle but offers a final comment consistent with it." See Christopher Seitz, *Isaiah 1-39* (Interpretation; Louisville: John Knox Press, 1993), 149. Lavik is another proponent of a unified reading of Isaiah 18:1-7. It is not entirely clear to me, however, whether she is just working with the "final form" of the text or actually thinks that v. 7 is original. She writes, for instance, "Although they are few, there are examples of scholars who—like me—consider v. 7 as an integral part of Isa 18" (*A People Tall and Smooth-Skinned*, 213). But a verse can be integral and still be editorial. That is, editors, just as much as "authors" are capable of making a given line fit into its surrounding context. So I remain somewhat in the dark about Lavik's actual position on this matter, though she is very clear that, for her own purposes, she is interested in the rhetoric of the final form.

<sup>144</sup> See Emanuel Tov, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (VTSup 72; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 63.

<sup>145</sup> An 8<sup>th</sup> century setting is generally accepted in the scholarly community. See the comments in Wildberger, *Isaiah 13-27*, 211; Kaiser, *Isaiah 13-39*, 90.

but certainly possible.<sup>146</sup> All of v. 7, then, was probably added after the composition of the original oracle. But there are precious few clues in the language or contents that could provide evidence for a specific time period. One possibility is to argue that v. 7 took its inspiration from Isa 45:14 (see below), which contains references to both Cush and foreign wealth. Although Isa 18:7 and Isa 45:14 are similar, insofar as both imagine foreign nations (including Cush) bringing their wealth to Zion, nothing in either text allows one to determine which of the two has chronological priority. So the more easily dated Isa 45:14 cannot be of any help in dating Isa 18:7. Verse 7, then, postdates 18:1-6\*, which was probably composed in the 8<sup>th</sup> century. This addition may have taken place in either the NB or Persian period.

### 2.3.6 Isa 45:14

Citation	Isa 45:14
Who brings the wealth to Zion?	v. 14: <i>mšrym</i> (“Egypt”) v. 14: <i>kwš</i> (“Cush”) v.14: <i>sb`ym</i> (“Sabeans”)
What goods are received?	v. 14: <i>ygy` mšrym</i> (“the product of Egypt”) v. 14: <i>šhr kwš</i> (“profit of Cush”) v. 14: <i>mdh</i> (“tribute”) <sup>147</sup>
What terminology is used to describe how the wealth of nations comes to Zion?	v. 14: <i>ns`y mdh</i> (“bearers of tribute”) <sup>148</sup> v. 14: <i>y`brw</i> (“they will pass to you”)
Who receives the wealth?	<i>lk</i> (“to you [Zion/the people]”)
What is the text’s genre?	Promise of Salvation
What is the text’s date?	ca. Between 538-520 B.C.E.

<sup>146</sup> Sweeney, for instance, argues that 17:1-18:7 refers to “the embassy sent by King Hoshea of Israel to King So of Egypt in preparation for the revolt against Assyria in 724 B.C.E. (2 Kgs 17:4).” Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39*, 257. A few pages later, he writes, “The historical background of this passage [here speaking specifically of 18:1-7] must be placed after the Syro-Ephraimite War and prior to northern Israel’s revolt against Assyria in 724 B.C.E.” *Ibid.*, 260.

<sup>147</sup> *mdh* in this verse is often understood to be a description of the Sabeans physical attributes: “Sabaites, long of limb” (TNK), “Sabeans, tall of statues” (NRSV), “tall Sabeans” (NIV), etc. But Paul seems correct in arguing that *mdh* “is actually a LW from Akk. *mandattu/maddattu* (“tribute”), transmitted through Aramaic *mndh/mdh* (see Ezra 4:20; 7:24; Neh 5:4, etc.). See Paul, *Isaiah 40-66*, 265.

<sup>148</sup> *nšy mdh* (“men of tribute”) should be read, *ns`y mdh* (“bearers of tribute”). See the comments in Paul, *Isaiah 40-66*, 265.

### 2.3.6.1 Contents and Genre

Isa 45:14-17 comprise a single oracle with vv. 14-15a, 15b-17 functioning as subunits.<sup>149</sup> The messenger formula in v. 14, which occurs again in v. 18, would seem to validate this conclusion.

With respect to the two units within vv. 14-17, however, their relationship to one another remains something of a mystery. Part of the problem is that, in almost every verse, one encounters generically diverse material. In Ulrich Berges' words:

Gattungsmäßig sind Jes 45,14-17 sehr disparat. Die Heilsschilderung in V 14 (vgl. Jes 60,13-14), das Bekenntnis in V 15 und die Götzenpolemik in V 16f. lassen sich nicht auf einen gemeinsamen Gattungsbegriff bringen.<sup>150</sup>

But before sorting through these issues of genre, which I will take up below, a key issue needs to be addressed at the forefront, for how one answers this question will determine the text's relevance to the present project: Who is the addressee? And more particularly, who is addressed in v. 14, which describes someone (see the italicized *you* in the translation below) receiving both the wealth and obeisance of the nations? Verse 14 reads as follows:

Thus said Yhwh:

The laborers<sup>151</sup> of Egypt

<sup>149</sup> For an argument on behalf of the integrity of vv. 14-17, see H.C. Spykerboer, *The Structure and Composition of Deutero-Isaiah: With Special Reference to the Polemics against Idolatry* (Meppel: Krips Repro, 1976), 138-41.

<sup>150</sup> Ulrich Berges, *Jesaja 40-48* (HTKAT; Herder: Freiburg, 2008), 417.

<sup>151</sup> *BHS* and others suggest that *ygy* ' and *wšhr* should be reprinted and understood as plural participles (*yōg 'ē* ["laborers of"] for MT's *yēgīa* ' and *wšōhārē* ["merchants of"], in place of MT's *ūsāhar* ["profit of"]). Several scholars adopt this view (see, e.g., Karl Elliger, *Deuterojesaja in seinem Verhältnis zu Tritojesaja* [Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1933], 246n1; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40-55* [AB 19A; New York: Doubleday, 2002], 256). There are, of course, detractors. Hans-Jürgen Hermisson, for instance, writes, "Doch ist das Partizip *ygy* sonst nicht als selbständiges Nomen für »Arbeiter« gebräuchlich; ebensowenig kann man mit ChRNorth (für *M* *ygy*) aus *ygy* »der Erschöpfte« (Hi 3,17) den »Schwerarbeiter« herleiten; schließlich kann man die personale Deutung dem *M* auch nicht nach der Figur abstractum pro concreto abgewinnen. . . weil Arbeitsertrag und Handelsgewinn keine Abstracta für Arbeiter und Händler sind." Hans-Jürgen Hermisson, *Deuterojesaja* (BKAT XI/2; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 2003), 29. In spite of these reservations, the suggested change makes a great deal of sense on several levels. First, as argued above, *'nšy mdh* ("men of measure/tribute") in the third tricolon should be read as a

and the merchants<sup>152</sup> of Cush  
and the Sabaens, bearers of tribute,

will pass over to *you*  
and will be *yours*.

Behind *you* they will follow,  
they will pass by in shackles.

They will bow to *you*,  
they cry out to *you*:

“Surely God is among *you*!  
There is no other God whatsoever!”

Typically, scholars identify the *you* with either the Persian emperor (Cyrus II and sometimes Darius I) or with Zion.<sup>153</sup> A few observations bring the problem into sharper focus:

1. According to the Tiberian pointing, all of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns are feminine singular (v. 14: *’ālayik, wēlāk, ’ahārayik, wē’ēlayik, ’ēlayik, bāk*). The assumed addressee, in this case, is Lady Zion (cf. Isa 60:1).
2. Removing the vowels from the MT, the pronouns are ambiguous, allowing for either a ms or fs identification.
3. 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> clearly understands these pronouns to be feminine (*w’lyky [x2]*).<sup>154</sup>

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participle, *ns’y mdh* (“bearers of tribute”), as is the case in 2 Sam 8:2 (*ns’y mnḥh*), which supports the conjecture that the preceding two might also be understood as participles. Second, and perhaps more convincing, participles make more sense as the subject of the verbs in vv. 14c-d. In v. 14c-d, the subjects of the verbs are said to pass by “in shackles.” It makes sense for people (i.e., merchants, laborers, etc.) to do this, but not for products or profits to do so, which is what the MT’s pointing implies.

<sup>152</sup> See the previous footnote for a discussion of *BHS*’s proposed reconstruction.

<sup>153</sup> For scholars in favor of the Jerusalem/Zion position, see, e.g., R.N. Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66* (New Century Bible Commentary; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), 109; Roy F. Melugin, *The Formation of Isaiah 40-55* (BZAW 141; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1976), 126-31; Jan Leunis Koole, *Isaiah III: Isaiah 40-48* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1997), 464; H.-J. Hermisson, »Die Frau Zion,« in *Studies in the Book of Isaiah* (ed J. van Ruiten and M. Vervenne; Leuven: Leuven University Press and Uitgeverij Peeters, 1997), 28; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40-55*, 257; Ulrich Berges, “Personifications and Prophetic Voices of Zion in Isaiah and Beyond,” in *The Elusive Prophet: The Prophet as a Historical Person, Literary Character and Anonymous Artist* (OtSt 45; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 67; Lena-Sofia Tiepmeyer, *For the Comfort of Zion: The Geographical and Theological Location of Isaiah 40-55* (VTSup 139; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 234; Berges, however, takes a different position in his more recent commentary (Berges, *Jesaja 40-48*, 419). Finally, see most recently Paul, *Isaiah 40-66*, 264-65. Childs, following Beuken, thinks the pronouns refer to *glwty* (“my exiles”). See Childs, *Isaiah*, 351. Cf. Laato, who simply refers to Israel (*The Servant of YHWH and Cyrus*, 241). Concerning the identification of “you” with Cyrus, Ibn Ezra, in fact, already made this proposal, which some modern scholars now adopt. See Michael Friedländer, ed., *The Commentary of Ibn Ezra on Isaiah* (New York: P. Feldheim, 1960), 208. For modern scholars who identify the addressee as Cyrus, see, e.g., Meindert Dijkstra, “Zur Deutung von Jesaja 45, 15ff.,” *ZAW* 89 (1977): 215-222; Klaus Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 240-41; Berges, *Jesaja 40-48*, 419. Finally, Rainer Albertz makes the interesting suggestion that Isa 42:5-7; 45:11-13\*; and 48:12-16a are directed toward Darius I, not Cyrus. See his “Darius in Place of Cyrus: The First Edition of Deutero-Isaiah (Isaiah 40.1-52.12) in 521 BCE,” *JSOT* 27 (2003): 371-83.

<sup>154</sup> Unfortunately, 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> lacks these verses.

4. The addressees, verbal subjects, and pronominal subjects in each of the verses subsequent to v. 14 are relatively straightforward: v. 15 addresses Yhwh directly (“you are a God who hides himself”); v. 16 is entirely in 3<sup>rd</sup> person discourse and discusses the shame of those who create idols; v. 17 begins with a description of Israel’s salvation, in the third person, and then abruptly shifts to address “you” (2mpl)—presumably, the members of Israel.
5. The immediately preceding oracles (Isa 45:1-7, [8], 9-13) are generally agreed to have been about Cyrus.
6. V. 13 (the last line of the preceding oracle), however, does refer to “my city” (‘yry) and “my exiles” (glwty).

Because the verses that follow upon v. 14 are largely unhelpful in identifying the mystery subjects of v. 14, scholars often look to what precedes v. 14 for clues. In particular, one finds an oracle concerning Cyrus and references in v. 13 to “my city” and “my exiles.” These data predictably lead to two possible identifications: the Persian emperor or Zion. In my view, the latter is the best option. Interpreted in this light, the feminine pronouns in v. 14 would refer to personified Lady Zion (cf. Isaiah 60), to whom the wealth of the Egyptians, Cushites, and Sabaeans comes. This proposal accounts best for the feminine pointing of the MT, and it has the added bonus of having manuscript support in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>.

Let me now turn to the issue of genre. Commenting on Isa 45:14-17, Westermann despairs of finding a single generic category that would encompass all of vv. 14-17: “we must reckon with the possibility that the verses are a combination of fragments which could only have been preserved as fragments.”<sup>155</sup> Antoon Schoors, largely in agreement with Westermann, thinks it is completely impossible to identify the text generically.<sup>156</sup> Joachim Begrich argues that this oracle is a modified salvation oracle.<sup>157</sup> Given the explicit emphasis on the future benefits that

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<sup>155</sup> Claus Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66* (trans. D.M.G. Stalker; OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1969), 169.

<sup>156</sup> Antoon Schoors, *I am God Your Saviour: A Form-Critical Study of the Main Genres in Is. xl-lv* (VTSup 24; Leiden: Brill, 1973), 112.

<sup>157</sup> Joachim Begrich, *Studien zu Deuterocesaja* (TB; München: C. Kaiser, 1963), 14, 22-23.

would accrue to Zion (see esp. vv. 14, 17), Begrich seems correct in arguing that Isa 45:14-17 can be safely identified as a modified promise of salvation.<sup>158</sup>

### 2.3.6.2 Compositional History

There is a great deal of agreement that, at least the initial stages of Isaiah 40-55 date to the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E., either late in the NB period<sup>159</sup> or sometime in the Persian period.<sup>160</sup> Much less agreement exists, however, on how the original material from DI developed.<sup>161</sup> Scholars disagree

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<sup>158</sup> For a similar designation, see David Petersen, *The Prophetic Literature: An Introduction* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 73-74. The promise of salvation differs, however, from the oracle of salvation. As Petersen notes, “The promise of salvation [in contrast to the oracle of salvation] focuses less on the one addressed and more on what Yahweh will be doing.” See *ibid.* In spite of the comments from Westermann above, in his monograph on oracles of salvation, Westermann identifies Isa 45:14-17 as a “fragmentary” proclamation of salvation (see Claus Westermann, *Prophetic Oracles of Salvation in the Old Testament* [trans. Keith Crim; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1991], 43).

<sup>159</sup> For a Neo-Babylonian date, see most famously Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 14-15 (“Er schreibt um rund 540 v. Chr., wahrscheinlich in einem am Libanon, etwa in Phönizien gelegenen Ort”). More recently John Goldingay and David Payne, largely in agreement with Duhm, argue that “the audience directly addressed by Isaiah 40-55 lives not in the Assyrian period, or the Persian period, or the Greek period, but late in the Babylonian period, in the 540s.” And then later, they write, “Isaiah 40-55 addresses issues in the life of the Judean community in the 540s.” See their *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 40-55* (2 vols.; London: T & T Clark, 2006), 1:29, 30. See also Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66*, 20-23. Berges, following a number of other scholars, argues that Isaiah 40-48 developed before 49ff. He argues, then, that the “Abfassungszeit des Großteils von Jes 40-48 in der Zeit zwischen dem Aufkommen des Persers (ca. 550 v. Chr.) und seinem Einzug in Babel im Jahre 539 v. Chr. und der unmittelbaren Zeit danach.” Berges, *Jesaja 40-48*, 45. See also Georg Fohrer, *Das Buch Jesaja* (3 vols. ZBK; Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1964), 3:2.

<sup>160</sup> For Persian period dating schemes, see especially Odil Hannes Steck, *Studien zu Tritojesaja* (BZAW 203; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1991), 278 and his student, Reinhard Kratz (*Kyros im Deuterojesaja-Buch: Redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Entstehung und Theologie von Jes 40-55* [FAT 1; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1991], 148-74). Antti Laato’s highly creative and interesting thesis also fits into this category. He proposes that Isaiah 40-55, as we have it, is an early Persian period reinterpretation of an exilic messianic program. He writes, “The dilemma [posed by the historical circumstances of the Persian period] was, however, that the actual historical situation did not correspond to the messianic expectations preserved in the prophetic literature, namely that the Messiah would lead the people to Judah. This led to the reinterpretation of the messianic program so that Cyrus and the ideal Israel each take on aspects of the role of the Messiah.” See his *The Servant of YHWH and Cyrus: A Reinterpretation of the Exilic Messianic Programme in Isaiah 40-55* (ConBOT 35; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1992), 282.

<sup>161</sup> For a (now somewhat dated) overview of these issues, see Laato, *The Servant of YHWH and Cyrus*, 3-16.

over whether DI emerged as a whole—more or less in a single historical moment<sup>162</sup>— or as the result of a long process of redaction, in which 40-55 developed in stages.<sup>163</sup> This philosophical divide over how DI came about is all too familiar from previous analyses, especially of poetic texts.

Many scholars would argue that v. 14—either in part or in full—goes back to the original composition of DI.<sup>164</sup> But there are strong indications that v. 14 was secondarily added to the work of DI and was connected to the creation of Isaiah 60-62. Westermann, for instance, writes:

This oracle seems strange in Deutero-Isaiah, because it visualizes a state of well-being for Israel still lying in the future, a thing which occurs nowhere else in the prophet's work. The many attempts on the part of editors to change the text or delete parts of it are evidence of this uniqueness. On the other hand, the description given here perfectly accords with that of the state of well-being in Isa. 60, where the nations and their treasures come to Zion to be Israel's servants in her new state of well-being, and to pay homage to her God (Isa. 60.3-14). One feature in particular is exactly the same as in Isa. 60, and it is a feature that does not suit Deutero-Isaiah: the ambassadors of the nations come *with their treasures* and appear all together, as in a procession, to pay homage (cf. Isa. 60.13-14). Even the words, 'in chains', which editors find difficult and which are often deleted out of hand, have their counterpart in Isa. 60.14 . . . I cannot explain how the verse, which, as we have seen, properly belongs to the description given in Isa. 60, came to be placed here. The likelihood that it was originally connected with Isa. 60 is supported by the fact that here in Deutero-Isaiah 45.14 it is a fragment without connection with either what precedes it or what follows it.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Westermann, for instance, writes that "My own view is that, in all essentials, chs. 40-55 go back in their entirety to Deutero-Isaiah himself, and that their contents represent what he himself preached." Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, 28. See also Whybray, *Isaiah 40-55*, 21; Paul, *Isaiah 40-66*.

<sup>163</sup> See, e.g., Jean M. Vincent, *Studien zur literarischen Eigenart und zur geistigen Heimat von Jesaja, Kap. 40-55* (BBET 5; Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1977); Kratz, *Kyros im Deuterjesaja-Buch*; Jürgen van Oorschot, *Von Babel zum Zion: Eine literarkritische und redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (BZAW 206; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1993); Ulrich Berges, *Das Buch Jesaja: Komposition und Endgestalt* (Herders biblische Studien 16; Freiburg: Herder, 1998); Jürgen Werlitz, *Redaktion und Komposition: zur Rückfrage hinter die Endgestalt von Jesaja 40-55* (BBB 122; Berlin: Philo, 1999).

<sup>164</sup> Kratz, for example, places the initial creation of v. 14\* in his *Schicht II*, which is comprised of *Zions-Fortschreibungen* (see his *Kyros im Deuterjesaja-Buch*, 217). The original form of this verse, however, was then supplemented at some point between the insertions of *Schicht V* and what he calls "Späte Einzelzusätze." *Schicht V* was inserted around the first half or the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. B.C.E., and the "Späte Einzelzusätze," at the very least, assume the attachment of Isaiah 60-62\*. *Ibid.*, 216-17. See also Elliger, *Deuterjesaja in seinem Verhältnis zu Tritojesaja*, 246n1, 247, 306.

<sup>165</sup> Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, 169-70.

Westermann's determination that v. 14 is secondary, then, is based off of the verse's conceptual similarity to Trito-Isaianic texts. Kratz fills this picture out in even greater detail:

Auffallend sind gewisse Sachentsprechungen zu Jes 60: Die Schätze aus Ägypten und Kusch (Äthiopien) entsprechend 60,5.6aα.7 sowie 61,6 (dazu Hg 2,6-9, aber auch Esr 7,15 ff.21 ff.; zu סחר/יגיע + לֵּהִיָּהּ vgl. Jes 47,15, ferner 23,3.8.18 sowie Ps 68,32; Jes 20,1 ff.); die Sebaiten als Personen, die Parallele Ps 72,10 vervollständigend, entsprechend Jes 60,6aβb.9aα.14 (vgl. V.3.11) . . . Jes 45,14aγ dürfte ebenfalls durch 43,3 veranlaßt und könnte parallel zu 60,11bβ(M).14 gedacht sein: Während Ägypter und Äthiopier als Personengruppe außer Betracht bleiben, gemäß 43,3 als (an Kyros, tatsächlich Kambyses und Dareios?) dahingegeben gelten, bestünde die Dahingabe der Sebaiten (samt Überbringer der Schätze) in der Behandlung als Kriegsgefangene, entsprechend dem Gegensatz 60,14aα/51,23(.21) hier im Gegenüber zu 49,21(M); 52,2; 61,1bβ (vgl. auch 51,14), aber beidemal mit Ziel in der Gottesverehrung (45,14b/60,14aβb nach 49,23aβγ, vgl. von Scheba 60,6b); hinsichtlich der Formulierung sind Nah 3,8-10 (auch Ps 149,8; Jer 40,1.4) und Ez 16,33f. zu bedenken.<sup>166</sup>

These important comments by Kratz, along with Westermann's observations, suggest that v. 14\* was added at the time Isaiah 60-62\* was integrated into the book of Isaiah\*. Why v. 14 now finds itself so far from home is difficult to determine. Perhaps it was added as a way of tightening the connection between DI and TI. Verse 14 dates, then, as Isaiah 60-62\* do, to sometime between 538-520 B.C.E. (see §2.3.7).

### 2.3.7 Isa 60:4-17; 61:5-6

Citation	Isa 60:4-17
Who brings the wealth to Zion?	v. 4: nations . . . kings ( <i>gwym</i> . . . <i>mlkym</i> ; presumably the bringers of wealth up to v. 7). v. 9: marine vessels of the islands ( <i>kly 'yym</i> ) v. 9: ships of Tarshish ( <i>w 'nywt tršyš</i> ) v. 11: nations ( <i>gwym</i> ) v. 11: their kings ( <i>mlkyhm</i> ) v. 17: I [Yhwh] will bring ( <i>'by'</i> )
What goods are received?	v. 5: abundance of the sea ( <i>hmwn ym</i> )

<sup>166</sup> Kratz, *Kyros in Deuterocesaja-Buch*, 94n349.

	<p>v. 5: wealth of nations (<i>hyl gwym</i>)</p> <p>v. 6: camels (<i>gmlym</i>)</p> <p>v. 6: young camels of Midian and Ephah (<i>bkry mdyn w'ph</i>)</p> <p>v. 6: gold (<i>zhb</i>)</p> <p>v. 6: frankincense (<i>lbwnh</i>)</p> <p>v. 7: Every flock of Kedar (<i>kl š'n qdr</i>)</p> <p>v. 7: the rams of Nebaioth (<i>'yly nbywt</i>)</p> <p>v. 9: their silver and their gold (<i>kspm wzhbm</i>)</p> <p>v. 11: wealth of nations (<i>hyl gwym</i>)</p> <p>v. 13: The glory of Lebanon (<i>kbwd hlbwnn</i>)</p> <p>v. 13: cypress, conifer tree, and box tree (<i>brwš tdhr wt šwr</i>)</p> <p>v. 16: nations' milk (<i>hly gwym</i>)</p> <p>v. 16: royal breasts (<i>šd mlkym</i>)</p> <p>v. 17: gold (<i>zhb</i>), silver (<i>ksp</i>), bronze (<i>nḥšt</i>), iron (<i>brzl</i>)</p>
What terminology is used to describe how the wealth of nations comes to Zion?	<p>√<i>bw'</i> (v. 5: [<i>ybw'</i>]<sup>167</sup>, v. 6 [<i>yb'w</i>], v. 9 [<i>yqww . . . lhby'</i>], v. 11 [<i>lhby'</i>], v. 13 [<i>ybw'</i>], v. 17 [<i>'by'</i>, x2])</p> <p>√<i>hpk</i> (v. 5 [<i>yhpk</i>])</p> <p>√<i>ksh</i> (v. 6: [<i>tksk</i>])</p> <p>√<i>ns'</i> (v. 6 [<i>yš'w</i>])</p> <p>√<i>qbs</i> (v. 7 [<i>yqbsw</i>])</p>
Who receives the wealth?	<p>“you” (Zion): see vv. 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 16, 17</p> <p>Yhwh: v. 7, 9, 13</p>
What is the text's genre?	Promise of Salvation
What is the text's date?	ca. 538-520 B.C.E.

Citation	Isa 61:5-6
Who brings the wealth to Zion?	v. 6: <i>gwym</i> (“nations” [implied in <i>hyl gwym</i> ])
What goods are received?	v. 6: <i>hyl</i> of (“wealth of”)
What terminology is used to describe how the wealth of nations comes to Zion?	n/a
Who receives the wealth?	vv. 6-7: “You” (the intended audience of Isaiah 61)
What is the text's genre?	Promise of Salvation
What is the text's date?	538-520 B.C.E.

<sup>167</sup> This verb is read as a 3ms verb rather than MT's 3mpl.

### 2.3.7.1 Contents and Genre

Isaiah 60 is a promise of salvation addressed to Zion, a genre that is largely, if not exclusively, limited to Isaiah (cf. Isa 45:14-17; 49:22-26).<sup>168</sup> Promises of salvation in TI not only announce well-being, they also proclaim a future of splendor and wealth.<sup>169</sup> Isaiah 61 is also a promise of salvation, though it also integrates into its promissory framework elements from other genres. The pericope opens with an account of the prophet's personal vocation (vv. 1-3), based in large part off of the so-called Servant Songs (for further discussion, see below). Verse 4 smoothly transitions into the promises proper. Chapter 61 ends in vv. 10-11 with a praise fragment in which the voice of the prophet (vv. 1-3) reemerges. Isaiah 60-61 are discussed together here because they are often considered to be part of a single unit (Isa 60-62), which I will discuss in greater detail below.

Isaiah 60 easily divides into the following 10 units: vv. 1-3, 4-5, 6-7, 8-9, 10-12, 13-14, 15-16, 17-18, 19-20, 21-22.<sup>170</sup> Verses 1-3 open with 2 fs imperatives (“Arise! Shine!”) and focus on Yhwh's gift of solar radiance to Lady Zion. The call for Zion to arise (*qwm*) is, in terms of *Motivgeschichte*, closely related to Lam 2:19 (*qwm*), Isa 51:17 (*qwm*), and Isa 52:2 (*qwm*).<sup>171</sup> The omission of any subject for the imperatives—the presence of “Jerusalem” in the OG, Vulgate, and Targum are interpretive pluses—suggests that we are dealing here with a well-known convention, a form of command that Trito Isaiah's (TI) audience would have

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<sup>168</sup> For this genre, see Melugin, *The Formation of Isaiah 40-55*, 127. Cf. Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, 356.

<sup>169</sup> See Claus Westermann, who uses the term, “Oracle of Salvation.” *Prophetic Oracles of Salvation*, 187-88

<sup>170</sup> This division of the chapter largely follows those proposed by Koole (*Isaiah III*, 215-17). Cf. also Pauritsch, *Die neue Gemeinde*, 120.

<sup>171</sup> These injunctions, moreover, assume that Zion is in a mournful posture (cf. Gen 21:18; Judg 19:28; 2 Sam 13:15). See Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 25-26.

recognized.<sup>172</sup> Yhwh rises ( $\sqrt{zrh}$ ) like the sun over Zion (v. 2b), making the city into a spire of light in a world of thick darkness.<sup>173</sup> Nations and kings, whose realms are now overtaken by  $hšk$ . . .  $w'rp$  (cf. Deut 4:11; Joel 2:2; Zeph 1:15),<sup>174</sup> trek toward Zion's brilliance in search of light.

Verses 4-5 shift their emphasis to the nations of the earth and the benefits they will bring to Zion. They begin, as the previous unit did, with two 2 fs imperatives: "Lift your eyes all around and look."<sup>175</sup> Zion's uplifted gaze is met with the sight of a mass homecoming: sons and daughters return home from afar—in the care of foreigners no less! Because of this change of fortune, Zion's heart will drum with new life (v. 5). But these long-lost children do not come alone. They are accompanied by the "abundance of the seas" ( $hmwn ym$ , v. 5b)<sup>176</sup> and the "wealth of nations" ( $hyl gwym$ , v. 5b),<sup>177</sup> a notion that is expanded upon dramatically in the next few units.<sup>178</sup>

Verses 6-7 describe both the kind of wealth that the nations will bring to Jerusalem (camels, gold, frankincense, flocks, and rams), and the far distances whence they would travel (Midian, Ephah, and Sheba). The envoys conveying these goods arrive with Yhwh's praises on their lips (v. 6) (cf. 1 Kgs 10:9; cf. 2 Chr 9:8).

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<sup>172</sup> See *ibid.*, 24.

<sup>173</sup> Yhwh is the subject of  $\sqrt{zrh}$  only here and in Deut 33:2, making it likely that Isaiah 60 is utilizing vocabulary and imagery from that text. For this argument see Wolfgang Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66: Eine Untersuchung zu den literarischen Bezügen in den letzten elf Kapiteln des Jesajabuches* (BZAW 225; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1994), 28-29.

<sup>174</sup> For these texts, see Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 30.

<sup>175</sup> As noted by Lau, Isa 49:18a is identical:  $s'y sbyb 'ynyk wr'y$  (see *ibid.*, 34).

<sup>176</sup> The phrase,  $hmwn ym$ , is entirely unique to TI. And as Lau notes, the mythological meaning of  $ym$  is probably not applicable here (cf. Ps 65:8). Most likely, "sind die Völker oder deren Schätze gemeint, die über das Meer herantransportiert werden." (see *ibid.*, 39).

<sup>177</sup> This phrase is unique to TI. Cf. its citation in Zech 14:14 ( $w'sp hyl kl hgwym sbyb$ ). See also *ibid.*, 40.

<sup>178</sup> The combination of repatriation and the coming of the nations to Zion is clearly a development on Isa 49:14-26, as Lau has already noticed (*Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 35). What TI adds, among other things, is his emphasis on the wealth of nations, which is entirely absent from Isa 49:14-26. The reference to ornamentation ( $'dy$ ) is a metaphor for the returned children (Isa 49:17-18). 49:25, which describes the booty of a terrifying one/tyrant ( $wmlqwh 'rys$ ), again, refers primarily to the children of Zion, who were taken as booty ("And your children I will save").

The next unit (vv. 8-9) begins by asking, “Who are these that fly like a cloud, and like doves to their cotes?” Answer: They are marine vessels from the west, with the ships of Tarshish in the lead. These verses elaborate on vv. 4-5, reiterating that the foreign nations will bring, not only Zion’s dispersed children, but will also endow Zion’s treasury with silver and gold (v. 9). All of this is done, “for the name of Yhwh, your God” (v. 9).

Verses 10-12 turn to the reconstruction of Zion. The poem claims that Zion’s walls will be rebuilt on the backs of foreign laborers (*bny nkr*) and that foreign kings (*mlkyhm*) will “minister” (*yšrtwnk*) to Zion (v. 10). Foreigners, then, not only beautify Zion with their wealth, they also help repair it with the work of their hands. In a rare reference to Zion’s guilt in these chapters, v. 10 states that, while she endured a season of divine wrath, these glorious events will usher in a new age of divine compassion and immense prosperity (v. 10b). In fact, Zion will receive so much wealth from the nations, that the city will become a 24-hour-a-day receiving operation (*ywmm wlylh l’ ysgrw*; v. 11a). Verse 12 concludes the unit with a threat rendered in prose, which states that the nation or kingdom that does not serve Zion will perish.

Verse 13 is dominated by references to woods, which are collectively called the “glory of Lebanon” (*kbwd hlbnwn*; cf. Isa 35:2). The glory of Lebanon will add to the glory of Yhwh’s holy place. Verse 14 focuses its attention on the tributaries themselves. They will be made up of former oppressors, who will now come, “bowing” (*whlkw . . . šhwḥ . . . hšthww*). There may be an echo of the Joseph account in this verse. Joseph, whose brothers once also oppressed him eventually came to him bowing in humility (cf. Gen 42:6; 43:26, 28). The same root,  $\sqrt{hwh}$  (*hšthww*) is also used in Joseph’s dreams to describe how sheaves and astral bodies showed deference to him (see Gen 37:7, 9, 10). Alternatively, as Shalom Paul suggest, this verse may mark “the fulfillment of Isaac’s blessing to Jacob in Gen 27:29: “Let peoples serve you and

nations bow [*wyšṯḥw*] to you.”<sup>179</sup> Whether these literary allusions are intentional or not, v. 14 clearly envisions a remarkable reversal of fortune, one that is, at the very least, on par with the great reversal in the Joseph account: the oppressors of Zion become the servants of Zion. Not only will the city’s former enemies bow to Zion, they will also name the city, “City of Yhwh” and “Zion of the Holy One of Israel.” Both names acknowledge the special status of Zion and Israel and show deference to its patron deity.

The notion of Zion’s great reversal is amplified in vv. 15-18, which are held together by the term, *ṯḥt* (vv. 15, 17 [x4]) and by the general idea that Zion’s future would differ markedly from its past. Instead of (*ṯḥt*) being rejected, hated, and without visitors (v. 15), the poet imagines a Zion that would be the joy of generations (v. 15). And instead of being sucked dry by the imperial practices of other nations, she will suckle the milk of nations and be sustained by royal breasts (v. 16; cf. Isa 49:26b). Zion, the one-time victim, is changed into the all-time victor. By these signs, Zion will know that “I am Yhwh.” (v. 16). Verses 17-18 describe this great reversal in patently material terms. The formula goes like this: “Instead of [*ṯḥt*] X, I [Yhwh] will bring/give Y.” The formula breaks down in v. 17b, but the theme of reversal remains the focus. Peace and Righteousness will oversee Zion, and the fruits of their rule will be that the sounds of violence would never again torment the ears of Zion’s inhabitants again (v. 18a).

Verses 19-20 return to the theme of light and claim that the changes to Zion’s status will be so fundamental and so cosmic in scope that even the heavens themselves will change (cf. Ps 102:27). In this new age, the cosmos themselves are remade, such that the sun and moon are no longer needed, since Yhwh himself will be Zion’s light (cf. v. 2b, *w’lyk yzrḥ yhwh wkbwdw’lyk yr’h*). The start of this new dawn will chase away the shadow of Zion’s mourning (v. 20b).

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<sup>179</sup> Paul, *Isaiah 40-66*, 528.

Finally, vv. 21-22 end with extravagant promises: all of Zion's people will be righteous and will inherit the land forever; Yhwh, the divine gardener, will ensure that Zion grows into a glorious new planting (v. 21b); even the smallest will become a clan and the least a mighty nation. The chapter concludes with the following assurance: "I am Yhwh, at the proper time, I will hasten it" (v. 22b).

Chapter 61 readily divides into three units: vv. 1-3, 4-7, and 8-11. Verses 1-3 are a vocational report that describes the mission of the "prophet,"<sup>180</sup> whom I take to be the author of Isaiah 60-62\*—"Third Isaiah" proper, as it were. Numerous textual connections to the "Servant Songs" suggest that "sich der Sprecher von Jes 61,1-4 in der Tradition des Knechts sieht."<sup>181</sup> By identifying himself with the servant(s) of Second Isaiah, moreover, the anointed speaker also identifies himself as a "Nachfolger Deuterocesajas,"<sup>182</sup> who carries on in the spirit of his prophetic predecessor. The various aspects of the speaker's vocation are linked by a series of infinitive clauses that begin with *l-*, which provide information about the speaker's audience, the nature of his work, and the contents of his message. The unit concludes with the claim that, in light of the speaker's mission, his audience will be called "oaks of righteousness, a planting of

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<sup>180</sup> When I say, "prophet," I refer to a human intermediary who transmits allegedly divine messages (see Martti Nissinen, with Contributions by C.L. Seow and Robert K. Ritner, *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East*, 1). Prophecy refers to said messages. In the case of Isaiah 60-61, however, the prophecy involved is not oral, but almost certainly *schriftgelehrte Prophetie*. David Petersen writes, "The attitude toward the word of Yahweh and the indications of an exegetical enterprise in Trito-Isaiah suggest that we are now dealing with traditionists, preservers, and interpreters of authoritative traditions, rather than innovators in the use of Israel's religious past . . . Likewise, the prophetic traditionists were speaking from a different locus. They had become 'bookish,' if we may use that term, engaging in a more consciously literary activity than that of the classical Israelite prophet." He later refers to Trito-Isaiah as a "a reflective, literary-exegetical product. . ." (*Late Israelite Prophecy: Studies in Deutero-Prophetic Literature and in Chronicles* [SBLMS 23; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977], 25-26). Cf. Diethelm Michel, "Zur Eigenart Tritojesajas," *ThViat* 10 (1965/66): 213-30; and Lau (*Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 1994).

<sup>181</sup> Koenen, *Ethik und Eschatologie im Tritojesajabuch: eine literarkritische und redaktionsgeschichtliche Studie* (WMANT 62; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1990), 107. See also W.A.M. Beuken, "Servant and Herald of Good Tidings: Isaiah 61 as an Interpretation of Isaiah 40-55," *The Book of Isaiah = Le livre d'Isaïe : les oracles et leurs relectures unité et complexité de l'ouvrage* (ed. Jacques Vermeylen; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989), 411-42. A wide variety of proposals have been made regarding the identity of the speaker, not all of which can be discussed or evaluated here. For a helpful discussion of the various views, see Koenen, *Ethik und Eschatologie*, 103-104.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.* For this view, see also Childs, *Isaiah*, 505.

Yhwh to reveal splendor” (v. 3; cf. 60:21: *w ‘mk klm šdyqym . . . nšr mṭ ‘w*).<sup>183</sup> The vocation of the speaker is probably also structurally significant, as Blenkinsopp has recent noted—at least when considered in light of its present form in the MT:

We can take this further and suggest that the highly distinctive declaration of an anonymous prophet about his prophetic credentials and assignment in 61:1-3b has been placed deliberately in the center of 60-62—there are 44 verses (i.e., lines) preceding and 45 following this passage, or, to be more precise, there are 295 words preceding and 296 following it (I owe this calculation to D.N. Freedman). This gives us another a-b-a pattern within the larger scheme.<sup>184</sup>

Within the larger structure of this sequence of lyrical poems (at least in their present form in the MT), then, the vocation of the prophet is the central matter around which everything else oriented.<sup>185</sup>

Verses 4-7 turn abruptly to the sphere of the audience. These “oaks of righteousness” (v. 3b) will rebuild the ancient ruins and the former desolations (v. 4). The abrupt shift to the activities of the renewed community is matched by an equally abrupt shift from 3mp pronouns to 2mp pronouns in v. 5. As in Isaiah 60, the righteous community will continue to benefit from foreign labor and wealth (vv. 5, 6b). And in a stunning claim, “you” (mp)—TI’s audience—will be named “priests of Yhwh, ministers of our God” (v. 6a). The claim itself is quite remarkable and indicates a “revolutionary” view of the priesthood, as Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer has recently argued.<sup>186</sup> Verse 7 concludes the unit with the reversal of Zion’s fortunes: Instead of double shame, the audience will inherit double in their land, including everlasting joy.

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<sup>183</sup> Mark Gignilliat makes the helpful suggestion that Isaiah 61’s reference to the “oaks of righteousness” may be an attempt to defang “the sacred understanding of trees, reversing the primarily negative images of judgment observed in earlier portions of the book and reorienting the image to depict those consoled by the good news announced to them: mourners and poor rather than arrogant and proud.” See Mark Gignilliat, “Oaks of Righteousness for His Glory: Horticulture and Renewal in Isaiah 61,1-4,” *ZAW* 123 (2011): 404.

<sup>184</sup> Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 208.

<sup>185</sup> For similar comments, see Bradley C. Gregory, “The Postexilic Exile in Third Isaiah: Isaiah 61:1-3 in light of Second Temple Hermeneutics,” *JBL* 126 (2007): 479.

<sup>186</sup> See Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage: Post-Exilic Prophetic Critique of the Priesthood* (FAT 19; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 284. A similar view was expressed by Paul Hanson, who

In the third and final unit (vv. 8-11), two speeches dominate: one by Yhwh (vv. 8-9) and one by the anointed prophet whose vocational report opened this chapter (vv. 10-11).<sup>187</sup> This new act of salvation is grounded in the love of Yhwh for what is right (cf. Ps 37:28) and in his hatred for robbery-tainted burnt offerings. He will give his people their due and, in a promise reminiscent of Isa 55:3, will make with “them” (*lhm*) an eternal covenant (*bryt wlm*) (61:8).<sup>188</sup> As is the case in Isaiah 55, this new covenant has implications for Israel’s relationship to the nations. They will be renowned, and all who see them will take notice that they are a “seed” blessed by Yhwh (61:9; cf. esp. Isa 55:5).<sup>189</sup> 61:10-11 return to the voice of the anointed messenger in the form of praise (“I delight greatly in Yhwh,” 61:10).

### 2.3.7.2 Compositional History

In the wake of Bernhard Duhm, scholars generally agree that Isaiah 56-66 post-dates 40-55.<sup>190</sup> Three compositional models have arisen to explain the literary development of Isaiah 56-66<sup>191</sup>:

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claims that v. 6 was a “democratization” of the priesthood (see his, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975], 67-68).

<sup>187</sup> For this view, see also Lau, who argues that “Die erste Person wird wie in TrJes 61, 1ff. den Propheten selbst bezeichnen. Ein Subjektwechsel ist weder angezeigt noch nahegelegt...” Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 86-7. For a contrary view, see Pauritsch, who argues that v. 10 is directed toward an individual: “Für den Gesamthorizont des Kap. scheint die Einfügung von V. 10 eine Bestätigung dahingehend zu erbringen, daß es tatsächlich in der Intention des Propheten lag, zur speziellen Situation des Einzelnen ein Wort zu sagen und nicht, auf sein Berufsverständnis aufmerksam zu machen” (*Die neue Gemeinde*, 113).

<sup>188</sup> The wording is almost identical, and provides yet another piece of evidence that TI was a careful reader of DI. Isa 55:3b reads, *w’krth lkm bryt wlm*; Isa 61:8 reads, *wbryt wlm ’krwt lhm*. Apart from word order, then, the only difference is in the pronouns—“you” (*mp*) in Isaiah 55 and “them” in Isaiah 61.

<sup>189</sup> The frequent use of agricultural and botanical imagery may result from TI’s close relationship to DI. Lau, for instance, lists the following texts from DI that use *šmh* (“sprout”): Isa 42:9; 43:19; 44:4; 45:8. See *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 89n317. And in fact, agriculture is one of the Book of Isaiah’s favorite sources from which to draw imagery. In addition to the citations above, see Isa 5:1-7; 9:14; 10:33-34; 18:4-7; 27:2-6, 12-13; 37:30-32; 41:14-16, 17-20; 42:8-9; 43:19-20; 44:1-5; 51:1-3; 53:2; 58:11; 60:21-22; 61:1-3; 63:1-6.

<sup>190</sup> For Duhm’s statements about the dating of the various parts of 40-66, including 40-55 (and the so-called Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder: Isa 42:1-4; 49:1-6; 50:4-9; 52:13-53:12), and 56-66, see Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 14, 18-19. In addition, scholars often see the work of TI extending far beyond DI. See, e.g., the “Übersicht über die literarische Analyse von Jes 40-55” at the end of Elliger, *Deuterojesaja in seinem Verhältnis zu Tritojesaja*, 305-7. For other exceptionally helpful introductions to Isaiah 56-66, see, e.g., Walther Zimmerli, “Zur Sprache Tritojesajas,”

1. *Einheitshypothese*: According to this theory, apart from minimal additions, Isaiah 56-66 was written by one person. This theory is, as the title suggests, argues for the “Einheit” (oneness) or unity of the composition. Multiple dating schemes have been proposed, ranging from the time just before Nehemiah to the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BCE.<sup>192</sup>
2. *Fragmentenhypothese*: In this view, Isaiah 56-66 goes back to multiple writers, who are either closely situated chronologically or spread out over a long period of time—hence, the final chapters of TI were compiled from “Fragmenten” (fragments). The collection of Isaiah 56-66, then, is “das Ergebnis eines z.T. mehrstufigen Redaktionsprozessen.”<sup>193</sup>
3. *Ergänzungs- bzw. Fortschreibungshypothese*: Scholars in this third group place a heavy emphasis on redaction and editorial *supplementation* (“Ergänzung”). The assumptions

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*Schweizerische theologische Umschau* 20 (1950): 110-22; Brevard Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 321-25; and Koenen, *Ethik und Eschatologie im Tritojesajabuch*, 2.

<sup>191</sup> For this classification system, See Koenen, *Ethik und Eschatologie*, 2-7; Johannes Goldenstein, *Das Gebet der Gottesknechte: Jesaja 63,7-64,11 im Jesajabuch* (WMANT 92; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 2001), 2-8.

<sup>192</sup> Ben Sommer and Shalom Paul are important contemporary proponents of this view. See Benjamin D. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 187-95; Paul, *Isaiah 40-66*, 5-12. Sommer argues that a single prophetic figure (his “Deutero-Isaiah”) composed Isaiah 35, 40-66. He also helpfully calls attention to the neglected works of Yehezkel Kaufmann and Menahem Haran, both of whom argue for the unity of 40-66. See also, e.g., Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja*; Elliger, *Deuterojesaja in seinem Verhältnis zu Tritojesaja*, 267-72, 278-303; Zimmerli, “Zur Sprache Tritojesajas,” 110-22; Pierre E. Bonnard, *Le second Isaïe, son disciple et leurs éditeurs: Isaïe 40-66* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1972). Traditional proposals such as those of John Oswalt, who argues that *the entire book* (Isaiah 1-66) was composed by a single, 8<sup>th</sup> century prophet, none other than Isaiah of Jerusalem himself, might also be mention here. see John Oswalt *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 1-39* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986); *The Book of Isaiah. Chapters 40-66* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998).

<sup>193</sup> Goldenstein, *Das Gebet der Gottesknechte*, 3. For this view, see also Pauritsch, *Die neue Gemeinde*. He writes, “Die Frage der Einheitlichkeit mußten wir verneinen. Die Texte gehen auf mehrere Verfasser zurück, die großteils zwischen den Jahren 521-510 v. Chr. zu Wort gekommen sind. Nur 63,7-64,11 geht im Grundbestand auf die Zeit um 587 v. Chr. zurück. Über die Ein- und Zuordnung von 63,1-6 blieben starke Zweifel offen. Von einem ausschließlich kultischen ‚Sitz im Leben‘ der prophetischen Stücke kann ebenfalls keine Rede sein. Vielmehr ist ein starker Einfluß der Weisheitsschule zu verzeichnen. Ort der Verkündigung war Jerusalem” (ibid., 253). See also Thomas Kelly Cheyne, *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1895), xxx-xxxiii; Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66*. For additional citations see Goldenstein, *Das Gebet der Gottesknechte*, 3. Cf. also the reconstruction of Julian Morgenstern (“Two Prophecies from 520-516 B.C.,” 383-400) who argues for an Isa 60A and Isa 60B, which, in his own words, are the “antithesis” of one another (see ibid., 398).

that drive this compositional model are already at work in Claus Westermann's commentary.<sup>194</sup>

Without doubt, *Fortschreibungshypothese* are the most widely accepted compositional theories when it comes to Isaiah 56-66. Central to many versions of this hypothesis is the proposal that Isaiah 60-62 contains a core of material around which Isaiah 56-66 developed.<sup>195</sup>

Jacob Stromberg confirms these observations:

Two broadly agreed positions have emerged from the debate over the formation of TI. The first is that Isaiah 60-2 contains TI's earliest material, being a core around which later material was added. The second is that Isaiah 56:1-8 and 65-6 belong to its latest material, forming an intentional frame around the whole.<sup>196</sup>

But even in the midst of this consensus there is one lingering issue on which less agreement exists, and it is one that is central to my own project: Are there discernible stages of development within Isaiah 60-62? Answering this question, especially for chapters 60-61, is crucial for the present tradition-historical project, for, if editorial activity exists and is discernible, then such findings may prove significant for how one understands the development of the inherited material under investigation.

With the above as necessary background, I now present my own theory of the development of Isaiah 60-61. Many scholars have done the same, and their work will accompany my discussion throughout the chapter. The purpose of this section, however, is not to recount these theories in full, but rather to consult and interact with them in the course of laying out my own proposal.

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<sup>194</sup> See, e.g., Eberhard Sehmsdorf, "Studien zur Redaktionsgeschichte von Jesaja 56-66," ZAW 84 (1972): 517-76; Jacques Vermeylen, *Du prophétie Isaïe à l'apocalyptique* (2 vols; Paris); more recently, see idem, *Jérusalem centre du monde: Développements et contestations d'une tradition biblique* (Paris: Cerf, 2007) Steck, *Studien zu Tritojesaja*. Jacob Stromberg's excellent dissertation is the most recent iteration of this theory: see *Isaiah after Exile: The Author of Third Isaiah as Reader and Redactor of the Book* (Oxford Theological Monographs; Oxford: New York, 2011).

<sup>195</sup> See also Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, 296-308; Pauritsch, *Die neue Gemeinde*, 103-4; Koenen, *Ethik und Eschatologie*, 1-2.

<sup>196</sup> See Stromberg, *Isaiah after Exile*, 11

The first five units of Isaiah 60 (60:1-3, 4-5, 6-7, 8-9, 10-12) show some evidence of editorial reworking. This is most apparent in vv. 10-12. Steck suggests that the *Grundtext* of Isaiah 60 lacked verses 10-11 and v. 12.<sup>197</sup> His arguments are only partially convincing. In my view, v. 12 is secondary—a point accepted by many—but vv. 10-11 are part of the original poem. Steck's arguments deserve review, in part because they provide a helpful entrée to my own proposal, but also because that will allow me to juxtapose how sensitivity to a text's lyric nature can provide an alternative way of explaining textual features that are often used as evidence of redactional reworking.

First, concerning vv. 10-11, Steck wonders what place a rebuilt wall (see v. 10) has in this new Zion (cf. Zech 2:8-9):

So muß man schon fragen, welches Interesse speziell am Mauerbau innerhalb des Grundtextes Jes 60\* bestehen soll; von Bau-Aussagen im Blick auf Stadt und Tempel ist in diesem Text sonst jedenfalls nicht die Rede, die Stellung der Völker in dem Geschehen von Jes \*60, wie sie V.3.5ff.14.16a erfassen, macht einen Mauerschutz für das verherrlichte Jerusalem überflüssig – eine Erwartung wie Sach 2,8f läge in diesem Rahmen weit näher -, und um eine notwendige Ergänzung gegenüber der Vorgabe Jes 40-55 kann es sich auch nicht handeln, da Jes 49,16.17 (text. em.) bereits Entsprechendes bot.<sup>198</sup>

Here, Steck wonders what place the building of Zion's wall would have in the context of the *Grundtext* of Isaiah 60. Apparently, given the state of the nations in this depiction of the future,

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<sup>197</sup> His proposal for the secondary nature of these verses is part of a much broader thesis about the composition of Isaiah 60-62. As a first step, he claims that Isa 60:1-9, 13-16; 61:1-11 are the original Trito-Isaianic composition, which was composed between 515 B.C.E.-445 B.C.E. See Steck, *Studien zu Tritojesaja*, 15. This *Kern*, he argues, is based only on Deutero-Isaiah. Isa 60:10-11 and 62:1-7, which were added shortly after the composition of the original core, are somewhat later (middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. B.C.E). See *ibid.*, 18. Another layer, comprised of Isa 60:17-22 and 62:10-12, was developed with knowledge of Isaiah 1-39 and was added in the Hellenistic period. He calls this the "Heimkehrredaktion." In fact, 62:12 was the conclusion of a Hellenistic period edition of the whole book of Isaiah, which was at that time divided into three parts (Isaiah 1-11\*, 13-27\*, 28-62\*). More precisely, this edition ran from Isaiah 1:1-62:12\*. See his essay, "Jesaja 62,10-12 als Abschluß eines Großjesajabuches," in *Studien zu Tritojesaja*, 143-66. For a chart detailing Steck's theory, see *ibid.*, 278-9. And for a sketch of Steck's elaborate compositional hypothesis for Isaiah 60, see *ibid.*, 3-45, 49-79. See also the concise presentations in Koenen, *Ethik und Eschatologie*, 18; Goldenstein, *Das Gebet der Gottesknechte*, 4-5; and H.G.M. Williamson, Review of Odil Hannes Steck, *Studien zu Tritojesaja*, VT 45 (1995): 428-9.

<sup>198</sup> See Steck, *Studien zu Tritojesaja*, 66-67.

Zion had no need for the protection afforded by walls. Second, Steck draws attention to a temporal contradiction:

V. 10 an seinem Ort in Jes \*60 macht gegenüber dem Voraufgehenden nur Sinn, wenn der Aspekt der Völkerbewegung auf Zion zu mit V. 9 gleichsam zum Abschluß gekommen ist und nun die Leistung der angekommenen Völker *in* Zion in Blick genommen wird. Dem widerspricht jedoch V. 11, der die Tore in den Mauern dem in V.5-9 leitenden Aspekt fortdauernden Zustroms der Völker mit ihren Schätzen nach Zion zuordnet. Der Zielaspekt der ganzen Bewegung auf Zion zu, der die Leistung der angekommenen Völker für die Ausstattung Zions auf Dauer erfaßt, wird erst V. 16a formuliert, der entsprechend eine Spannung zu der Aussage V.10aß (die Könige werden Zion bedienen) bildet.<sup>199</sup>

Third, according to Steck, a number of literary features are common to vv. 6-9, 13 that are not as readily found in vv. 10-11. For instance, vv. 6-9 (and esp. vv. 6, 7, 9) and v. 13 cohere structurally around four topics:<sup>200</sup>

Topic <sup>201</sup>	v. 6	v. 7	vv. 8-9	v. 13
The state/condition/manner of those who come	the multitude of camels coming to Zion	numerous flocks and rams come to Zion	Vessels come quickly (v. 8) and in large numbers.	The coming of "splendor"
The origin of those who come	Saba	Kedar and Nebaioth	Islands and Tarshish	Lebanon
Their concrete contribution(s)	gold and incense	their animals ascend "my altar"	Zion's children, silver, and gold	Trees of various types
The theological contribution of their coming	They declare the praises of Yhwh	They contribute to worship at Zion and Yhwh declares that he will beautify his house	"for the name of Yhwh . . ."	To adorn the sanctuary

Steck further observes that the reference to ships in v. 9 fits nicely with the reference to the trees of Lebanon in v. 13, which are (historically speaking) transported by water (cf. 1 Kgs 5:22-23; 2 Chr 2:15).<sup>202</sup> These features suggest to Steck that vv. 10-11 are not part of the *Grundtext* but have only been secondarily added—according to him, again, around the middle of the fifth

<sup>199</sup> Ibid., 67.

<sup>200</sup> The contents of the chart are Steck's, but the tabular interpretation and organization of them are my own.

<sup>201</sup> For these topics, see *ibid.*, 60-61.

<sup>202</sup> Steck, *Studien zu Tritojesaja*, 67.

century. B.C.E., shortly after the composition of the original Trito-Isaianic core (Isa 60:1-9, 13-16; 61:1-11).<sup>203</sup>

Many of the literary features Steck interprets as redactional have an equally if not more convincing explanation that is rooted in the text's nature as lyric poetry. This critique of Steck's proposal is particularly apt with respect to his use of the temporal aspects of the poem as bases for determining redactional activity. If one understands that lyric poetry is *episodic, not linear*, then Steck's argument loses a good deal of force from the very start. Steck's observations are based upon the problematic—but nonetheless pervasive—assumption that poetry should play by the rules of narrative (e.g., sequence, linearity, etc). But, as discussed above, if Isaiah 60 is in fact lyric poetry, then such rules would be largely irrelevant.<sup>204</sup> Lyric permits a freedom to explore a subject from a variety of angles. Tiemeyer has lodged a similar complaint:

Steck's observations are correct. However, I cannot accept his view. His conclusion is based on, what is for him, the contradictory content of verses 9 and 10-11, and as such is not convincing for the simple reason that the author of Isa 60-62 wrote poetry rather than a chronologically correct outline of the transport of treasures and foreign kings to Jerusalem from abroad.<sup>205</sup>

Furthermore, Steck contends that the walls would have no place in a composition about the eschatological future of Zion. But this does not account for the fact that, just as fallen walls were a sign of Jerusalem's judgment (see, e.g. Lam 2:8), raised walls would have been a sign of her salvation (see Isa 54:11-12). What's more, Isaiah 49:16 famously claims that "your walls are ever before me." Walls were a sign of the proper exercise of kingship and were often the object

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<sup>203</sup> For Tiemeyer's discussion of Steck's argument for the secondary nature of vv. 10-11, see Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 68-69.

<sup>204</sup> <sup>204</sup> Smith makes a similar comment but with respect to Steck's views on 62:10-12: "Third, this approach suggests a strict logical progression which may not be appropriate to the material, an argument which also applies to Steck's view that vv. 10-12 should have referred to the renaming of the land as well as the city, and that Jerusalem's further renaming in v. 12 is evidence of secondary or redactional activity." See P.A. Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah: The Structure, Growth, and Authorship of Isaiah 56-66* (VTSup 62; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 34.

<sup>205</sup> Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 68.

of adoration. So, for example, in Tablet 1 of the Standard Babylonian edition of the Gilgamesh Epic, the following lines linger lovingly over the glorious walls of Uruk:

See its wall, which is like a copper band  
 Survey its battlements, which nobody else can match . . .  
 Go up to the wall of Uruk and walk around!  
 Inspect the foundation platform and scrutinize the brickwork!  
 Testify that its bricks are baked bricks,  
 and that the Seven Counselors [Seven Sages] must have laid its foundations.<sup>206</sup>

Psalm 48 is similar in its fixation on Jerusalem's fortifications:

Tour Zion,  
     circle her.  
  
 Number her towers,  
     take note of her ramparts;  
  
 pass through her citadels,  
     so that you may recount it to a future generation (Ps 48:13-14)

Given this fascination with city walls, especially in poetry within or closely related to the Zion tradition, it is altogether unremarkable that the poem depicts Zion with walls in representations of an ideal future (cf. also Rev 21:9-27 on the general point).

Finally, Steck contends, that there are structural features that are common to vv. 6-9, 13 but absent from vv. 10-11, suggesting to him that vv. 10-11 are secondary (see the chart above). And yet, the tidiness of this presentation of the data obscures a number of problems. Concerning Steck's first category of v. 13, which deals with the manner or condition of the trek to Zion, v. 13 does not actually describe what he says it does. That is, whereas vv. 6, 7, and 9 all describe either the large numbers or the speed with which the nations come, v. 13 simply says that "*kbwd hlnwn* will come to you." The phrase, *kbwd hlnwn*, is shorthand for the list of trees that follows but it says nothing about the manner, condition, or numerical abundance of what is

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<sup>206</sup> For this translation, see Stephanie Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia: Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh and Others* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 50.

brought to Zion. This suggests that Steck's pattern is not quite as consistent as he implied.

Moreover, colometric data suggests that vv. 6-9, 13 accord well with vv. 10-11. In fact, in vv. 6-13, v. 12 is the only colometrically anomalous verse, and most agree that it is secondary (see below).<sup>207</sup>

Verse	Translation	Colometric Analysis
v. 6a	A multitude of camels will cover you, <sup>208</sup> the young camels of Midian and Ephah; they will all come from Sheba.	13/13/11
v. 6b	Gold and frankincense they will bear, and they will make known the praises of Yhwh	13/14
v. 7a	Every flock of Kedar will be gathered for you, the rams of Nebaioth will minister to you. <sup>209</sup>	15/16
v. 7b	They will ascend my altar acceptably, <sup>210</sup> and I will beautify my beautiful house.	15/14
v. 8	Who are these that fly like a cloud, like doves to their cotes? <sup>211</sup>	15/16

<sup>207</sup> Isa 60:9cγ (“because he has beautified you”) is rather short (6 consonants) and may be secondary. Apart from its curtness, however, there is no evidence of it being of a secondary nature.

<sup>208</sup> The image here is odd and difficult to interpret. What does it mean that camels will cover “you,” the city of Zion? The TNK goes too far in reading, “Dust clouds of camels shall cover you.” Rather, *tksk* (“it will cover you”) is probably used in v. 6 as it is in Exod 16:13: “And in the evening, the quail came up and covered [*wtk*s] the camp, and in the morning, there was a layer of dew surrounding the camp.” Quail are not covering *over* the camp, so as to make it invisible, but inundating it in such a way that they can be found throughout the encampment. A similar usage is probably in play in Isa 60:6.

<sup>209</sup> Commentators are often troubled by the phrase, *yly nbywt yšrtwnk*. What does it mean for “rams” to minister to Zion/Zion’s inhabitants? Isaiah 60:10 uses the same verbal form but with kings as the subject: “their kings will serve you” (*yšrtwnk*) (60:10). The verses are too far apart to explain the anomaly as the result of a copying error. In my view, there are no textual errors to be found here. Use of the term may have been prompted by cultic themes found elsewhere in the oracle (notice *mzbhy* in 7b). Lau (*Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 44) suggests that the eschatological context provides an explanation. What he means by this, however, and how it should affect one’s interpretation of the verse is not entirely clear to me.

<sup>210</sup> The place of the preposition in the phrase, *y’lw ’l ršwn mzbhy*, is admittedly awkward. IQIsa<sup>a</sup> reads *wy’lw lršwn ’l mizbhy*. IQIsa<sup>b</sup> lacks a preposition altogether: *y’lw ršwn mzbhy*. Syntactically, it utilizes the accusative of manner (see Ronald Williams and John C. Beckman, *Williams’ Hebrew Syntax* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007], §60). In MT, it is possible to read *’l* according to its “normative” function, as the translators of the NET do (see, e.g., Williams and Beckman, *Williams’ Hebrew Syntax*, §290; Bruce K. Waltke and M. O’Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* [Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990], 11.2.13e). Within cultic contexts, however, */l-/* is clearly the preferred preposition (see, e.g., Lev 1:3; 19:5; 22:19, 20, 21, etc.). As the more difficult reading, MT should be retained, and IQIsa<sup>a</sup>, which uses */l-/* instead of *’l*, probably reflects an attempt to correct *’l* to the more standard idiom.

<sup>211</sup> The OG diverges from the MT in the last part of the verse. MT reads, *wkywnym ’l ’rbtyhm* (“and like doves to their cotes.”) OG, however, reads, *καὶ ὡς περιστερὰὶ σὺν νεοσσοῖς* (“and as doves with younglings with them”). The OG’s divergence from the extant Hebrew sources, however, is probably not because of a variant in the *Vorlage*, but rather, because of the translator’s free interpretive style. Perhaps the emphasis on children in v. 4 suggested this interpretation.

v. 9a	Marine vessels <sup>212</sup> of the islands wait, and the ships of Tarshish are at the head,	11/17
v. 9b	to bring your <sup>213</sup> sons from afar, their silver and their gold with them,	14/12
v. 9c	for the name of Yhwh your God, and for the Holy One of Israel, because he has beautified you.	12/17
v. 10a	Foreigners will rebuild your walls, and their kings will minister to you.	15/14
v. 10b	Certainly, in my wrath I struck you, but in my favor, I will have compassion on you.	13/13
v. 11a	Your gates will remain open continually; day and night they will not be shut,	14/16
v. 11b	to allow <sup>214</sup> the wealth of nations to come to you, with their kings being led. <sup>215</sup>	16/13
v. 12	[For the nation or the kingdom that does not serve you will perish; <sup>216</sup> the nations will most certainly be turned to ruins.] <sup>217</sup>	Prose
v. 13a	The glory of Lebanon will come to you, cypress, conifer tree, <sup>218</sup> and box tree all together,	18/18
v. 13b	to adorn the place of my sanctuary, and I will glorify the place of my feet.	13/13

<sup>212</sup> Follow BDB in reading *kly* (“marine vessels of”). Cf. Isa 18:2 (*wbkly gm’*). This makes better sense in light of the parallel term, *w’nywt* (“and ships”). See also, Morgenstern, “Two Prophecies from 520-516 B.C.,” 397; Paul, *Isaiah 40-66*, 525. Cf. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 46-47n109.

<sup>213</sup> 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> reads “my sons” (*bny*), rather than the MT’s *bynk* (“your sons”). 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> agrees with MT as do the Targum and OG (τὰ τέκνα σου). Perhaps the eye of the copyist dropped to v. 10, which reads, “And foreigners [*bny nkr*] will build your walls, and their kings will minister to you,” and mistakenly wrote *bny* instead of *bnyk*. Technically, however, both *bny* and *bnyk* are comprehensible in this context.

<sup>214</sup> The H stem can denote permission. See Waltke and O’Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, §27.5b.

<sup>215</sup> All of the MSS read a passive verb (*nhwgym*, “being led”). Cf. OG’s *καὶ βασιλεῖς ἀγομένουσ*. Since Duhm’s monumental commentary, however, it has been popular to make the passive participle active. See Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 450. See also the detailed discussion in Koole, *Isaiah III*, 240-41. Given the weight of the manuscript evidence, and the fact that the text is perfectly readable as it stands, I see no need to follow Duhm on this matter.

<sup>216</sup> *h+gwym* is probably anaphoric (see Waltke and O’Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, §13.5.2d), referring back to *hgwy whmmlkh* in the first part of the verse. Koole understands the article in the same way (*Isaiah III*, 242). This interpretation of the syntax has significant redaction-critical ramifications. For a discussion, see below. Waltke and O’Connor provide the following English example of anaphorism: “I saw a man. The man [i.e., the one from the previous sentence] was tall.”

<sup>217</sup> V. 12, which is probably an addition (see 3.3.2 below), clearly has an extra-long line that is almost certainly prose. Even if one tries to divide v. 12 into parallel lines—which doesn’t work well at all—what comes out at the other end is extremely unbalanced (29/14), suggesting an editorial addition.

<sup>218</sup> 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> agrees with MT on most points, but instead of *tdhr* with /d/ it reads *trhr* with /r/. *trhr* is used only here in the Qumranic corpus and is never found in the HB. *tdhr*, however, is attested one other time in the Hodayot (see 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI 6). Given the evidence, the anomalously written /r/ in 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> is probably a poorly written /d/.

In short, while Steck has noticed a number of regularities in vv. 6-9, 13, and irregularities in vv. 10-11, the variations he detects are just as explicable—indeed more easily explicable—as part of the poetic nature of the text, which freely moves between concepts, images, and ideas; they need not be seen as the result of redactional reworking.

Steck also argues for the secondary nature of v. 12, a point which seems more certain on a number of levels. Indeed, many scholars agree that v. 12 is a secondary addition to Isaiah 60, and it is often proposed that the addition was made under the influence of Zech 14:16-19.<sup>219</sup> These judgments are typically based on the observations that v. 12 has a number of prosaic features (note the use of the definite article [3x] and the relative particle, *šr* [1x])<sup>220</sup> and that its contents are incongruent with the larger context.<sup>221</sup> To these comments, one might add that the

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<sup>219</sup> See, e.g., Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 450; Cheyne, *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*, 337-8; Fohrer, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 3:230; Seizo Sekine, *Die Tritojesajanische Sammlung (Jes 56-66) redaktionsgeschichtlich untersucht* (BZAW 175: Berlin: De Gruyter, 1989), 70; Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66*, 235; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 215, etc. Paul Hanson, however, objects to the suggestion that v. 12 is secondary. His solution is to emend the text so as to make it fit a 3:3 metrical scheme. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 51, 56-57. This argument has not generated much support.

<sup>220</sup> It is widely accepted that the definite article and the relative particle are typical of prose and not poetry, especially early poetry. But this is not a hard and fast rule that can be applied mechanically. See, e.g., the helpful statistical analysis in David Noel Freedman, “Another Look at Biblical Poetry,” in *Directions in Biblical Hebrew Poetry* (ed. Elaine R. Follis; JSOTSup 40; Sheffield: JSOT, 1987), 11-28. The definite article is found elsewhere in Isaiah 60 (see v. 13, v. 17, 22), but the relative particle is found nowhere else in Isaiah 60 (but see 62:2, 8).

<sup>221</sup> For instance, Steck writes, “Sicher muß man der weitverbreiteten Ansicht zustimmen, daß V. 12 nicht zum Grundtext von Jes 60 gehört. Die beiden immer wieder vorgebrachten Hauptargumente sind zwingend: Der Prosa-Vers fügt sich nicht zur metrischen Gestaltung seines Kontextes und die Ausnahme, die V. 12a berücksichtigt, ganz und gar nicht zu dem Sachgefälle von 60,1-3 - die dort durch die eschatologische Erscheinung des Kabod Jahwes bewirkte, weltweit sichtbare Verherrlichung Zions (60,1-2) ist unwiderstehlich und hat zwangsläufig den Aufbruch der Völkerwelt nach Zion zur Folge (60,3)” (*Studien zu Tritojesaja*, 49). Or, Blenkinsopp notes, “The prose gloss (v 12), referring back to the *gōyyîm* and their kings in the previous verse, embodies a more polarized and intransigent idea of judgment. It is a kind found throughout the prophetic corpus...” Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 215. To these arguments, Lau adds the observation that “kingdom,” (*hamamlākāh*), *šbd*, and *šbd* are found nowhere else in TI (see his *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie*, 52). These observations about vocabulary are interesting but problematic, given the fact that the Trito-Isaianic corpus is so small. For additional arguments for v.12's secondary nature, see Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 23. See also Pauritsch, *Die neue Gemeinde*, 120; Strawn, “A World under Control,” 107 n.23.

Scholars often draw a comparison between 60:12 and the Aramaic gloss in Jer 10:11, noting the similarities in vocabulary and content:

Isa 60:12: *ky hgwy whmmlkh šr l' y'bdwk y'bdw whgwym ḥrb yḥrbw.*

Jer 10: 11: *kdnh t'mrwn lhwm 'lhy' dy šmy' w'rq' l' 'bdw y'bdw m'r' wmn tḥwt šmy' 'lh.*

line is difficult, if not impossible, to divide into parallel lines. Jacques Vermeylen's comments are representative :

La plupart des commentateurs tiennent – avec raison – *Is.*, LX, 12 pour une addition. En effet, la perspective générale du chapitre n'est pas l'extermination des peuples païens, comme ici, mais leur conversion ; pas plus que dans la représentation de la ruée des peuples hostiles à Jérusalem , il n'y a place pour une quelconque exception, pour un quelconque refus. De plus, le verset est écrit en prose. Avec. C. Westermann, nous pouvons rapprocher cette addition des compléments de style apocalyptique insérés au chapitre LXVI (voir *infra*) ; voir également *Za.*, XIV, 16-18.<sup>222</sup>

Verse 12, in Vermeylen's view, clashes significantly with the rest of the poem, not only because it seems to be prosaic, but also because of how it perceives the role of foreigners. Westermann connects its negative view of insubordinate foreign nations with the “latest strands in chs. 56-66,” which include Isa 63:1-6, the text featuring the “treader” of the wine-press.<sup>223</sup> Moreover, Steck has gone so far as to divide v. 12 into two redactional additions (12a/12b). Steck's argument begins with the observation that 12a is dependent on Jer 27:8-10.

Isa 60: 12a:

*ky hgwy whmmlkh 'šr l' y 'bdwk y 'bdw*

Jer 27:8-10:

8: *whyh hgwy whmmlkh 'šr l' y 'bdw 'tw 't nbwkdn 'šr mlk bbl w 't 'šr l' ytn 't šw 'rw b 'l mlk bbl bħrb wbr 'b wbdbr 'pqd 'l hgwy hhw 'n 'm yhwh 'd tmy 'tm bydw*

9: *w 'tm 'l tšm 'w 'l nby 'ykm w 'l qsmym w 'l hlmtym w 'l 'nnykm w 'l kšpykm 'šr hm 'mrym 'lykm l 'mr l' 't 'bdw 't mlk bbl*

10: *ky šqr hm nb 'ym lkm lm 'n hrh̄yq 'tkm m 'l 'dmtkm whd̄ty 'tkm w 'bdtm.*

He understands v. 12a to be an eschatological reversal (*Umkehrung*) of Jeremiah 27: “Jahwes Ahndung verweigerter Unterwerfung vor Nebukadnezar, die einst auch Juda einschloß, gilt jetzt zugunsten Zions.”<sup>224</sup> Verse 12b (*whgwym ħrb yħrbw*), in his view, is a later gloss, which may be an attempt to harmonize Isaiah 60 with Isa 63:1-6 (cf. 2 Kgs 19:17; Isa 34:2-4, 10; 37:18).

<sup>222</sup> Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe à l'apocalyptique*, 2:474.

<sup>223</sup> Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, 305. Steck agrees with this evaluation. Steck, *Studien zu Tritojesaja*, 50.

<sup>224</sup> Steck, *Studien zu Tritojesaja*, 50.

The general argument for the secondary nature of v. 12 is convincing. I take issue, however, Steck's subdivision of v. 12 into two additions—12a and 12b. His argument is based in large part on the assumption that the definite article attached to *gwym* in 12b (i.e., *h+gwym*) is a reference to “alle Völker” the world round.<sup>225</sup> But this interpretation leaves unconsidered the possibility that the definite article is *anaphoric*—referring back to *hgwy whmmlkh* (“the nation and the kingdom”). Read in this way, v. 12b is an integral part of the verse,<sup>226</sup> and is not simply a gloss that is tagged on to v. 12a. Apart from this minor contention, however, I see no need to challenge the prevailing opinion that v. 12 is a later addition. And in fact, this particular redactional observation is an important one for the current project, since it specifically concerns the coming of the nations to Zion.

The first bicolon of v. 14 has probably undergone some editing.<sup>227</sup> This proposal finds support on both colometric and text-critical grounds.<sup>228</sup> Text-critically, the OG seems to assume a much shorter text than one finds in the MT:

καὶ πορεύσονται πρὸς σὲ δεδαικότες  
 υἱοὶ ταπεινωσάντων σε καὶ παροξυνάντων σε

They will come to you fearing<sup>229</sup>,  
 the sons of those who humbled you and provoked you.

MT, on the other hand, reads as follows (Words in the MT that have correspondences in OG are underlined. Plusses are not underlined):<sup>230</sup>

<sup>225</sup> He writes, “Wie ist es zu der seltsamen Glosse gekommen, daß »die«, also doch wohl alle Völker der Zerstrümmerung anheimfallen werden? Mann kann an einen harmonisierenden Ausgleich von Jes 60 mit Jes 63,1-6 denken – nachdem die Schätze der Völker in Zion sind (60,11), wird die Völkerwelt ihr in 63,1-6 geweihsagtes Schicksal ereilen...” (ibid., 50).

<sup>226</sup> For this use of the definite article, see Waltke and O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, §13.5.2

<sup>227</sup> Cf. Pauritsch, *Die neue Gemeinde*, 120.

<sup>228</sup> But Sekine argues that the OG suggests that its Vorlage was lacking *hšthww 'l kpwrt rglyk kl*. I argue above, however, that the OG's divergence from MT has nothing to do with the Vorlage but rather with the freer style of the Greek translator. See Sekine, *Die Tritojesajanische Sammlung (Jes 56-66) redaktionsgeschichtlich untersucht*, 70-71.

<sup>229</sup> The reference to fear is no doubt the Greek translator's interpretation of the Hebrew term, *šhwh* (“bowing”).

*whlkw 'lyk šhwh bny m 'nyk*  
*whšthww 'l kpwt rglyk kl mn 'syk*

The sons of those who afflicted you will come to you prostrate, (21)  
 all those who spurned you, bowing at the soles of your feet. (26)

From the perspective of parallelism, the MT's version achieves greater balance. I suggest that OG reflects the older reading and that MT, which is also reflected in the Qumran MSS, reflects a later, expanded version of the verse. Furthermore, the expansive nature of v. 14a (MT) explains the anomalous length of this bicolon when compared to the verses in the surrounding context:

- v. 10a (15/14)
- v. 10b (13/13)
- v. 11a (14/16)
- v. 11b (16/13)
- v. 13a (18/18)
- v. 13b (13/13)
- v. 14a (21/26)
- v. 14b (14/13)
- v. 15a (13/14)
- v. 15b (15/11)

Using the OG to reconstruct the Hebrew *Vorlage*, the original colometric count would have been 13/15, a count which accords quite well with the surrounding lines:

*whlkw 'lyk šhwh*  
*bny m 'nyk [w]mn 'syk*

Text-critical and colometric evidence, then, suggests that v. 14a\* was part of the original poem and was expanded at some later point.

Finally, I want to argue that vv. 17-22 are part of the original poem. Many scholars agree on the originality of vv. 15-16.<sup>231</sup> Concerning the originality of vv. 17-22, however, two particular arguments are important to engage. The first concerns Steck's proposal that all of vv.

<sup>230</sup> 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> reads an additional *kl* before *bny m 'nyk*. 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> = MT.

<sup>231</sup> Steck, e.g., Pauritsch, *Die neue Gemeinde*, 120; Steck, *Studien zu Tritojesaja*, 49-79; Koenen, *Ethik und Eschatologie im Tritojesajabuch*, 248.

17-22 are a later addition. The second argument is offered by those scholars who see only vv. 19-20 as secondary. While there will be significant overlap, the two arguments are sufficiently distinct as to warrant separate treatments.

Steck proposes that vv. 17-22 are secondary additions to 60:1-16 and 61:1-11. He provides the following reasons:

1. In v. 17a, it is Yhwh, no longer the nations, who brings wealth to Zion.<sup>232</sup>
2. He then asks, “Warum müssen auf diese unterschiedliche Weise Gold (V.6b.9aβ bzw. V.17aα) und Silber (V.9aβ. bzw. V.17aα) zweimal nach Zion gebracht werden?”<sup>233</sup>
3. Steck argues that vv. 17-22 are dependent upon Isaiah 1-39 and that vv. 1-16\* were not aware of these chapters.<sup>234</sup>

These arguments have recently been questioned by Smith. Concerning the first point, Smith rightly notes that “it seems artificial to separate off vv. 17-22 because God brings riches to Zion in vv. 17-22. This only constitutes a more direct statement of what is implied in the preceding verses.”<sup>235</sup> A similar multidimensional view of divine agency seems to exist elsewhere in the poem. In vv. 1-3, for instance, Zion both *shines* (v. 1a) and is *shined upon* by Yhwh (v. 2b). Or in v. 13a, the prophet claims that the glory of Lebanon will come “to you.” But then 13b claims that “I [Yhwh] will glorify the place of my feet.” This verse blurs the lines between divine and human action. But such literary ambiguity need not be seen as a smoking gun for editorial reworking. Similar phenomena are present outside of Isaiah 60. For instance, in Lam 2:16, the enemies of Zion claim “We have devoured, this is surely the day which we have waited for...” But most of the lines prior to this attribute the destruction of Jerusalem to Yhwh (see esp. vv. 1-9), with very few references to human intermediaries (but see v. 7). Following Steck’s reasoning, we should assume that this shift in agency is evidence of redactional development—one layer in

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<sup>232</sup> Steck, *Studien zu Tritojesaja*, 51.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>235</sup> Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction*, 31.

which Yhwh is the actor and another layer in which the human enemies of Zion are the actors. While such a scenario is certainly possible. These shifts in perspective are insufficient grounds for separating vv. 17-22 from the rest of the poem. A better explanation is that the poem simply represents the subject matter from multiple angles.

Concerning Steck's second point, in which he wonders why gold and silver are brought multiple times to Jerusalem, it is certainly "wooden" (to use Smith's term) to argue that this repetition results from the secondary nature of v. 17. Smith rightly points out that

60:1-16 is itself full of repetition of both themes and vocabulary. Thus, the theme of the glorification of God's house is repeated between vv. 7 and 13, and the theme of Zion's sons coming from afar appears in both vv. 4 and 9. Within 60:1-2 the theme of the glory of Yahweh is repeated, as is the reference to the kings and nations in vv. 3 and 16. In terms of vocabulary, the chapter again attests a considerable amount of repetition (e.g., אור [vv. 1, 3]; פאר [vv. 7, 9, 13]; קבץ [vv. 4, 7]). Given this repetition of themes and vocabulary within vv. 1-16, Steck's criterion does not provide a basis for separating off vv. 17-22.<sup>236</sup>

Repetition is a dubious basis on which to build a redaction-critical argument, especially when the entire poem is marked by the repetition of both themes and vocabulary. What's more, repetition may in fact be a way of leaving the reader with a particular image or impression.<sup>237</sup> The rhetorical and poetic functions of repetition should be considered before any redaction-critical options are even considered. A more convincing explanation is that the poem simply employs repetition as part of the rhetorical and poetic fabric of the composition. Additionally, Steck also misses the fact that the conveyance of gold and silver to Zion in vv. 6, 9 is not *repeated* in v. 17, but rather *intensified*. In vv. 6 and 9 the nations are clearly the ones responsible for bringing the wealth and goods of the nations to Zion. In v. 17, however, Yhwh brings the gifts. Above I

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<sup>236</sup> Ibid., 31-32.

<sup>237</sup> By way of analogy, Strawn has argued that the repetition of key deuteronomic words (e.g., "keep/observe" [šmr], "do" [šh], and "listen/hear/obey" [šm ʾ]), "functions to leave the reader—or, perhaps better, the hearer—of the book with a few key items in mind." See ("Keep/Observe/Do—Carefully—Today! The Rhetoric of Repetition in Deuteronomy," in *A God So Near: Essays on Old Testament Theology in Honor of Patrick D. Miller* [Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003], 216-17).

referred to this maneuver as a shift in perspective, and it remains so; but it is also an intensification. Yhwh himself will bring the nations wealth to Zion. This is no minor point, for Alter has shown that intensification is an important feature of Hebrew poetry, and in my view, it provides a better explanation for the recurrent themes in vv. 6, 9, and 17.<sup>238</sup> For additional comments on intensification in Hebrew poetry, see my discussion of 60:19-20 below.

Finally, concerning the third point, in which Steck sees a sharp break between vv. 1-16\* and 17-22, Smith (relying on the work of Michael Fishbane and G.T. Sheppard) shows that vv. 1-16 may also show familiarity with Isaiah 1-39.<sup>239</sup> Additionally, Smith also notes that  $\sqrt{\text{š}h\text{h}}$  (Isa 60:14) also appears in First Isaiah (Isa 2:9, 11, 17; 25:12; 26:5; 29:4). All of the above weaken Steck's argument considerably. In my judgment, there is no need to posit that vv. 17-20 are secondarily added.<sup>240</sup>

Numerous commentators, many of whom do not follow Steck in assigning all of vv. 17-22 to a later redactor, nonetheless think that vv. 19-20 are secondary.<sup>241</sup> The agreement surrounding these verses is due, in part, to the fact that these verses develop and (apparently) move beyond the themes in vv. 1-3. Vermeulen is a prime example of this view:

Ces versets infléchissent le discours dans un sens nouveau. Déjà, C. Westermann soulignait que les vv. 19-20 interprètent le thème de la lumière de Yahvé (vv. 1-3) comme si cette lumière n'était autre que Yahvé lui-même, qui prendrait ainsi la place du soleil et de la lune; le salut prend une dimension cosmique (ou antiastrolâtrique) absente

<sup>238</sup> Alter, *The Art of Biblical Poetry*, 62-84

<sup>239</sup> E.g., Michael Fishbane writes that "many later prophecies appear to be literal reapplications of earlier Isaianic hopes and promises (especially compare Isa 60:1-2, 17-18 with 9:1, 3; 60:1, 5, 9, 14, 17 with 2:3, 5, 7, 10; and 62:10-12 with 11:9)." "Revelation and Tradition: Aspects of Inner-Biblical Exegesis," *JBL* 99 (1980): 355; Cf. Gerald T. Sheppard, "The Anti-Assyrian Redaction and the Canonical Context of Isaiah 1-39," *JBL* 104 (1985): 212.

<sup>240</sup> Smith dedicates several pages to addressing this problem. At the core of his criticism, however, is that this kind of argument fails to account for the fact that "a poet might draw upon more than one tradition within the confines of a given poem. As a means of delimiting the primary units of material and the redactional additions within a text this method appears highly suspect" (*Rhetoric and Redaction*, 16).

<sup>241</sup> Admittedly, the first bicolon in v. 19 is uneven (24/17), whereas the rest of the cola in vv. 19-20 are more or less regular with respect to the rest of Isaiah 60\*. This unevenness is probably due to the addition in the first colon of the possessive phrases, *yhyh lk*, which may have been added in light of *whyh lk yhwh l'wr 'wlm* in the second bicolon of v. 19. Removal of *yhyh lk* from the first colon of v. 19 restores the line to 17/17, rather than 24/17. Colometry alone, however, is insufficient evidence on which to build an argument..

du reste du chapitre. On rapprochera ces. vv. 19-20 d'Is. XXIV,23, texte dont nous avons montré les liens avec l'apocalyptique.<sup>242</sup>

For Vermeulen, these shifts in emphasis are justification enough to posit the secondary nature of vv. 19-20. To be sure, blatant contradiction could be taken as a *possible* sign of editorial intervention, though not necessarily so. In point of fact, however, vv. 19-20 do not contradict vv. 1-3 at all. Rather, they *develop* and *intensify* them by propelling the astral imagery of vv. 1-3 into a higher register. But is this register shift not exactly what one expects from Hebrew poetry? Robert Alter has suggested that “structures of intensification” and a “logic of hyperbole” are important aspects of Hebrew poetry, both in monitory poems and in poems of comfort.<sup>243</sup> In the case of the former, the “logic of hyperbole leads monitory poetry ultimately to imagine the historical world turned back into primal chaos,” and in the case of the latter, this tendency “leads to a vision of history and nature transformed into harmonious order, unending fulfillment.”<sup>244</sup> He notes further,

The monitory poems of the prophets are dominated by images of wasteland, uprooting and burning, darkness, enslavement and humiliation, stripping of garments, divorce and sexual abandoning, earthquake and storm. The poems of consolation are dominated by images of flourishing vineyards and fields, planting and building, shining light, liberation and regal dignity, splendid garb, marital reconciliation and sexual union, firm foundations and calm.<sup>245</sup>

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<sup>242</sup> Vermeulen, *Du Prophète Isaïe à l'Apocalyptique*, 477. Westermann, in his argument for the secondary nature of vv. 19-20, refers to “a series of apocalyptic additions to the oracles of salvation . . . found only in chs. 60-66 (60.19f., 65.17, 25; 66.20, 22ff.)” (*Isaiah 40-66*, 307). Koenen, similarly, calls vv. 19-20 a “späte Glosse.” His arguments are rather detailed: concerning vv. 19-20, he writes, “Es geht also nicht mehr um das Thema ›Kommen nach Jerusalem‹. Der Glossator verkündet, daß Sonne und Mond ihre Bahnen nicht mehr ziehen und auf Jerusalem leuchten werden. An ihrer Stelle werde Jahwe für die Stadt zum ewigen Licht. Die Heilsschilderung erhält hier eine kosmische Dimension, welche kaum zu dem vorher gemalten Bild von dem durchaus irdisch gedachten Wohlstand Jerusalems paßt. Vom Licht Jerusalems ist hier nicht wie in v1-3 im übertragenen Sinne die Rede, sondern im wörtlichen. Jahwe erscheint nicht als Licht, sondern wird an Stelle der Sonne zum Lichtspender. Indem die Heilsschilderung hier alle Möglichkeiten einer irdischen Realisierung sprengt, rückt das Heil zeitlich gesehen in weite Ferne. Von der konkreten Naherwartung der vorangegangenen Heilsschilderung ist in v19f nichts mehr zu spüren” (*Ethik und Eschatologie*, 142-143).

<sup>243</sup> Alter, *The Art of Biblical Poetry*, 62-84.

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid.*, 156.

<sup>245</sup> He also writes, “The fact is that poetry in general involves, necessarily, a linear development of meaning, which means that in one respect it is a linear form of thinking or imagining. ‘Those images that yet/fresh images beget,’ Yeats wrote in one of his most famous poems about art and the imagination, and that, approximately,

Intensity, extravagance, and exaggeration are the life-breath of Hebrew poetry, and these deeply rooted impulses are typically expressed somewhere along a binary spectrum of cosmic chaos and cosmic order. Lyric poetry, as noted earlier, revels in such extravagance and hyperbole. To claim that Yhwh will usurp the age-old sun and moon increases the intensity of the earlier claim that Yhwh will “shine” upon Zion: Yhwh not only blazes with all the brilliance of the dawn (vv. 1-3), he does so to such a degree that the two governing lights can retire from their eons-old watch.<sup>246</sup> In this light (no pun intended), then, the best explanation for the cosmic crescendo of vv. 19-20 is intensification, not redaction. The sun and the moon disappear because in doing so they make room for Yhwh, the greater Light. I am not the first to argue this point. In response to Westermann’s proposal that vv. 19-20 are later apocalyptic additions, Pauritsch notes, “Doch scheint mir die Bildrede von Jahwe als dem ewigen Licht nur eine konsequente Weiterführung der Eingangsverse zu sein.”<sup>247</sup> This upping of the register, then, need not be the later work of a redactor with apocalyptic tendencies, especially since such maneuvers are the normal stuff of lyric (and also non-lyric) poetry, which so often adorns its words with the rhetorical jewels of exaggeration, hyperbole, and extravagance.

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is the way most poems would seem to work: one image suggests a related one, or a further manifestation of the same underlying image; one idea leads to a cognate or consequent one; one pattern of sound, interinvolved with a particular semantic direction, leads to a similar pattern that reinforces some underlying similarity or suggestive antithesis of meaning. Since we tend to expect development of meaning in the specifically significant form of discourse that is poetry, it is hardly surprising that poems in many literary traditions will begin with some general notion or image and by stages bring it to a pitch of intensity, or into a sharp focus” (see *ibid.*, 83-84).

<sup>246</sup> It is hard not to hear some kind of polemic against solar and lunar worship in the claim that Yhwh would replace these two celestial bodies.

<sup>247</sup> See Pauritsch, *Die neue Gemeinde*, 126. Koole, too, has a similar view: “Finally, these verses are not at odds with vv. 1-3 either, as if the light of Zion there only serves the coming of the nations and is here wholly concentrated on Zion herself, for, in order to be a light to the world, Zion must fully participate in this light. Moreover, Zion is already the focus of attention from v. 17 onwards.” See Koole, *Isaiah III*, 221.

As with Isaiah 60, there is a great deal of disagreement about the compositional history of Isaiah 61. Some scholars attribute all 11 verses to a single author,<sup>248</sup> whereas other scholars see the chapter as the product of multiple editorial interventions.<sup>249</sup> To my mind, v. 3a, which is really the second colon in a bicolon that begins in v. 2b (the versification divides this bicolon), shows signs of editorial activity. V. 3a reads as follows: *lšwm l'by šywn ltt lhm* (“to grant for Zion’s mourners to give to them”). The rest of v. 3 contains a list of items that Yhwh will give in place of Zion’s suffering (e.g., “beauty instead of ashes,” v. 3bα). As BHS rightly points out, the problem is the second infinitive *ltt*.<sup>250</sup> BHS suggests that the infinitive should be deleted (note that OG only renders one infinitive: δοθῆναι τοῖς πενθοῦσιν Σιων), a judgment with which I agree. As it stands, the colon seems to contain two infinitives (*lšwm . . . ltt*).<sup>251</sup> Some argue that the first infinitive (*lšwm*) is “further defined” by *ltt*.<sup>252</sup> While this suggestion is certainly possible, it does have a weakness. V. 3a is the last link in a long chain of infinitives that are subordinate to 61:1 and that continue from 1b to 3: “The Spirit of the Lord Yhwh is upon me, because Yhwh has anointed me . . . to . . .” Every colon (except for 1cβ and 2aβ in which the infinitive is gapped) begins with a single infinitive verb in the first position: v. 1ba (*lšr*), 1bβ (*lhbš*), 1ca (*lqr*), 2aa (*lqr*), 2ba (*lnhm*), the purpose of which is to clarify the nature of the calling given to the prophet in v. 1a. Having an extra infinitive in v. 3a, however, breaks this pattern. In addition, if one assumes that *lšwm l'by šywn ltt lhm* forms a single poetic line, then one is left with a remarkably unbalanced bicolon (11/19). The problem of imbalance is not resolved by dividing the bicolon

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<sup>248</sup> For this view, see, e.g., Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction*, 22-49; Sekine, *Die Tritojesajanische Sammlung (Jes 56-66) redaktionsgeschichtlich untersucht*, 182.

<sup>249</sup> For instance, Koenen thinks that the entire chapter is from Trito-Isaiah, except for a minor gloss in v. 3a and editorial additions vv. 10-11. See Koenen, *Ethik und Eschatologie*, 250.

<sup>250</sup> BHS also *l'by šywn* to be secondary, but there is very little evidence to support this claim. See also Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 219.

<sup>251</sup> One could read *ltt lhm* as its own 6 consonant colon (see), resulting in a decidedly lopsided tricolon (11/13/6). Given the resultant brevity of the third colon, however, this proposal seems unlikely.

<sup>252</sup> Koole, *Isaiah III*, 275-76.

into a tricolon (11/13/6).<sup>253</sup> *ltt*, in my view then, is secondary. But this conclusion also raises the issue of *lhm* (“to them”). If *ltt* is secondary then the verse is left with two objects: *l’bly sywn* and *lhm*, resulting in a rather awkward line: “to grant to Zion’s mourners to them.” Although gapping of the infinitive is certainly possible, as one sees for instance in 1cβ and 2aβ, in these exceptions, the clause in which the gapping occurs always begin with a *waw* (*wl’swrym* [1cβ] and *wywm* [2aβ]). The final two words, *ltt lhm*, then, are probably a secondary addition that may have entered into the text as a small gloss.<sup>254</sup> Apart from this phrase, however, I detect no other signs of editorial reworking.

The second unit (vv. 4-7), while shifting its focus from the vocation of the speaker to that of his audience, is nonetheless an acceptable outflow of the first unit and shows no signs of editorial activity. Yet, before jumping to this conclusion, vv. 5-6 should be considered in greater detail since Wallis, Westermann, Vermeylen, and Sekine consider them to be secondary.<sup>255</sup> This argument is typically made based on (1) content and (2) the structure of the verse.<sup>256</sup> On the level of content, both Westermann and Vermeylen’s comments are important. Westermann writes:

There [60:4ff.] the nations and kings contribute towards the renewal of Zion, but here in 61.5f. the intention is to give the reason for a continuing state of things in which aliens do the menial work while the Israelites all belong to the class of the spiritual leaders, the priestly class. Probably therefore vv. 5f. represent a late addition (so Volz). If we are not inclined to accept this, we must at all events realize that vv. 4 and 7 give the basic description of the change proclaimed in v. 3, and that what vv. 5f. do is expand and illuminate this.<sup>257</sup>

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<sup>253</sup> See Koole, *Isaiah III*, 275.

<sup>254</sup> For this view, see also Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 219.

<sup>255</sup> Vermeylen actually considers vv. 5-7a to be secondary. See Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe à l’apocalyptique*, 2:481.

<sup>256</sup> For a similar summary of the arguments, see Koenen, *Ethik und Eschatologie*, 112.

<sup>257</sup> Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, 369-70.

The difference, then, between Isaiah 60 and 61 concerns the kinds of contributions the foreign nations will make to Zion's wellbeing and the priestly status of all Zion's population. Putting his finger on a slightly different issue, Vermeulen writes,

Comme *Is.*, LX, 1-11.13 l'auteur de ce passage parle de la venue d'étrangers . . . à Jérusalem et des richesses des nations . . . dont profite la cité. L'accent a été déplacé cependant: alors que le discours du Trito-Isaïe exaltait Jérusalem, la cite de Yahvé et de son temple, le rédacteur d'*Is.*, LXI, 5-7a a surtout en vue le bénéfice de la population et l'inversion des rapports de soumission entre Israël et les païens.<sup>258</sup>

In Vermeulen's view, a distinct inversion of the relationship between Israel and the nations marks this redactional addition, which in turn is related to other additions in Isa 60:14-18, 21.<sup>259</sup> But do these apparent shifts in content and emphasis mean that 61:5-6 were secondarily added? I, for one, remain unconvinced for several reasons.<sup>260</sup> Westermann contrasts Isaiah 60, in which the nations work toward the renewal of Zion, with chapter 61, in which they perform menial tasks, and concludes that they are probably from different hands. But in my view, and thinking within the context of imperial ideology, it is not so difficult to imagine, on the one hand, foreign dignitaries bringing wealth and luxury goods to the king, and, at the same time, to imagine the lower strata of the dominated population doing menial, slave-like tasks for the furtherance of the empire. The image of the nations in 60 and 61 are not contradictory, but rather complimentary, providing different views of life under Yhwh's imperium. In a word, these chapters' nature as lyric must constantly be recalled. Among other things, this means that they must be given poetic elbow room to be episodic, and to look more like a collage than a seamless narrative. Similarly, with regards to Vermeulen's argument, Smith is certainly right to point out that inversion and the "turning of the tables" by the Judahites on their enemies "is present throughout ch. 60, and may

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<sup>258</sup> See Vermeulen, *Du prophète Isaïe à l'apocalyptique*, 2:481.

<sup>259</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>260</sup> Koenen, for instance, maintains the originality of v. 5 (*Ethik und Eschatologie*, 112, 249).

have involved the possibility of the use of force (cf. 60:11; 61:2).”<sup>261</sup> The use of force or coercion, in other words, cannot be a criterion for determining the secondary nature of texts in these chapters, for force is either assumed or implied in several places.

The third unit (vv. 8-11) is also part of the original composition. Verse 10-11, however, require further comment, for scholars frequently label them as secondary. Koenen, who provides the most thorough analysis, gives the following reasons:<sup>262</sup>

1. 61:10-11 make use of an editorial technique in which key words (*Stichwörter*) link editorial units. He provides the following examples:
  - a. In the first line of the hymn, one finds the parallel terms, *’lhym* and *yhwh* (Isa 60:10a). According to Koenen, the editor uses the two divine names from vv. 2 and 6 in anticipation of 62:3: *whyyt ’ttr tp ’rt byd yhwh wšnw p mlwkh bkp ’lhyk* (Isa 62:3).<sup>263</sup>
  - b. The first line of v.10f “stellt mit ihren Jubelbegriffen eine Verbindung zu רגן in v7 her und mit der Wurzel שוש eine zu שמן ששון in v3. Dabei wird zugleich das שיש... משוב von Jes 62,5 vorbereitet.”<sup>264</sup>
  - c. The three terms, *thlh*, *šdqh*, and *yš’* (see vv. 10-11) constitute a “Kernbegriff” in vv. 10-11. He writes, “Mit diesen Begriffen werden die Aussagen von Kap. 61 und 62 zusammengefaßt” (*thlh*: Isa 61:3, 11; 62:7; *šdqh/šdq*: 61:3, 10-11; 62:1, 2; *yš’* (61:10; 62:11)).<sup>265</sup>
  - d. He argues that “Der Gedanke, daß die ganze Welt Israels Heil zur Kenntnis nehmen wird, verbindet Kap. 61 und 62. Die Völker . . . werden Israels Rettung sehen (62,2) und hören (62,11) . . . Dieser Gedanke, der den Redaktor bei seiner Komposition leitete, wird – und dies spricht in besonderer Weise für die redaktionelle Herkunft des Hymnus – am Ende von v10f auf den Begriff gebracht: Jahwe läßt Israels Heil (צדקה) und die Herrlichkeit (תהלה) vor allen Völkern . . . wachsen.”<sup>266</sup>
  - e. The wedding imagery of 61:10 prepares for 62:5, though it is used in a slightly different manner (see below for further discussion).<sup>267</sup>
  - f. The concept of the fruitfulness of the land binds 61:7, 11 and 62:1, 4.<sup>268</sup>
2. There are minor differences between 61 and 62.

<sup>261</sup> Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction*, 29, see also 36.

<sup>262</sup> For Koenen, the original form of Isaiah 61 was as follows: 61:1-4\*, 5-6 (Koenen, *Ethik und Eschatologie*, 215.

<sup>263</sup> Ibid., 119.

<sup>264</sup> Ibid.

<sup>265</sup> Ibid., 120.

<sup>266</sup> Ibid.

<sup>267</sup> Ibid.

<sup>268</sup> Ibid., 121.

- a. The image of the bride and bridegroom in Isaiah 62 is used differently than in Isaiah 61.<sup>269</sup>
  - b. Koenen notes that, for Trito Isaiah, *gyl* and *šwś* are common terms used to describe Jerusalem's joy over Yhwh's salvation. But in Isaiah 61:10, these terms are used to describe joy "in" (*b-*) Yhwh and "my God."
3. Koenen argues that Isa 60:10-11 show only minimal connections to other Trito-Isaianic texts, but they do show some connections to redactional texts that he thinks post-date the work of TI. For instance, he notes that 61:11 uses *gnh*, which is the same form used by Isa 65:3 and 66:17, texts that post-date Trito-Isaiah's work in his theory. But Isa 58:11, which he thinks is original to TI, uses *gn* (see Isa 5:17). "Kleidungsterminologie" is found in both Isa 61:10 and 59:17, the latter of which he has determined to be redactional. Related to this last point, he notes that *ʾih* ("cover"), *lbs̄* ("cloth," "put on"), and *m ʾyl* ("robe") only appear in 61:10. Further, the parallel terms, *bgd* and *m ʾyl* are also found only here.<sup>270</sup>
  4. He argues that Isaiah 61:10-11 shows a connection to Deutero-Isaianic texts. For instance, he notes that "Der Vergleich der Herrlichkeit Zions mit der einer Braut erinnert an Jes 49,18, und das pflanzliche Wachstum veranschaulicht wie in Jes 55,10f die Effektivität des göttlichen Handelns. Zudem mag man beim Wachsen des Heils an Jes 42,9 denken."<sup>271</sup>
  5. Finally, he notes that v. 10 closely resembles Ps 35:9: *wnpšy tgył byhwh tśyś byšw ʾtw*. He claims, "Es handelt sich hier zweifellos um geprägte Sprache."<sup>272</sup>

Koenen's evidence is impressive and meticulously documented, but I cannot follow the path he has laid out for the following four reasons: (1) His first argument, which deals with the use of *Stichwörter* as an editorial tool, is problematic, for the evidence he cites can actually provide evidence for the opposite conclusion, namely, the text's compositional *unity*. That is, the *Stichwörter* that are common to 61:10-11 may also be the result of their having been composed by the same poet. So, yes, the *Stichwörter* have a connecting function, but that function could just as easily be the work of the original author as a secondary editor. Following Smith, I am more inclined to think that these terminological correspondences point to the originality of vv.

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<sup>269</sup> Ibid.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid., 121-22.

<sup>271</sup> Ibid., 122.

<sup>272</sup> Ibid.

10-11, and are better explained by the proposal that a single person was responsible for both chapters.<sup>273</sup>

(2) Koenen also discusses a number of perceived differences between Isaiah 61-62. First, he notices that the marriage imagery is used differently in 61 and 62 (cf. 61:10; 62:4-5). Without doubt, these chapters *do* use the marriage metaphor quite differently. But variation in a metaphor is insufficient evidence of editorial expansion. Given the poetic context, one must allow for the possibility that these variations are indicative of the pliability and plasticity of the metaphor, not the presence of multiple redactional hands. Exploration of the polyvalence of imagery is fundamental to lyric sensibility. Equally as problematic is Koenen's claim that, since TI usually uses *gyl* and *śwś* to describe the joy of the new Jerusalem over her deliverance, the references to joy "in" Yhwh and "my God" in 61:10 that v. 10 is secondary. This subtle shade of difference is problematic on a number of levels. First, is it really so difficult to believe that an author could refer to both the joy of the deity and the community, especially in a text that is so fixated on the future glory of the Zion? Divine joy, in fact, is quite common in the HB.<sup>274</sup> What's more, joy *over* salvation (which Yhwh brings about!) and joy *in* Yhwh are not mutually exclusive, and could refer to the same thing in two different ways. Only a prosaic reading—in the worst sense of the term—would quibble with slight differences in how *gyl* and *śwś* are used in Isaiah 61 and 62.

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<sup>273</sup> There is an important methodological crux that needs to be acknowledged here, regarding the relationship between a text's unity—defined broadly to include theme, language, colometry, etc.—and the issue of its compositional history. Put interrogatively, does the unity of a text necessarily provide support for the singularity of its authorship? Theoretically, the answer must be no. An edited text also can show signs of unity, especially if the editing was done to smooth out any rough edges in the composition. In such a case, an edited text could conceivably display greater unity than a text written by a single individual. Although not a definitive answer to this unsettling crux, I would appeal to Ockham's Razor—namely that entities should not be multiplied beyond what is necessary. Unless there is really strong evidence of secondary reworking, why propose multiple authors? A text that is largely unified, with very few indications of editorial activity, should in this view be considered the work of a single author.

<sup>274</sup> See my own lexical work on this issue: Michael J. Chan, "A Biblical Lexicon of Happiness" and Terence E. Fretheim, "God, Creation, and the Pursuit of Happiness," in *The Bible and the Pursuit of Happiness* (ed. Brent A. Strawn. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

(3) Koenen also argues that vv. 10-11 show “nur einige Berührungen mit anderen Texten des Tritojesajabuchs.”<sup>275</sup> This claim is surprising. In my own comparison of vv. 10-11 and texts Koenen attributes to TI, I see an remarkable number of lexical connections: *śwś* (“exult,” v. 10, cf. 62:5), *yš*’ (“save,” v. 10, 62:11), *šdqh* (“righteousness,” vv. 10-11, 60:17), *khn* (“to act as a priest,” v. 10, 61:6), *klh* (“bride”; v. 10, 62:5), *’rš* (“earth,” v. 11, 60:2, 18, 7; 62:4, 7, 11), *zrw*’ (“seed,” v. 11; 62:8), *thlh* (“praise,” v. 11, 60:18; 61:3; 62:7), and *gwym* (“nations,” v. 11, 60:3, 5, 11, 16; 61:6, 9; 62:2), *h̄tm* (“bridegroom,” v. 10; 62:5). Based on this brief analysis of the lexical correspondences between vv. 10-11 and other texts in Koenen’s TI corpus, his argument that vv. 10-11 share only “einige Berührungen” is problematic.<sup>276</sup> He also notes that 61:11 uses *gnh*, which is the same form used by Isa 65:3 and 66:17, which post-date TI’s work. All three verses, in his reconstruction, belong to the same redactional layer. But Isa 58:11, which he thinks is original to TI, uses *gn* (see Isa 5:17). Both variants also occur in Lamentations 2 within one verse of each other (*gn*: v. 6, *gnh*: vv. 7, 8, 18) and in Canticles (*gn*: 4:12, 15, 16 [x2]; 5:1; 6:2 [x2], 8:13; *gnh*: 6:11), suggesting that the two terms could be used interchangeable even within a single pericope, let alone an entire composition.

(4) Koenen’s last point concerns connections with DI. But just because vv. 10-11 share connections with Isaiah 40-55 does not in any way indicate its secondary nature, for, as I have shown above, these verses also share a great in common with other texts that Koenen considers to be from TI. Attempts to use the density of quotations from another section of a book as evidence for a text’s editorial status are dubious, especially when that other section (i.e., Isaiah 40-55) is within the same prophetic book (Isaiah). (5) Finally, the fact that v. 10 may constitute a quotation of Ps 35:9 says absolutely nothing about its secondary nature. The quotation could just

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<sup>275</sup> Koenen, *Ethik und Eschatologie*, 121.

<sup>276</sup> *Ibid.*, 121.

as easily have come from the original poet as from a later editor. Verse 10-11, then, in my view, are part of the original poem.

Based on my analysis of Isaiah 60-61, then, I propose that the original form of these chapters included 60:1-11, 13-14\* 15-22; 61:1-3\*, 4-11. The additions are Isa 60:12, 14a (*whšthww l kpwt rglyk kl*); 61:3a (*lth lhm*). The individual poems of Isaiah 60-62 were written sometime after 538 B.C.E., but probably before 520 B.C.E. Insufficient data exist to allow for a dating of these additions. All that the evidence permits us to say is that they were added sometime after the initial composition of Isa 60-62.\*

The palpable optimism of Isaiah 60-61 likely reflects the enthusiasm of return and the prospect of temple-building. Although I remain somewhat skeptical of Jon Berquist's assignment of Isaiah 60-61 to two separate groups—immigrants of a “priestly” “political” persuasion—I do think he is correct in associating these texts with immigrant groups that are invested in the reconstruction of the temple.<sup>277</sup>

### 2.3.8 Isa 66:12

Citation	Isa 66:12
Who brings the wealth to Zion?	v. 12: “I [Yhwh] will extend to her”
What goods are received?	12: <i>kbwd gwym</i> (“glory of nations”) <sup>278</sup>
What terminology is used to describe how the wealth of nations comes to Zion?	v. 12: <i>hny nḥ lyh</i> (“I am about extend to her....”).

<sup>277</sup> According to Berquist, on the one hand, the priestly immigrants are concerned with the beautiful temple (Isa 60:13-15) and the “chosenness of God’s light” (Isaiah 60:1-3). See his Jon L. Berquist, *Judaism in Persia’s Shadow: A Social and Historical Approach* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 76. On the other hand, the political immigrants “focus on continued immigration expanding the population (Isa 60:4, 8-9, 22), radically increased wealth (Isa 60:5-7, 11, 16-17), a rebuilt city with effective walls (Isaiah 60:10, 18; 61:4; 62:6, 10), and the control of other nations (Isaiah 60:12; 61:5-11; 62:2; 63:1-6).” *Ibid.*, 76. This division between political and priestly leaders seems to assume too clean a divide between a priestly and political concerns, as if the two could not overlap.

<sup>278</sup> *kbwd*, both in the HB and in the broader ancient Near East, can carry the meaning of material wealth. See Paul, *Isaiah 40-66*, 621. He also cites the CAD article for *kubuttû*, whose semantic field is similar to that of BH *kbwd* (see CAD: 8:490-91).

Who receives the wealth?	v. 10: “Her” (Jerusalem/Zion, see v. 10)
What is the text’s genre?	Promise of Salvation
What is the text’s date?	Late Persian Period

### 2.3.8.1 Contents and Genre

The verse under discussion here (Isa 66:12) is embedded within a promise of salvation (Isa 66:7-14a), which unfolds in three movements:<sup>279</sup> (1) Mother Zion will give birth to children through painless labor (vv. 7-9).<sup>280</sup> (2) She will also satisfy and console her children (vv. 11, 13-14a). (3) All of this abundance is to be underwritten by the nations of the earth, whose wealth will pour into Jerusalem like a flood (v. 12). This brings us to the promises in v. 12, which are the reason this text is considered in this study at all. Verse 12 utilizes a rich amalgam of riverine, maternal, and imperial imagery to describe Zion’s future glory:

Verse	Hebrew Text	Colometric Analysis
v. 12a	<i>ky kh `mr yhwh</i>	11
v. 12b	<i>hnnny n`th `lyh knhr šlwmm wkn`hl šwtp kbwd gwym</i>	19/17
v. 12c	<i>wynqtm `l šd tns`w w`l brkym tš`š`w</i>	15/14

For thus has Yhwh spoken:

Look, I am about to extend peace to her like a river  
and like an overflowing wadi, the glory of nations,

<sup>279</sup> For the view that vv. 7-14a are a unit, see Stromberg, *Isaiah after Exile*, 57-59. Cf. Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, 418; Pauritsch, *Die neue Gemeinde*, 196-97; Vermeylen, *Du Prophète Isaïe à l’Apocalyptique*, 495. Numerous other divisions have been proposed. Karl Pauritsch writes, “Kein anderes Kapitel des trjes Buches wurde in der Frage der Einheitlichkeit und der Versanordnung so unterschiedlich beurteilt wie das letzte.” See Pauritsch, *Die neue Gemeinde*, 195. See also the discussion in Sekine, *Die Tritojesajanische Sammlung (Jes 56-66) redaktionsgeschichtlich untersucht*, 43-45; Koenen, *Ethik und Eschatologie*, 195-96.

<sup>280</sup> Lady Zion becomes Mother Zion in this unit: she gives birth to children in a painless and instantaneous process (66:7-8), nurses those same children with delightful mother’s milk (66:11), dandles them in maternal delight (66:12), and, along with Mother Yhwh, ministers comfort to her fearful little ones (66:13). For discussions of this imagery, see John F. A. Sawyer, “Daughter of Zion and Servant of the Lord in Isaiah: A Comparison,” *JSOT* 44 (1989): 89-107; Susan Ackerman, “Isaiah,” in *Women’s Bible Commentary: Twentieth-Anniversary Edition* (ed. Carol A. Newsom and Sharon H. Ringe; 3d ed; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998), 174-77.

You will suck,<sup>281</sup> at the side you will be carried,  
and upon knees you will be dandled.

Zion's glorious future is described in terms of the flowing of rivers and the flooding of wadis—in the case of the latter, spontaneous and often violent, and in the case of the former, constant and ongoing. And as the subsequent verse indicates, Zion's new and prosperous future results from both Yhwh and Jerusalem sharing the responsibility to provide mothering comfort to Zion's children (v. 13).

It is also important to define more specifically to whom this oracle is addressed. In other words, who is the “you” (mpl) in v. 12? Similarly, given the rich intertextual connections to earlier parts of Isaiah, and especially to Isaiah 60-62, how does the audience of v. 12 compare with the audience of previous chapters? Stromberg's comments are helpful in answering this question:

Where Isaiah 49:22 and 60:4 address Zion (‘your [feminine *singular*] daughters will be carried’), Isaiah 66:12 now speaks to Zion's children (‘you [masculine *plural*] will be carried’). In this way, Isaiah 66:12 identifies Zion's children mentioned in 49:22 and 60:4 with the servants (i.e., those addressed in 66). Hence, this verse also illuminates how the emphasis has shifted from comforting Zion to comforting her children, her children being the servants in this new context.<sup>282</sup>

A shift has occurred—one that is probably rooted in a new historical condition (see my discussion of the dating of this text below). Isaiah 66 interprets the promises of its textual predecessors in a more circumscribed manner, drawing a clearly demarcated circle around the righteous servants (see *bdyw* in v. 14)—Zion's children—and claiming that the promises apply

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<sup>281</sup> There is a great deal of debate over the word, *wynqtm*. The Tiberian pointing assumes this is a 2mpl verb, which corresponds to the other subsequent 2mpl verbs (*tns'w* [“you will be carried”] and *ts'š'w* [“you will be dandled”]). But OG (τὰ παιδία αὐτῶν) reads a noun (“their children”) rather than a verb. Given the immediately preceding cola, however, one would expect *wywnqth* (“her sapling”) and not “their sapling”. But reading along with the OG requires that one also read the subsequent 2mpl. verbs as 3sg verbs. While making for a somewhat awkward colon, I am inclined to side with the Tiberian pointing. See also Koole, *Isaiah III: Isaiah 56-66*, 500-501.

<sup>282</sup> Stromberg, *Isaiah after Exile*, 114.

exclusively to them.<sup>283</sup> The same is true of v. 12's use of the WNT, which is evoked in the phrase *kbwd gwym* ("glory of nations"). This expression echoes expressions found elsewhere in Isaiah 60-62: 61:6b: *hyl gwym t'klw* ("You will consume nations' wealth"); *kbwd hlnwn* ("glory of Lebanon," Isa 60:13); *hyl gwym* ("wealth of nations," Isa 60:5, 11).<sup>284</sup> Once again, however, Isa 66:12 differs from TI in its scope of applicability: the bountiful benefits of this new future would be given only to Yhwh's faithful servants.

### 2.3.8.2 Compositional History

There are a number of important issues to address concerning the dating of vv. 7-14a. Foremost among them is the proposal that vv. 7-14 are from a source closely related, if not identical to, Isaiah 60-62. Westermann, for instance, writes, "Verses 7-14, which form a unit and are obviously part of the nucleus of Trito-Isaiah, have been set within the framework (vv. 6 and 15f.) of an epiphany in which God comes to judge the world."<sup>285</sup> Koenen follows a similar view.<sup>286</sup> But as Stromberg has recently argued, the proposal that vv. 7-14 come from the same hand as Isaiah 60-62 faces a number of problems, and the more likely option is that 66:7-14a derives from the author of Isaiah 65-66, not the author of Isaiah 60-62. One problem with the proposal of Westermann et al concerns the scholarly interpretation of inner-Isaianic cross-references. It is sometimes argued that since vv. 7-14 seem to interact heavily with DI, as does Isaiah 60-62, they

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<sup>283</sup> Lau also sees a connection to Isa 48:18, which also uses *nhr* ("river") to describe Zion's peace (*wyhy knhr šlwmk*). See Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 131. See also Pauritsch, *Die neue Gemeinde*, 205; Sekine, *Die Tritojesajanische Sammlung (Jes 56-66) redaktionsgeschichtlich untersucht*, 51.

<sup>284</sup> See also Koenen, *Ethik und Eschatologie*, 199n253.

<sup>285</sup> Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, 418.

<sup>286</sup> Koenen, *Ethik und Eschatologie*, 257.

must be from the same author.<sup>287</sup> Allusions to the same source, then, are not necessarily indications of common authorship. And in point of fact, there is a great deal of evidence to suggest that Isaiah 65-66 develop and significantly modify concepts in Isaiah 60-62, suggesting that these two textual units reflect different historical settings. For instance, Stromberg writes,

Where Isaiah 65-6 alludes to 60-2, it shifts the emphasis away from the corporate persona of Zion onto the righteous individuals who are to enjoy Zion's salvation—a move necessitated by 65-6's division of the community into righteous and wicked individuals, a division not found in 60-2. So where Isaiah 60:16 promises Zion, 'you (2.f.s.) will suckle . . . the milk of nations, and the breast . . . of kings you will suckle,' Isaiah 66:11 comforts those who mourn over Zion with the words, 'you (2.m.p.) will suckle . . . and be satisfied from the breast . . . of her [Jerusalem's] comforts.'<sup>288</sup>

So then, in Isa 66:7-14a, the promises of TI remain intact, but their sphere of applicability is severely circumscribed. These latter chapters of Isaiah evidence a “deep split forming within the community itself.”<sup>289</sup> This kind of division is nowhere to be found in Isaiah 60-62, which imagine Zion in terms of a single, wrinkleless community. The “other” in Isaiah 60-62 is comprised of the nations of the earth, who bow to Zion's inhabitants (see, e.g., Isa 60:14). In Isaiah 65-66, however, the “other” is within. Stylistic features set apart 65-66 from 60-62 as well. There are, for example, no divine speech formulae in 60-62, but these are plentiful in 65-66.<sup>290</sup> These changes likely reflect not only a different hand but also a later and markedly different social and historical context, one in which the community is highly fractured. Finally, an increasing number of scholars agree that much of Isaiah 65-66 has been purposefully constructed to form a conclusion to the book of Isaiah. These chapters show connections to

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<sup>287</sup> Stromberg makes a similar point: But, as Stromberg notes: “it is possible for more than one another to be interested in DI, a fact that would need to be acknowledged by those arguing this case, since they assign to a later redactor 66:18-24, material widely thought to allude to DI.” Stromberg, *Isaiah after Exile*, 58.

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid.*, 29, 58. See also the comments in Koenen, *Ethik und Eschatologie*, 200; Leszek Ruzkowski, *Volk und Gemeinde im Wandel: Eine Untersuchung zu Jesaja 56-66* (FRLANT 191; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 109-10.

<sup>289</sup> Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction*, 187.

<sup>290</sup> See also the helpful summary comments in Jacob Stromberg, *An Introduction to the Study of Isaiah* (London: T&T Clark, 2011), 43.

others parts of the book, like Isaiah 1,<sup>291</sup> 8:6-8,<sup>292</sup> and 11:6-9.<sup>293</sup> It seems safe to assume, then, that much of 65-66 is the product of the latest stages of the redaction of Isaiah.<sup>294</sup>

This evidence only allows for a relative dating of Isa 66:7-14a. In Chapter 3, I have argued that Isaiah 60-62 was probably composed sometime between 538 B.C.E. and 520 B.C.E. Verses 7-14a, then, must postdate this timeframe, perhaps dating to sometime in the late Persian period.

### 2.3.9 Zeph 3:10

Citation	Zeph 3:10
Who brings the wealth to Zion?	v. 10: <i>m'br lnhry kwš 'try bt pwsy</i> ("From beyond the river of Cush")
What goods are received?	v. 10: <i>mnhty</i> ("my tribute")
What terminology is used to describe how the wealth of nations comes to Zion?	v. 10: <i>ywblwn</i> ("they will bear")
Who receives the wealth?	v. 10: Yhwh
What is the text's genre?	Prophetic Exhortation
What is the text's date?	NB or Persian Period

#### 2.3.9.1 Contents and Genre

<sup>291</sup> In W.A.M. Beuken's view, Isaiah 65-66 contains three epilogues: "one to TI itself (lxvi 7-14), one to DI and TI together (lxvi 15-20[21]), and one to the whole book (lxvi 22-3[24])." See his "Isaiah Chapters LXV-LXVI: Trito-Isaiah and the Closure of the Book of Isaiah," in *Congress Volume, Leuven 1989* (ed. J.A. Emerton; Leiden: Brill, 1991), 204-35. See also Leon J. Liebreich, "The Compilation of the Book of Isaiah," *JQR* 46 (1956): 259-77; idem, "The Compilation of the Book of Isaiah," *JQR* 47 (1956): 114-38; Marvin A. Sweeney, "Prophetic Exegesis in Isaiah 65-66," in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition* (ed. Craig C. Broyles and Craig A. Evans; VTSup LXX,1; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 455-74.

<sup>292</sup> See Marvin A. Sweeney, "On *ûm'šôš* in Isaiah 8:6," in *Among the Prophets: Language, Image, and Structure in the Prophetic Writings* (ed. Philip R. Davies and David J.A. Clines; JSOTSup 144; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 42-54.

<sup>293</sup> See, e.g., J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, "The Intertextual Relationship between Isaiah 65:25 and Isaiah 11:6-9," in *The Scriptures and the Scrolls: Studies in Honour of A.S. van der Woude on the Occasion of his 65<sup>th</sup> Birthday* (F. García Martínez, A. Hilhorst, and C.J. Labuschagne; VTSup 49; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 31-42.

<sup>294</sup> Isa 66:18-24, however, probably post-date vv. 7-14a.

The inclusion of Zeph 3:10 in this dissertation is controversial, for scholars do not agree on whether the verse actually refers to foreigners bringing wealth to Zion. The issue hinges upon how one interprets the problematic phrase, *ʿtry bt pwšy*:

*m ʿbr lnhry kwš ʿtry bt pwšy ywblwn mnḥty*

Some scholars argue that *ʿtry* and *bt pwšy* refer to the proper names of foreign peoples (see, e.g., Ibn Ezra, Radak, etc.).<sup>295</sup> These people groups—whoever they are—are meant to represent denizens of the earth’s far reaches. Ehud Ben Zvi writes that, “If this is the case Zeph 3:9-10 is a variant of the general image of the peoples’ pilgrimage to Zion/Jerusalem in a distant ideal future (e.g., Isa 2:1-4; Joel 3:5; Mic 4:1-4; Zech 14:16) and similar to Isa 18:7.”<sup>296</sup> Alternatively, one might translate *ʿtry* as, “my suppliants,”<sup>297</sup> and *bt pwšy* as, “my dispersed ones.” Understood in this manner, v. 10 probably refers to exiled Judahites who have been banished to the far reaches of the earth (cf., e.g., Ezek 34:5, 6; Zech 13:7).<sup>298</sup> If such an interpretation is adopted, then v. 10 would constitute a secondary addition to the book’s older core, which is monarchic.<sup>299</sup> *BHS*’s suggestion that one read *ʿd yrkty špwn* (“up to the remote parts of the north”) is unnecessarily speculative.<sup>300</sup> Following 2 Kgs 23:7, in which *btym l’šrh* (“garments/coverings for Asherah”) refers to worked textiles, Sabottka makes the novel suggestion that *bt pwšy* should be understood as “Byssosgewänder.”<sup>301</sup> *pwšy*, when understood in this way, is an alternative form of *bwš*

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<sup>295</sup> For citations, see Ehud Ben Zvi, *A Historical-Critical Study of the Book of Zephaniah* (BZAW 198; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1991), 228n750.

<sup>296</sup> See *ibid.*, 227.

<sup>297</sup> As a verb,  $\sqrt{\text{ʿtry}}$  refers to the act of supplication (see, e.g., Gen 25:21; Exod 8:4, 24; 10:17; Judg 13:8). The substantive of  $\sqrt{\text{ʿtry}}$ , however, occurs only here. See also the comments in Ivan Jay Ball, Jr., “A Rhetorical Study of Zephaniah” (Ph.D. diss., Graduate Theological Union, 1972), 175; Liudger Sabottka, *Zephanja: Versuch einer Neuübersetzung mit philologischem Kommentar* (BibOr 25; Rom: Biblical Institute Press, 1972), 119.

<sup>298</sup> For this view, see *ibid.*, 230.

<sup>299</sup> For more on the dating of Zephaniah and its compositional history, see below. See also Adele Berlin, *Zephaniah* (AB 25A; New York: Doubleday, 1994), 135.

<sup>300</sup> See also Julius Bewer, *The Prophets: In the King James Version* (Harper’s Annotated Bible; New York: Harper, 1949/1955), 542.

<sup>301</sup> Sabottka, *Zephanja*, 120. Byssus/Byssos refers to a high quality, valuable textile that is probably made from flax.

(referring to whiteness), with the /y/ possibly functioning as a marker of the genitive.<sup>302</sup> In this view, v. 10 is translated, “Von jenseits der Ströme von Kusch werden meine Bittflehenden Byssosgewänder mir als Tribut bringen.”<sup>303</sup> According to Sabottka, then, the byssus clothing is the object of *ywblwn*, and *mnhty* as a substantive with the dative ending /y/ (“for tribute”).<sup>304</sup>

Concerning manuscript evidence, the Greek texts are pluriform and contain many variants.<sup>305</sup> The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Naḥal Ḥever (8ḤevXIIgr) lacks this section of Zephaniah, making it irrelevant for the present discussion. The scroll of the Twelve from Wadi Murraba’at (MurXII), which generally follows the MT, not surprisingly contains *try bt pwsy*.<sup>306</sup> OG, however, lacks *try bt pwsy*: ἐκ περάτων ποταμῶν Αἰθιοπίας οἴσουσι θυσίας μου (“From the limits of the rivers of Ethiopia/Cush, they will bring offerings to me.”). *προσδεξομαι εν διεσπαρμενοις μου*, which seems to reflect a text similar to MT, is a Hexaplaric addition.<sup>307</sup> Perhaps under the influence of Isa 66:20, the Targum interprets the Hebrew diplomatically, assuming that the verse refers *both* to the exiles and to the earth’s nations.<sup>308</sup>

The OG provides the most important clue. As just noted, OG lacks *try bt pwsy*: ἐκ περάτων ποταμῶν Αἰθιοπίας οἴσουσι θυσίας μου (“From the limits of the rivers of Ethiopia/Cush, they will bring my offerings.”). Within the context of the OG, then, the subject of “they will

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<sup>302</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>303</sup> See *ibid.*, 115.

<sup>304</sup> See *ibid.*, 122.

<sup>305</sup> For a list and discussion of relevant manuscript evidence, see Joseph Ziegler, *Duodecim prophetae* (Septuaginta 13; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967); Ivan Jay Ball, Jr., “A Rhetorical Study of Zephaniah” (Ph.D. diss., Graduate Theological Union, 1972), 175; Ben Zvi, *A Historical-Critical Study of the Book of Zephaniah*, 227-30.

<sup>306</sup> *DJD* II, 88 XXI, 4.

<sup>307</sup> See Ziegler, *Duodecim prophetae*, 126.

<sup>308</sup> See Ahuva Ho, *The Targum of Zephaniah: Manuscripts and Commentary* (Studies in the Aramaic Interpretation of Scripture 7; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 361-2; Ball, Jr., “A Rhetorical Study of Zephaniah,” 175. The text itself reads, *m’br lnhry hwdw brhmyt ytwbwn glwt my d’tgly w wyhwn mytn lhwn h’kqwrbynyn*. “From beyond the rivers of India the exiles of my people who were exiled shall return in mercy, and they shall be bringing them as offerings” (translation according to Kevin J. Cathcart and Robert P. Gordeon, *The Targum of the Minor Prophets* [TAB 14; Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1989]).

bring” is the peoples whose tongues are changed in v. 9 (ὅτι τότε μεταστρέψω ἐπὶ λαοὺς γλῶσσαν εἰς γενεὰν αὐτῆς), clearly *not* dispersed Judahites. Verse 9 goes on to say that this people will call upon the Lord’s name and will be subject to him “beneath a single yoke” (ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἓνα). The result is that v. 10 in OG follows quite smoothly from v. 9, insofar as v. 10 describes the material manner in which the nations would demonstrate their subservience to Yhwh. The oldest reconstrucable text, then, may have read something like this:

Verse	Hebrew Text	Colometric Analysis
v. 8a	<i>lkn ḥkw ly n`m yhwh lywm qwmy l`d</i>	15/11
v. 8b:	<i>ky mšpṭy l`sp gwym lqbšy mmlkwt</i>	15/11
v. 8c	<i>lšpk `lyhm z`my kl hrwn `py</i>	13/9
8d-9a	<i>ky b`š qn`ty t`kl kl h`rs ky `z `hpk `l `mym šph brwrh</i>	20/22
v. 9b	<i>lqr`klm bšm yhwh l`bdw škm `ḥd</i>	14/11
v. 10	<i>m`br lnhry kwš [`try bt pwšy] ywblwn mnḥty</i>	12/21[11]
v. 11a	<i>bywm hhw` l`tbwšy mkl `lyltyk `šr pšt by</i>	(+bywm hhw`) 17/9
v. 11b	<i>ky `z `syr mqrbk `lyzy g`wtk wl`twspy lgbhh `wd bhr qdšy</i>	23/24

8: Therefore wait for me, says Yhwh:  
for the day I arise for prey,<sup>309</sup>

when I determine to gather the nations,  
to assemble the kingdoms

to pour out my indignation upon them,  
all my blazing fury.

<sup>309</sup> *l`d*, in its unvocalized consonantal form, is ambiguous. If one follows the MT’s vocalization, then it refers to “prey.” But, as the OG indicates, the consonants can also yield the translation “witness” (μαρτύριον). The Vulgate, in turn, reads *l`d* as “forever.” Sabottka suggests, “vom Thron” (Sabottka, *Zephanja*, 113-14). All of these proposals, on one level or another, are contextually possible. For a discussion of these options, see Ben Zvi, *A Historical-Critical Study of the Book of Zephaniah*, 220-23.

Surely, in my zealous blaze all the earth will be consumed.

v. 8d-9 Surely then I will give<sup>310</sup> to the people<sup>311</sup> a purified language<sup>312</sup>

so that all of them will invoke the name of Yhwh,  
and serve him all together.<sup>313</sup>

v. 10 From across the rivers of Cush,  
[my suppliants, my dispersed ones] they will bear my tribute.

v. 11 On that day, you (f.pl.) will not be ashamed because of your deeds  
by which you sinned against me.

For then I will remove from your midst the arrogant  
and you will no longer be proud on my holy mountain.

*'try bt pws* was probably added to make the gift-bearers and supplicants *dispersed Judeans* rather than foreigners. Many scholars have made similar proposals throughout the years.<sup>314</sup> Verse 10, then, when read in its older form (i.e., without the addition), follows quite fluidly from these verses about the purifying judgment of Yhwh upon the nations.<sup>315</sup> In fact, vv. 8-10 follow a

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<sup>310</sup> As noted by Vlaardingerbroek, *hpk* is used here as it is in Exod 10:19 (*wyhpk yhwh rwḥ ym ḥzq m'd*, “And Yhwh shifted a very strong sea’s wind”) and especially in 1 Sam 10:9 (*wyhpk lw 'lhym lb 'hr*, “And God gave him another heart”). See Johannes Vlaardingerbroek, *Zephaniah* (Historical Commentary on the Old Testament; Leuven: Peeters, 1999), 196.

<sup>311</sup> Vlaardingerbroek, following *BHS*, proposes reading *ʾmym* as *ʾmy* (“my people”), with reference to Judah rather than the foreign nations (see his *Zephaniah*, 194), but there is little support for this proposal.

<sup>312</sup> *šph* (“lip”) is a metonymy for language. See, e.g., Hubert Irsigler, *Zefanja* (HTKAT; Freiburg: Herder, 2002), 369; Ben Zvi, *A Historical-Critical Study of the Book of Zephaniah*, 224-26. Purified language is probably not a reference to “purity” in the cultic sense (contra Edler, *Das Kerygma des Propheten Zefanja*, 59), but rather, “to a pure or special speech necessary so that the nations may all speak a common language, unlike the variety of languages that they speak in empirical reality or, from the view of tradition, in the aftermath of the tower of Babel incident.” Marvin A. Sweeney, *Zephaniah* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 184.

<sup>313</sup> *škm 'hd* (“one shoulder”) means something akin to, “all together,” “as one,” or “in unison,” etc.

<sup>314</sup> Rainer Edler refers to *bt pwsy* as a later “Glosse.” Rainer Edler, *Das Kerygma des Propheten Zefanja* (Freiburger Theologische Studien 126; Herder: Freiburg, 1984), 22. See also J.J.M. Roberts, *Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1991), 218; Irsigler, *Zefanja*, 370; Lothar Perlitt, *Die Propheten Nahum, Habakuk, Zephania* (ATD 25,1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 140.

<sup>315</sup> Contra Irsigler *inter alios*, I question whether there is such a sharp disjunction between v. 8 and vv. 9-10. He argues, “Der universalen Gerichtsbotschaft über »Völker und Reiche« von Zef 3,8 stehen jedoch die beiden Heilsverheißungen für die Völker aus spätnachexilischer Zeit in Zef 2,11 und 3,9-10 gegenüber. Sie stammen von verschiedenen Händen.” *Zefanja*, 365; cf. Edler, *Das Kerygma des Propheten Zefanja*, 57. Or is it not also possible that the judgment proclaimed in v. 8 is in fact the very act that will purify the lips of the nations? The purification of Jerusalem, after all, is an important theme in Zeph 1:2-18; 2:1-3. In a helpful article on the broader literary contexts of Mic 4:1-5 and Isa 2:2-4, 5, Marvin Sweeney has shown that the notion of global punishment, followed by the global recognition of Yhwh and peace, are integrally related in these two prophetic books: “Whereas the book of

pattern known elsewhere, especially in Isaiah: judgment followed by a tribute procession.<sup>316</sup> My proposal for v. 10—that in its original form, *try bt pws* was missing, making v. 10 originally about foreign nations and not exiled Judahites—finds further support in the fact that the only other biblical text in which the phrase, *m'br lnhry kwš*, is used (Isa 18:1) also uses the phrase to refer to *foreign* nations (see my discussion of Isa 18:7 above), not Judahites.

Returning to the question of Zeph 3:10's relevance to the present dissertation, the following can be said: v. 10 *is* relevant, but only in the form attested in the OG's *Vorlage*. The MT reflects a later redactional development that all but eliminated any reference to foreign bearers of wealth in Zeph 3:10.

In terms of its context and genre, v. 10 is a subset (vv. 8-10) of a larger prophetic exhortation (vv. 8-13) that entreats the audience to wait on Yhwh's global judgment of the nations.<sup>317</sup> As exhortation, "it serves to evoke in its addressees a particular attitude or frame of mind in which prophecies seem sensible and bound to be fulfilled."<sup>318</sup> Verse 8 marks a distinct shift away from the sharp criticisms of Jerusalem and her leaders (vv. 1-7) to a discourse on the judgment of the nations.<sup>319</sup> But the whole purpose of vv. 8-13 is to convince the audience that the statements about Yhwh's future judgment on the nations will indeed come to pass. The

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Isaiah presents a scenario of worldwide punishment of both the nations and Israel by YHWH that will result in peace and universal recognition of YHWH at Zion, Micah presents a scenario in which peace among the nations and universal recognition of YHWH will emerge following a period in which a new Davidic king will arise to punish the nations for their own prior abuse of Israel." See Marvin A. Sweeney, "Micah's Debate with Isaiah," *JSOT* 93 (2001): 113; idem, *Zephaniah*, 182.

<sup>316</sup> For a discussion of this pattern, see fn 301, along with Sweeney's article cited there.

<sup>317</sup> For this division, see Ball, Jr., "A Rhetorical Study of Zephaniah," 230. For the genre designation, see Michael H. Floyd, *Minor Prophets, Part 2* (FOTL 22; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 235.

<sup>318</sup> Floyd, *Minor Prophets, Part 2*, 235.

<sup>319</sup> Scholars often consider the judgment in v. 8 to be directed toward Jerusalem, and not the nations, thereby making v. 8 a continuation of v. 7. See, e.g., Roberts, *Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah*, 215-16 and the critical discussion of this view in Sweeney, *Zephaniah*, 179-82. This interpretation has led to numerous textual emendations and proposals that attempt to make the object of Yhwh's wrath ("to pour out upon *them*") refer to Jerusalem, or at the very least, to some segment of Jerusalem's population. The concluding cola, however, "All the earth will be consumed," suggests exactly what the text implies: that the nations of the earth are the object of Yhwh's judgment.

Jerusalem/Judahite, context, then, is never out of view. The nations will be subjected to a purifying divine fire, which will ultimately create a pure language (*šph brwkh*) for the peoples of the earth.<sup>320</sup> With this new tongue, the nations will invoke Yhwh's name, and they give him their undivided devotion and service (v. 8-9). In addition, nations from the region across from the rivers of Cush will bring tribute to Yhwh (v. 10\*; cf. Isa 18:1; 19:21-22). Verse 11 returns to Jerusalem, stating that on that day, she would no longer be ashamed because of all her rebellion, because Yhwh will remove prideful people from her midst (v. 11). Those who remain will be the poor, the humble, and those who find refuge in Yhwh's name (v. 12). This remnant will neither do nor speak amiss, and will enjoy a life without fear (v. 13).

#### 2.3.9.2 Compositional History

Not surprisingly, scholars assign a number of dates to the book of Zephaniah.<sup>321</sup> The book itself claims to be the "word of Yhwh" that came to Zephaniah during the time of "Josiah son of Amon, king of Judah" (Zeph 1:1). Since Josiah dates to 640-609 B.C.E., Zephaniah, in turn, would have existed sometime in the latter half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The chronology of the superscription is upheld by Marvin Sweeney, who argues that Zephaniah spoke "in support of King Josiah's reform program during the early years of the king's reign."<sup>322</sup> If one assumes a

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<sup>320</sup> Ball, similarly, writes: "The imagery of pouring out wrath and anger upon the evil ones is common, especially in Ezekiel . . . In Zeph. 1:18 it was emphasized that the destruction would be complete. Here, perhaps, we should think in terms of a fire of purification." See Ball, "A Rhetorical Study of Zephaniah," 234.

<sup>321</sup> For a brief, but now dated, discussion of the various chronological proposals, see Sabottka, *Zephanja*, 3-4.

<sup>322</sup> Sweeney, *Zephaniah*, 17. For a similar view, see also Milton S. Terry, "Zephaniah," *Old and New Testament Student* 11 (1890): 262-72; Arvid S. Kapelrud, *The Message of the Prophet Zephaniah: Morphology and Ideas* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1975), 41.

Josianic date for Zephaniah, the main question concerns whether the book predates or post-dates Josiah's reforms, if such reforms ever occurred.<sup>323</sup>

Of course, a book's literary setting (i.e., the Josianic period) is not necessarily the same thing as its compositional setting.<sup>324</sup> Scholars have recognized this for some time. For instance, Louie Pettibone Smith and Ernest R. Lacheman argued that Zephaniah is a pseudepigraphic composition from around 200 B.C.E.<sup>325</sup> This is, to my knowledge, the latest date ever proposed for the book. But since a prophet named Zephaniah is unknown from other literature—and would presumably command no authority in the eyes of a later audience—pseudepigraphy seems unlikely.<sup>326</sup> Alternatively, one might argue that some portions of Zephaniah date to the time of the historical prophet whereas others were written much later. For instance, Ben Zvi suggests that, while the book probably has a monarchic prehistory, the primary author who actually composed Zephaniah “lived in the post-monarchic period, after the early post-monarchic period . . . and before the Hellenistic period. . . .”<sup>327</sup>

Numerous compositional theories have been proposed for Zephaniah, which see the book developing in blocks, collections, and layers. As one example among many, Hubert Irsigler views the book's development in terms of multiple stages beginning in the 7<sup>th</sup> cent. B.C.E. and extending into the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. B.C.E: (1) The first stage includes ca. 11 “primäre Logien, die sich

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<sup>323</sup> See Donald L. Williams, “The Date of Zephaniah,” *JBL* 82 (1963): 77. Although often considered to be a firm historical anchor, there are many reasons for questioning the historical reliability of 2 Kings 22-23. See especially the comments in Juha Pakkala, “Why the Cult Reforms in Judah Probably Did Not Happen,” in *One God – One Cult – One Nation: Archaeological and Biblical Perspectives* (ed. Reinhard Kratz and Hermann Spieckermann; BZAW 405; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 201-231 and Lester L. Grabbe, *Ancient Israel: What Do We Know and How Do We Know it?* (London: T & T Clark, 2007), 206.

<sup>324</sup> See the insightful comments in Berlin, *Zephaniah*, 33-47.

<sup>325</sup> See their “The Authorship of the Book of Zephaniah,” *JNES* 9 (1950): 142

<sup>326</sup> As Berlin notes, “Indeed, the total fabrication of an otherwise unknown prophet is difficult to imagine. What authority would such a prophet have had?” See her *Zephaniah*, 33. The name Zephaniah, of course, is found elsewhere in the HB, but never with reference to a prophet, only a priest (see 2 Kgs 25:18; Jer 21:1; 29:25, 29; 52:24; 37:3).

<sup>327</sup> Ben Zvi, *A Historical-Critical Study of the Book of Zephaniah*, 353.

mit einiger Sicherheit auf Zefanja zurückführen lassen,<sup>328</sup> which “werden noch vor dem Untergang Assurs und Ninives, d.h. noch vor 614 bzw. 612 v. Chr., und nach der Kultreform von 622.”<sup>329</sup> (2) The second stage comprises the first “Gesamtkomposition der Zefanja-Logien”<sup>330</sup> (Zeph 1:7-9+1:10-13\*); this composition “steht unter dem Motto des nahen JHWH-Tags als eines »Schlachtetags« und ist sicher redaktionell von einem Zefanjatradenten gebildet.”<sup>331</sup> (3) “In exilischer Zeit dient die erweiterte Zefanjaschrift vor allem als Dokumentation, die das eingetretene Gottesgericht über Juda und Jerusalem begründet.”<sup>332</sup> This third stage had a deuteronomic flavor. (4) The fourth stage includes “exilische Ergänzungen von Gerichtsworten gegen Völker.”<sup>333</sup> (5) Finally, there are numerous “Redaktionsstufen.”<sup>334</sup> In particular, “nachexilisch werden in verschiedenen Etappen Heilsverheißungen für Jerusalem, den Rest Israels und die Völker angefügt, aber auch das einstmals geschichtlich konkret bezogene Gottesgericht universalisiert und eschatologisiert.”<sup>335</sup> Johannes Vlaardingerbroek makes a similar, albeit much simpler, proposal. He argues that Zephaniah contains three types of material:

1. texts which are originally from the prophet Zephaniah
2. supplementary material included by the editor(s) who compiled the booklet in its present form
3. later additions.<sup>336</sup>

Finally, Levin proposes a radically different model of how Zephaniah developed. What causes his theory to stand out is that it does not assume that Zephaniah began with prophecy, or even with a prophet, at all. In a discussion of Zeph 1:1-2:3, Levin concludes that these chapters

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<sup>328</sup> Irsigler, *Zefanja*, 59.

<sup>329</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.

<sup>330</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>331</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>332</sup> *Ibid.*, 61.

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

<sup>335</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

<sup>336</sup> Vlaardingerbroek, *Zephaniah*, 9.

developed through a process of *Fortschreibung*.<sup>337</sup> The original kernel from which 1:1-2:3 developed, however, was not a prophetic saying or a spoken oracle, but rather a cultic proclamation that was “pronounced on occasion of the celebration of the Day of YHWH” (original form: Zeph 1:7a, bβ, 14a, 15bγ-16a). Prophecy in the book of Jeremiah, was a result of scribal reflection and expansion, not prophetic “preaching.” Levin’s argument distinguishes itself among contemporary interpretations, insofar as it imagines non-prophetic origins for what is now decidedly a prophetic book. Zeph 2:4-14; 3:6, 8; 3:9-20 are “late additions.”<sup>338</sup> Needless to say, the compositional history of Zephaniah remains under negotiation.

Given the remarkable challenges associated with dating Zephaniah, the best option, in my view, is to assume as many scholars do that the book of Zephaniah grew and developed in stages and over a prolonged period of time. This is a trend more easily discernible in other prophetic books (e.g., Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Zechariah, etc.), and it is reasonable to assume that Zephaniah underwent a similar process of development. Concerning the dating of the books earliest material, it is certainly possible to argue that some parts of the book go back to an historical figure by the name of Zephaniah who operated during the reign of king Josiah while other parts result from later editing and supplementation.<sup>339</sup> The fact that Zeph 1:1 is so similar to Jer 1:2, however, may suggest that the dating formula, along with the prophet himself,<sup>340</sup> are largely artificial. This is not to say, however, that Zechariah the prophet was completely fabricated. As Berlin notes, “the total fabrication of an otherwise unknown prophet is difficult to

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<sup>337</sup> Christoph Levin, “Zephaniah: How This Book Became Prophecy,” in *Constructs of Prophecy in the Former and Latter Prophets & Other Texts* (ed. Lester L. Grabbe and Martti Nissinen; Ancient Near East Monographs 4; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature 4),

<sup>338</sup> *Ibid.*, 119.

<sup>339</sup> For similar comments, see Berlin, *Zephaniah*, 42: “Within this section one can distinguish different foci: the vss. 9f. and 19f. presuppose the dispersion of Judah, the vss. 11-13, 14f., 16-18 do not . . . In the other parts (vss. 9, 10; 19, 30) it is not very well possible to assume Zephaniah’s origin; they presuppose a larger dispersion than existed in Zephaniah’s time.”

<sup>340</sup> *Ibid.*, 123.

imagine. What authority would such a prophet have had?”<sup>341</sup> The book of Zechariah, then, while heavily edited and reworked, probably has some connection, however faint, to an historical, 7<sup>th</sup> century prophet.

What then of vv. 8-13\* and of v. 10\* in particular? In what historical context are they most suitable? The universal perspective of vv. 8-10\* cannot be used as evidence of its lateness. Yhwh’s sovereignty over the nations is already present in the ideology of monarchic Israel. For example, the Oracles Concerning Foreign nations, which are effectively decrees of judgment about the various peoples of the earth, assume Yhwh’s cosmic, universal sovereignty over the nations.<sup>342</sup> In addition, there are also no concrete historical references in the original form of these verses that would help focus in on a particular historical period—that is, if I am correct about the secondary nature of *try bt pwš* in Zeph 3:10, which arguably refers to the Judahite exiles.<sup>343</sup>

Verses 9-10\*, however, may be of some help in dating the oracle, since they seem to make reference to two other biblical texts: Gen 11:1-9 and Isaiah 18-19. Beginning with the former, scholars often argue that Zeph 3:9 echoes the Tower of Babel story. For example, both texts share the following terminology: *šph* (“lip/speech”; Zeph 3:9, Gen 11:1, 6, 7 [x2], 9); *m* (“people”; Zeph 3:9; Gen 11:6); *qr*’ (“call”; Zeph 3:9; Gen 11:9); *klm* (“all of them”; Zeph 3:9; Gen 11:6); *šm* (“name”; Gen 11:4; ); *ḥd* (“one”; Zeph 3:9; Gen 11:1 [x2]; 6 [x2]). The addition of *try bt pwš* in v. 10, with its emphasis on scattering (*√pwš*; cf. Gen 11:4, 8, 9), would have reinforced the already strong connection between Zephaniah 3 and Genesis 11. And yet, it is

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<sup>341</sup> See her *Zephaniah*, 33.

<sup>342</sup> Similarly, in a section dealing with Oracles Concerning Foreign Nations David Petersen notes that the nations addressed, “like Israel, belong to the earthly realm of the heavenly sovereign...” Petersen, *The Prophetic Literature*, 88-89.

<sup>343</sup> See also Vlaardingerbroek (*Zephaniah*, 193), who states that “vv. 9f. and 19f. presuppose the dispersion of Judah.” But see the qualifying remarks by Sweeney, who does not think that 3:10 necessarily refers to the Babylonian exile. See his *Zephaniah*, 17-18.

quite difficult to determine the direction of literary influence, since the compositional history of Genesis 11, not to mention the Primeval History, is fraught with difficulty.<sup>344</sup> More significant for the dating of Zeph 3:10, however, is Isa 18:1. Both Isa 18:1 and Zeph 3:10 contain the phrase *m'br lnhry kwš*, which is unique to these two texts. Some kind of literary exchange is probably responsible for this convergence. Other references to Isaiah 18-19 in Zeph 3:8-13 further support this proposal: *šph* (“lip/tongue”; Zeph 3:9; Isa 19:18) and *tr* (“supplicate,” Zeph 3:10; Isa 19:22). There may also be a connection between *ywblwn mnhty* (“they will bear my tribute”) in Zeph 3:10 and *ywbl šy* (“a gift will be brought”) in Isa 18:7, though this is less certain. As my tables at the end of this chapter show,  $\sqrt{ybl}$  is in other texts containing the WNT (see Ps 68:30 [*ywbylw*]; Ps 76:12 [*ywbylw*]). If  $\sqrt{ybl}$  were the only tie holding together Isaiah 18-19 and Zephaniah 3, it would only be a thin thread. But given the other apparent allusions to Isaiah 18-19 in Zephaniah 3, it seems very likely, as Irsigler argues, that “Die zweite Vershälfte von Zef 3,10 spiegelt in Kurzform den späten Zusatz Jes 18,7.”<sup>345</sup> If that is the case, and Zeph 3:10 does presume knowledge of Isaiah 18-19, and especially of 18:7, then the dating of these Isaianic chapters may prove helpful in the dating of v. 10. And in fact, according to most scholars, v. 7 is a later addition to Isa 18:1-6 (see my discussion of the dating of Isa 18:7 above). How late this addition actually is lies beyond certainty. Many would say that it comes from the Persian period, but there is no real evidence to either confirm or deny that view. I will tentatively claim, then,

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<sup>344</sup> The Tower of Babel account is often attributed to J (or to a combination of J and another source), keeping in mind, of course, that in the present setting, the existence and chronology of J are highly controversial. For the tradition position, see Norman C. Habel, *Literary Criticism of the Old Testament* (GBS; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971), 50; John T. Strong, “Shattering the Image of God: A Response to Theodore Hiebert’s Interpretation of the Story of the Tower of Babel,” *JBL* 127 (2008): 627; Joel S. Baden, “The Tower of Babel: A Case Study in the Competing Methods of Historical and Modern Literary Criticism,” *JBL* 128 (2009): 218, etc. For an interpretation of this account that sees complex redaction-critical developments in the text over hundreds of years, see Christoph Uehlinger, *Weltreicht und “eine Rede”: Eine Neue Deutung der sogenannten Turmbauerzählung (Gen 11, 1-9)* (OBO 101; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1990). In Uehlinger’s view, the text began as anti-Assyrian narrative, which was then later redacted in both the NA and Persian periods.

<sup>345</sup> Irsigler, *Zefanja*, 373.

that, given Zeph 3:10's reformulation of Isa 18:7, which is probably either from either the NB or Persian period, Zeph 3:10 is probably an addition to Zeph 3:8-13\* and most likely dates to the NB or Persian periods—of course, some time after v. 7 was added to Isaiah 18. The observation that v. 10 is secondary is nothing new and has been posited by scholars for some time.<sup>346</sup>

### 2.3.10 Ps 68:19a, 29-32

Citation	Ps 68:19a, 29-32 <sup>347</sup>
Who brings the wealth to Zion?	v. 19a: <i>b'dm w'p swrrym</i> ("from men, even from rebels") v. 30: <i>mlkym</i> ("kings")
What goods are received?	v. 19a: <i>mtnwt</i> ("gifts," "tribute") v. 30: <i>šy</i> ("a gift")
What terminology is used to describe how the wealth of nations comes to Zion?	v. 19a: <i>lqht</i> ("you took") v. 30: <i>ywbylw</i> ("they will bear")
Who receives the wealth?	v. 19a: <i>lqht</i> ("you [Yhwh] took") v. 30: <i>lk</i> ("to you [Yhwh]")
What is the text's genre?	Doxology to the Kingship of Israel's God
What is the text's date?	Undatable

#### 2.3.10.1 Contents and Genre

Psalm 68 is one of the Gordian Knots of biblical interpretation. Hans-Joachim Kraus sums up the situation in this way: "Es gibt im Psalter wohl kaum ein Lied, das in seiner Textverderbnis und Zusammenhanglosigkeit den Interpreten vor so große Aufgaben stellt wie Ps. 68."<sup>348</sup> The

<sup>346</sup> Helpfully, Rainer Edler has created several charts detailing which verses are considered secondary and by which scholars. See Edler, *Das Kerygma des Propheten Zefanja*, Tafel 3. See also also Karl Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963), 79. Cf. Vlaardingerbroek, *Zephaniah*, 192.

<sup>347</sup> Verse v. 19a, which describes Yhwh holding captives/captivity (*šby*) is probably connected to the booty motif (see v. 12) and, therefore, excluded from this study. See my introduction to this chapter (2.1) for a more detailed discussion of this and other exclusions.

<sup>348</sup> See his, *Psalmen* (2 vols.; BKAT XV/2; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978), 2:628.

Psalm is profoundly challenging on multiple levels. On the level of philology, it is filled with conundra (more than 15 terms and expressions are unique.)<sup>349</sup> Regarding genre, Psalm 68 is, at first glance, a diverse and somewhat eclectic collage of material. This feature of the text led W.F. Albright to conclude that the psalm was a “catalogue” of titles from early Hebrew poetry, the earliest of which can be dated between the 13th and 10th centuries B.C.E.<sup>350</sup>

Psalm 68 is, indeed, a potpourri pot of ancient tradition. And yet, there are several widely recognized thematic nodes around which the material has gathered: The deity’s defeat of his enemies, his kingship, and his election of Israel. The image of God as a royal divine hero is assumed throughout the psalm. In fact, in Psalm 68, the deity displays many of the ancient Near East’s most highly valued royal attributes: victory in battle (vv. 2-3, 5, 8-9, 12-15, 18-24, 29, 31), care for the disenfranchised and needy (v. 6-7, 11), opposition to rebels (v. 7), the collection of booty (vv. 19) and the reception of tribute (vv. 19, 30, 32). In the words of Hossfeld, “The center, which links these different aspects and holds them together, is the kingdom of God in the divine wealth of facets as creator, caring father of the poor, guide of Israel’s history, king in the

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<sup>349</sup> See Marvin E. Tate, *Psalms 51-100* (WBC 20; Dallas: Word Books, 1990), 170.

<sup>350</sup> Albright wrote that, “In Hebrew, poetic compositions were commonly identified by citing their first line or strophe, following Sumerian and Accadian models, as well as probably Canaanite. This we know from a number of clear citations in the Bible. This practice stands in contrast to Egyptian, at least to judge from extant Egyptian catalogues of religious and literary compositions. The Ugaritic epics are also referred to merely by a single word, *l-B’l*, *l-Krt*, *l-’Aqht*. A number of Sumerian and Accadian catalogues of literary works or lyric poems in particular have been preserved, so there is nothing surprising in having at least one such catalogue preserved in the Hebrew Bible.” See W.F. Albright, “A Catalogue of Early Hebrew Lyric Poems (Psalm LXVIII),” *HUCA* 1 (1950-1951): 1-7-8. While few today will find his conclusions convincing (including myself), it is important to realize that Albright was thoroughly and skillfully applying the logic of form-criticism to his object of study. Albright’s proposal, however, while brilliant, is not original. It was already anticipated, if not fully expressed, by a number of other scholars in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. For instance, in a critical note on Ps 68:12-15, John P. Peters writes, “In my translation of the Psalm (*Scriptures Hebrew and Christian*, II.108) I attempted to solve the difficulty by treating each of these unconnected sentences as the title or headline of a song . . . Only these titles have come down to us; but, judging by the titles, the songs seem to have been on the whole appropriate as paeans of victory over the Canaanites.” Peters then acknowledges that his own insight was anticipated by Ewald: “Ewald so far anticipated the explanation here offered as that he proposed to regard vs. 14 and 15 as a fragment of an old song put in the mouth of the women.” For these quotations, see John P. Peters, “Notes on Some Difficult Passages in the Old Testament,” *JBL* 11 (1892): 51-52.

Jerusalem Temple, and world-encompassing judge.”<sup>351</sup> Similarly, in his dissertation on Psalm 68,

John Philip LePeau writes:

Concerning the person of God, the psalmist develops his thought in three parts, corresponding to the Psalm's three main metrical divisions. God is (1) ideal king guaranteeing justice for the oppressed (vv. 2-11), (2) cosmic king ensuring order within the cosmos and providing life-bringing rain (vv. 12-24), and (3) universal king receiving from earthly kingdoms the homage and tribute due a conqueror (vv. 25-36) . . . Thus the Psalm emphasizes the deity's kingship but in ways other than those employed in the Enthronement Psalms.<sup>352</sup>

Other related but clearly distinct elements are present as well, especially the election of Israel, but the kingship of Yhwh clearly dominates.<sup>353</sup> One might label this psalm, then, a doxology to Yhwh's kingship, while recognizing, at the same time, that the psalm is generically ambiguous.

Psalm 68 divides into the following 9 units:<sup>354</sup>

- Superscription: v. 1
- Unit 1: vv. 2-4: Yhwh's enemies are scattered and perish in his presence. The righteous, however, are glad and rejoice before God.
- Unit 2: vv. 5-7: The audience is enjoined to sing and make music for Yhwh, who rides upon the steppes; the grounds for these actions are that he is a father to the orphans and a judge for the widows; he provides homes for the lonely, and “skillfully” sets free the imprisoned, while the rebellious inhabit a parched land.<sup>355</sup>

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<sup>351</sup> Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalms 2* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 168.

<sup>352</sup> From the abstract of his dissertation. See John Philip LePeau, “Psalm 68: An Exegetical and Theological Study” (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1981). Cf. J.P. Fokkelman, “The Structure of Psalm LXVIII,” in *In Quest of the Past: Studies on Israelite Religion, Literature, and Prophetism* (OtSt 26; Leiden: Brill, 1990), 74-77; Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 173.

<sup>353</sup> Alternatively, Artur Weiser proposes that “The advent of God in the light of the history of his redemptive work as concentrated in the cultic act is the proper theme of the psalm and sets the limits for its true understanding.” Weiser, not surprisingly, posits that the setting is the Covenant Festival of Yhwh. See his *Psalms* (trans. Herbert Hartwell; OTL; London: SCM Press, 1962), 482-3. Mitchell Dahood saw much more continuity in the psalm than is generally granted by scholars. He classifies it as a “triumphal hymn,” and argues that it relates a mythopoetic version of the Hexateuch, for it celebrates the defeat of the Egyptians and the deliverance of Israel (vv. 2-7), the wilderness escape and the theophany at Sinai (vv. 2-9), and the settlement in Canaan (vv. 10-15). See his *Psalms II: 51-100* (AB; Garden City: Doubleday, 1968), 133.

<sup>354</sup> For this division, see Sigmund Mowinckel, *Der achtundsechzigste Psalm* (Oslo: I Kommissjon Hos Jacob Dybwad, 1953); Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 161; Körtling, *Zion in den Psalmen*, 146-7. But see Samuel Terrien's eleven strophes (see his, *The Psalms: Strophic Structure and Theological Commentary* [Eerdmans Critical Commentary; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003], 485-9) and Briggs eight strophes (Charles A. Briggs and Emilie Grace Briggs, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms* [2 vols.; ICC; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906-1907], 2:96-105).

<sup>355</sup> For the translation of *bkwšrwt* as “skillfully” in this context, see Brent A. Strawn, “*kwšrwt* in Psalm 68:7, Again: A Small Test Case in Relating Ugarit to the Hebrew Bible,” *UF* 41 (2009): 631-48.

- Unit 3: vv. 8-11: These verses are a theophany closely modeled after Judges 5:4-5. But unlike Judges 5, they emphasize God marching before his people, as a commander, rather than coming out of Seir (cf. Judg 5:4).<sup>356</sup> God's presence affects creation itself, such that rain is released and the land is restored. God provides, again, for the poor.
- Unit 4: vv. 12-15: These verses describe a generic battle against nameless "kings." While some of the imagery in v. 14 is obscure, the plunder of the enemy by women (v. 13) and the defeat of kings are clearly dominant themes.
- Unit 5: vv. 16-19: The mountain of God, which provokes envy in other mountains, is the dominant motif. The collection of the defeated foes' wealth also spills over into these verses, forging a possible connection between Units 4-5. Finally, v. 18 describes God as a mighty king with a chariot force of thousands.
- Unit 6: vv. 20-24: These verses transition into blessing God, who "day after day," bears up his people, saves them from death, and utterly defeats their enemies.
- Unit 7: vv. 25-28: People see the processions of God into the sanctuary: singers, stringed instrumentalists, young women, all magnify God. Small Benjamin leads the way.
- Unit 8: vv. 29-32: The psalmist calls on God to display divine strength in the present as he has done in the past. Kings bring tribute to God. God is called upon to blast the "beast of the marsh, the herd of bulls among the calves of the people."<sup>357</sup> The section concludes with a vague statement about emissaries from Egypt and Cush. This may be a veiled reference to tribute-bearing, as many translations understand it, but that interpretation is far from certain.
- Unit 9: vv. 33-36: Finally, the kingdoms of the earth should sing to God, to the one who rides the ancient heavens and who lifts his mighty voice. God's majesty is over Israel, and it is he who gives power to his people.

Of these 36 verses, the most important are the tricola in v. 19a and vv. 30-32. Verse 19 can be analyzed colometrically as follows:

Verse	Hebrew Text	Colometric Analysis
v. 19a	<i>'lyt lmrwm šbyt šby lqht mtnwt b'dm w'p swrrym</i>	16/13/9
v. 19b	<i>lškn yh 'lhym</i>	11

You ascend to the heights, taking captives captive.  
you have taken tribute from mankind,<sup>358</sup>  
even from rebels.

<sup>356</sup> Judges 5:4 reads, *yhwh bš'tk mś'yr*, and Ps 68:8 reads, *'lhym bš'tk lpny 'mk*. See Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms* 2, 165.

<sup>357</sup> The rest of v. 31 is corrupt and nearly impossible to translate.

<sup>358</sup> Albright posited that *'dm* should actually be read, *'rm*, which, in turn referred to David's "successful campaign in Zobah about the middle of his reign, c. 980 B.C.E." See Albright, "A Catalogue of Early Hebrew Lyric Poems (Psalms LXVIII), 26. More likely, however, is the generic, "mankind."

Surely, Yh God abides there!<sup>359</sup>

The psalmist celebrates the deity's reign by declaring that he has not only received tribute from humanity at large, he has received it even from those who had rebelled against him. The refusal to pay tribute, of course, was a common problem for ancient Near Eastern monarchs, whose empires depended on the system. Yhwh's imperium, however, is entirely unhindered by such issues. He secures tribute from them in spite of rebellious efforts to undermine his authority.

Verses 29-32 are the second set of verses relevant to this dissertation. In the MT, they read as follows:

Verse	Hebrew Text	Colometric Analysis
v. 29-30a	<i>šwh 'lhyk 'zk</i> <i>'wzh 'lhym zw p 'lt lnw</i> <i>mhyklk 'l yrwšlm</i>	11/18/14
v. 30b	<i>lk ywbylw mlkym šy</i>	15
v. 31	<i>g 'r hyt qnh</i> <i>[ 'dt 'byrym b 'gly 'mym?</i> <i>mtrps bršy ksp]</i> <i>bzr 'mym qrbwt yhpšw</i>	9/[18/12]/17 <sup>360</sup>
v. 32b	<i>y 'tyw ḥšmnym mny mšrym (19)</i> <i>kwš tryš ydyw l 'lhym (17)</i>	19/17

v. 29-30a: Command your strength, O God,<sup>361</sup>

<sup>359</sup> The line, *lškn yh 'lhym* (translated here: "Surely, Yhwh God abides there!") is problematic. Commenting on these words, Albright despairingly wrote, "I have no idea what to do with them." Albright, "A Catalogue of Early Hebrew Lyric Poems (Psalms LXVIII), 26. Given the context of v. 19a, whatever 19b is trying to communicate has something to do with Yhwh's rule over the peoples of the earth, regardless of whether *'dm* refers to humanity, Edom, or Aram. *škn*, then, probably has to do with Yhwh's choice of Zion his dwelling. This interpretation fits the lexeme's use in the larger context. For instance, v. 17, which is much easier to interpret, reads: "Why do you envy, O jagged peaks, the mountain which God delighted to inhabit, even Yhwh, who resides [*yškn*] there forever." (cf. Isa 57:15). Deuteronomy 12:11 might provide another useful, albeit less proximate, parallel: *whyh lmqwm 'šr ybhr yhwh 'lhykm bw lškn šmw šm šmh tby 'w 't kl 'šr 'nky mšwh* ("Then the place on which Yhwh your God will choose to establish his name, to there you will bring all that I command you"). For this suggestion, see A.A. Anderson, *The Book of Psalms* (London: Oliphants, 1972) 2:492. Regarding the /l-/, I follow Dahood who suggest that it is the *lamedh emphaticum* (cf. NET's, "Indeed the LORD God lives there!"). See Dahood, *Psalms II*, 143. This reading rejects, however, Dahood's proposal that *lškn* be read as "completely entombed." For a discussion of the emphatic lamed, see Waltke and O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 11.2.10h.

<sup>360</sup> The second and third bicola of v. 31, which are very obscure, are probably an expansive addition, situated right in the middle of a bicola. The addition primarily expands upon the first colon (*g 'r hyt qnh*).

<sup>361</sup> I read *'lhym* rather than *'lhyk*. This reading is support by the OG (ἔντειλαι ὁ θεός τῆ δυνάμει σου δυνάμωσιν ὁ θεός τοῦτο δ κατειργάσω ἡμῖν). See Alfred Rahlfs, *Psalms cum Odis* [Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum 10; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979], 191). This reading is supported by other manuscript

exercise your might, O God as you did for us (previously).  
from<sup>362</sup> your temple above Jerusalem.

v. 30b:

Kings will bring gifts to you.<sup>363</sup>

v. 31: Rebuke the creature of the reed,<sup>364</sup>

[*the assembly of bulls among the calves of people  
trampling pieces of silver.*]<sup>365</sup>

Scatter those who delight in battles.<sup>366</sup>

v. 32: Let *ḥšmny*<sup>367</sup> come from Egypt,

evidence as well: Targum, Vulgate, etc. See also Briggs and Briggs, *The Book of Psalms*, 2:103-4; Hermann Gunkel, *Die Psalmen* (6<sup>th</sup> ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986) 283, 291; Kraus, *Psalmen*, 2:628; Weiser, *The Psalms*, 479.

<sup>362</sup> The /*mn*/ is typically understood in one of two ways: either as the causal /*mn*/ (NRSV, KJV, NASB) or as the /*mn*/ of source (TNK). The first option imagines that the sanctuary itself is the reason why the *mlkym* bring gifts. In the second rendering, which to my mind is most convincing, *mhyklk 'lyrwšlm* completes the thought of v.29b, *zww p'lt lnw*, indicating the place from which Yhwh acted. This second proposal results in a tricola. That is, the deeds which Yhwh had previously done “for us” were enacted *from* Yhwh’s temple. It is worth noting that, in every other occurrence of the phrase, *mhykl*, the /*mn*/ is best understood as one of source, and does not seem to indicate a causal syntactical relationship (see 2 Sam 22:7; 2 Kgs 23:4; Isa 66:6; Mic 1:2; Ps 45:9). Saving divine action is often associated with Yhwh’s presence in the temple: “In my distress, I cried out to Yhwh, and to my God I cried. He heard my voice from his temple [*mhyklw*], and my plea entered his ears. The earth quaked tremendously, the foundations of the heavens shook, and reeled because he was angry” (2 Sam 22:7-8; cf. Ps 18:7-8). In support of this view, Jörg Jeremias writes about Psalm 68, “Wie schon gesehen, ist Gottes Heiligtum der Ausgangsort sowohl für die Fürsorgeerfahrungen der Vergangenheit (V. 6; vgl. V. 36) als auch für die kultischen Erfahrungen der Gegenwart (V.17-19.25) als auch schließlich für die erst erbetenen Machterfahrungen der Zukunft (V. 30; vgl. V. 36). Weil der im Heiligtum präsente Gott die Kontinuität zwischen den geschichtlichen Erfahrungen bildet, lassen sich im Heiligtum gleicherweise Vergangenheits- wie Gegenwarts- und Zukunftserfahrungen machen.“ See his *Das Königtum Gottes in den Psalmen: Israels Begegnung mit dem kanaänischen Mythos in den Jahwe-König-Psalmen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987), 78.

<sup>363</sup> Although the syntax and terminology of v. 30b are very clear, I am uncertain about its relationship to its surroundings. For instance, v. 30b actually fits quite well with v. 32, which also seems to concern the diplomatic exchange of gifts. But to connect v. 30b and v. 32 is difficult given the sudden interjection of animal themes in v. 31. While part of v. 32 is probably secondary (see my discussion below), this is probably not the case for the entire verse. The relationship between v. 30b and the rest of the psalm may have to be remain something of a mystery. For now, I tentatively render it as a monoclon.

<sup>364</sup> The phrase, *hyt qnh*, may refer to a hippopotamus or a crocodile, both fitting images given the emphasis on Egypt in vv. 31-32. Other biblical texts associate reeds with Egypt (see, e.g., Isa 19:6; 2 Kgs 18:21). It may be significant that both the hippopotamus and the crocodile were important themes in Egyptian art, mythology, and daily life. Both could be hunted in the so-called “daily life” scenes in tombs and were used to represent deities. See, e.g., Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, *On Egyptian Representations of Hippopotamus Hunting as a Religious Motive* (Horae Soedrbloimianae 3; Upsala: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1953); Geraldine Pinch, *Handbook of Egyptian Mythology: A Guide to the Gods, Goddesses, and Traditions of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 141-43.

<sup>365</sup> This line is in italics because of its marked difficulty. While legions of proposed interpretations exist, I think it best to leave the line as it is without trying to propose a solution.

<sup>366</sup> *qrbwt* is an Aramaic loanword that is borrowed into Assyrian, not the other way around. See Paul V. Mankowski, S.J., *Akkadian Loanwords in Biblical Hebrew* (HSS 47; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 133-4.

<sup>367</sup> The definition of this word is contested. Related terms exist—but with different meanings—in Ugaritic and Akkadian: Ugaritic: *ḥs/šw(n)* (“edible substance,” “garlic?,” “onion?”); Akkadian: *ḥašmānu* (CAD: a stone, a blue-green color). Cf. Hittite *ḥazzuwanni-* (“plant”? “salad”?; see Johann Tischler, *Hethitisches Handwörterbuch* [Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 102; Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität

Cush causes his hands to hasten to God.

In spite of our best critical efforts, a number of basic issues in this unit remain hidden behind difficulty poetry, erratic colometry, and probably even textual corruption. Nevertheless, Hossfeld seems correct when he asserts that this unit

interprets the most important points of the political agenda: reception of regular payments of tribute, holding in check the major power, Egypt (the wild beast of the reeds), along with other rebellious nations, and securing trade with the distant south (Egypt and Ethiopia).<sup>368</sup>

The notion of tribute or political gift-bearing, which is the most important element for the present study, is clearly present in v. 30: “kings will bring gifts [šy] to you.” The term šy is quite rare, being used only x3 in the HB (see Isa 18:7; Pss 68:30; 76:12). In every case, šy is the object of *ybl* (“bear along,” “carry”) and it seems always to refer to gift-bearing as an act of homage.<sup>369</sup>

### 2.3.10.2 Compositional History

Scholars posit a variety of dating schemes for Psalm 68. Given the remarkable number of textual, philological, and colometric uncertainties, it would be surprising if Psalm 68 had not undergone extensive revision over a long period of time and in the process accrued “corruptions” or changes to the text that ultimately make interpretation more difficult for modern readers. While a comprehensive redaction-critical analysis is beyond the goals of this chapter, let me point to a

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Innsbruck, 2001], 49). In his study of loanwords, Mankowski discusses neither Heb. *ḥšmny* nor Akk. *ḥašmānu*. I suspect this is because either he does not think the Hebrew term was borrowed from Akk. or he considers it one of the *Kulturwörter*, which he excludes from his study. *Kulturwörter* are nouns that “tend to be concrete, physical, palpable objects: the most common categories are plants and vegetable products, metals, minerals, wild animals, and utensils.” See his *Akkadian Loanwords in Biblical Hebrew*, 7. Some scholars even follow the Greek translation, *πρέσβεις* (“elders”). I suspect, however, that, given the unique nature of the term in BH, the Greek translators were probably just as confused as moderns are. The choice of *πρέσβεις*, then, probably reflects their best attempt to find a term that fits the context. Given the diverse nature of the philological evidence, I have decided to leave the term untranslated. See also the brief review of this issue in Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 169.

<sup>368</sup> See Hossfeld in Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 167.

<sup>369</sup> See esp. Lavik, *A People Tall and Smooth-Skinned*, 215-17.

few key features that suggest that Psalm 68 has in fact undergone a significant amount of editorial reworking.<sup>370</sup> A discussion of the psalm's date will immediately follow.

Hossfeld makes an important point that, in my view, is key to understanding the broad contours of Psalm 68's development: "Psalm 68 has three successive beginnings"<sup>371</sup>: a prelude (vv. 2-4),<sup>372</sup> a call to praise (vv. 5-7), and a theophany (vv. 8-11). The first prelude (vv. 2-4) echoes a number of other biblical texts. The opening line is a variant on Num 10:25, but with two particularly noteworthy changes: the use of *'lhym* rather than Yhwh and the use of the prefix conjugation, *yqwm* ("God will arise" or "Let God arise"), rather than the imperative, *qwmh* ("Arise!"). The phrase, *y'bdw rš 'ym mpy 'lhym* (v. 3), is similar to Ps 1:6a (*rš 'ym t'bd*; cf. Pss 9:6; 37:20; 112:10).<sup>373</sup> Both Psalms 1 and 68 use *√ndp* ("drive about") (Pss 1:4; 68:3). And in fact, when it comes to the Psalter, *√rš'* and *√ndp* are only used together here, which might suggest that Psalm 1, which many understand to be late, had some influence over the composition of vv. 2-4 or vice-versa.<sup>374</sup> Determining the direction of influence, however, is excessively problematic, making these inter-textual references uncertain ground on which to build a composition-historical argument.

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<sup>370</sup> Many scholars share this assumption. See, e.g., Briggs and Briggs, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, 2:96; Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 162-3; Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Psalms Part 2 and Lamentations* (FOTL 15; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 34-46; Klaus Seybold has made the novel proposal that the original Psalm was an acrostic poem with seven strophes, which were only later reconstructed into their present form. In his words, "Der akrostichische Text wurde offenbar als Steinbruch benützt für einen Text, der eine anthologische Reihe von Versen bietet, denen eine aporistische Eingenständigkeit eigen ist." See his, *Die Psalmen* (HAT I/15; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1996), 262.

<sup>371</sup> Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 162.

<sup>372</sup> Cf. Gerstenberger's tentative comments: "There is a slight possibility that vv. 2-4 are not the beginning of the hymn proper (which would start only, with a regular SUMMONS TO PRAISE, in v. 5), but a PROLOGUE to be read or sung in the worship service before the intonation of the victory song. Evidence for this classification includes (a) that v. 2 is a quotation from Num 10:35, the famous old spell-like saying about the ark, and (b) the late, general juxtaposition of *ršā 'im* and *šaddiqim* in vv. 3c, 4, which seems to function as a heading for the whole poem...." Gerstenberger, *Psalms Part 2, and Lamentations*, 35.

<sup>373</sup> It is a slight exaggeration and misleading to say that "The statement 'The wicked will perish before Yhwh' is Ps 1:6b to the letter." Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 163. Ps 1:6a, in fact, reads a singular verb, whereas Ps 68:3 is plural.

<sup>374</sup> For the "post-exilic" dating of Psalm 1, see, e.g., David L. Petersen and Kent Harold Richards, *Interpreting Hebrew Poetry* (GBS; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 91; Gerstenberger, *Psalms Part 2, and Lamentations*, 43.

The second introduction (vv. 5-7), which contains several tricola (v. 5 [10/7/13], v. 6 [9/10/14], v. 7 [20/18/17]) and one monocolon at the end of v. 5 (15), opens with a summons to praise. “Sing [šyrw] to God, chant [zmrw] his name.”<sup>375</sup> Together with vv. 33-36 (“Kingdoms of the earth, sing [šyrw] to God, chant [zmrw] to the Lord, Selah”), vv. 5-7 make up an “outer ring”<sup>376</sup> that probably demarcates the boundaries of an earlier psalm, to which the prelude was added. This introduction, along with its echo in vv. 33-36 (v. 33a [10], v. 33b [10/8], v. 34 [13/15], v. 35 [11/12/10], v. 36a [16/25], v. 36b [9]), may also be editorial additions to the original psalm, though this conclusion remains tentative.

The theophany in vv. 8-11 (v. 8: 17/12 [17/14]<sup>377</sup>) corresponds to vv. 29-32 (v. 29 [11/18], v. 30 [14/15], v. 31a [9/18], v. 31b [12/17], v. 32 [19/17]).<sup>378</sup> Yhwh’s might and great deeds are at the center—as a God of the desert and of Sinai (see esp. vv. 8-9), and also as a God who rules from Zion (vv. 30, 32). This framework constitutes a remarkable confluence of traditional theological material. The inner ring (vv. 8-11, 12-28, 29-32\*) probably closely resembles the original psalm.<sup>379</sup>

But apart from this general outline, which is far from certain, I am very skeptical of further attempts to identify editorial additions or reworking in Psalm 68, which has eluded scholars for generations and produced countless proposals. I have no doubt that many of the traditional fragments in Psalm 68 are very old. If more information were available on the origins of ancient Israel, we would likely discover that the various poetic threads that now comprise the tapestry of Psalm 68 were, at one time, important elements in the worship life of ancient Israel, quite apart from their present context. But Psalm 68 stands as an intellectual boundary marker in

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<sup>375</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 35.

<sup>376</sup> Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms* 2, 163.

<sup>377</sup> 17/12 reflects the omission of the *selāh*.

<sup>378</sup> Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms* 2, 163.

<sup>379</sup> *Ibid.*, 163.

the world of biblical studies: on the one hand, it indicates how far we have come in our knowledge and skills; and, on the other hand, it coldly reminds us of the profound limitations history has placed on our knowledge. I place Psalm 68, then, in the category of “undatable.”

### 2.3.11 Ps 72:10-11

Citation	Ps 72:10-11
Who brings the wealth to Zion?	v.10: <i>mlky tršyš</i> (“kings of Tarshish”) v. 10: <i>’yym</i> (“islands”) v.10: <i>mlky šb ’wsb ’</i> (“kings of Sheba and Seba”) v.11: <i>kl mlkym</i> (“all kings”) v. 11: <i>kl gwym</i> (“all nations”) <sup>380</sup>
What goods are received?	v. 10: <i>mnḥh</i> (“gift/tribute”) v.10: <i>’škr</i> (“present”) v. 15(?): <i>mzḥb šb ’</i> (“gold of Sheba”)
What terminology is used to describe how the wealth of nations comes to Zion?	v. 10: <i>yšybw</i> (“they will bring [back]”) v.10: <i>yqrybw</i> (“they will bring near”) v. 15 (?): <i>wytnlw</i> (“let one give him”)
Who receives the wealth?	v. 10: human king: suggested by context (see vv. 9, 11)
What is the text’s genre?	Intercession for the King
What is the text’s date?	NB Period?

#### 2.3.11.1 Contents and Genre

Although other genres have been proposed, scholars generally agree that Psalm 72 is an intercessory prayer for the king.<sup>381</sup> It belongs to a larger group of “royal psalms” (see Psalms 2,

<sup>380</sup> Neither “all kings” nor “all nations” are explicitly said to come to Zion. The verse only says that they will “bow” and “serve” the king. I assume, however, that, in the case of bowing, such an action would involve their physical presence in Jerusalem.

<sup>381</sup> See Markus Saur, *Die Königpsalmen: Studien zur Entstehung und Theologie* (BZAW 340; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2004), 133; Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms* 2, 206; Terrien, *The Psalms*, 519. Alternatively, some interpret the psalm messianically. See, e.g., the discussion in J.-M Carrière, “Le Ps 72 est-il un psaume messianique?,” *Bib* 72 (1991): 49-69.

18, 20, 21, 45, 72, 89, 101, 110, 132, 144),<sup>382</sup> and may even be tied to enthronement rituals.<sup>383</sup> Because Psalm 72 seems to provide one of the clearest depictions of Judahite royal ideology, the psalm has received a great deal of attention in secondary literature, especially from scholars interested in comparative analysis and in messianism's roots.<sup>384</sup> While vv. 1-2 are the only formal prayers to God ("O God, grant the king your judgments, and your righteousness to the king's son, in order that he might judge your people righteously, and your poor ones justly"), a number of "wishes," marked by jussive verbs (see esp. vv. 8 [wyrđ], 15 [wyhy], 16-17 [yhy], 17 [K: ynyn, Q: ynwn]), indicate that prayer is implied throughout the psalm (see esp. the TNK's jussive-rich translation).<sup>385</sup> The formal prayer asks that the king receive God's judgments and God's righteousness, so that he may judge his subjects rightly (vv. 1-2). The psalm's long list of wishes is generally concerned with the king's care for the disadvantaged (vv. 2, 3, 4, 12), the well-being of his obedient subjects (v. 7), the defeat of enemies (vv. 4, 9), the fertility of the land (vv. 2, 16), the well-being of the king (vv. 5, 17),<sup>386</sup> the maintenance of the king's global empire

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<sup>382</sup> W.M.L. de Wette was the first to identify the "royal psalms" as a distinct genre. He included within this category, Psalms 2, 20, 21, 45, and 110. For a discussion of the history of research around this genre, see Saur, *Die Königspsalmen*, 3-9. The list given above follows Gunkel's list of *Königspsalmen* (*Einleitung in die Psalmen*, 140).

<sup>383</sup> See David M. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 393-394.

<sup>384</sup> For comparative studies, see esp., Roland E. Murphy, *A Study of Psalm 72(71)* (Washington D.C., The Catholic University of America Press, 1948), 45-78; Shalom M. Paul, "Psalm 72:5-A Traditional Blessing for the Long Life of the King," *JNES* 31 (1972): 351-55; Oswald Loretz, *Die Königspsalmen: Die altorientalischen-kanaanäische Königstradition in jüdischer Sicht* (Ugaritisch-biblische Literatur 6; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1988); Manfred Dietrich and Oswald Loretz, "Von hebräisch 'm/lpny zu ugaritisch 'm 'vor', in *Ascribe to the Lord: Biblical & Other Essays in Memory of Peter C. Craigie* (JSOTSup 67; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1998), 109-16; Martin Arneith, "Sonne der Gerechtigkeit": *Studien zur Solarisierung der Jahwe-Religion im Lichte von Psalm 72* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte 1; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000); idem, "Psalm 72 in seinen altorientalischen Kontexten," in "Mein Sohn bist du," (*Ps 2,7*): *Studien zu den Königspsalmen* (SBS 192; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk GmbH, 2002), 135-72.

For study on messianism, see, e.g., Murphy, *A Study of Psalm 72(71)*; Craig C. Broyles, "The Redeeming King: Psalm 72's Contribution to the Messianic Ideal," in *Eschatology, Messianism, and The Dead Sea Scrolls* (Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 23-40, etc.

<sup>385</sup> For the genre of "wish," see Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 2*, 66.

<sup>386</sup> For a helpful exposition of v. 5 in light of ancient Near Eastern parallels, see Paul, "Psalm 72:5," 351-55.

(vv. 8, 9, 10, 11, 17),<sup>387</sup> and the wealth of the nations (vv. 10-11, 15).<sup>388</sup> While most of the attention is focused on the king and his deeds, one should not overlook the contribution made by creation itself, most notably the mountains and hills, which “bring forth” (*yś’w*) peace and righteousness (v. 3).<sup>389</sup> The most relevant sections for this study, of course, are vv. 8-14, 15-17, which concern the wealth of the nations.

Verses 8-14 (v. 8 [11/14], v. 9 [14/14], v. 10a [14/9], v. 10b [11/10] v. 11 [16/13], v. 12 [15/13], v. 13 [13/18], v. 14 [17/14]) focus almost exclusively on the king’s relationship to foreigners. The section begins with the wish that he would dominate (*wyrd*) “from sea to sea and from the river to the ends of the earth” (*mym ‘d ym wmnhr ‘d ’psy ’rś*, v. 8; cf. Exod 23:31; Zech 9:10). Murphy is correct when he states that “It is not possible to localize his description with certainty, but the general sense of the verse is: universal dominion.”<sup>390</sup> That is, we are dealing here with court encomium and cosmic geography, not cool administrative reportage (see my discussion of the ancient Near Eastern prototypes for this kind of claim in §2.3.3.1). In a somewhat ambiguous parallel line, verse 9 asks that the desert dwellers (*šyyim*) would bow before

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<sup>387</sup> For a discussion of this concept, see Herbert G. May, “Aspects of the Imagery of World Dominion and World State in the Old Testament,” in *Essays in Old Testament Ethics* (J. Philip Hyatt, *In Memoriam*) (ed. James L. Crenshaw and John T. Willis; New York: Ktav, 1974), 67.

<sup>388</sup> Some scholars would include v. 15 in this list: *wyħy wytm lw mzhb šb’*. The real question concerns the identification of the verbal subjects and the pronominal referents. One school of thought interprets the verbs indefinitely (“one will give to him”), which can, in English, be rendered, “he will be given” or simply “he will receive” (see, e.g., NRSV; cf. the Greek, *δοθήσεται αὐτῷ*). In this interpretation, the king would, for a second time, receive the wealth of Sheba (cf. v. 10). This is not necessarily a problem. But in this case, it seems more likely that the ms pronoun attached to /l-/ refers to the same person(s) whose blood is precious in the king’s site in the previous verse (*wyyqr dmm b’ynyw*). The person who will “live” (v. 15), then, is not the king but the poor person, for whom the king cares. And unlike other kings who might keep the gold, “he [the good king] will give to him [the poor mentioned in vv. 12-14] the gold of Sheba,” which the king had previous received as tribute (v. 10). For a recent argument on behalf of this interpretation, see Gianni Barbiero’s recent study, “The Risks of Fragmented Reading of the Psalms: Psalm 72 as a Case in Point,” *ZAW* 120 (2008): 79-80. This interpretive decision is in fact precisely how Ibn Ezra and D. Kimchi understood the verse as well. See the citations in *ibid.*, 79n38.

<sup>389</sup> Following numerous Greek witnesses, Syriac, and the Vulgate, the more original text probably lacked the /b-/. See, e.g., Murphy, *A Study of Psalm 72(71)*, 18 and *BHS*. For the meaning, “bring forth,” see Ezek 17:8; 36:8.

<sup>390</sup> Murphy, *A Study of Psalm 72(71)*, 27.

him and that the king's enemies ( 'ybyw) would lick the dust. *syym* is not an error in the MT (contra *BHS*). Rather, it is probably a way of describing the cosmic aspect of kingship:

Daß diese Unterwerfung von den םצ׳ vollzogen wird, womit neben den feindlichen Wüstenbewohnern auch die Wüstendämonen bezeichnet werden können, gibt der umfassenden Herrschaft des Königs eine ganz besondere Note: Er beherrscht nicht nur den gesamten Erdkreis, sondern auch alle Mächte und Kräfte, die zwischen Himmel und Erde wirksam werden können.<sup>391</sup>

Verse 10 then asks that the kings of Tarshish and the islands would bring “tribute” (*mnḥh*) to him and that the kings of Sheba and Saba would bring a “present” ( 'škr).<sup>392</sup> The bearing of gifts is also to be accompanied by the nations' genuflection (*wyštḥww*) and service (*y'bdwhw*) (v. 11). The rest of vv. 8-14 detail the king's care for the distressed, effectively merging “domestic” and “foreign” policy. The section ends with the choice phrase, “And their blood is precious in his eyes” (v. 14). From the *ky* in v. 12 on into v. 15, then, the verbs should be understood as indicative statements (“*For* he rescues . . . he has pity on . . . he saves . . . he redeems . . . their blood is precious . . . he will give to him. . .”), not wishes, for they provide the causal (and indeed, moral) ground for the king's universal rule.<sup>393</sup>

### 2.3.11.2 Compositional History

<sup>391</sup> Saur, *Die Königspsalmen*, 142. See also Arneth, “*Sonner der Gerechtigkeit*”, 22 *passim*.

<sup>392</sup> *mnḥh* is a common word in the WNT texts (see 1 Kgs 10:25; Isa 66:20; Zeph 3:10; Ps 96:8//1 Chr 16:29; 2 Chr 32:23). 'škr, however, is extremely rare (see Ezek 27:15). It is probably related to Akk. *iškaru* A (1. work assigned to be performed, 2. materials or supplies for workmen, 3. finished products, staples or materials, to be delivered, 4. a kind of tax, 5. field on which *iškaru* work is done, 6. literary work, collection of songs [see CAD 7:244]). See Mankowski, *Akkadian Loanwords in Biblical Hebrew*, 42.

<sup>393</sup> In defense of the causal reading of the *ky*, David Jobling expresses the key insight: “The most important feature of Part II of the psalm, wherein lies its basic difference from Part I, is the introduction of vv. 12-14 by the subordinating particle *kî*: ‘May he have dominion,’ etc. (vv. 8-11) ... “because he delivers the needy,” etc. (vv. 12-14). The *petitions* in Part II have been grounded in the *fact* of the king's defense of the poor; the theme of the king's justice, which does not occur anywhere else in Part II than in vv. 12-14, has been withdrawn from the perpetual motion machine, to become the machine's motor. From being part of a permanent, inevitable system, it has become a condition for the working of the rest of the system.” See his “Deconstruction and the Political Analysis of Biblical Texts: A Jamesonian Reading of Psalm 72,” *Semeia* 59 (1992): 103. For the reading of the shortened verbs, *wyḥy wytm*, as indicative, see Barbiero's recent study, “The Risks of Fragmented Reading,” 74.

Before discussing the date of Psalm 72, a number of literary- and redaction-critical issues need to be addressed. It will come as no surprise to find that scholars have found many reasons to posit multiple compositional stages in this psalm. As I will argue below, our understanding of the compositional history of Psalm 72 benefits from these redaction-critical observations; but at the same time, a number of (apparent) indications of redaction are very problematic and require reevaluation.

Concerning points of agreement, many scholars would agree that *lšlmh*, the colophon (v. 20), and the closing doxology (vv. 18-19) are secondary additions to the older version of the psalm.<sup>394</sup> Some agreement—although far less—exists on the redaction of vv. 2-17. Zenger, whose arguments I will return to below, claims that the base version of the psalm was vv. 1b-7, 12-14, 16-17ab (7<sup>th</sup> cent.).<sup>395</sup> This version, in turn, was augmented in vv. 8-11, 15, 17cd in, what Zenger calls, a single editorial event that is to be understood “als Teilstext des messianischen Psalters” (i.e., Psalms 2-89), and which can, in turn, be dated to around 300 B.C.E..<sup>396</sup> Martin Arneth thinks that vv. 1\*, 2-7, 12-14, 16, 17aαβ constitute the *Grundschrift*, which was composed during the reign of Josiah as a subversive reworking of an Assyrian coronation hymn.<sup>397</sup> This original psalm, in turn, was expanded by the addition of vv. 8-11, 15, 17aγb.<sup>398</sup> Similar conclusions are reached by Saur (original psalm: v1aβ\*.b-7, 12-14). In his mind, “Hier stehen die Gerechtigkeit des Königs und seine Aufgaben gegenüber den sozial Unterprivilegierten im Zentrum.”<sup>399</sup> In Saur’s view, the original psalm had its setting “im

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<sup>394</sup> See, e.g., Arneth, “*Sonne der Gerechtigkeit*”, 24.

<sup>395</sup> See Erich Zenger, “‘Es sollen sich niederwerfen vor ihm alle Könige’: Redaktionsgeschichtliche Beobachtungen zu Psalm 72 und zum Programm des messianischen Psalters Ps 2-89,” in “*Mein Sohn bist du*”, 66-93. See also Zenger in, Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 208.

<sup>396</sup> Zenger, “‘Es sollen sich niederwerfen vor ihm alle Könige’,” 80. See also Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 209.

<sup>397</sup> Arneth, “*Sonne der Gerechtigkeit*”, 40, 98-104.

<sup>398</sup> *Ibid.*, 44.

<sup>399</sup> Saur, *Die Königpsalmen*, 135.

Hofzeremoniell am vorexilischen Jerusalemer Königshof,” perhaps even during the reign of Josiah.<sup>400</sup> Bernard Renaud argues that vv. 8-11 and 18-19 are post-exilic and that vv. 5, 15, and 17 may be from the same hand as well.<sup>401</sup> The original psalm, then, would have been vv. 1\*, 2-4, 6-7, 12-14, 16. Finally, Loretz makes the important observation, with which I fully agree, that vv. 10 and the first bicolon of v. 15 are probably secondary, based on the fact that they are in *qinah* meter.<sup>402</sup> The point here is not that *qinah* = late, but that the *qinah* pattern is an anomalous disruption of the surrounding verses. Although hidden behind asterisks, verse numbers, a’s, b’s, and β’s, these recent redaction-critical studies share a number of features in common, especially when it comes to the secondary nature of vv. 8-11, and 15.<sup>403</sup>

But a serious challenge has recently been mounted against the proposal that multiple stages of redaction are detectable in Psalm 72. Gianni Barbiero, whose insights already sprinkle the paragraphs above, argues that “a fragmentation of Ps 72 into different redactional strata is not justified by the evidence of the text itself, which proves to be perfectly coherent.”<sup>404</sup> Because Zenger’s arguments are the most thoroughly explained and are often the starting place for other redaction-critical analyses of this time, they are the ones in Barbiero’s crosshairs.

Now, before proceeding, it is worth noting that Barbiero actually thinks the psalm underwent multiple stages of redaction. But he thinks that evidence for such editorial work is lacking and that the fragmentation of the psalm into numerous editions actually mutilates the psalm on an aesthetic level. The psalm, in his words, can be described as having “internal unity”

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<sup>400</sup> Ibid.

<sup>401</sup> See his, “De la bénédiction de Dieu (Ps 72),” *Bib* 70 (1989): 305-26.

<sup>402</sup> Loretz, *Die Königspsalmen*, 123.

<sup>403</sup> Similar conclusions were reached already at the beginning of the last century, as indicated in the Barbiero’s recent study, “The Risks of Fragmented Reading of the Psalms,” 68-9.

<sup>404</sup> Ibid., 90.

and “harmony.”<sup>405</sup> Barbiero’s challenge to Zenger cannot be recounted in full here, but a few highlights will showcase the power of the argument.

Most of the dispute revolves around vv. 8-11, which happen to be the most relevant verses for the present study. Zenger claims that vv. 8-11 are a tightly knit textual unity that is set apart by its vantage point, its lack of connection to what precedes it, its universal scope (and, therefore, lack of attention to domestic policy), and its density of intertextual allusions. But his claims are problematic at a number of points. To begin with, for Barbiero, v. 8 does not belong to vv. 9-11 but rather to what precedes it, namely, vv. 5-8:

1. vv. 5-7 correspond to one another by way of *yrh*
2. vv. 6 and 8 both have *’rš* in final position.
3. vv. 6 and 8 begin with the phonetically similar *yrđ* (v. 6) and *wyrđ* (v. 8)
4. *’d* units vv. 7 and 8.
5. On the level of content, both vv. 6 and 8 feature the king as the main subject.<sup>406</sup>

In addition vv. 9-11 do not mark such a radical shift in content and perspective that they must be interpreted as being from a different editorial hand. Rather, vv. 9-11 relate the natural *consequence* of vv. 2-8. In Barbiero’s words, “Verses 2-4 explain that the reign of the »king« is characterized by the establishment of justice, and vv. 5-8 indicate that the fruits of that justice are peace and well-being.”<sup>407</sup>

Barbiero also takes issue with Zenger’s claim that that the phrase in v. 17, *wytrkw bw kl gwym y ’šrwhw* (“They will bless themselves by him, all the nations will call him blessed”)—which clearly refers back to v. 11 (cf. *kl gwym* and the 3mpl verbs + 3s suffixes in both verses) and at the same time calls to mind Gen 12:3—must also be part of the secondary expansion that was responsible for vv. 8-11. But the argument for the secondary nature of this bicolon is problematic, for, as Barbiero shows, vv. 16-17 are arranged according to an ABA’B’ pattern,

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<sup>405</sup> Ibid.

<sup>406</sup> See *ibid.*, 72.

<sup>407</sup> *ibid.*, 73.

thereby tying to the two verses closely together.<sup>408</sup> Colometric data supports Barbiero's conclusion. In fact, the bicola in v. 17 are quite regular (see analysis below) and, showing no signs of editorial reworking or additions.

Colometric analysis can add an additional layer of data to this important debate. The following analysis omits *lšlmh* in v. 1 and the colophon in vv. 18-19:

Verse	Hebrew Text	Colometric Analysis
v. 1	<i>'lhm mšp̄tyk lmlk tn wšdqtk lbn mlk</i>	17/12
v. 2	<i>ydyn 'mk bšdq w 'nyyk bms̄p̄t</i>	11/11
v. 3	<i>yš 'w hrym šlw̄m l 'm wgb 'wt bšdqh</i>	15/11
v. 4	<i>yšp̄t 'nyy 'm ywšy ' lbny 'bywn wydk ' wšq</i>	10/14/9
v. 5	<i>yyr 'wk 'm šmš wlpny yr̄h dwr dwrym</i>	11/16
v. 6	<i>yrd km̄tr ' l gz krbybym zr̄zyp 'r̄š</i>	11/15
v. 7	<i>ypr̄h bymyw šd[y]q wrb šlw̄m 'd bly yr̄h</i>	13/14 [13/15] <sup>409</sup>
v. 8	<i>wyrd mym 'd ym wmnhr 'd 'psy 'r̄š</i>	11/14
v. 9	<i>lpnyw ykr 'w šyym w 'ybyw 'pr ylh̄kw</i>	14/14
v. 10a	<i>mlky tr̄šyš w 'yym mn̄hh yšybw</i>	14/9 (Qinah)
v. 10b	<i>mlky šb ' wsb ' 'škr yqrybw</i>	11/10 (Qinah)
v. 11	<i>wyšt̄hww lw kl mlkym kl gwym y 'bdwhw</i>	16/13
v. 12	<i>ky ysyl 'bywn mšw ' w 'ny w 'yn 'zr lw</i>	15/13
v. 13	<i>yhs ' l dl w 'bywn wnp̄šwt 'bywnym ywšy ' wyyqr dmm b 'ynyw</i>	13/18
v. 14	<i>mtwk wnh̄mw yg 'l np̄šm wyyqr dmm b 'ynyw</i>	17/14

<sup>408</sup> See the discussion and chart in *ibid.*, 75-6.

<sup>409</sup> OG probably read *šedeq* rather than MT's *šadîq*, reducing the colometric count by one. See Loretz, *Die Königspsalmen*, 122. See also *BHS*.

v. 15a	<i>wyhy wytn lw mzħb šb´</i>	10/7 ( <i>Qinah</i> )
v. 15b	<i>wytpll b´dw tmyd kl hywm ybrknhw</i>	14/13
v. 16a	<i>yhy pst br b´rš br´š hrym yr´š</i>	12/8 <sup>410</sup>
v. 16b	<i>klbnwn pryw wysyšw m´yr k´šb h´rš</i>	10/18
v. 17a	<i>yhy šmw l´wlm lpny šmš ynyn šmw</i>	11/14
v. 17b	<i>wytbrkw bw kl gwym y´šrwħw</i>	9/13

Colometrically, the lines are regular and in accord with the line lengths of the surrounding verses. Verses 10a, 10b and 15a, however, are conspicuous for their use of *qinah* meter. The contents of v. 10, moreover, disturb the close thematic connection between vv. 9 and 11, neither of which is in *qinah*:

v. 9: Let the desert-dwellers kneel before him,  
and his enemies lick dust.

v. 11: Let all the kings bow to him  
all the nations serve him.

Verses 9 and 11, in other words, deal exclusively with the genuflection of the nations. Verse 10, however, shifts to a discussion about the kings bringing tribute to the king. The sudden shift in content, along with the anomalous use of *qinah*, suggests that v. 10 along with v. 15 (the other verse written in *qinah*) were secondarily added to the poem.

These findings are minimalistic, and it is almost certain that further editing occurred in Psalm 72. Equally certain, however, is the fact that, as it stands before us now, Psalm 72 reads quite smoothly, showing very few signs of textual disturbance. It seems likely, then, that the editorial process—save the irregular meter in vv. 10a, 10b, and 15a—is now inaccessible to scholarly tools.

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<sup>410</sup> Given the somewhat short second colon, something may have been lost in the process of transmission (see Loretz, *Die Königspsalmen*, 116).

When was Psalm 72\* originally composed? Two pieces of evidence are helpful. First, the clearest chronological indicator—although by no means a definitive one—is the assumed context of the poem. Psalm 72 assumes a monarchic context, in which a Judahite king actually reigns. The psalm is a prayer for a king, and such a composition is best explained as the product of a time when such an institution actually existed in Judah.<sup>411</sup> Perhaps it was written during the reign of Hezekiah when, as Schniedewind has recently argued, there was likely an abundance of literary activity.<sup>412</sup> The second piece of evidence is Isaiah 60, which many have argued is a later development on the psalm. Arneth, for instance, argues that Isaiah 60 is a “relecture” of Psalm 72.<sup>413</sup> Indeed, there is much to commend this argument. The following, non-exhaustive list demonstrates the terminological and conceptual proximity of these two texts:<sup>414</sup>

1. Solar imagery: Ps 72:5, 17; Isa 60:1-3, 19-20
2. Sheba: Ps 72:10, 15; Isa 60:6
3. *zḥb* (“gold”): Ps 72:15; Isa 60:6, 9, 17
4. *ʾyîm* (“coastlands”): Ps 72:10; Isa 60:9
5. Tarshish: Ps 72:10; Isa 60:9
6. *mlk* (“king”): Ps 72:1 (x2), 10 (x2), 11; Isa 60:3, 10, 11, 16
7. *ʿbd* (“serve”): Ps 72:11; Isa 60:12. Isa 60:12 probably quotes either this verse or the verse in Jer 27:8-10
8. Lebanon: Ps 72:16; Isa 60:13
9. *ḥwh* (“bow”): Ps 72:11; Isa 60:14<sup>415</sup>
10. *šlwm* (“wellbeing”): Ps 72:3, 7; Isa 60:17

Arneth has also compiled a helpful list of corresponding features.<sup>416</sup> While some scholars would argue that the shared vocabulary and concepts are coincidental, and attributable to a common

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<sup>411</sup> For a recent attempt to date the core of this psalm to the monarchic period, see also Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 393-394.

<sup>412</sup> William Schniedewind has recently drawn attention to the reign of Hezekiah as an important period of scribal activity. See his *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). Schniedewind writes, “The writing of biblical literature was closely tied to the urbanization of Jerusalem, to a growing government bureaucracy, to the development of a more complex global economy, and then to the spread of literacy. The two critical figures in the flourishing of biblical literature were the kings Hezekiah (r. 715-687 B.C.E.) and Josiah (r. 640-609 B.C.E.)” *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>413</sup> See Arneth, “*Sonne der Gerechtigkeit*,” 171-201. Similarly, see Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture*, 164, 264n20; Arneth, “*Sonne der Gerechtigkeit*,” 171-200; Ronald E. Clements, ““Arise, shine; for your light has come”: A Basic Theme of the Isaianic Tradition,” in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah*, 2:450-51.

<sup>414</sup> For a similar chart, see Paul, *Isaiah 40-66*, 515-516.

<sup>415</sup> See also the discussion in, Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture*, 264n20.

cache of ancient Near Eastern ideas, the correspondences, in my view, are too precise and abundant to overlook.<sup>417</sup> Key to the current discussion, moreover, is the fact that the verses in Psalm 72 that many scholars, including myself, identify as secondary (i.e., vv. 10, 15a), have correspondences in Isaiah 60: Sheba (Ps 72:10, 15; Isa 60:6), “gold” (Ps 72:15; Isa 60:6, 9, 17), “king/s” (Ps 72:1 [x2], 10 [x2], 11; Isa 60:3, 10, 11, 16). Psalm 72, in other words, was known to the author of Isaiah 60 in a form that was, more or less, the one before us today, including the additions in vv. 10, 15a. If I am correct in dating Isaiah 60-62\* to sometime between 538 B.C.E. and 520 B.C.E., then Psalm 72, including the secondary insertions, must necessarily predate this timeframe. These two chronological reference points (the monarchich period) and 538-520 B.C.E. leave us with an unfortunately large gap of time. With full recognition of the problems involved, I tentatively suggest that vv. 10; 15a were added in the NB, sometime before the composition of Isaiah 60-62\*.

### 2.3.12 Ps 76:12

Citation	Ps 76:12
Who brings the wealth to Zion?	v. 12: <i>kl sbybyw</i> (“all who are around him [Yhwh]”)
What goods are received?	v. 12: <i>šy</i> (“a gift”)
What terminology is used to describe how the wealth of nations comes to Zion?	v. 12: <i>ywbylw</i> (“let them bear”)
Who receives the wealth?	v. 12: <i>lmwr</i> ’ (“the Awesome One” [i.e., Yhwh])
What is the text’s genre?	Zion Song
What is the text’s date?	Undatable

<sup>416</sup> See Arneht, “*Sonne der Gerechtigkeit*,” 175.

<sup>417</sup> Some have argued that the similarities between Isaiah 60 and Psalm 72 are merely due to their treatment of a common ancient Near Eastern topic (see Grelot, “Un parallèle Babylonien d’Isaïe LX et du Psaume LXXII,” 319-21). Following Sommer (*A Prophet Reads Scripture*, 264n20), however, I will argue below that this is an unlikely argument.

### 2.3.12.1 Contents and Genre

In this Zion Song, the psalmist celebrates Yhwh’s decisive victory over his enemies.<sup>418</sup> And while there is a tradition of associating this victory with a particular historical event— especially the defeat of Sennacherib’s army—there is little to commend this reading.<sup>419</sup> Excluding the superscription, the psalm divides into the follow units: vv. 2-4, 5-7, 8-11, 12-13. The first three begin with a statement of praise (vv. 2, 5, 8), which is then followed either by a statement about Yhwh’s decision to dwell (in the guise of a lion?) at Zion (v. 3) or a description of his bellic or salvific deeds (vv. 4, 6-7, 9-11).<sup>420</sup> The final unit, vv. 12-13, breaks the pattern with a pair of imperatives that directly addresses *kl sbybyw* (“everyone around him”). Verse 13 ends on a distinctly international note, stating that Yhwh curbs the spirit of the princes and inspires terror in the heart of the kings of the earth. This final claim, in fact, hearkens back to v. 2, which says that God’s name was known in Judah and was great in Israel. The Psalm ends, then, with God’s name being both known and feared in all the earth.

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<sup>418</sup> For this generic designation, see Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, 330, Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 263, Kraus, *Psalmen*, 689, Seybold, *Die Psalmen*, 295. For helpful qualifying remarks, see Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 361-2. Gerstenberger, noting the lack of emphasis on the holy place of Zion, labels Psalm 76 a confessional hymn and argues that the “Zion tradition is subsumed to glorification of the supreme God of the Judean/Israelite community of faith.” Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 2*, 87.

<sup>419</sup> The Greek superscription to Psalm 75 reads, *εἰς τὸ τέλος ἐν ὑμνοῖς ψαλμὸς τῷ Ασαφ ὠδὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἀσσύριον*, no doubt connecting the psalm to the defeat of Sennacherib’s army. Rashi also thinks that the entire psalm concerns the fall of Sennacherib. See Mayer Gruber, *Rashi’s Commentary on Psalms* (Brill Reference Library of Judaism 18; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 507. Cf. Briggs and Briggs, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, 2:165.

<sup>420</sup> For the leonine interpretation of v. 3, see also W.A.M. Beuken, “God’s Presence in Salem: A Study of Psalm 76,” in *Loven en geloven* (ed. J. Ridderbos and A. Ridderbos-Boersma; Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Ton Bolland, 1975), 139-43.

This study is primarily concerned with v. 12, which is unusually long when compared to the rest of the psalm (see Compositional History below for a full colometric analysis of Psalm 76):

*ndrw wšlmw lyhwh 'lhykm  
kl sbybyw ywbylw šy lmwr'*

Make a vow to Yhwh your God and fulfill it (20)  
all who surround him, let them bring a gift to the Awesome One (21)

But v. 12's applicability to the WNT is predicated upon the interpretation of *kl sbybyw* as the nations *surrounding* Israel. Mitchell Dahood, delivering the minority report, argued that the psalmist refers here to the Israelites, not the nations—an interpretation that would render the psalm irrelevant for the present study.<sup>421</sup> The vast majority of scholars, however, think that v. 12 refers to the surrounding nations (cf. Ps 79:4; Jer 48:39; Ezek 16:57; 28:24), not the Israelites. This consensus is reflected, for instance, in the NIV's translation: "Make vows to the Lord your God and fulfill them; let *all the neighboring lands* bring gifts to the One to be feared" (emphasis mine).<sup>422</sup> Marvin Tate, who labels vv. 11-13, "A call for homage to Yahweh," also represents the majority viewpoint:

Yahweh is presented as a great king who overcomes the raging of humankind (v 11) and waits for the fulfillment of vows made to him by homage-paying vassals. The neighboring people, along with the Israelites, are exhorted to bring tribute to the God who awes kings and mortifies the rebellious wills of princes (vv 12-13; cf. Isa 52:13-15).<sup>423</sup>

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<sup>421</sup> See Dahood, *Psalms II*, 221.

<sup>422</sup> See also Anderson, *The Book of Psalms*, 2:551; Kraus, *Psalmen 60-150*, 691. Zenger, however, seems to leave both options open: "The text itself does not say who the addressees of this appeal may be. In v. 12b one could understand 'all you who are around him [i.e., YHWH]' narrowly and apply it to those who dwell on Zion and in its vicinity. That would fit well within the anti-Assyrian perspective sketched above, to which the psalm owes its origin: it is not the god Ashur and the Assyrian kings, but the God of Zion whom they are to worship as their 'great king.' It is true that in terms of the overall concept of the Zion theology and the structure of the two related psalms 46 and 48, whose closing imperatives are directed to the world of the nations, v. 12 could also be addressed to the nations, either the neighboring peoples (cf. Jer 12:14) or the 'peoples of the world' as a whole (cf. Ps 68:30; Isa 18:7; 60:5-6, 11)." Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 271.

<sup>423</sup> Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 266. See also John Goldingay, *Psalms* (3 vols.; Baker Commentary on the Old Testament Wisdom and Psalms; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2006-2008), 2:455-6.

This interpretation is supported by the subsequent verse, which refers to the princes and kings of the earth (*ybšr rwḥ ngydym nwr' lmlky 'rš*: “He cuts short the spirit of the princes, being feared by the kings of the earth,” v. 13). In my view, this concluding bicolon further specifies the identity of *kl sbybyw*, suggesting that the majority interpretation is the most likely one.<sup>424</sup>

### 2.3.12.2 Compositional History

Psalms 76 shows only minimal signs of reworking. On multiple levels (colometric, thematic, etc.), the psalm is quite consistent. That being said, evidence for editorial activity may be present in vv. 6 and 12, as the following colometric analysis suggests.

Verse	Hebrew Text	Colometric Analysis
v. 2	<i>nwd' byhwdh 'lhym byšr 'l gdwl šmw</i>	15/13
v. 3	<i>wyhy bšlm skw wm 'wntw bšywn</i>	11/12
v. 4	<i>šmh šbr ršpy qšt mgn wḥrb wmlḥmh slh</i>	13/13 [13/16 with <i>selāh</i> ]
v. 5	<i>n'wr 'th 'dyr mhrry ṭrp</i>	7/12
v. 6	<i>'štllw 'byry lb nmw šntm wl' mš'w kl 'nšy ḥyl ydyhm</i>	21/21
v. 7	<i>mg'rtk 'lhy y'qb nrđm wrkb wsws</i>	14/12
v. 8	<i>'th nwr' 'th wmy y'md lpnyk m'z 'pk</i>	10/18
v. 9	<i>mšmym ḥšm 't dyn 'rš yr'h wšqṭh</i>	13/12
v. 10	<i>bqwm lmšpṭ 'lhym lhwšy' kl 'nwy 'rš [slh]</i>	14/15 [14/18 with <i>selāh</i> ]
v. 11	<i>ky hmt 'dm twdk š'ryt ḥmt ṭgr</i>	12/12
v. 12	<i>ndrw wšlmw lyhwh 'lhykm</i>	20/21

<sup>424</sup> The image of foreigners bringing gifts and making vows here may be helpfully compared with Isa 19:21, where Egyptians are also said to bring offerings (*zḅh + mnḥh*), in addition to making vows and fulfilling them (*wndrw ndr lyhwh wšlmw*). For a helpful discussion of vows in the HB and in the broader ancient Near East, see Tony W. Cartledge, *Vows in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East* (JSOTSup 147; Sheffield: JSOT, 1992).

	<i>kl sbybyw ywbylw šy lmwr</i> <sup>7</sup>	
v. 13	<i>ybšr rwḥ ngydym nwrh lmlky 'rš</i>	13/12

Of all the verses in Psalm 76 that could contain secondary elements, vv. 6 and 12 are the most likely candidates. Although both vv. 6 and 12 fit comfortably into their surroundings on a thematic level, they are (colometrically speaking) anomalously long (v. 6: 21/20; v. 12: 20/12).

The length of the lines, of course, is not necessarily evidence of editorial involvement.

Nevertheless, given the relatively consistent, and balanced length of the lines throughout the psalm, the secondary nature of vv. 6 and 12 remains a distinct possibility. Some scholars argue that vv. 9-10 are also secondary, based largely on thematic considerations. These arguments, however, are problematic on a number of levels.<sup>425</sup>

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<sup>425</sup> Zenger, to my knowledge, makes the most thorough argument for this position. He considers these verses secondary for the following reasons:

1. Verses 9-10 introduce an “altered” scene that is in tension with the rest of the psalm: “YHWH is now not (or any longer) on Zion, but in heaven, nor is the horizon of the event Zion or its neighborhood, but apparently the whole earth; the military context is absent from vv. 9-10” (Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms* 2, 262).
2. When one excludes vv. 9-10, “the psalm has a consistent and progressive structure of events: vv. 2-7 report, in verbal clauses in the perfect tense, the warlike action of the God of Zion. Verses 8 and 11-13 draw out the consequences of this: no one can oppose this ‘awesome’ God (vv. 8, 11), and all should subject themselves to him and worship him (vv. 12-13). Verses 9-10, with their forensic imagery (YHWH as saving judge of the poor), stand out from this consistent war imagery” (ibid.).

Zenger raises some very interesting and important points. But his evidence is insufficient for positing secondary editing. First, he argues that vv. 9-10 “introduce an altered scene” that does not correspond well with the rest of the psalm. It is true that Yhwh is nowhere else in this psalm depicted in heaven as he is in v. 9 (*mšmym ḥšm 't dyn*). But this sort of multi-locality appears in other Zion psalms as well. For instance, Ps 2:4 claims, on the one hand, that “the enthroned in the heavens laughs;” and on the other hand, just two verses later, also claims that Zion is “my holy mountain” (Ps 2:6), a phrase that no doubt implies God’s presence there. Zenger further claims that there is a shift in the psalm’s scope: the psalm begins with a focus on Zion but then shifts to a focus on the entire earth. Once again, this is a helpful observation, but it cannot account for the fact that v. 13 explicitly raises the issue of the other nations of the earth. Zion is a *cosmic* mountain. That its deity functions on a universal scale goes without saying. The international horizon of vv. 9-10, then, is not out of place. Zenger further argues that the “military context” is absent from vv. 9-10. The argument that the “military context” is absent from vv. 9-10 is also puzzling. Can one really make a clean distinction between God arising to judge (*bqwm lmšpt 'lhy*) and save (*lhwšy*) and Yhwh’s military actions? Is it not possible that judgment and salvation are simply abstract ways of talking about the more concrete descriptions of divine action elsewhere in the psalm? In fact, v. 8 already begins to transition from describing God’s actions to describing God’s attributes: “You, indeed, you are awesome.” And finally, concerning the argument that without vv. 9-10 “the psalm has a consistent and progressive structure of events” (Ibid., 262), this judgment is subjective and difficult to substantiate.

In terms of dating, scholars are faced with the same kinds of problems posed by almost every psalm. The Greek addition to the first verse (πρὸς τὸν Ἀσσύριον), which associates the psalm with Yhwh’s defeat of the Assyrians, is of little help in determining the psalm’s original chronological setting. In sum, then, Psalm 76 belongs to the undatable category. Its dramatic depictions of Yhwh’s battle on behalf of Zion are probably unrelated to a specific event and arise, rather, out of the context of Zion theology itself.

### 2.3.13 Ps 96:7-8//1 Chr 16:28-29

Citation	Ps 96:7-8//1 Chr 16:28-29
Who brings the wealth to Zion?	Ps 96:7//1 Chr 16:28: <i>mšpḥwt ḥmym</i> (“families of peoples”)
What goods are received?	Ps 96:8//1 Chr 16:29: <i>mnḥh</i> (“gift/tribute”)
What terminology is used to describe how the wealth of nations comes to Zion?	Ps 96:8//1 Chr 16:29: <i>š w</i> (“carry/bring”)
Who receives the wealth?	Ps 96:8//1 Chr 16:29: Yhwh
What is the text’s genre?	Psalm 96: <i>Yhwh mlk</i> Hymn 1 Chr 16:8-36: Hymn of Thanksgiving
What is the text’s date?	Middle of the Persian Period

#### 2.3.13.1 Contents and Genre

Psalm 96 is a one of the *Yhwh mlk* hymns (cf. Psalms 93, 96-99). It is infused with vocabulary indicating the deity’s universal reign over the cosmos: *kl h’rṣ* (vv. 1, 9; cf. 1 Chr 16:), *gwym* (vv. 3, 10), *kl h’myḥ* (v. 3), *kl ḥlḥym* (v. 4), *kl ḥlḥy h’myḥ* (v. 5), *mšpḥwt ḥmym* (v. 7), *ḥmym* (vv. 10, 13), *šmyḥ* (v. 11), *h’rṣ* (v. 11, 13), *ḥym wml’w* (v. 11), *šdy wkl ḥšr bw* (v. 12), *kl ḥsy y’r* (v. 12),

and *tbl* (vv. 10b, 13).<sup>426</sup> All the inhabitants of the earth, not to mention creation itself (vv. 11-12; cf. Isa 44:23), are in the psalmists' purview. The result is a hymn in which the psalmist invokes nothing less than a "supraterrestrial orchestra."<sup>427</sup>

The psalm divides into the following units (vv. 1-3, 4-6, 7-9, 10, 11-13).<sup>428</sup> Five out of six cola in vv. 1-3 begin with a 2mpl. impv.: *šyrw* ("sing," vv. 1ab, 2a), *bšrw* ("bear good news," "declare," v. 2b), *sprw* (v. 3a). The entire thrust of these initial verses is to stir up praise of Yhwh. Verses 4-6 provide reasons for praising him: Yhwh is great and feared above all gods (v. 4); the other gods are mere idols, but Yhwh himself has made the heavens (v. 5); splendor and majesty are before him (v. 6), and strength and beauty are in his sanctuary (v. 6). The third unit (vv. 7-9) enjoins the audience to respond to Yhwh in particular ways, namely, by ascribing to him "glory and strength" (v. 7) and the "glory of his name" (v. 8), bringing him tribute (v. 8), bowing to him (v. 9), and trembling in his presence (v. 9). Verses 7-9, in fact, are closely related to Ps 29:1-2, and may have been taken from there.<sup>429</sup> Verse 10 enjoins the audience to declare Yhwh's kingship among the nations. This verse, which may be an addition made in light of v. 13 (see below), states that Yhwh will judge the peoples rightly. In v. 11, the psalmist calls upon a new set of voices—the heavens, the earth, the sea and its fullness, the fields and all that is in it, and all the trees of the forest—to join the chorus, for Yhwh has come to judge the earth (v. 13).<sup>430</sup>

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<sup>426</sup> Cf. Gerstenberger, *Psalms Part 2 and Lamentations*, 190.

<sup>427</sup> See Terrien, *The Psalms*, 676. For the comparison with Isa 44:23, see Goldingay, *Psalms*, 3:102. The praise of nature found in Psalm 96 has parallels in Psalm 98 and in DI. See Jeremias, *Das Königtum Gottes in den Psalmen*, 126.

<sup>428</sup> This division follows David M. Howard, *The Structure of Psalms 93-100* (Biblical and Judaic Studies 5; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 60-62.

<sup>429</sup> Psalm 29, however, lacks any reference to *mnḥh*.

<sup>430</sup> For a discussion of Yhwh's coming (*bw*'), see Helmer Ringgren, "Behond Your King Comes," *VT* 24 (1974): 207-11.

But Psalm 96 is not only found in the Psalter. With some variations, the Chronicler integrates Psalm 96:1-13 into a larger hymn of thanksgiving<sup>431</sup> that includes portions of Psalms 105 and 106. This newly fashioned poem is, in turn, embedded into a narrative about the transfer of the Ark of God to Jerusalem (1 Chronicles 16).<sup>432</sup> In the context of 1 Chronicles 16, then, the newly created composition is attributed to Asaph and his brothers, whom David commissions to praise Yhwh (1 Chr 16:7).<sup>433</sup> As it is used in 1 Chr 16:23-33, Psalm 96 differs somewhat when compared with MT Psalm 96. It lacks, for instance, vv. 1a, 2a, 10c, 13c-d and includes several other variations, many of which are of little consequence (e.g., Chronicles adds *'t* [v. 24a, cf. Ps 96:3]; Chronicles includes *hdwh* ["joy"] instead of *tp 'rt* ["beauty", v. 27, cf. Ps 96:6]; and Chronicles includes *lpnyw* ["before him"] instead of *lhšrwtwyw* ["his courts," v. 29, cf. Ps 96:8], etc.).<sup>434</sup>

The most important differences emerge from Psalm 96's new literary and poetic setting.<sup>435</sup> First, Psalm 96 accords quite well with the Chronicler's understanding of Yhwh's universal rule, which one detects, for instance, in Jehoshaphat's speech/prayer in 2 Chr 20:5-6:<sup>436</sup>

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<sup>431</sup> See Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 316.

<sup>432</sup> For a helpful discussion of 1 Chronicles 16's use of psalmic materials, see Ralph W. Klein, "Psalms in Chronicles," *CurTM* 32 (2005): 264-75.

<sup>433</sup> It should be noted, however, that none of the individual psalms used in this new composition (i.e., Psalms 96, 105, 106) actually have the title *l'sp*, which are limited to Psalms 50, 73-83.

<sup>434</sup> See Goldingay, *Psalms*, 3:102. Other variants are helpfully included in the apparatus of *BHS*. When one compares MT Psalms 105, 96, and 106 with their versions in Chronicles, there are 45 differences, most of which are due to orthographic variations, minor grammatical points, etc. See Trent C. Butler, "A Forgotten Passage from a Forgotten Era (1 Chr. XVI 8-36)," *VT* 28 (1978): 142; Jeremias, *Das Königtum Gottes in den Psalmen*, 123.

<sup>435</sup> Chronicles scholars regularly (and rightly) bemoan the fact that interpreters so often neglect to comment on these psalms in their new context. Mark Throntveit, for instance, writes: "Scholarship has long been aware of the Chronicler's hymn, yet matters of unity and authorship have dominated scholarly interest until fairly recently. Readers interested in matters of theology of exegesis are often directed to consult the relevant sections of a good Psalms commentary! This, however, neglects the importance of context and falsely suggests that these psalms mean the same thing in both canonical settings. Just as a Sousa march sounds brighter when transposed and played in a higher key, so the Chronicler's transposition of these songs to David's time results in a shift in the character of their message for the post-exilic community and, I would argue, for us." Mark A. Throntveit, "Songs in a New Key: The Psalmic Structure of the Chronicler's Hymn (1 Chr 16:8-36)," in *A God So Near: Essays on Old Testament Theology in Honor of Patrick D. Miller* (ed. Brent A. Strawn and Nancy R. Bowen; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 153-54. See also Butler, "A Forgotten Passage from a Forgotten Era (1 Chr. XVI 8-36)," 142-50; Klein, "Psalms in Chronicles," 264-75. More recently, see the important comments in Pancratius C. Beentjes, "Psalms and

Jehoshaphat stood in the assembly of Judah and Jerusalem in the House of Yhwh in front of the new court and said: “Yhwh the God of our Fathers, are you not God in heaven? And you rule all the kingdoms of the nations. In your hand is mighty strength, and none can withstand you.

Second, as a cosmic, global emperor, Yhwh receives the praise, honor, and tribute (*mnḥh*) of the nations. If the first point deals with the *scope* of Yhwh’s dominion, then this second point deals with the *consequences* of that situation for all of creation and especially for the foreign nations of the earth. Psalm 96 is the second unit of the new psalm in 1 Chronicles 16. The first unit (vv. 8-22 [= Ps 105:1-15]) identifies the narrative’s participants with the children of the patriarchs and, therefore, the recipients of the land.<sup>437</sup> In vv. 23-33, however, the psalm’s purview changes dramatically: Instead of addressing Israel, the psalm addresses the nations and all of creation. Taken as a whole, both the particularity of Israel’s election and the universality of Yhwh’s reign come together in 1 Chronicles 16. Third and finally, the cosmic scope of Yhwh’s rule, as indicated in vv. 23-33 also has implications for how one understands the Chronicler’s depictions of David, Solomon, and Hezekiah. By associating David’s reign in Jerusalem so closely with *the* God of the cosmos, who is greater than all other gods (v. 25), the Chronicler magnifies the importance of David and his house, placing it on a universal and cosmic scale. And indeed, Solomon and Hezekiah actually become the earthly agents who instantiate the Chronicler’s claims about Yhwh, insofar as they both receive *mnḥh* from the nations of the earth (for Solomon, see 2 Chr 9:22-24 [=1 Kgs 10:23-25; see above for my discussion of this text]; for Hezekiah, see 2 Chr 32:23 [see below for my discussion of this text]).

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Prayers in the Book of Chronicles,” in *Psalms and Prayers* (ed. Bob Becking and Eric Peels; OtSt 55; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 38-40.

<sup>436</sup> This prayer is structurally significant to the larger history. See Throntveit, *When Kings Speak*, 67-72.

<sup>437</sup> Japhet, for instance, writes that the psalm now “addresses the participating crowd, presented as the direct offspring of the patriarchs; the intermediate period between the patriarchs and David’s contemporaries is obliterated. The promise ‘to you I will give the land of Canaan’ is being fulfilled in this present community which praises the Lord and thanks him for his marvels.” Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 317.

## 2.3.13.2 Compositional History

Psalm 96 contains some evidence of editorial reworking.<sup>438</sup> Colometrically, the psalm may be analyzed as follows:

Verse	Hebrew Text	Colometric Analysis
v. 1	<i>šyrw lyhwh šyr ḥdš</i> <i>šyrw lyhwh kl h`rš</i>	15/15
v. 2	<i>šyrw lyhwh brkw šmw</i> <i>bšrw mywm lywm yšw`tw</i>	16/18
v. 3	<i>sprw bgwym kbwdw</i> <i>bkl h`mym npl`wtyw</i>	14/16
v. 4	<i>ky gdwl yhwh wnhll m`d</i> <i>nwrh hw` `l kl`lhym</i>	18/16
v. 5	<i>[ky kl`lhy h`mym`lylym</i> <i>wyhwh šmym`šh]</i>	[19/12]
v. 6	<i>hwd whdr lpnyw</i> <i>`z wtp`rt bmqdšw</i>	12/14
v. 7	<i>hbw lyhwh mšpḥwt`mym</i> <i>hbw lyhwh kbwd w`z</i>	18/15
v. 8	<i>hbw lyhwh kbwd šmw</i> <i>š`w mnḥh wb`w lhšrwtyw</i>	15/19
v. 9	<i>hštḥww lyhwh b[hdr] qdš</i> <i>hylv mpnyw kl h`rš</i>	15/15 [19/15] <sup>439</sup>
v. 10	<i>`mrw bgwym yhwh mlk</i> <i>`p tkwn tbl bl tmwṭ</i> <i>ydyn`mym bmyšrym</i>	16/15/15
v. 11	<i>yšmḥw hšmym</i> <i>wtgl h`rš</i> <i>yr`m hym wml`w</i>	10/8/12
vv. 12- 13a	<i>y`lz śdy wkl`šr bw</i> <i>`z yrnw kl`šy y`r lpny yhwh [ky b`]<sup>440</sup></i>	15/24 [15/28]

<sup>438</sup> See, e.g., Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms* 2, 464.

<sup>439</sup> *hdrt* (“the adornment of”) is probably a secondary addition, which seems to be missing from the OG *Vorlage*: προσκυνήσατε τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν αὐλῇ ἀγία αὐτοῦ σαλευθήτω ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ.

<sup>440</sup> The repeated, *ky b`*, is probably the result of dittography in Ps 96:13. That this phrase is dittographic would seem to be suggested by the parallel verse, 1 Chr 16:33, which reads, *`z yrnw`šy hy`r mlpny yhwh ky b` lšpwṭ`t h`rš*.

v. 13b	<i>ky b' lšpṭ h'rš</i> <i>yšpṭ tbl bšdq</i> <i>w 'mym b'mwntw</i>	12/11/12
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Verse 5 was probably added to an older version of the psalm. This is suggested by several textual features. After the chain of imperatives in vv. 1-3, the first causal *ky* in v. 4 is followed by two verbless clauses that assume the *ky* (“For great is Yhwh and greatly praised, he is revered above all gods”). If one skips to v. 6, one discovers that this pattern of verbless clauses continues and also assumes the prior presence of the *ky*: “Splendor and majesty are before him, strength and beauty are in his sanctuary.” These *ky*-clauses, of course, provide the reasons for the imperatives in vv. 1-3. But v. 5 breaks this sequence in two ways. First, the *ky* in v. 5a is redundant, as shown by the assumption of the *ky* in v. 6. Second, v. 5b, instead of continuing the flow of nominal clauses in praise of Yhwh, introduces a perfect verb (“but Yhwh has made the heavens”) that is preceded by a statement about “all the gods of the peoples.” From the perspective of colometry, v. 5a and v. 5b lack balance, with v. 5b being significantly shorter (19/12). Collectively, this evidence points to the secondary nature of v. 5. Verse 9 also contains a minor addition.

In terms of dating, scholars make numerous proposals. But the psalm’s similarity to DI often plays a significant role in these attempts. Franz Delitzsch, for example, writes,

The Psalm corresponds throughout to the advance which the mind of Israel has experienced in the Exile concerning its mission in the world. The fact that the religion of Jahve is destined for mankind at large, here receives the most triumphantly joyous, lyrical expression. And so far as this is concerned, the key-note of the Psalm is even deuter-Isaianic.<sup>441</sup>

But Dahood expresses doubt over the attempt to date the psalm based on its similarity of ideas and language to Deutero-Isaiah, arguing that there is “a strong possibility that both psalmist and

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<sup>441</sup> See Franz Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Psalms* (3 vols.; 2d ed.; T & T Clark: Edinburgh, 1877), 3:90. For a brief discussion of parallels in DI, see also Maria Russ Osb, “Singt Ihm einen neuen Gesant!,” in *Wort Gottes in der Zeit: F.S. Karl Hermann Schelkle* (ed. Helmut Feld and Josef Nolte; Düsseldorf: Patmos-Verlag, 1973), 15-21.

prophet were heir to a common literary tradition long existent in Canaan.<sup>442</sup> Kraus, however, contends with this line of reasoning. Speaking about the many intertextual connections between Psalm 96 and DI, even TI (v. 11, cf. Isa 44:23; 49:13; v. 12, cf. Isa 44:23; 55:12; v. 13, cf. Isa 40:10; 59:19-20; 60:1; 62:11),<sup>443</sup> he writes,

Diese Zusammenhänge und Abhängigkeiten können kaum mit der Erklärung zurückgewiesen werden, daß gemeinsame Beziehungen zum Festkult bestehen, die eine genaue zeitliche Fixierung unmöglich erscheinen lassen. Die »späte Herrkunft des Gedichtes« (HGunkel) ist nicht zu bezweifeln (vgl. auch AFeuillet). Ps 96 liegt zeitlich später als Jes 40-66.<sup>444</sup>

I tend to agree with Kraus et al. that the close connections between Psalm 96 and DI/TI cannot be explained with reference to a common literary tradition. The literary connections are simply too strong. And I would agree, following Kraus again, that DI/TI probably have chronological primacy over Psalm 96, though this is certainly up for debate, as most issues of inner-biblical citation typically are.<sup>445</sup> Assuming a date late in the NB period for DI and a 4<sup>th</sup> cent. date for the Chronicler (see below), and assuming further that Psalm 96 is familiar with TI, one can tentatively date Psalm 96 to the middle-late Persian period. The additions in vv. 5 and 9 are also reflected in 1 Chronicles 16 (v. 5 [cf. 1 Chr 16:26]; v. 9 [1 Chr 16:29]), which suggests that, whatever additions were inserted in these verses, this process occurred before the composition of Chronicles. I follow a number of scholars, however, in assigning Chronicles to the 4<sup>th</sup> century (see §2.3.1.2).<sup>446</sup> The integration of Psalm 96 into 1 Chronicles 16, then, probably took place at the same time.

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<sup>442</sup> Dahood, *Psalms II*, 357. See also his review of *Le psautier selon Jérémie: Influence littéraire et spirituelle de Jérémie sur trente-trois psaumes*, *Biblica* 43 (1962): 535.

<sup>443</sup> The verses cited here from Isaiah should not be understood as quotations of DI/TI in Psalm 96, but rather as terminological correspondences that show the linguistic and theological proximity of Isaiah DI/TI to Psalm 96.

<sup>444</sup> Kraus, *Psalmen*, 835.

<sup>445</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>446</sup> See, e.g., Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 15-17; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 23-28; Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, 5-6.

## 2.4 Tabular Presentation of the Linguistic, Generic, and Diachronic Evidence

In the tables below, I compile the data gathered from each individual text. Brief comments follow each table. Generally speaking, however, I will refrain from making broad statements about the WNT until I have discussed the ancient Near Eastern material in the next chapter. Chapter 6 will be dedicated to a more synthetic analysis of the biblical data along with the ancient Near Eastern comparative materials.

### 2.4.1 Wealth Bearers

This table corresponds to the question, “Who brings the wealth to Zion?”

Citation	Hebrew Terms (Translation)
1 Kgs 10:1-10, 13//2 Chr 9:1-9, 12	1 Kgs 10:1, 4, 10, 13: <i>mlkt šb</i> ’ (Queen of Sheba) 1 Kgs 10:15: <i>wkl mlky h’rb</i> (“and all the kings of Arabia”) 1 Kgs 10:15: <i>wphwt h’rš</i> (“and the governors of the land”)
1 Kgs 10:15//2 Chr 9:14	1 Kgs 10:15: <i>wkl mlky h’rb</i> (“and all the kings of Arabia”) 1 Kgs 10:15: <i>wphwt h’rš</i> (“and the governors of the land”)
1 Kgs 10:23-25//2 Chr 9:22-24	1 Kgs 10:24: <i>wkl h’rš</i> (“all the earth”); 2 Chr 9:23: <i>wkl mlky h’rš</i> (“every king of the earth”) 1 Kgs 10:25//2 Chr 9:24: <i>whmh</i> (“they” [all the earth/every king of the earth”])
Pss 68:19a, 29-32	Ps 68:19a: <i>b’dm w’p swrrym</i> (“from men, even from rebels”) Ps 68:30: <i>mlkym</i> (“kings”)
Ps 72:10-11	Ps 72:10: <i>mlky tršyš</i> (“kings of Tarshish”) Ps 72:10: <i>’yym</i> (“islands”) Ps 72:10: <i>mlky šb’ wsb’</i> (“kings of Sheba and Seba”)

	Ps 72:11: <i>kl mlkym</i> (“all kings”) Ps 72:11: <i>kl gwym</i> (“all nations”)
Ps 76:12	Ps 76:12: <i>kl sbybyw</i> (“all who are around him [Yhwh]”)
Ps 96:7-8//1 Chr 16:28-29	Ps 96:7//1 Chr 16:28: <i>mšpḥwt ’mym</i> (“families of peoples”)
Isa 18:7	Isa 18:7: <i>’m mmšk wmwrt wm ’m nwr’ mn hw’ whl’h gwy qw qw wmbwsh ’šr bz ’w nhrym ’ršw</i> (“a people tall and smooth-skinned, and from a people feared from near and far, a nation of strength and down-treading, whose land rivers cut”)
Isa 45:14	v. 14: <i>mšrym</i> (“Egypt”) v. 14: <i>kwš</i> (“Cush”) v.14: <i>sb ’ym</i> (“Sabeans”)
Isa 60:4-17	v. 4: <i>gwym . . . mlkym</i> (“nations and kings,” presumably the bringers of wealth up to v. 7). v. 9: <i>kly ’yym</i> (“marine vessels of the islands”) v. 9: <i>w ’nywt tršyš</i> (“ships of Tarshish”) v. 10: <i>gwym</i> (“nations,” assumed based on <i>hyl gwym</i> ) v. 11: <i>mlkyhm</i> (“their kings”) v. 17: <i>’by’</i> (“I [Yhwh] will bring”)
Isa 61:5-6	v. 6: <i>gwym</i> (“nations” [implied in <i>hyl gwym</i> ])
Isa 66:12	v. 12: “I will extend to her” (Yhwh)
Zeph 3:10	v. 10: <i>m ’br lnhry kwš ’try bt pwšy</i> (“From beyond the river of Cush
2 Chr 32:23	v. 23: <i>rbym</i> (“many”)

Those who bring their wealth to Zion can be organized according to the following categories:

1. *Unspecified Persons Identified with Geographical, Gentilic, or Ethnic Descriptors*: 1 Kgs 10:15; Ps 72:10: “kings of Tarshish”; “islands”: Ps 72:10; “kings of Sheba and Seba”: Ps 72:10; “a people tall and smooth-skinned, and from a people feared from near and far, a nation of strength and down-treading, whose land rivers cut”: Isa 18:7; “Egypt,” “Cush,” “Sabeans”: Isa 45:14; “ships of Tarshish”: Isa 60:9; “From beyond the river of Cush”: Zeph 3:10.
2. *Unspecified Persons, Groups and/or Titles*: Queen of Sheba (1 Kgs 10:1, 4, 10, 13); “and the governors of the land”: 1 Kgs 10:15; “all the earth”: 1 Kgs 10:24; “every king of the earth”: 2 Chr 9:23; “they” (all the earth): 1 Kgs 10:25; “from men, even from rebels”: Pss 68:19; “kings”: Ps 68:30; “all kings”: Ps 72:11; “all nations”: Ps 72:11; “all who are around him [Yhwh]”: Ps 76:12; “families of peoples”: Ps 96:7//1 Chr 16:28; “nations . . . kings”: Isa 60:4; “marine vessels of the islands”: Isa 60:9; “nations”: Isa 60:10; “their kings”: Isa 60:11; “nations”: Isa 61:6; “many”: 2 Chr 32:23.
3. *Yhwh*: “I [Yhwh] will bring”: Isa 60:17); “I [Yhwh] will extend to her”: Isa 66:12.

At this point in the study, a few insights are particularly important. The first concerns what one might call the rhetoric of totality—“*every* king of the earth,” “*all* who are around him,” “*many*,” “*all* the earth,” etc.<sup>447</sup> Such universal claims are prominent in the royal literature of the ancient Near East. In adopting such rhetoric, the WNT makes use of ideological rhetoric from the royal court and uses it to frame both past events and future hopes.

Second, the fourth category (“Yhwh”) seems out of place: Why include the deity in a study of foreign wealth coming to Zion? The poems in which Yhwh is said to bring the wealth of the nations—all of which are Isaianic (Isa 60:17; 66:12)—envision a kind of dual agency in which both the deity and historical peoples bring wealth to Zion. The claim of dual agency is not contradictory, but rather theo-logical: Like an optical illusion, what one sees depends largely on how one looks at the object—from what perspective, in what light and so on. The theological concept of dual agency arises from a particular worldview, in which God’s actions are discernible behind historical events and actors. For instance, where historians see aggressive imperialism, the prophetic books see divine judgment (see, e.g., Isa 10:5-6) or divine salvation (Isa 45:1).

#### 2.4.2 The Terminology of Foreign Wealth

This table corresponds to the question, “What goods are received?”

Term <sup>448</sup>	Citations
<i>’bn</i> (“stone”)	1 Kgs 10:2//2 Chr 9:1; 1 Kgs 10:10//2 Chr 9:9
<i>’yl</i> (“ram”)	Isa 60:7
<i>’škr</i> (“present”)	Ps 72:10
<i>’šwr</i> (“box tree”)	Isa 60:13

<sup>447</sup> For comparative evidence, see my discussion of 1 Kgs 10:23-25//2 Chr 9:22-24 above.

<sup>448</sup> Apart from a few exceptional cases (e.g., construct phrases), the lexical form of each term is given: e.g., *bśm* (“spice,” “balsam”). This means that modifiers like *m’d* are not reflected in this table.

<i>bkr</i> (“young camel”)	Isa 60:6
<i>bśm</i> (“spice,” “balsam”)	1 Kgs 10:2//2 Chr 9:1; 1 Kgs 10:10//2 Chr 9:9; 1 Kgs 10:25//2 Chr 9:24
<i>brwš</i> (“cypress”)	Isa 60:13
<i>brzl</i> (“iron”)	Isa 60:17
<i>gml</i> (“camel”)	Isa 60:6
<i>hmwn</i> (“abundance”)	Isa 60:5
<i>zhb</i> (“gold”)	1 Kgs 10:2; 2 Chr 9:1; 1 Kgs 10:10//2 Chr 9:9; 1 Kgs 10:14 (x2); 2 Chr 9:14; Isa 60:6, 9, 17
<i>hyl</i> (“wealth”)	1 Kgs 10:2//2 Chr 9:1; Isa 60:5, 11; 61:6
<i>h̄lb gwym</i> (“nations’ milk,” a metaphor)	Isa 60:16
<i>ygy</i> (“product”)	Isa 45:14
<i>kbwd gwym</i> (“glory of nations”)	Isa 66:12
<i>kbwd h̄lbnwn</i> (“the glory of Lebanon”)	Isa 60:13
<i>kly zhb</i> (“items of gold”)	1 Kgs 10:25//2 Chr 9:24
<i>kly ksp</i> (“items of silver”)	1 Kgs 10:25//2 Chr 9:24
<i>ksp</i> (“silver”)	2 Chr 9:14; Isa 60:9, 17
<i>lbwnh</i> (“frankincense”)	Isa 60:6
<i>mdh</i> (“tribute”)	Isa 45:14
<i>mgdnwt</i> (“precious items”)	2 Chr 32:23
<i>mn̄hh</i> (“tribute,” “gift”)	1 Kgs 10:25//2 Chr 9:24; Ps 72:10; Ps 96:8//1 Chr 16:29; Zeph 3:19; 2 Chr 32:23
<i>mtnh</i> (“gift,” “tribute”)	Ps 68:19a
<i>n̄hšt</i> (“bronze”)	Isa 60:17
<i>nšq</i> (“equipment,” “weapons”)	1 Kgs 10:25//2 Chr 9:24
<i>šhr</i> (“profit”)	Isa 45:14
<i>prd</i> (“mule”)	1 Kgs 10:25//2 Chr 9:24
<i>sws</i> (“horse”)	1 Kgs 10:25//2 Chr 9:24
<i>š`n</i> (“flock”)	Isa 60:7
<i>ślmh</i> (“garment,” “wrap”)	1 Kgs 10:25//2 Chr 9:24
<i>šd mlkym</i> (“royal breasts,” a metaphor)	Isa 60:16
<i>šy</i> (“a gift”)	Pss 68:30; 76:12; Isa 18:7
<i>tdhr</i> (“conifer tree”)	Isa 60:13
Unspecified	1 Kgs 10:15//2 Chr 9:14

Within these texts, the nations of the earth bring a wide variety of items, which can be organized according to four overlapping categories: (1) *organics* (e.g., the mule and horse in 1 Kgs 10:25//2 Chr 9:24), (2) *inorganics* (e.g., the stone in 1 Kgs 10:2//2 Chr 9:1; 1 Kgs 10:10//2 Chr 9:9),<sup>449</sup> (3)

<sup>449</sup> For the division between organic/non-organic materials, see Jürgen Bär, “Tributdarstellungen in der Kunst des Alten Orients,” in *Geschenke und Steuern Zölle und Tribute: Antike Abgabenformen in Anspruch und Wirklichkeit* (ed. H. Klinkott, S. Kubisch, and R. Müller-Wollermann; Culture and History of the Ancient Near East; Leiden: Boston, 2007), 248-51. See also idem, *Der assyrische Tribut und seine Darstellung: eine Untersuchung zur*

*general descriptors* (e.g., *mdh* in Isa 45:14, *šy* in Pss 68:30; 76:12; Isa 18:7, or *škr* in Ps 72:10), and (4) *metaphorical descriptions* of foreign wealth (e.g., “royal breasts,” Isa 60:16; “the glory of Lebanon,” Isa 60:13).

#### 2.4.2 The Terminology of Wealth-Bearing

This chart corresponds to the question, “What terminology is used to describe how the wealth of nations comes to Zion?” The texts are organized, as in the last chart, alphabetically, according to lexical form.

<i>bw</i> ’ (“come”)	1 Kgs 10:1//2 Chr 9:1 (x2): <i>wtb</i> ’ (“she came”); 1 Kgs 10:2 (x2)//2 Chr 9: <i>wtb</i> ’ (“she came”); 1 Kgs 10:7//2 Chr 9:6: <i>b’ty</i> (“I came”); 1 Kgs 10:25//2 Chr 9:24: <i>mb’y</i> m (“brought”); Isa 60:5: <i>ybw</i> ’ (“[the wealth of nations] will come”); Isa 60:6: <i>yb’w</i> (“They [all] will come [from Sheba]”); Isa 60:9: <i>lhby</i> ’ (“[Marine vessels of the islands wait] to bring [your sons from afar, their silver and their gold with them....]”); Isa 60:11: <i>lhby</i> ’ (“in order to allow [the wealth of nations] to come to you”); Isa 60:13: <i>ybw</i> ’ (“[The glory of the Lebanon] will come to you”); Isa 60:17: <i>’by</i> ’ (“I will bring you”); 2 Chr 9:14 (x2): <i>mby’y</i> m (“brought”); 2 Chr 32:23: <i>mby’y</i> m (“brought”)
<i>hpk</i>	Isa 60:5: <i>yhpk</i> (“will be turned over”)
<i>ksh</i>	Isa 60:6: <i>tksk</i> (“[A multitude of camels] will cover you”)
<i>lqh</i>	Ps 68:19a: <i>lqht</i> (“you took”)
<i>ybl</i>	Ps 68:30: <i>ywbylw</i> (“they will bear”); Ps 76:12: <i>ywbylw</i> (“let them bear”); Isa 18:7: <i>ywbl</i> (“will be brought”); Zeph 3:10: <i>ywblwn</i> (“they will bear”)
<i>nṯh</i>	Isa 66:12: <i>hny nṯh ’lyh</i> (“I am about extend to

	her....”).
<i>nś</i> ’	1 Kgs 10:2//2 Chr 9:1: <i>gmlym nś’ym</i> (“[accompanied by] camels carrying”); Ps 96:8//1 Chr 16:29: <i>ś’w</i> (“carry/bring”); Isa 45:14: <i>nś’y mdh</i> (“bearers of tribute”); Isa 60:6: <i>yś’w</i> (“they will bear”)
<i>ntn</i>	1Kgs 10:10//2 Chr 9:9: <i>wtn</i> (“she gave”); 1 Kgs 10:10//2 Chr 9:9: <i>ntnh</i> (“[the Queen of Sheba] gave”); Ps 72:15: <i>wytn lw</i> (“let one give him”)
<i>’br</i>	Isa 45:14: <i>y’brw</i> (“they will pass to you”)
<i>qbš</i>	Isa 60:7: <i>yqbšw</i> (“[Every flock of Kedar] will be gathered”)
<i>qrb</i>	Ps 72:10: <i>yqrybw</i> (“they will bring near”)
<i>šwb</i>	Ps 72:10: <i>yšybw</i> (“they will bring [back]”)

Based on this count, *bw*’ (“come,” 19 occurrences) is the most common term used to describe the wealth of nations coming to Zion. Trailing in second, third, and fourth place in descending order are *nś*’ (“lift,” “bear,” 6 occurrences), *ntn* (“give,” 5 occurrences), and *ybl* (“bear,” 4 occurrences).

#### 2.4.4 The Recipients of Foreign Wealth

This table corresponds to the question, “Who receives the wealth?”

Recipient	Citation
Hezekiah	2 Chr 32:23
Unnamed Human King	Ps 72:10-11
Yhwh	Pss 68:19a, 30-32; 76:12; 96:7-8//1 Chr 16:28-29; Isa 18:7; 60:4-17; Zeph 3:10; 2 Chr 32:23
Solomon	1 Kgs 10:1-10, 13//2 Chr 9:1-9, 12; 1 Kgs 10:15//2 Chr 9:14; 1 Kgs 10:23-25//2 Chr 9:22-24
Jerusalem/Zion	Isa 45:14; 60:4-17; 66:12
Unspecified Audience (Probably Jerusalem’s/Zion’s Population)	Isa 61:5-6

The number of entities who receive the wealth of the nations is rather limited in these texts. Clearly, however, Yhwh (8 occurrences) and Solomon (6 occurrences) dominate the scene, with Jerusalem/Zion herself not far behind (3 occurrences). Solomon's predominance in the WNT, however, is largely due to the doublets in Kings and Chronicles. That Jerusalem/Zion receives the wealth of the nations is a very significant point, for in the HB, Isa 45:14; 60:4-17; 66:12 are the only examples of a collective people or personified city receiving the wealth of the nations. As I will discuss further in Chapter 6, these representations of Jerusalem/Zion are probably following a trajectory of thinking already present in DI, namely, the royalization of Zion (see esp. Isa 55:3-5). The comparative evidence suggests that in the official art and literature of the court—that is, those media which are tasked with legitimizing the institution of kingship—either the king or the deity are typically depicted as the recipients of tribute. The common “syntax” of such representations is “I [the king] received A from B” (see Chapter 5). A number of Isaianic texts, however, break this convention and represent Zion as the recipient of tribute, effectively exalting her to royal status.

#### 2.4.5 Genre Distribution

In this section, I collect data related to the question, “What is the text's genre?”

Table 1

Genre	Citation
Claim to Universal Sovereignty	1 Kgs 10:23-25//2 Chr 9:22-24
Doxology to the Kingship of Israel's God	Ps 68:19a, 29-32
Hymn of Thanksgiving	1 Chr 16:28-29
Intercession for the King	Ps 72:10-11
Legend	1 Kgs 10:1-10, 13//2 Chr 9:1-9, 12
Notices	1 Kgs 10:15//2 Chr 9:14; 32:23
Oracle Concerning Cush/Oracle Concerning a	Isa 18:7

Foreign Nation	
Prophetic Exhortation	Zeph 3:10
Promise of Salvation	Isa 45:14; 60:4-17; 61:5-6; 66:12
<i>Yhwh mlk</i> hymn	Ps 96:7-8
Zion Song	Ps 76:12

It is clear from this chart that the WNT exhibits a high degree of generic mobility. The notion's plastic nature may have contributed to its survivability over the generations. A similar generic flexibility is evident in related art and literature of the ancient Near East.

Individual genres, moreover, often exhibit an affinity toward specific temporal orientations. Promises of salvation, for instance, typically concern the future and attempt to focus the reader's attention on what Yhwh will do in the days to come. Notices, however, typically refer to events set in the past. Prayers and intercession, while focusing on the future, do so in a petitionary manner. Their role is to supplicate the deity, not to proclaim the onset of a new state of affairs. What all this indicates is that the WNT is not only found in a diverse assortment of genres, it is also located on multiple temporal planes. It could shape ancient Israelite recollections of the past and their hopes and convictions about the future.

#### 2.4.6 Chronology of Texts

The following table presents information related to the question, "What is the text's date?" These data are a particularly important part of tradition-historical analysis since they allow one to see when the tradition developed and when it was most active.

Period <sup>450</sup>	Texts
Iron Age IIA (1000-900 B.C.E.)	1 Kgs 10:1-10, 13//2 Chr 9:1-9, 12 (oral core of material?)

<sup>450</sup> This periodization is adapted from Keel and Uehlinger, *Gods, Goddesses, and Images of God in Ancient Israel*, 410.

Iron Age IIB (900-800 B.C.E.)	
Iron Age IIC (800-586 B.C.E.)	
NB-Persian Periods (600/587-333 B.C.E.)	1 Kgs 10:1-10, 13//2 Chr 9:1-9, 12 (written version); 1 Kgs 10:15//2 Chr 9:14; 1 Kgs 10:23-25//2 Chr 9:22-24; Isa 18:7; Zeph 3:10; Ps 72:10? (original psalm = monarchic)
Neo-Babylonian Period 600/587-539 B.C.E.)	
Persian Period (539-333 B.C.E.)	Ps 96:7-8//1 Chr 16:28-29; Isa 45:14; 60:4-17; 61:5-6; 66:12; 2 Chr 32:23
Undatable Materials	Pss 68:19a, 29-32; 76:12

This data set will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6. For now, it suffices to make one observations. (1) Even if one factors in the uncertainty of dating biblical materials, there are a striking number of datable texts from the centuries *subsequent* to the fall of Jerusalem, and especially from the Persian period. What's more, even the texts that do come from Iron Age IIA-C are only tentatively dated to these periods and cannot serve as firm chronological anchors. In my judgment, this trend is not accidental and it must play a significant role in any reconstruction of the history and development of the WNT. These data also have significant implications for how one understands the development of the Zion tradition more broadly. (2) Building off of this last point, the most significant chronological issue is not that of the WNT's origins. Ancient monarchic Judah had itself been a tributary under multiple, "world-wide" emperors and empires throughout its tenure. And claims about receiving the wealth of the nations are common in the royal art and literature of the surrounding peoples (see Chapter 5). What's more, given the human proclivity toward revenge fantasies, it is not difficult to imagine how ancient scribes would have used the idea of wealth coming to the king in their hopes for the future. Origins aside, then, the most significant issue is why there is such a spike in the WNT in NB and Persian period texts. The traditional material that informs the WNT had been available for centuries. So

why, with the onset of the NB empire and most especially of the Persian empire, did the notion take on new significance and new energy? A fuller response to this question will have to wait until the concluding chapter.

## 2.5 Conclusions

Chapter 2 provides a linguistic, generic, and chronological profile of texts that show familiarity with the WNT. This tradition shows a certain level of terminological flexibility. For instance, while favoring *bw'*, *ns'*, *ntn*, and *ybl* as terms to describe how the wealth of nations made its way to Zion, other possibilities existed as well (see above). In addition, on the level of genre, the notion is markedly flexible, appearing in prophecies of salvation, legends, and so forth. And yet, in spite of this flexibility and generic mobility, the WNT displays a consistent configuration of features: *as an act of homage, honor, and submission, foreign nations bring their wealth to a royal figure*. These features are constitutive of the WNT, and their presence is the primary way in which one can identify it in the HB.

As the next chapter shows, however, this constellation of features—foreign nations bringing wealth to a king at an imperial city—is not limited to the HB. In fact, it is abundantly present in the art and literature of the broader ancient Near East. This comparative evidence suggests that, in order to understand the WNT on a tradition-historical level—that is, in terms of its antecedent intellectual background—one must understand not only the notion's development in biblical texts but also how similar notions were used in the broader context in which the biblical texts were composed. Only after studying related literary and visual phenomena from the

surrounding environment will the necessary data be available for a more complete tradition-historical analysis of the WNT in the HB.



### 3. The Wealth of Nations Tradition in the Ancient Near East: Textual and Iconographic Evidence

#### 3.1 Introducing the Materials

Chapter 2 dealt with the WNT in the HB. The questions I posed there were designed to yield data that are relevant to the creation of a linguistic, generic, and chronological profile of texts in which the WNT appears. This is an important preliminary stage in tradition-historical research, for it shows how, where, and when the tradition is manifest and expressed. The next step is to consider how the texts from the HB compare with literary and visual sources from the broader ancient Near East, because the authors and editors of the HB shared ideas, conceptions, and constellations<sup>1</sup>—traditional material, in other words—with the neighboring cultures. Sometimes these shared elements were the result of direct historical interaction (through political exchanges, deportation, trade, scribal curricular cross-pollination, etc.); at other times, however, a shared cultural item can only be explained as something that is “in the air.” That is, it is something that would have been available and recognizable to many if not most members of society. This chapter argues that the WNT is just such an idea. It is found throughout the ancient Near East and in many different forms, genre, and even media. The treatment of such a vast selection of material in this chapter, as a result, cannot help but be selective. Care has been taken, however, to choose examples that are representative of larger trends.

A few words are in order concerning the selection of the comparative material for study. Four criteria were used. (1) Chronology: The data set utilized covers Iron Ages IIA-III (1000-333 B.C.E.)—a block of time during which the relevant biblical texts from Chapters 3-4 were initially composed. While it is certainly true that the exemplars chosen have prototypes in earlier

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<sup>1</sup> For a definition of “constellation(s),” see §1.1.

eras, these earlier prototypes are beyond the scope of this study, though I will mention them on occasion. (2) Geography: I limit my analysis to those areas of the ancient Near East with which ancient Israel had consistent contact: Mesopotamia, Persia, Egypt, and the Levant. (3) Ideology:<sup>2</sup> The biblical texts chosen for study in this dissertation are not administrative documents, recording the daily come and go of material assets into the court. They are ideologically driven texts that are related to the larger Zion theological stream, which in turn is concerned with asserting, affirming, and legitimating the centrality of Zion and its king. For this reason, I have largely limited my study to texts with a similar, ideological function. Effectively, this limits my data set to products of “official” (i.e., royal) scribes and craftsman. All of the evidence selected below, then, has strong connections to royal ideology and serves somehow to perpetuate and legitimate it. (4) Common Constellations: I limit my data set to texts and images that contain the following constellation of features: *foreign nations bring their wealth to a royal figure as an act of homage, honor, and submission*. While the usefulness of the first three criteria

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<sup>2</sup> Ideology is a slippery term, in part because it is used frequently and often without clarification or qualification, especially in academia, not to mention politics and popular media. Historically speaking, the term “ideology” has its origins in the Enlightenment, and more particularly, in the French experience of the Enlightenment. See Terry Eagleton, *Ideology* (London: Longman, 1994, 1-2); David McLellan, *Ideology*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), 4-6). For my purposes, ideology is an entirely neutral term. It does not carry the negative connotations assigned to it, for instance, by Marx and Engels, who essentially see ideology as the “concealment” of contradiction (Jorge Larrain, *The Concept of Ideology* [Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1979], 48). To use a literary analogy, for Marx and Engels, ideology is the curtain that shrouds the Wizard of Oz in mystery and alterity, thereby endowing him with a falsely constructed authority. In the context of this dissertation, however, ideology refers to the foundational and mythological claims that kings create and perpetuate about themselves, especially regarding their relationships to the gods, their status in the cosmos, and their purpose in the world. Put differently, ideology refers to the construction, legitimation, and perpetuation of royal identity. Royal ideology clarifies, from the perspective of cosmic reality, *why* the king exists, *what* he is charged with doing, *from whom* he has received this authority, and *over whom* he is ultimately responsible. Texts, then, that are of an administrative or, broadly speaking, record-keeping nature are largely excluded as irrelevant (For similar reasons, I exclude historical notices from my analysis of the biblical texts (§2.1) Administrative and ideological media are, in many cases, from the same social setting, but their function in that setting is much different. The fact that the biblical texts most closely resemble royal ideological materials, however, does not necessarily mean that the biblical texts are themselves the product of Judahite court scribes. In fact, the very opposite is probably true, especially of course for those texts that date to the NB and Persian periods, when no Judahite monarchy existed. The similarity between the biblical texts and their ancient Near Eastern counterparts, rather, bears witness to the fundamental mobility and flexibility of the WNT, which—at least among ancient Judahites—was frequently and freely adapted to new situations.

(chronology and geography) is largely self-evident, the fourth criterion requires further explanation.

Common Constellations: Among biblical scholars interested in iconographic resources, there has been a tendency to isolate individual components of an image without regard for the broader artistic context, resulting in what some scholars call “fragmentation.” Othmar Keel, for instance, has expressed concern over fragmentary readings of iconographic materials. Fragmentation occurs when, for example, a scholar studies only the form elements in a particular relief without regard for the larger iconographic and archaeological context. Keel warns that such objects are “invariably removed from their contexts....”<sup>3</sup> To be sure, with regards to iconographic materials, this tendency is due in no small part to the specific way in which visual images are made available to biblical scholars. A glance through *ANEP* or other books on ancient Near Eastern art history indicates that a motif- or theme-centered presentation is a common way of displaying ancient Near Eastern art in modern books.

Similarly, Joel LeMon identifies a problem with *literary* fragmentation in biblical-iconographic approaches to interpretation. He writes:

In short, as iconographic-biblical approaches have become more prominent and focused on interpreting individual metaphors, the larger *literary* contexts of the biblical images have tended to receive relatively little attention. Thus, while many practitioners of the iconographic-biblical approach have been careful to avoid fragmentary readings of *iconographic* constellations according to Keel’s apt admonition . . . , these same interpreters have often tended toward literary “fragmentation.”<sup>4</sup>

LeMon’s argument is quite insightful, though it does make using iconography much more complex and time-consuming for interpreters. One cannot, for instance, study wings—as LeMon has done—by simply looking for all of the visual examples of wings. One must look also at the larger textual and visual context to see with what other motifs, themes, etc. the wings appear.

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<sup>3</sup> Othmar Keel, “Iconography and the Bible,” *ABD* 3:367-68.

<sup>4</sup> LeMon, “Iconographic Approaches,” 152.

Both Keel and LeMon, then, have made important contributions toward a kind of biblical-iconographic interpretation that compares, not only individual metaphors, images, motifs, etc., but also entire literary and visual constellations. Comparison, done in this way, takes place on the level of the constellation, not the individual motifs.

In order to avoid fragmentation—literary or iconographic—I eschew comparison of isolated items (e.g., kings, tribute, etc.). Instead, I focus only on exemplars that manifest the complete tripartite constellation (i.e., [1] foreigners bringing [2] wealth to a [3] king as an act of homage, etc.).

### 3.2 Iconographic Evidence

For each visual exemplar, I will follow the five-part schedule of iconographic interpretation delineated in §1.4. I duplicate it here for the reader’s convenience.

Interpretive Level/Object of Interpretation	Critical Question(s)	Description
Genre/Category Analysis	What is the genre/category?	The broader genre of the art. Medium (e.g., wall relief, plaster painting, stele, etc.), of course, plays an important role in determining the genre.
Pre-Iconographic Description	What is depicted?	At this point, one simply describes what can be seen in the composition. Panofsky refers to this as “primary or natural subject matter.” <sup>5</sup>
Iconographic Analysis	What is the theme or subject?	This step involves “relating the elements of a representation with one another and formulating theme of the subject without

<sup>5</sup> Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, 5.

		attempting to discover a deeper meaning.” <sup>6</sup> This stage may involve comparison with other visual sources on which similar themes and motifs are depicted and may also include consideration of their own history of development, though much of this is covered under genre/category analysis.
Functional Analysis	How did the image, and the medium on which it is found, function in society?	This step considers how the item itself participates and contributes to its social surroundings.
Iconographic Interpretation	What are the deeper meanings?	This step involves “identifying the deeper (also the symbolic) meaning of a representation.” <sup>7</sup>

### 3.2.1 Mesopotamia

Although this section is titled, “Mesopotamia,” the sources discussed here are exclusively Assyrian. I know of no extant Iron Age Babylonian artifacts on which foreigners are visually depicted bearing wealth to a king. In contrast to the Babylonian evidence, tribute scenes are abundant in the NA repertoire, which witnessed the acme of Assyrian imperial might. Large amounts of art were produced that depict various foreign nations of the earth bearing goods to the king of Assyria. What follows is not a comprehensive analysis of this material by any means, since such a study has already been competently written by Jürgen Bär.<sup>8</sup> In order to showcase the diverse settings and media on which this constellation appears, I discuss exemplars that are taken from four categories: palatial wall reliefs, obelisks, bronze gates, and ivories.

<sup>6</sup> Van Straten, *An Introduction to Iconography*, 16.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>8</sup> See Jürgen Bär, *Der assyrische Tribut und seine Darstellung*. See also his more compact study, “Tributdarstellungen in der Kunst des Alten Orients,” 231-262. For older treatments of the theme of tribute, see William J. Martin, “Tribut und Tributleistungen bei den Assyren,” *StudOr* 8 (1936): 3-50.

### 3.2.1.1 Tribute Reliefs from Room D of the Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.E.) at Kalhu/Nimrud

#### 3.2.1.1.1 Pre-Iconographic Description and Genre/Category Analysis

The first item is from Room D of the Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.E.) (for a map, see fig. 1).<sup>9</sup> The palace itself (completed in 860 B.C.E.) was constructed on a citadel and was primarily made of mudbrick with stone slabs at the lower part of the interior walls.<sup>10</sup> When the palace was still in use, wall reliefs would have been found throughout the complex.<sup>11</sup>

The relevant reliefs from Room D depict long lines of gift-bearers processing toward a king who is ornately dressed, carries a bow, wears a distinguished crown, and is surrounded by a number of bearded and beardless figures (see figs. 2-5).<sup>12</sup> The bearded and beardless figures introduce another group, whose members are clearly distinguishable by their turbans and outer garments. This second group is engaged in two activities: Some of them raise their hands in front of their faces (see fig. 4), with their thumbs pointed upward, while the others are busy bringing organic (see, e.g., the simians) and inorganic items.

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<sup>9</sup> Room E is similar to Room D in terms of its iconographic themes. For the sake of space, however, this section of the dissertation will deal exclusively with Room D. But because of their similarity, many of my comments are also applicable to Room E.

<sup>10</sup> See Ada Cohen and Steven E. Kangas, "Our Nineveh Enterprise," in *Assyrian Reliefs from the Palace of Ashurnasirpal II: A Cultural Biography* (ed. Ada Cohen and Steven E. Kangas; Hanover: Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College/University Press of New England, 2010), 47.

<sup>11</sup> For a reconstruction of the palace and the placement of the wall reliefs, see Janusz Meuszyński, *Die Rekonstruktion der Reliefdarstellungen und Ihrer Anordnung im Nordwestpalast von Kalhu (Nimrud)* (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1981).

<sup>12</sup> Slab D-1, which depicts a doorway guardian figure, is the single exception. All slab numbers are according to Meuszyński, *Die Rekonstruktion der Reliefdarstellungen und Ihrer Anordnung im Nordwestpalast von Kalhu (Nimrud)*.

The palace reliefs from Room D are in a category/genre of ancient Near Eastern art that one may call the “wall relief.” This particular category of reliefs probably originated in Anatolia with the Hittite Empire.<sup>13</sup> The more direct source of inspiration for the Assyrian reliefs, however, came via North Syria.<sup>14</sup> And although the wall reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II seem to draw on earlier prototypes, they also reflect innovations that would significantly impact subsequent Assyrian relief art.<sup>15</sup> Similar wall reliefs with content that is comparable to that found in Room D are also found in the palaces of later Assyrian kings (see esp. the palatial reliefs of Tiglath Pileser III<sup>16</sup> and Sargon II<sup>17</sup>).

As a genre, the Assyrian wall reliefs share a number of common themes: (1) the king and divine figures typically play central roles; (2) the king has a unique relationship with the gods in which he is their chosen agent; (3) the king is depicted as a mighty warrior who achieves deeds of great strength and skill with the support of the gods; (4) because he is a mighty warrior, he dominates and rules the nations; (5) the king receives wealth from the nations he has subjected.<sup>18</sup>

### 3.2.1.1.2 Iconographic Analysis

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<sup>13</sup> See Irene Winter, “Art as Evidence for Interaction: Relations between the Assyrian Empire and North Syria,” in *On Art in the Ancient Near East* (ed. Irene Winter; Culture and History of the ancient Near East; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 1:527.

<sup>14</sup> See Dominique Collon, *Ancient Near Eastern Art* (London: British Museum Press, 1995), 130.

<sup>15</sup> For a helpful discussion of the innovative emergence of narrative in the palatial reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II for example, see Winter, “Royal Rhetoric and the Development of Historical Narrative in Neo-Assyrian Reliefs,” 1:3-70.

<sup>16</sup> See Bär, *Der assyrische Tribut und seine Darstellung*, 177-94.

<sup>17</sup> See *ibid.*, 195-213.

<sup>18</sup> Irene Winter makes a number of similar observations about the roles of the king in both the Standard Inscription of Ashurnasirpal II and in Room B of his palace. She observes that the king is characterized in the following four ways: (1) as enthroned, (2) as the “maintainer of divine order through the care of the sacred tree”, (3) as “vanquisher of wild bulls and lions,” and (4) as warrior. See Winter, “Royal Rhetoric and the Development of Historical Narrative in Neo-Assyrian Reliefs,” 1:28.

The wall reliefs in Room D represent tribute-bearing. The institution of tribute in Assyria has been clearly and simply defined by Bär as “das Entrichten materialler Güter von einem Unterlegenen an einen Überlegenen.”<sup>19</sup> The most lavishly adorned figure is, of course, the Assyrian king himself (see fig. 2), who is set apart by his wearing of the *agû*-crown, his tassels and garments, his bow, and by his full beard.<sup>20</sup> He is also the singular focus of the officials (eunuchs and bearded men) who surround, protect, and serve him. The bow and arrow in the king’s hands, no doubt, point to his role as a victorious warrior-hunter, and allude to the close connection between the king’s heroic might and his reception of tribute.

Foreign dignitaries are distinct from the king and his entourage in a number of ways—including (1) their manner of dress, (2) what Megan Cifarelli calls the “crouching tributary” posture,<sup>21</sup> (3) hand gestures (the holding of their hands in front of their faces, with their thumbs pointed almost vertically),<sup>22</sup> and (4) the fact that they bring gifts (see figs. 2-5). All of these features not only set the foreign tributaries apart from the Assyrian king and his officials, but also visually encode their subservient status before him.

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<sup>19</sup> Bär, *Der assyrische Tribut und seine Darstellung*, 3.

<sup>20</sup> See *ibid.*, 70. In her well-known article, “Art in Empire,” Irene Winter argues that the full beard of a king signals that he is “manly, mature, noble, powerful, like the dominant male in a pride of lions with his generous mane.” See Irene Winter, “Art in Empire: The Royal Image and the Visual Dimensions of Assyrian Ideology,” in *Assyria 1995* (ed. S. Parpola and R.M. Whiting; Helsinki: University Press, 1997), 371. Republished as “Art in Empire: The Royal Image and the Visual Dimensions of Assyrian Ideology,” *On Art in the Ancient Near East*, 1:86.

<sup>21</sup> Cifarelli writes, “A figure type that I call the ‘crouching tributary’ is the most common convention for the representation of tributaries. This figure was always shown—and is perhaps best analyzed—juxtaposed with representations of the Assyrian king and his royal attendants. The Assyrian king and his attendants are without exception depicted with an erect posture and a measured gait. Their backs, waists, and legs are perfectly straight—even rigid—and their heads are held high. Their feet are evenly spaced and firmly planted on the ground. In sharp visual contrast, the heads of the non-Assyrian tributaries who approach the king from the right are pitched forward, their necks bent. Their overall posture is somewhat crouched, and the pronounced bend at their hips, waists, and knees gives a loose S shape to their bodies that is virtually unparalleled in representations of Assyrians. In purely visual terms, the curves and bends of the non-Assyrian body create lines of force that vary from the strict horizontal and vertical axes that dominate the figures of the Assyrians. These diagonals intersect and veer off, creating the general visual impression of disorder.” See her, “Gesture and Alterity in the Art of Ashurnasirpal II of Assyria,” *The Art Bulletin* 80 (1998): 214-15.

<sup>22</sup> For a discussion of this hand gesture, see esp., Bär, *Der assyrische Tribut und seine Darstellung*, 219-20; Cifarelli, “Gesture and Alterity in the Art of Ashurnasirpal II of Assyria,” 216.

The kinds of gifts brought to the king are also significant. To utilize categories from Bär's study, the gifts conveyed to the king can be divided into two categories: organic and inorganic.<sup>23</sup> In Room D, these gifts include simians (see, e.g., figs. 3 and 5) and numerous material goods (see D-5 and D-6 in fig. 2). These tribute items may represent both the quality and amount of wealth the king received on a regular basis in addition to the distant and exotic place from which it came.<sup>24</sup>

### 3.2.1.1.3 Functional Analysis

In order to understand the function of the reliefs in Rooms D, one must consider their relationship to Room B (see the palace map in fig 1), which Irene Winter rightly terms, "the core of the public reception area of the palace"<sup>25</sup> The first thing to notice is that "Room" D is not technically a room at all. Bär writes,

Die Bezeichnung 'Raum' geht auf A.H. Layard zurück und ist gemäß dem aktuellen Ausgrabungszustand etwas verwirrend. Es handelt sich dabei nicht um einen konventionellen Raum mit begrenzenden Wänden an allen vier Seiten, sondern um die Außenfassade von Raum B, die zum äußeren Hof liegt.<sup>26</sup>

Rooms D and E open into Room B and thereby serve as the transitional space into the throne room (Room B). It may be significant, then, that both Rooms D and E are dominated by tribute-bearing scenes in which foreigners (presumably comprising a significant percentage of the visitors to the palace) have a prominent role. Seven out of eight slabs from Room D are dedicated to tribute-bearing. The 8<sup>th</sup> slab depicts a winged genius facing the entrance to the

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<sup>23</sup> For this division, see Bär, "Tributdarstellungen in der Kunst des Alten Orients," 248-51.

<sup>24</sup> For the monkeys as representative of the exotic, see esp., Allison Karmel Thomason, "Representations of the North Syrian Landscape in Neo-Assyrian Art," *BASOR* 323 (2001): 72-75.

<sup>25</sup> See Winter, "Royal Rhetoric and the Development of Historical Narrative in Neo-Assyrian Reliefs," 1:7.

<sup>26</sup> Bär, *Der assyrische Tribut und seine Darstellung*, 69.

throne room with four out of nine being dedicated to the theme in Room E. The other five slabs display apotropaic figures.<sup>27</sup> If the king ever received foreign guests in this room, the images of tribute bearing in Rooms D and E would have been powerful reminders of the status of royal guests, especially the non-Assyrian ones. The guardian figures at the door entrances would have also indicated that the king was not only himself a mighty warrior, but that he was also under the protection of powerful creatures that were charged with maintaining his safety.

#### 3.2.1.1.4 Iconographic Interpretation

Room D is a lucid representation of Assyrian royal ideology. As many NA royal inscriptions indicate, the monarch is a unique individual, beloved by the gods, and set apart to be a heroic conqueror of the world's far reaches. Ashurnasirpal II's Standard Inscription exemplifies:

Ashurnasirpal, strong king, king of the universe, unrivalled king, king of all the four quarters, sun(god) of all people, chosen of the gods Enlil and Ninurta, beloved of the gods Anu and Dagan, destructive weapon of the great gods, the pious, beloved of your (Ninurta's) heart, prince, favourite of the god Enlil, whose priesthood is pleasing to your great divinity and whose reign you established, valiant man who acts with the support of Aššur, his lord, and has no rival among the princes of the four quarters, marvelous shepherd, fearless in battle, mighty flood-tide which has no opponent, the king who subdues those insubordinate to him, who rules all peoples, strong male, who treads upon the necks of his foes, trampler of all enemies, the one who breaks up the forces of the rebellious, he who acts with the support of the great gods, his lords, and has conquered all lands, gained dominion over the highlands in their entirety and received their tribute, capturer of hostages, he who is victorious over all lands.<sup>28</sup>

The inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal II's son, Shalmanassar III (858-824 B.C.E.), reflect similar themes:

Shalmaneser, king of all people, prince, vice-regent of Aššur, strong king, king of Assyria, king of all the four quarters, sun(god) of all people, ruler of all lands, the king

<sup>27</sup> For the layout of Rooms D and E, see Meuszyński, *Die Rekonstruktion der Reliefdarstellungen und Ihrer Anordnung im Nordwestpalast von Kalḫu (Nimrud)*, Tafel 5-6.

<sup>28</sup> Ashurnasirpal II's Standard Inscription, obv. lines i 9b-17a (RIMA 2:194)

(who is the) desired object of the gods, chosen of the God Enlil, trustworthy appointee of Aššur, attentive prince, who gives income and offerings to the great gods, pious one, who ceaselessly provides for the Ekur, faithful shepherd who leads in peace the population of Assyria, exalted overseer who heeds the commands of the gods, the resplendent one who acts with the support of Aššur (and) Šamaš, the gods his allies, and at the beginning of his reign conquered the upper seas and the lower sea, (who) has no rival among the princes of the four quarters, who indeed has seen remote and rugged regions (and trodden) upon the mountain peaks in all the highlands.<sup>29</sup>

One after-effect of his special status is that he receives the world's wealth. The king is further set apart from all other figures on the reliefs by his garments (e.g., the Assyrian turban/crown), his entourage, and the weapons in his hands (bow and arrows). He never interacts directly with the foreign tributaries, but rather, their exchanges are always mediated through an Assyrian official. All of this suggests that, within the Assyrian ideology of kinship, the monarch is distinct from other human beings. These mythic/ideological currents are the primary influences informing the reliefs in Rooms D and E, and in fact, the entire palatial relief program.

Finally, I noted earlier that both the dress and the gifts (especially the simians) of the tributaries were meant to appear exotic, thereby indicating the far reaches from which the tribute and tributaries had come. This observation is confirmed in a paragraph from Allison Karmel

Thomason's, *Luxury and Legitimation*:

A second topos that occurs frequently in the early part of the empire relates to the Neo-Assyrian perception of the diverse and exotic faunal landscape of North Syria. This perception is manifested in the images of exotic yet tamed animals from North Syria that were symbolically incorporated into the empire as tribute. In the reign of Ashurnasirpal II, images show animals from as far away as central Africa offered to the Assyrian king. These include the monkeys from Court D of the Northwest Palace at Nimrud, a courtyard just outside the main throne room B. On the single-register large-scale reliefs, a group of tributaries wearing garments associated (in Ashurnasirpal II's bronze gates) with cities in North Syria advance to the left toward the waiting king. A small monkey sits on the shoulders of one of the western tributaries, while another monkey is tied to a leash held in the tributary's hand. The monkeys in this relief are clearly exotic, as the Assyrian artists awkwardly portray their characteristic features (small hands, large heads, bent posture). Their tamed nature is significant because the monkeys, delivered into the hands of the king waiting at the end of the panel, symbolically demonstrate the royal control of a vast

<sup>29</sup> Stone Slab Annals of Shalmaneser III, obv. lines 1-9 (RIMA 3:7).

realm replete with exotic creatures. It is also significant that while the monkeys were not originally from North Syria, the North Syrian tributaries serve as ‘middlemen’ between Egypt and Assyria. This relief suggests that the region of North Syria was conceived as a convenient and accessible clearinghouse, *the* supplier of exotic animals and other objects.<sup>30</sup>

The North Syrian tributaries and their gifts represent the king’s domination over the human, animal, and material world.<sup>31</sup> The reliefs’ underscoring of the exotic nature of the tributaries, then, does not reflect any scientific interest in zoology, but rather an ideological claim about the breadth of the king’s domain. Once again we find that the reliefs perpetuate and support the Assyrian ideology of kingship.

Room D clearly exhibits the WNT (see also Room E). It contains a king receiving wealth from foreigners as a sign of submission. Various other elements exist alongside these three basic features (e.g., the courtiers), but even these serve to augment the central features of the constellation.

### 3.2.1.2 The Mamu Temple Gates of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.E.) from Balawat (Imgur-Enlil)

#### 3.2.1.2.1 Pre-Iconographic Description and Genre/Category Analysis

Gates decorated with embossed bronze were a prominent category of royal architecture in first millennium Assyria. Evidence for such bands has been found at Balawat, Kalhu, Khorsabad,

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<sup>30</sup> See Thomason, “Representations of the North Syrian Landscape in Neo-Assyrian Art,” 72-75.

<sup>31</sup> Dominion over the animal world, in fact, is a common theme in ancient Near Eastern royal art and literature. For a discussion of this theme in light of Isa 11:6-9, see Michael J. Chan and Maria Metzler, “Lions and Leopards and Bears, O My: Re-Reading Isa 11:6-9 in Light of Comparative Iconographic and Literary Evidence,” in *Image, Text, Exegesis: Iconographic Interpretation and the Hebrew Bible* (ed. Izaak J. de Hulster and Joel M. LeMon; The Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies; Sheffield: T&T Clark International, forthcoming).

Ashur, and Tell Hadad.<sup>32</sup> Those found at Ashur are probably the oldest.<sup>33</sup> Although more fragmentary than the bronze bands found at Ashurnasirpal II's palace, the Mamu Temple gates place a heavier emphasis on tribute-bearing, which makes them of particular interest for the present study.<sup>34</sup>

There are 8 bands on either side of the Mamu Temple Gate, for a total of 16. 12/16 of the bands contain scenes in which lines of people bring objects—organic and inorganic—to the central, regally-dressed king (see L[Left] 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8; R [Right] 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8).<sup>35</sup> This stands in stark contrast to the palace gates from Balawat, which only contain three bands with tribute scenes (L1 [BM 124689], R6 [BM 124694], R7 [BM 124693]).

L6 and R4 from the Mamu Temple Gates will serve as exemplars. Based on both the photographs and sketches of the now degraded and fragmentary bronze bands, the wealth-bearers convey their items in three ways: on their heads, over their shoulders, or simply in their hands. Among the items are things like bowls?, square situlae, ingots?, goatskins, ivory tusks, and large cauldrons.<sup>36</sup> In addition, all of the wealth-bearers, save the two at the very front of the line, wear kilts that fall just above the knees. Between the ornately dressed king on his chariot and the bearers of wealth are five attendants. Some of them seem to mediate the exchange, whereas others carry flywhisks, maces, and bows. The whole scene is framed, above and below, with two solid borders, between which are rows of rosettes.

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<sup>32</sup> R.D. Barnett, John Curtis, and Nigel Tallis, *The Balawat Gates of Ashurnasirpal II* (ed. J.E. Curtis and N. Tallis; London: The British Museum Press, 2008), 75.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>34</sup> To get an idea of the fragmentary nature of the Mamu Temple gates, cf. Barnett, et al., *The Balawat Gates of Ashurnasirpal II*, fig. 5 (palace gates) and fig. 55 (Mamu Temple gates). For images of tribute bearing on the palace gates, see *ibid.*, figs. 7-8, 33-34, 35-36. See also the side-by-side comparison in *ibid.*, pls. 2-3.

<sup>35</sup> For a tabular presentation of these data, see *ibid.*, 52.

<sup>36</sup> See *ibid.*, 59.

In R4, an ornately dressed figure receives goods from his visitors, “who have arrived in two boats of Phoenician type, with prow and stern in the form of a duck’s head.”<sup>37</sup> The water is marked by swirls at the bottom of the register, which eventually fade into flat, dry land. The sea-journey of these visitors is depicted, quite literally, from shore to shore: on the right, one sees the city of origin along with a boat being loaded with goods; on the left, a ship lands on the shore and unloads its cargo. Unlike L6, the king in this scene is standing, not sitting. He faces a similar-looking bearded man who is probably the crown prince.<sup>38</sup> Immediately behind the “crown prince” is a prostrate visitor (cf. the genuflecting Judahite on the Black Obelisk of Shalmanassar III), who pays respects to the king. Unlike the king and his attendees, this man’s garment is fringe-less. The two Assyrian officials behind and beside him gesture with their hands in greeting, apparently to introduce the king’s visitors. Like the genuflecting leader, the visitors are set apart by their dress and by the fact that they are carrying items—in their hands, on their heads, or slung over their shoulders.

#### 3.2.1.2.2 Iconographic Analysis

The theme of the 12/16 bands from the Mamu Temple is tribute bearing. Subject nations bring their wealth to the Assyrian king as a sign of deference and subservience. This theme was clearly important for Ashurnasirpal II: If the reconstruction of Barnett, et al. is to be believed then the theme of tribute at the Mamu Temple Gates is not only emphasized by the sheer number of bands attributed to the theme (75% [i.e., 12/16]) but also by the way in which the tribute bands

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<sup>37</sup> See *ibid.*, 65.

<sup>38</sup> See *ibid.*

are arranged. The following chart indicates how Barnett, et al. reconstruct the arrangement of the bands (tribute bands italicized):

L1	<i>Tribute from Carchemish</i>	<i>Tribute from Suḫu</i>	R1
L2	Campaign to Mt. Urina	Campaign against Bit-Adini	R2
L3	<i>Tribute scene</i>	<i>Tribute from Suḫu</i>	R3
L4	<i>Tribute from a Phoenician? city</i>	<i>Tribute from a Phoenician? city</i>	R4
L5	<i>Tribute from a Phoenician? city</i>	<i>Tribute from Azamu</i>	R5
L6	<i>Tribute from Suḫu</i>	<i>Tribute scene</i>	R6
L7	Campaign scene	Campaign against Bit-Adini	R7
L8	<i>Tribute of timber</i>	<i>Tribute scene</i>	R8

J.E. Curtis and N. Tallis, in their comments on the Temple of Mamu gates, write,

If this arrangement is correct, it is striking that the three representations of tribute being brought from offshore cities, probably in Phoenicia, are all clustered together in the centre of the gates . . . It could be argued that such bands would have occupied pride of place, as they would have been at eye level and could easily be seen. Perhaps Ashurnasirpal was particularly proud of his campaigns to Phoenicia.<sup>39</sup>

That the king would express his personal fancy in the decoration of monumental architecture is not at all surprising. A similar case has been made for Room XXXVI of Sennacherib's Palace without Rival, the famous "Lachish Room."<sup>40</sup>

### 3.2.1.2.3 Functional Analysis

<sup>39</sup> See *ibid.*, 52.

<sup>40</sup> According to John Malcolm Russell, Room XXXVI is set apart in several ways: "The relief decoration of Room XXXVI was given an unusual prominence by its architectural setting. The room occupied the third, inner, rank of rooms in the suite west of Court XIX. Access to Room XXXVI from Court XIX was gained by passing through a series of three monumental portals, designated *h*, *e*, and *b*. Each of these doors was decorated with a pair of human-headed bull colossi, which decreased in size from 18 feet high in Door *h*, to 12 feet high in Door *b*. Since these doorways were all located on a single axis, the visual effect when standing in Court XIX and looking in toward Room XXXVI was an accelerated perspective, a sense of dramatic convergence toward the scene depicted on the rear wall of Room XXXVI, namely the image of the besieged city of Lachish . . . Nowhere else in the preserved portion of the palace were colossi used to highlight a room in this way . . . Since its combination of central location and perspective effects makes Room XXXVI the focal point of this entire suite, a visitor might justifiably conclude that the surrender of Lachish was the high point of the western campaign." See his, *Sennacherib's "Palace without Rival" at Nineveh* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 252.

For most westerners, a gate is a boundary, a purely functional edifice meant either to permit or restrict physical access. In Mesopotamia, however, gates had different associations in addition to the ones just mentioned:

doors and gateways were considered as places fraught with great and solemn significance; they were felt to be full of magic and symbolism, with potentialities either for good or for evil, able to make all the difference between prosperity or disaster to the temple, palace or city to which they gave or excluded admittance.<sup>41</sup>

One cannot simply interpret the iconography of the gates, then, without considering their function as apotropaic architecture. These gates assured prosperity and wellbeing. To call the embossed bronze bands merely “decorative” or “ornamental,” then, is true but only partially. To be sure, these bronze bands were beautiful, ornate, and impressive. But they were much more than that. Gates of this sort *participated* actively in their world, which was full of numinous beings, working both weal and woe. The job of the gates was to ensure the former.

#### 3.2.1.2.4 Iconographic Interpretation

A bronze band is an ideal medium on which to depict tribute processions. In its original setting, as one glanced at the gate, one would see long lines of tributaries with goods carried on their backs, all facing in one, unwavering direction: *toward the king*. This visual feature makes an important ideological point: the Assyrian king is a world-dominating monarch—a claim expressed in standard Assyrian titles like, *šar kiššati* (“king of the universe”) or *šār kibrāt arba’i* (“king of the four quarters”).<sup>42</sup> These ideological claims are further reinforced by the Phoenician delegation in R4, which bring its goods by ship.

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<sup>41</sup> See Barnett, Curtis, and Tallis, et al., *The Balawat Gates of Ashurnasirpal II*, 1.

<sup>42</sup> These titles are part of a group of 5 titles that are common to Assyrian titulary. The others include *šar māt Aššur* (“king of the land of Assyria”), *šarru rabû* (“great king”), and *šarru dannu* (“mighty king”). See M.J.

Based on the placement of these scenes on a temple gate, one can assume that the images themselves were deeply significant to a number of parties. The king, of course, would have looked upon them as monuments not only to his domination of the nations but also as a commemoration of his great piety, in alignment with his role as the agent of the Assyrian deities. And the fact that the gates enclose a temple also suggests that the deity, Mamu, supported the king in his exploits to defend, expand, and enrich the empire. Elite court officials, aristocracy, military (there is significant overlap here), etc., might have looked upon these images and seen the very system that supported their way of life. Foreign visitors, in turn, might have seen in such images a warning against rebellion, or simply a clear statement about the might of the king and his army. Of course, these are just general categories of responses, and one has to assume that, on the individual level, each viewer could have responded in a range of possible ways.

The Mamu Temple Gates at Balawat, then, clearly exemplify the WNT studied in this dissertation: foreign nations bring their wealth to a royal figure as an act of homage, honor, and submission.

### 3.2.1.3 The Black Obelisk of Shalmanessar III (858-824 B.C.E.)

#### 3.2.1.3.1 Pre-Iconographic Description and Genre/Category Analysis

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Seux, *Epithetes royales akkadiennes et sumeriennes* (Paris: Letouzey et Ane, 1967), 13n2 and David Vanderhoof, "Babylonian Strategies of Imperial Control in the West: Royal Practice and Rhetoric," in *Judah and Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period* (ed. Oded Lipschits and Joseph Blenkinsopp; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 249. For additional information on these titles, along with references to specific texts, see my discussion of 1 Kgs 10:23-25//2 Chr 9:22-24 in Chapter 4.

The famous 2.02 meter high Black Obelisk of Shalmanessar III was discovered by A.H. Layard at Kalhu (figs. 6-11).<sup>43</sup> An inscription on the obelisk allows the *terminus post quem* of its creation to be set at 826 B.C.E.<sup>44</sup> Each side of the obelisk has 5 registers. Its apex, which is shaped like a ziggurat, is covered in cuneiform script and contains no iconography. Cuneiform can also be found in the space between registers.

In my description of the iconographic contents, I use the numbering system employed by Bär, who identifies each of the registers from top to bottom with the letters A-E. Each register, in turn, has four sides, which I give the designation, 1, 2, 3, 4 (see fig. 7, reading from left to right).<sup>45</sup> Using the two images of the king (see, e.g., figs. 9-10) as a reference point, the side on which he is depicted has the designation 1. When I want to identify a specific scene on a specific side of a given register, I use a compound citation (e.g., A-1).

Register A depicts a line of figures processing toward a king with organic (A-2, A-3) and inorganic (A-4) items. The exchange is mediated by two other figures, one of whom raises his hand, presumably to introduce the procession of gift-bearers. In A-1 (similarly in B-1) a man genuflects at the feet of the king and directly beneath the winged disc. Mediating this exchange are officials in A-1 and A-2 (see figs. 9-10). B is very similar to A. In B-1, the king, who is again flanked by two beardless attendants, faces another pair of beardless attendants and a genuflecting subject (see fig. 10). A winged solar disc and a rosette hover above.<sup>46</sup> In B-2, two additional officials introduce a long line of subjects, some of whom hold their fists in front of their faces,

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<sup>43</sup> See Bär, *Der assyrische Tribut und seine Darstellung*, 149.

<sup>44</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> See *ibid.*, 148-62. Note that Bär's alphanumerical classification of the schemes differs from that used by Uehlinger. See Uehlinger, "Neither Eyewitnesses," fig. 11.7.

<sup>46</sup> Notice, however that rosette is oriented to the left of the winged disk in A-1 but to the right in B-1. The significance of this arrangement is unclear to me. It may be significant that in A-1, the king faces not a beardless official but rather the crown prince.

and others of whom busy their hands with carrying gifts. Unlike A, there are no live animals in B.

Row C is unique in its distinct emphasis on live animals. Camels, elephants, simians, etc., file along with the rest of the gifts and gift-bearers. D-2, D-3, and D-4 each contain figures who carry goods, and especially ivory (see fig. 8). D-1, however, is something of an anomaly. It depicts two lions and a stag, which is being attacked from behind by one of the lions (see fig. 11). This bestial triad is located in a wooded area, which seems also to have stony and uneven ground. Based purely on content, D-1 is not entirely unusual for an Assyrian monument. But when the content is considered alongside its context, this scene seems strangely out of place. There are, in fact, no humans whatsoever in this scene, nor is there any explicit connection between D-1 and the other scenes in the same row. There is, in my view, an explanation for this anomaly, but that will have to wait until the section on iconographic analysis (see below).

In terms of genre, the Black Obelisk is one of a number of extant—or at least, fragmentarily extant—Assyrian obelisks (see, e.g., the White Obelisk, the Birmingham Obelisk, etc.), indicating that, at least in the late second and early to mid-first millennium, the category of obelisk was a regular component in Assyrian monumental art.<sup>47</sup> The association between obelisks and depictions of wealth-bearing scenes is well founded. Both the White Obelisk and the Birmingham Obelisk, for instance, contain similar imagery.<sup>48</sup> What these additional

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<sup>47</sup> The precise date of the White Obelisk is not entirely settled. In line 7 of the inscription the eponym name, Ashurnasirpal, is given. But to which Ashurnasirpal this refers—Ashurnasirpal I (1050-1030 B.C.E.), Ashurnasirpal II (884-858 B.C.E.), or perhaps even a third ruler with this name—is not clear. See Bär, *Der assyrische Tribut und seine Darstellung*, 58.

<sup>48</sup> The “White Obelisk” has two registers comprised of tribute-bearing. See Bär, *Der assyrische Tribut und seine Darstellung*, 59, Abb., 7-10. For other photographs and drawings, see, e.g., Edmond Sollberger, “The White Obelisk,” *Iraq* 36 (1974): 231-38. The fragmentary Birmingham Obelisk, found at Nineveh, also contains a tribute scene, an interpretation which is supported by an accompanying inscription. For a line-drawing, see R. Campbell Thompson, “(I) An Assyrian Parallel to an Incident in The Story of Semiramis. (II) Fragments of Stone Reliefs and Inscriptions Found at Nineveh,” *Iraq* 4 (1937): 35-46, fig. 1.

exemplars of the obelisk genre suggest is that, in Assyria of the late second and early first millennium, the use of tribute scenes on obelisks was quite conventional.

### 3.2.1.3.2 Iconographic Analysis

The dominant theme of the Black Obelisk is tribute-bearing. This theme is found in 19 out of 20 scenes, the one exception being D-1, which represents a lion attacking a stag (see fig. 11). The scenes on the Black Obelisk resemble—albeit on a much smaller scale—those found in Room D of Ashurnasirpal II's palace at Kalhu. Moreover, the nature of their gifts, which are both organic and non-organic, are typical of Assyrian tribute scenes. That tribute is the main theme of the obelisk is substantiated by the associated inscriptions/captions. The main text, which is found above and below the scenes, includes an invocation of the gods (lines 1-14), royal names and epithets (lines 15-21), and a narrative of the campaigns (lines 22-190). The captions associated with specific scenes, however, follow more or less a set formula: *maddattu šá X* (personal name, geographical name, etc.) . . . *am-ḥur-šur*: “The tribute of X . . . I received.”<sup>49</sup>

This is an appropriate time to raise the issue of D-1, the anomalous scene in which one of two lions attacks a stag (see fig. 11). The purpose of D-1 within the larger composition is unclear. Its contents, of course, are perfectly at home within royal, monumental art, but given the iconographic context of the scene, and the apparent lack of connection with the other scenes, D-1 remains only ambiguously related to its surroundings. At the very least, any explanation of D-1 must relate the scene to the whole matter of tribute-bearing, which is indisputably the primary concern of the obelisk's iconography. It is well-known that lions were both given as tribute and

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<sup>49</sup> See Black Obelisk Epigraphs, (RIMA 3), 148-50.

kept in royal, zoological preserves.<sup>50</sup> The lion depicted in D-1, then, is probably not meant to be a lion in the wild. Rather, the scene participates, as every other scene on the obelisk does, in aggrandizing the king by depicting him as a recipient of the nations' wealth. Whereas the other scenes on the obelisk depict wealth in the process of being brought to the king, D-1 depicts the tribute already settled in its new location, probably in some sort of royal game preserve.

### 3.2.1.3.3 Functional Analysis

Place and function cannot be separated. The most important question to answer when trying to determine the function of the Black Obelisk is where it was situated at the time it was erected.

While earlier scholarship concluded that the obelisk was located inside a building,<sup>51</sup> more recent scholarship suggests that it was located outdoors,

Zuzüglich dieser Information wird man die genaue Fundstelle des "Schwarzen Obeliskens" demnach nordwestlich des "Central Palace" und auf der westlichen Verlängerungsachse der Frontfassade des "Central Building" suchen dürfen, d.h. eindeutig außerhalb eines Gebäudes. Damit wird das "Central Building" im Westen von dem "Schwarzen Obeliskens" flankiert, an der Ostseite von dem "Rassam Obeliskens", und wiederum östlich davon, von einer bartlosen Statue. Es ergibt sich ein Arrangement von mindestens drei bekannten, freistehenden Denkmälern, die zu der Annahme führte, daß sich zwischen "Central Building" und "Central Palace" ein freier Platz und/oder eine Straße befand, entlang derer sich die Monumente aufreichten.<sup>52</sup>

These are incredibly important observations when it comes to determining the function of the obelisk. The fact that the monument is located in a "public"—or at the very least highly visible—setting between important buildings suggests that it was intended for the consumption of passers-

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<sup>50</sup> For references to both primary and secondary material, see Chan and Metzler. "Lions and Leopards and Bears, O My," forthcoming. For a comprehensive treatment of lions and leonine imagery in the HB and the ancient Near East, see Strawn, *What is Stronger than a Lion?*.

<sup>51</sup> See, e.g., E.A. Wallis Budge, *A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities* (3d ed.; London: Printed by Order of the Trustees, 1922), 46-47.

<sup>52</sup> Bär, *Der assyrische Tribut und seine Darstellung*, 148-9. See also the comments in Uehlinger, "Neither Eyewitnesses," 209.

by. Whether that audience included the full socio-economic range of the population is unlikely. It is likely, however, that the elites, and especially government officials and foreign delegates, would have had access to the object. Like many other monuments discussed in this chapter, then, the Black Obelisk was part of the larger ideological machine of the Assyrian empire, whose goal it was to perpetuate and sustain the king's authority over his subjects, domestic and foreign.

#### 3.2.1.3.4 Iconographic Interpretation

The Black Obelisk displays in multiple ways an aspect of Assyrian kingship that is all too familiar: the Assyrian king is a divinely-commissioned recipient of foreign wealth. This aspect of the king is rendered here in an idealized form.<sup>53</sup> In this obelisk, he is the central figure around which everything else is oriented. What is more, as the depictions of the deities above the king suggest, this ruler is not only worthy of goods because he is a mighty warrior, but he is also worthy because he has the support of the gods. The imperial order depicted on the Black Obelisk is an order decreed in the heavens and enacted on the earth.<sup>54</sup>

As with the other examples in this chapter, the Black Obelisk clearly reflects the WNT, in which *foreign nations bring their wealth to a king as an act of homage, honor, and submission*. Of course, this basic outline has been supplemented with the addition of courtiers, royal officials, etc., all of whom add to the king's prestige and grandeur.

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<sup>53</sup> Uehlinger, similarly, writes, "Let us ask, then, what these images *can* tell us: they convey an idealized image of the Assyrian king, powerful as a warrior chief . . . and trust-inspiring as a ruler of peace . . . To this splendid king of kings, foreigners submit from various parts of the world." *Ibid.*, 206.

<sup>54</sup> Uehlinger, similarly, writes, "The result is obviously to the benefit of Assyria, since riches of the world are brought from all quarters to Assyria. In sum, the Assyrian king stands uncontested at the center of a peaceful world. We may perhaps read some kind of *modus potentialis* into the images: should anyone want to challenge the authority of the king, this might temporarily disturb the flow of goods towards Assyria, but the king would no doubt be strong enough to repel his rivals (note the hint at the strength of the lion in vignette A-4!)." Uehlinger, "Neither Eyewitnesses," 207.

### 3.2.1.4 Ivories from the Nabû Tempel at Kalhu/Nimrud

#### 3.2.1.4.1 Pre-Iconographic Description and Genre/Category Analysis

The Nabû temple at Kalhu is located in the south-east corner of the acropolis.<sup>55</sup> Of particular interest for this study is the so-called throne room complex, which is where the ivories under discussion were found.<sup>56</sup> Finding a throne room within a cultic complex is, according to Bär, “einzigartig.”<sup>57</sup> In agreement with the excavators, he writes, “daß sich der König in diesen Räumen aufgehalten hat, wenn er seinen kultischen Pflichten im Heiligtum nachgekommen ist.”<sup>58</sup> The room, it appears, was reserved for those duties which required the king to perform cultic duties. Architecturally, the placement of a throne room within a temple complex had the added effect of associating the king’s rule with the divine order.

Space does not permit for a detailed discussion of every relevant ivory from the throne room. Instead, I have chosen a representative example: ND 4193, (fig. 12). This 68 x 8 x 2.5 cm<sup>59</sup> ivory is particularly relevant because it is so well preserved, is the largest of its kind, and is

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<sup>55</sup> Bär, *Der assyrische Tribut und seine Darstellung*, 166. For a map, see also M.E.L. Mallowan, “The Excavations at Nimrud (Kalhu),” *Iraq* 18 (1956): pl. II.

<sup>56</sup> As Bär notes, “Die Bezeichnung ‘Thronraum’ gründet sich zum einen auf die rechteckige Form des Raumes mit den nicht unerheblichen Abmessungen von 5,70m x 17,50m und zum anderen auf die darin befindlichen Installationen. An der westlichen Schmalseite des Raumes stößt ein Podest aus Lehmziegeln an die Wand, das mit dem langrechteckigen Vorsprung an seiner Vorderseite an das Thronpodest Salmanassars III. erinnert. Vor dem Podest verlaufen Steinshienen für ein fahrbares Kohlenbecken oder ähnliches. Nebenräume wie NTS 3 und NTS 4 sind weitere Charakteristika für Thronräume; NTS 4 kann wegen seiner Pflasterung als Badezimmer angesprochen werden.” See Bär, *Der assyrische Tribut und seine Darstellung*, 167. See also Allison Karmel Thomason, *Luxury and Legitimation: Royal Collecting in Ancient Mesopotamia* (Perspectives on Collecting; Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 130.

<sup>57</sup> See Bär, *Der assyrische Tribut und seine Darstellung*, 167.

<sup>58</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> See Mallowan, “The Excavations at Nimrud,” 14; Bär, *Der assyrische Tribut und seine Darstellung*, 168.

similar to many other ivories that depict foreigners bringing goods to the Assyrian king (cf., e.g., ND 1049, ND 1050, ND 1051, ND 2293, ND 4195, ND 5602, ND 5603, etc.).<sup>60</sup>

Beginning on the left, an armed beardless man stands beneath a baldachin, which is situated just behind a horse-drawn chariot accompanied by a driver and an attendant. In front of the chariot are two armed and ornately-dressed beardless men (probably eunuchs), one of whom holds an umbrella near the head of an extravagantly garbed king with a crown. This figure, who clearly dominates the scene, delicately holds a bowl on his fingertips while facing a beardless attendant with a fly whisk. Behind the beardless attendant is a line of similarly dressed men, who introduce another group that is distinguished by its clothing and by the fact that its members carry gifts (e.g., cauldrons, jugs, and bowls).

#### 3.2.1.4.2 Iconographic Analysis

The arrangement and activities of the figures indicate that the theme of ND 4193 is tribute. As in every other example of tribute-bearing discussed heretofore, the king is central. He is set apart from everyone else both by his attire and by how the surrounding figures relate to him: gifts move in his direction, his officials ensure his comfort, and the king is uniquely adorned with a crown and an ornate robe.

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<sup>60</sup> For a line drawing of these ivories, see *ibid.*, Abb. 19-22, 54-57, and for additional discussion about ivories from Bär, see *ibid.*, 82-85, 144-47, 166-76.

#### 3.2.1.4.3 Functional Analysis

In terms of function, ND 4193 stands out among the evidence cited thus far in two distinct ways. First, it is not monumental art but miniature art. As Bär points out, “Die Elfenbeine dienten ganz offensichtlich als Beschläge für Möbelstücke.”<sup>61</sup> Second, all of the Assyrian art surveyed thus far has been “official” art—meaning it is commissioned more or less for and by the king. The ivories discussed here, however, are manufactured outside the imperial center, though they clearly draw on themes that are a normal component of the Assyrian repertoire, and given their status as tribute were certainly meant to perpetuate royal ideology. ND 4193, then, functions with respect to the king as adornment for his furniture and as a reminder of his status in the world. With respect to the subjects who made it, this ivory was also a visual representation of their submission to his rule. The fact that tribute is represented on these items creates an interesting representational “feedback” loop, for the items being brought as tribute are themselves a representation of that act.

#### 3.2.1.4.4 Iconographic Interpretation

As is the case with other Assyrian sources previously discussed, ND 4193 participates in and perpetuates the Assyrian royal claim to global domination. The Assyrian king, because of his power and might, is alone worthy of the nations’ wealth.

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<sup>61</sup> Bär, *Der assyrische Tribut und seine Darstellung*, 168; Mallowan, “The Excavations at Nimrud,” 14.

The main constellation studied in this dissertation, moreover, also features prominently in ND 4193, not to mention other ivories from Nimrud and elsewhere.<sup>62</sup> The king is placed at the center of the composition, making him the primary recipient of foreign wealth. If the constellation were a wheel, then the king would be the hub, with the two other basic features (foreigners and their wealth) acting as spokes. While making for a strange wheel, this analogy accurately reflects the centrality of the king and the supporting roles played by the other figures in the constellation.

### 3.2.2 Persia

Like its Mesopotamian predecessors, Assyria and Babylon, the Persians controlled a vast imperium that benefitted from the contributions of subject peoples. The Apadana facades at Persepolis, the staircase of Palace H (sometimes called the Palace of Artaxerxes III) and the western stairway of the Palace (“Tachara”) of Darius, are the clearest visual expressions of this reality (see fig. 13 for a map of the site).<sup>63</sup> All of these examples, interestingly, are found at Persepolis. And to the best of my knowledge, this is the only place where the Persians commissioned such imagery on monumental art. The reliefs on the Apadana are the oldest, largest, most intact, and most elaborate of all the exemplars from Persepolis. For this reason, I focus exclusively on the Apadana reliefs.

#### 3.2.2.1 The Apadana Reliefs at Persepolis

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<sup>62</sup> For a line drawing of these ivories, see *ibid.*, Abb. 54-57. For an excellent example of tribute on miniature art—albeit bronze, see also MMA 51.20.2a (Museum number for the Metropolitan Museum of Art) from Ziwiye in modern day Azerbaijan.

<sup>63</sup> Although pieces of the Apadana reliefs can be found in numerous museums around the world, these are often highly fragmentary and will not be given independent attention. My focus, instead, will be on the remains currently at Persepolis itself. For a catalogue of the fragments in the collection of the British Museum, for instance, see Terence C. Mitchell, “The Persepolis Sculptures in the British Museum” *Iran* 38 (2000): 49-56.

### 3.2.2.1.1 Pre-Iconographic Description and Genre/Category Analysis

Of all the monuments discussed in this chapter, those found on the north and east facades of the Apadana (“audience hall”; cf. Heb. *’pdn*; Elamite: *ha-ba-da-na*; Late Babylonian: *appadān[u]*)<sup>64</sup> at Persepolis are the largest and most impressive.<sup>65</sup> Persepolis—as it came to be called by the Greeks—was a new royal city begun by Darius I (522-486 B.C.E.).<sup>66</sup> The city was built on a large plain 50 km north of Shiraz and its construction continued until around 450 B.C.E.<sup>67</sup> The Apadana itself is a massive monumental structure that was constructed on a raised platform and contained an audience hall (60 x 60 m) capable of holding some 10,000 people.<sup>68</sup>

Because the north and east facades are very similar, I will not subject both of them to detailed analysis. Instead, I focus on the north façade, working from both photographs and a reconstruction (see fig. 15).<sup>69</sup> In antiquity, when one faced the north façade, one would notice that the most prominent figure in the composition is the enthroned king who was accompanied by an elaborate entourage.<sup>70</sup> The king is, in every way, the axial point of the entire façade (see

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<sup>64</sup> See R. Schmitt, “Apadāna: Term,” *Encyclopedia Iranica* (ed. Ehsan Yarshater; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), 2:145.

<sup>65</sup> The monumental architecture at Persepolis has also fascinated Iranians ancient and modern. For a helpful discussion of Persepolis’ reception in modern times, see Ali Mousavi, “Persepolis in Retrospect: Histories of Discovery and Archaeological Exploration at the Ruins of Ancient Parseh,” in *Medes and Persians: Reflections on Elusive Empires* (ed. Margaret Cool Root; *Ars Orientalis* 32; Ann Arbor: Dept. of the History of Art, University of Michigan, 2002), 209-51.

<sup>66</sup> See Muhammad A. Dandamaev and Vladimir G. Lukonin, *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 245; Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 168.

<sup>67</sup> See Dandamaev and Lukonin, *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*, 245.

<sup>68</sup> See *ibid.*, 250.

<sup>69</sup> For a helpful reconstruction, see Friedrich Krefter, *Persepolis Rekonstruktionen* (Teheraner Forschungen 3; Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1971), Beilage 4.

<sup>70</sup> The current central panel, which depicts four soldiers facing one another with a solar disc overhead, is almost certainly not original. The original central panels were found in the Treasury. They depict the king sitting on a throne with a staff in hand and receiving a guest (see Margaret Cool Root, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art: Essays on the Creation of an Iconography of Empire* [Acta Iranica; Troisième série. Textes et mémoires 9. Leiden: Brill, 1979], 88; Peter Frei and Klaus Koch, *Reichsidee und Reichsorganisation im Perserreich* [OBO 55; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1984], 72; Strawn, “A World under Control,” 92-93).

fig. 16).<sup>71</sup> His visual centrality is accented by four concentrically arranged scenes of individual lions attacking rearing bulls (see fig. 17). Two lion-bull pairs are found on the sloping ends of the inner set of crenelated staircases. Two additional pairs are found on the sloping ends of the outer crenelated staircase. These bestial framing elements visually organize the façade so that the eyes are guided toward the enthroned king.

Behind the king (to the reader's left) one sees row upon row of officials and guards (see fig. 15). Most of these figures face toward the king, with the exception of the occasional backward-glancing figure. At the head of each register are spear-wielding guards, sometimes referred to as "Susian guards" because their outfits match those found on reliefs at Susa.<sup>72</sup> In front of the king (to the right from the viewer's vantage point), the registers are populated with long lines of gift-bearers who convey a variety of goods, both organic and non-organic. The delegates are grouped according to their ethnicity; each ethnic group, moreover, is separated from the others by trees. The trees are vertically arranged so as to create the appearance of a seven-column grid.<sup>73</sup> The first member of each delegation is led into the presence of the king by an usher who holds his hand.

When discussing genre, one of the most crucial points concerns how the Apadana reliefs relate to prototypes from previous eras and empires. As Root has argued, the art of the Persian empire constituted a highly intentional and selective artistic program that was fashioned to recall the generic conventions of other art forms. In her conclusions, Root writes, "Out of the tangled threads of a distant Indo-Iranian heritage and a more recently assimilated system of near Eastern

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<sup>71</sup> In Root's words, "The original central panel, with its scene of the king receiving an official is the compositional pivot of the whole Apadana relief system." See *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*, 236.

<sup>72</sup> See, Root, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*, 233.

<sup>73</sup> See, *ibid.*, 234.

traditions, the Achaemenid Persians wove a pattern of their own imperial design.”<sup>74</sup> Persian art, then, is a mixture of both inheritance and innovation.

But what are the prototypes that feed into and inform the Apadana reliefs? Clearly, they belong to the broader category of wall reliefs, and more specifically to façade wall reliefs. As Root shows, relevant prototypes are lacking from Egypt. Tribute scenes are simply not part of the regular canon of monumental Egyptian art.<sup>75</sup> Exceptions include Hatshepsut’s monumental depictions of the famous Punt expedition at Deir el Bahari, which include a tribute scene, and the tribute-bearing scenes found in private Theban tombs from the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>76</sup> Chronologically, it is improbable that these Egyptian private tomb paintings served in any direct way as prototypes for the Apadana reliefs. This claim is further substantiated by the fact that the Apadana reliefs and the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Theban Tombs have very different social functions. To argue that Persian court officials, craftsmen, or imperial artists had somehow come into contact

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<sup>74</sup> See *ibid.*, 309.

<sup>75</sup> See *ibid.*, 240-50. Root points to a number of other significant differences between Egyptian art and Persian imperial art: (1) Egyptian art evidences, “a consistent lack of compositional unity around one visual focal point...” The Egyptian tribute scenes appear to be “episodes in extended narrative sequences which are designed to show off the tomb owner in all of his various capacities as a government official.” (2) There is a lack of “unity of moment” in Egyptian art that is clearly present in the Apadana reliefs. She notes that, “the Apadana relief system appears to have been carefully planned so that the same single moment is portrayed across the entire expanse of the façade.” (3) “Aspects of the mood of the Egyptian representations differ greatly from the Achaemenid rendition...” For example, “there is no pervasive tone in the Egyptian representations. Although the chieftains at the head of each register may prostrate themselves, while adjacent texts have them proclaiming their obeisance and subjugation to the pharaoh, the tribute bearers who follow do not maintain this tone in their manner of bringing forward their burdens. It would seem that to the Egyptian these figures were meant only to convey information to the effect that certain gifts were, in fact, brought to the pharaoh.” The Apadana reliefs, she argues, exhibit a tone of “anticipation and dignified, pious, solemnity.” See *ibid.*, 248.

<sup>76</sup> For a helpful monograph on the Theban tombs, see Melinda K. Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes: 1419-1372 BCE* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), X. See also the comments in Silvia Schroer, *Die Ikonographie Palästinas/Israels und der Alte Orient: Eine Religionsgeschichte in Bildern* (4 vols.; IPIAO; Fribourg: Academic Press, 2011), 3:118-22. Where these scenes differ from the evidence in Persia or Mesopotamia is in the prominence given to the tomb owner, who often takes on the role played by the court officials in Mesopotamian exemplars. The emphasis on the tomb owner, of course, is due to the funerary context of the iconography.

with Theban Tombs of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty stretches even the most active historical imagination beyond credibility.<sup>77</sup>

Because of their apparent similarity to Persian relief work, Assyrian tribute scenes are, *prima facie*, a potential prototype. In a lengthy discussion, however, Root convincingly shows that while there are similarities between the Apadana reliefs and Assyrian tribute-bearing scenes, the Achaemenid reliance upon the Assyrian tribute-scene prototypes must have been “limited.”<sup>78</sup>

For Root, the prototype for the Apadana reliefs is found in the age-old Mesopotamian presentation scenes, which are primarily found on seals and seal impressions:<sup>79</sup>

The internal imagery which characterizes the tribute procession relief at Persepolis departs radically from that found in Egyptian or Assyrian representations of the same theme. The first man in each tribute delegation is shown being led forward by the hand toward the figure of the enthroned king . . . . By contrast, the leaders of Egyptian delegations generally are depicted on their knees, beseechingly . . . . while leaders of delegations to the Assyrian king generally either kiss the feet of the king or hold their hands clenched at face level as a sign of submission . . . . An understanding of the hand-holding image is clearly crucial to our iconographical analysis of the Apadana tribute representation.<sup>80</sup>

While the Apadana reliefs are very similar to Assyrian tribute scenes, as this quote indicates, the whole matter of hand-holding is key for Root. She goes on to say,

It thus seems possible that the Apadana relief reflects a conscious selection of the antique theme of the presentation scene as an eloquent way of rendering the type of relationship between king and vassal states which the Achaemenids wished to have expressed. I think there can be no doubt that the designers of the Apadana façade were aware of the aura of religiosity and pious trepidation implicit in the presentation scene as a type.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Root seems to recognize these points: “Finally, it should be emphasized that although certain aspects of the Apadana tribute relief seem to have been derived from Egyptian models, it seems unlikely that it was Achaemenid exposure to Egyptian tribute representations which inspired the initial decision to use this theme at Persepolis as the supreme visual statement of imperial order.” See, *ibid.*, 249.

<sup>78</sup> See, *ibid.*, 262. See also *ibid.*, 250-62.

<sup>79</sup> The only book-length treatment of the presentation scene that I am aware of is, Martha Haussperger: *Die Einfuhrungszene: Entwicklung eines mesopotamischen Motivs von der altakkadischen bis zum Ende der altbabylonischen Zeit* (Münchener vorderasiatischen Studien; München: Profil Verlag, 1991).

<sup>80</sup> See *ibid.*, 267.

<sup>81</sup> See Root, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*, 270.

There is no issue of availability, since the presentation scene occurs in the corpus of the Persepolis Fortification Seals.<sup>82</sup> This would suggest that the Apadana reliefs are, in fact, monumental renderings of a theme that predominates in miniature art, not monumental art. If Root is correct, then the Apadana reliefs purposefully intermingle two ancient visual conventions: the presentation scene and the tribute scene. The result of this act of blending, as Strawn argues, is that “the presentation seems to portray the Persians as semidivine, with the king as fully—perhaps even supremely—divine.”<sup>83</sup> A powerful religious aura, then, was imported into the Apadana reliefs by virtue of its semblance to presentation scenes, which presumably would have had currency among the contemporary subjects of the empire. The Achaemenid kings alluded to pious images and constellations that were deeply embedded in the imaginaries of their subjects, and by doing so created an aura of religiosity around the emperor, suggesting that he should be honored and obeyed as someone with a unique status before the gods. The approach taken in the Apadana differs markedly from the rhetoric of terror that is so prevalent in Assyrian art. To be sure, both intend to be suasive, but they gain leverage by appealing to different human emotions—the latter, to fear and the former to reverence for the divine.

### 3.2.2.1.2 Iconographic Analysis

The main question normally addressed in this section—the theme or subject—has already been broached in the discussion of genre above. But one key issue relevant to iconographic analysis remains unresolved: While all would agree that in the Apadana reliefs foreigners bring abundant

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<sup>82</sup> See Garrison, “Achaemenid Iconography as Evidenced by Glyptic Art,” 147.

<sup>83</sup> See Strawn, “A World under Control,” 98.

goods and wealth to the Great King, less agreement exists over the precise nature of the “event” being depicted, if it can even be called such a thing. Is it appropriate, for instance, to see behind the reliefs an actual festival, perhaps a New Year festival, as many have assumed? Or do the reliefs depict, rather, the institution of tribute or of taxation more generally?

Although some scholars suggest that a particular festival informs the iconography of the Apadana,<sup>84</sup> what seems likelier is that the Apadana reliefs are more concerned with the *concept* of kingship than with the depiction of an actual event. Put differently, the Apadana reliefs are ideology that is visually actualized. Root argues that the Apadana reliefs are “a metaphor of kingship and harmoniously ordered hegemony.”<sup>85</sup> Abstract ideology rather than realist reportage are the determining factors. In Briant’s words,

The principle objection to positing an imperial festival is methodological in nature. Iconological and iconographic analysis has shown that, overall, inscriptions and reliefs are intended *prima facie* to impose and transmit the image of a universal, intangible power. Achaemenid rhetoric is nourished less by administrative realities than by ideological assumptions, which have their own logic. In other words, Persepolitan art is not a simple, quasi-photographic reflection of reality. Though it does capture reality, it does so in order to transform it and make it sublime; it relates less to a scenic scenario than to an ideological discourse on royal and imperial might organized around themes particularly evocative of the power of the Great King.<sup>86</sup>

Perhaps an analogy will make this point clearer. The Apadana is less like a photograph of the United States president declaring either war or peace with an enemy and more like the president’s *seal*—an eagle, with arrows and an olive branch in his talons, representing the

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<sup>84</sup> In a review of the University of Chicago’s publications on Persepolis, R.D. Barnett writes, “One of the most important contributions of the volume is, as we have said, the complete publication of the great series of twenty-three delegations from the tributary nations of the Persian empire, bringing New Year gifts, as depicted on the stairway reliefs of the great audience hall of Apadana.” See his, “Persepolis,” *Iraq* 19 (1957): 65. Dandamaev and Lukonin write similarly, “Relief scenes from Persepolis have suggested to scholars that the holiday of the New Year, which was the most important holiday in ancient times, was celebrated in this city. In such a case it is possible to assume that the Persepolis reliefs (especially on the stairway of the *apadana*) depict the ritual of the New Year festival and the myths and rites of the ancient Iranians” (*The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*, 255). For additional discussion of this topic, see also the citations in Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 184-85.

<sup>85</sup> See Margaret Cool Root, “The Lioness of Elam: Politics and Dynastic Fecundity at Persepolis,” in *A Persian Perspective: Essays in Memory of Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg* (Achaemenid History XIII; Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2003), 10.

<sup>86</sup> See, *ibid.*, 185-86.

president's charge to protect and maintain peace. The former captures a moment in the actual life of the president, and the latter is an icon, a visual abstraction of the ideology of the American presidency. The Apadana reliefs at Persepolis, then, do not depict an actual festival or even the event of tribute-bearing. Rather, they reflect the ideological concept that the Great King of Persia, by virtue of his elect and distinguished status, receives the abundant wealth of the nations.

### 3.2.2.1.3 Functional Analysis

The function of the Apadana reliefs is directly related to how Persepolis as a whole functioned in the Persian empire. And while there are different opinions as to the city's specific purpose—with some arguing that it was a “dynastic, ritual city of the Achaemenid kings”<sup>87</sup> and others arguing that it was in fact “eine Residenz mit allen dazu benötigten Funktionen”<sup>88</sup>—one thing seems clear: the Apadana reliefs were meant to be *seen* by large numbers of people. That the Apadana's audience included foreign delegates goes almost without saying. This massive monument would have borne witness to the power, wealth, and might of the king of Persia. If Mark Garrison is correct, then Persepolis during the time of the Persians was also filled with administrative officials (a proposal suggested by the presence of the Persepolis Fortification Tablets),<sup>89</sup> and “this audience would have been an important, sophisticated and literate . . . audience, one,

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<sup>87</sup> See the comments in Dandamaev and Lukonin, *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*, 255.

<sup>88</sup> See Leo Trümpelmann, “Tore von Persepolis,” *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 7 (1974): 170. Cf. the comments in Mark B. Garrison, “Achaemenid Iconography as Evidenced by Glyptic Art: Subject Matter, Social Function, Audience and Diffusion,” in *Images as Media: Sources for the Cultural History of the Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean* (1<sup>st</sup> Millennium BCE) (ed. Christoph Uehlinger; OBO 175; Fribourg: University Press, 2000), 144-45.

<sup>89</sup> For an introductory discussion to the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, see Margaret Root, “The Persepolis Fortification Tablets,” in *Archives et Sceaux du Monde Hellénistique* (ed. Marie-Françoise Boussac and Antonio Invernizzi; BCH Supplément 29; Athènes: Ecole Française d’Athènes, 1996), 3-27.

moreover, that was inclined (by the very fact that their livelihood was tied to their duties to the state) to be especially receptive to ideological messages extolling the state.”<sup>90</sup>

The reliefs on the Apadana, then, are a functional part of the Persian imperial machine, working to establish and perpetuate the very ideological vision they represent. These reliefs are, then, heraldic, proclaiming “the grandeur of royal power, the greatness of the empire, and the majesty of the royal religion.”<sup>91</sup>

#### 3.2.2.1.4 Iconographic Interpretation

The Apadana reliefs are the creation of the king and his court. We can expect, then, that the values these reliefs perpetuate are those of the elite and more specifically of those elite whose livelihood is dependent upon the crown. Not surprisingly, at the center of the Apadana is the cosmic aspect of Achaemenid kingship. Cosmic order is established by the king in partnership with both the deity and his subjects. T. Cuyler Young makes the following important observation:

It can be suggested that the ultimate goal of both the architecture and the decoration of Persepolis was to present to the world the concept of a *Pax Persica*—a harmonious, peaceful empire ruled by a king who contained within his office the welfare of the empire.<sup>92</sup>

Root has made similar claims.

The program of Achaemenid art created in the reign of Darius I mined and reinvented ancient legacies as well as ongoing traditions of the acquired lands. The process yielded a visual environment that systematically expressed an explicit ideology of harmonious hegemony. This ideology was laid out with the intention (1) of expressing a new vision

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<sup>90</sup> See Garrison, “Achaemenid Iconography as Evidenced by Glyptic Art,” 145.

<sup>91</sup> See Dandamaev and Lukonin, *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*, 243. See also the helpful comments in Strawn, “A World under Control,” 87-101.

<sup>92</sup> See T. Cuyler Young, “Art. Persepolis,” *ABD*, 5:236.

of world order and (2) of making that expression perform on the Achaemenid stage as both a fashioner and a stabilizer of incorporated behavior.<sup>93</sup>

In addition to this “harmonious hegemony,” the reliefs also reveal a subtle but clearly noticeable claim about the unique status of the king. The king’s distinctiveness is revealed in multiple ways: his elaborate clothing,<sup>94</sup> his association with the deity, his place on the throne, and even his size. Each of these items places several degrees of separation between the king and everyone else. Underlying these visual features is the belief that the king is a distinct entity, chosen by the gods to rule the earth.<sup>95</sup>

### 3.2.2.2 Excursus: Seal Impressions from Dascylium and a Presentation Scene on the Inner Surface of a Shield

Apart from the monumental art at Persepolis, there are no Persian images of foreigners bringing their wealth to the Great King. However, something similar to the audience scene from Persepolis is found on twelve seal impressions from Dascylium (see, e.g., fig. 18) and on the back of a shield depicted on the marble “Alexander Sarcophagus” from Sidon, which dates to the late fourth century B.C.E. (fig. 19).<sup>96</sup> Although these scenes are very similar to those found at Persepolis, they differ on a key point: they lack any reference whatsoever to foreign wealth. These two exemplars zoom in, as it were, on the king, his court, his enthronement, and his immediate audience. Due to their lack of reference to foreign wealth, then, these items do not meet my criteria of relevance (see §3.1). Nevertheless, they are noteworthy in the present study,

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<sup>93</sup> See Margaret Cool Root, “Elam in the Imperial Imagination: From Nineveh to Persepolis,” in *Elam and Persia* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 421.

<sup>94</sup> See Micheal Roaf, “Sculptures and Sculptors at Persepolis,” *Iran* 21 (1983): 8.

<sup>95</sup> These ideological claims are also present in Persian imperial texts, which I discuss below.

<sup>96</sup> Dascylium is where the satrap of the Hellespontine Phrygia resided. See Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 697.

insofar as they demonstrate that the central scene of the Apadana reliefs clearly had a life outside of Persepolis.

### 3.2.3 Levant

I mention the Levant at this point, only to say that, to my knowledge, nothing of relevance to this study remains in the art-historical record. The ivories containing tribute imagery, which originated from Assyria's western vassal states, have been treated above in the section on Mesopotamia where they were found. The 9<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> cent. Samaria ivories do not contain any tribute scenes.<sup>97</sup> The Megiddo Ivories, which lie outside the chronological framework used here, do contain images of gift-bearers, one of which seems to be a tributary bringing a gaggle of geese.<sup>98</sup> The dearth of relevant evidence on Syro-Palestinian monumental architecture is not at all surprising, since the great centers of imperial power and monumental art in the first millennium—at least until the time of Alexander—were located in Egypt, Mesopotamia and Persian.

### 3.2.4 Egypt: The Third Intermediate Period (1069-702 B.C.E.), the Late Period (747-525 B.C.E.), and the Persian Period (525-332 B.C.E.)<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Currently, Claudia Suter is preparing a catalogue of all the Samaria ivories, the number of which far exceeds those presented in available in print. According to Suter, "Only 197 of the ca. 12000 pieces have yet been published in a monograph from 1938." Claudia Suter, "Samaria 2005 Overview," n.p. [cited 12 September 2012]. Online: [http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~semitic/wl/digsites/Cisjordan/Samaria\\_05/](http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~semitic/wl/digsites/Cisjordan/Samaria_05/). Since I did not have access to this vast collection, Suter kindly informed me that there are no tribute scenes in this collection (personal communication).

<sup>98</sup> See Gordon Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories* (OIP 52; Chicago: University of Chicago, 1939), no. 162. Cf. the comments in Keel and Uehlinger, *Gods, Goddesses, and Images of God*, 65.

<sup>99</sup> All dates related to Egyptian history are according to Nicolas Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt* (trans. Ian Shaw; Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 393-95.

From its very beginnings, images of subjugated foreigners have populated Egyptian art (see, e.g., the Narmer Palette in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo).<sup>100</sup> Foreigners in these scenes often represent the chaotic forces Pharaoh was charged with vanquishing, and their destruction coincided with the establishment of *ma'at*.<sup>101</sup> It is surprising to find, then, that scenes in which foreigners bring tribute and/or gifts to Pharaoh are quite rare, especially when compared to the well-known and widespread smiting or Nine Bows scenes. The most concentrated assembly of tribute scenes comes from the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty elite tombs at Thebes (18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty), where foreigners are often depicted bringing goods to the pharaoh (see figs. 20-21).<sup>102</sup> But in the chronological framework that concerns us here, very little of relevance exists among the art-historical remains. The fact that fewer resources were dedicated to private tomb decoration, at least in the Third Intermediate Period, with more attention being paid to the coffin itself, may have contributed to the demise of

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<sup>100</sup> For a discussion of the Narmer Palette, which was found in the temple of Hierakonpolis, see Gay Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (rev. ed.; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008), 32-33. For helpful discussions of foreigners in ancient Egyptian art in general, see James Pritchard "Syrians as Pictured in the Paintings of the Theban Tombs," *BASOR* 122 (1951): 36-41; Eric Uphill, "The Nine Bows," *JEOL* 19 (1965-66): 393-420; Emma Swan Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites His Enemies: A Comparative Study* (München Ägyptologische Studien 44; München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1986); Shelley Wachsmann, *Aegeans in the Theban Tombs* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 20. Leuven: Peeters, 1987); Alaa El-Din M. Shaheen, "Historical Significance of Selected Scenes Involving Western Asiatics and Nubians in the Private Theban Tombs in the XVIIIth Dynasty" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1988); Erika Feucht, "Kinder Fremder Völker in Ägypten," *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 17 (1990): 177-204; W. V. Davies and Louise Schofield, eds., *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant: Interconnections in the Second Millennium BC* (London: British Museum Press for the Trustees of the British Museum, 1995); Antonio Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis: Zum Ausländer in der ägyptischen Literatur* (Ägyptologisch Abhandlungen 48; Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1998); Stuart Tyson Smith, *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire* (London: New York: Routledge, 2003), 19-29; Charlotte Booth, *The Role of Foreigners in Ancient Egypt: A Study of Non- Stereotypical Artistic Representations* (Bar International Series; Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005); Diamantis Panagiotopolous, "Foreigners in Egypt in the Time of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III in Erik H. Cline and David B. O'Connor, *Thutmose III: A New Biography* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 370-412. Thanks to Flora Anthony for drawing my attention to many of the sources in this footnote.

<sup>101</sup> See Andrew Gordon, "Foreigners," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (ed. Donald B. Redford; 3 vols.; Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 1:554-558.

<sup>102</sup> For a slightly later exemplar, see also the depiction of Nubian tribute in the Theban tomb of Imiseba, who lived under the reign of Ramesses IX (1125-1107 B.C.E.). See László Török, *The Kingdom of Kush: Handbook of the Napatan-Meroitic Civilization* (Handbuch der Orientalistik 31; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 103.

the tribute scene in tomb art.<sup>103</sup> The one exception to this general lack of material is the famous Victory Stele of Piya, to which I now turn.

### 3.2.4.1 The Victory Stele of Piya (747-716 B.C.E.)

#### 3.2.4.1.1 Pre-Iconographic Description and Genre/Category Analysis

The Victory Stele of Piya is a round-top granite monument (1.80m x 1.84m x .43m) that was discovered in the Gebel Barkal temple at Napata (fig. 22).<sup>104</sup> The inscription is “a work belonging to the classic tradition of the ‘royal recitation’, full of phrases directly inspired by literary sources in the library of the temple at Gebel Barkal.”<sup>105</sup> Its historical context is Piya’s invasion of Egypt, which was prompted especially by Tefnakht’s incursion into Middle Egypt.<sup>106</sup> The stele is similar to other commemorative stelae,<sup>107</sup> the most famous example of which (at least for those familiar with the history of ancient Israel) is the so-called “Israel Stele,” erected by the New Kingdom Pharaoh, Merenptah (1212-1202 B.C.E.) in celebration of several military campaigns to places like Nubia and the Levant.<sup>108</sup> The top of Egyptian stelae were typically flat or lunette shaped and were used in many different ways and contexts. They were often placed in

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<sup>103</sup> See, e.g., Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt*, 200-201; D.A. Aston, *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21-25* (Denkschriften der Gesamtkademie 56; Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), 401; Steve R. Snape, *Ancient Egyptian Tombs: The Culture of Life and Death* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 247-48.

<sup>104</sup> Robert Kriech Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt’s Third Intermediate Period* (ed. Edward Wente; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 467. For an introduction to Piya’s reign, see John Leclant, *LÄ*, 4:1046-1051.

<sup>105</sup> See Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, 335.

<sup>106</sup> See Anthony Spalinger, “The Military Background of the Campaign of Piye (Piankhy),” *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 7 (1979): 273-301.

<sup>107</sup> For a helpful introduction to stelae in ancient Egypt, see Regina Hölzl, “Stelae,” in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, 3:319-24.

<sup>108</sup> Jacobus Van Dijk, “The Amarna Period and the Later New Kingdom (c. 1352-1069),” in *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (ed. Ian Shaw; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 294.

front of tombs, inscribed with texts about military campaigns, used as cultic replacements, erected to commemorate building projects or even marriages.<sup>109</sup> Their use in the funerary cult, however, seems to be their predominant function. The Victory Stele of Piya, then, stands firmly within the category of commemorative stelae and is most closely related to those monuments that celebrate royal military campaigns.

The relevant iconographic material is found in the partially damaged lunette at the top of the stele. The central figure, Piya, stands beneath a solar disk and faces to the viewer's right. The label above his head reads, "The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Son of Re, Piye."<sup>110</sup> Immediately in front of him are two stacked registers. On the upper register, labels indicate that the male figure bringing a horse to Piye is called Namlot. Interestingly, the woman who stands before him is probably meant to represent metonymically all the queens of the rulers conquered by Piya, for in the text above her the inscription refers to "royal wives" (*hm.wt ny-sw.t*) in the plural.<sup>111</sup> In the lower register, there are three genuflecting figures facing Piye: these are labeled as King Osorkon (IV), King Iuput (II), and King Pefthjauawybast. Behind Piye is the enthroned Amun and his consort Mut, both of whom have labels. And behind the divine couple are two additional registers of genuflecting figures.

#### 3.2.4.1.2 Iconographic Analysis

The close relationship between text and image has allowed for the theme of the stele to emerge already in the conversation above. This theme is, quite simply, Piya's victory over Tefnakht,

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<sup>109</sup> See, *ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> For all the texts and translations in this paragraph, see Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy*, 468.

<sup>111</sup> Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy*, 468. Cf. the comments in Tormod Eide et al., eds., *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum: Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD* (4 vols.; Bergen: University of Bergen Department of Classics, 1994), 1:63.

Prince of the West, and his allies, among whom is Namlot, the ruler of Hermopolis.<sup>112</sup> This aspect of the stele is very clear in a speech of surrender to Piya by Pef-tjauawybast who governed Herakleopolis:

In came the ruler of Royal-Child, Pef-tjau-awy-bast,  
bearing tribute to Pharaoh:  
gold, silver, every (kind of) precious stone, and the best horses of the stable.  
He placed himself on his belly before His majesty and said,  
“Hail to you, Horus, mighty king, Bull attacking bulls!  
The netherworld is carrying me off, and I am submerged in darkness,  
upon whom the light is now shining!  
I did not find a friend on the day of darkness,  
(one) who would stand (by me) on the day of battle;  
but you, O [mighty] king, you have driven the darkness from me.  
I shall serve (you) together with my property,  
Royal-Child bring tributary to your hall,  
(for) you are Harakhty, head of the imperishable stars!  
As long as he is, you (too) shall be king.  
(Even as) he is immortal, (so too) are you immortal,  
O King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt: Pi(ankh)y, living for every!”<sup>113</sup>

Both of Pef-tjauawybast’s actions are reflected in the iconography of the stele: genuflection and tribute bearing. Eide et al., are correct in their assessment, then, that the “lunette relief gives a pictorial summary of the outcome of the events described in the main text of the stela, i.e., it represents Piye’s triumph in the wars he fought under Amûn’s protection.”<sup>114</sup> And because of this triumph, Piya is represented in the guise of the great imperial Pharaohs of the past, receiving the wealth of defeated foreign rulers.

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<sup>112</sup> For the historical background of the stele, see Török, *The Kingdom of Kush*, 159-66; K.A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd, 1973), 364-66.

<sup>113</sup> See Eide et al., eds., *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*, 1:86-87.

<sup>114</sup> See *ibid.*, 1:114.

### 3.2.4.1.3 Functional Analysis

According to Ritner, the stela is “a unique work of royal historical propaganda” that is meant to exalt the ruler.<sup>115</sup> This conclusion is supported by the fact that it was erected, as Török notes, at the New Year Festival of his 21<sup>st</sup> regnal year (ca. 727 B.C.E.).<sup>116</sup> Ritner’s point is well taken: Piya’s stele is certainly meant to broadcast in stone the power, might, and legitimacy of the king.

The physical space occupied by Piya’s stele is also important to consider when determining its function. Piya is responsible for adding a large forecourt and pylons to the Amun temple. This forecourt, which was publically accessible, was “developed into a sacred space of royal display with a strong accent laid on the notion of historical continuity.”<sup>117</sup> For instance, among the items found in the forecourt was a stele of Tuthmosis III (1504-1452 B.C.E.). The choice to utilize the stele of this particular Pharaoh is not at all random, for Piya’s titulary is also modeled in part on the titulary of this New Kingdom Pharaoh. The placement of Piya’s victory stele, then, was not only meant to commemorate his victory in Egypt, it was also meant to associate Piya—a non-Egyptian king—with a high point in Egyptian imperial history.

Finally, for Piya, it was not enough to exalt his own victory. He also had to mock the manhood of Namlot. As Ritner notes, Namlot’s “status is consciously inverted as the queen occupies the male position at the head of the register.”<sup>118</sup> So as part of its attempt to glorify the victories of Piya, the stele draws attention to Piya’s religious devotion and exalts his military might, all the while denigrating his enemy by making him subordinate to a woman.

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<sup>115</sup> See Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy*, 466.

<sup>116</sup> See Török, *The Kingdom of Kush*, 163.

<sup>117</sup> See *ibid.*, 164.

<sup>118</sup> Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy*, 467. Notice also the gender-oriented insult in lines 149-50.

#### 3.2.4.1.4 Iconographic Interpretation

The Victory Stele of Piya clearly reflects Egyptian royal ideology, with its emphasis on the Pharaoh's domination over his enemies and his subsequent receipt of their wealth as a sign of submission. Because of his devotion to the gods, along with his prowess in battle, the king is able to conquer chaotic forces and establish *ma'at*. The text and images work in tandem to convey these messages. The WNT, of course, also seems to be clearly expressed here: *foreign nations bring their wealth to a royal figure as an act of homage, honor, and submission.*

#### 3.2.5. Summary of the Iconographic Evidence

Sections 3.2.1-3.2.4 showcase ancient Near Eastern iconographic exemplars of the WNT from Mesopotamia and Egypt. There are no relevant exemplars from the Levant. The evidence ranges from massive monumental wall reliefs to smaller-scale royal stelae. In all of these examples, foreign nations are depicted bringing their wealth to a king as an act of homage. This evidence demonstrates that the WNT was truly an international phenomenon, used throughout the ancient Near East as a way of exalting the power of the king. When one considers how widespread the visual evidence is, it comes as no surprise to find similar literary images in the HB.

### 3.3 Literary Evidence

#### 3.3.1 Mesopotamia

Contrary to the presentation of the iconographic materials from Mesopotamia, in the present section, I will include evidence from both Assyria and Babylonia. The sheer amount of relevant evidence from these two empires makes a comprehensive analysis out of the question. My goal then is simply to establish that the WNT is widely attested in royal texts of the first millennium and to give some indication not only of its range, but also of its function.

### 3.3.1.1 Assyrian Texts

The image of the Assyrian kings receiving wealth and goods from the various nations of the earth is abundant in royal texts and constitutes an integral thread in the fabric of Assyrian royal identity.<sup>119</sup> In addition, the tradition occurs in a variety of genres. The following paragraphs survey numerous royal inscriptions, royal hymns, and prophecies.

Assyrian royal inscriptions are the single most plenteous source of information on the WNT. In most of the cases discussed below, the focus is on the giving of tribute, which is typically identifiable by the terms, *maddattu* and *biltu* (GUN).<sup>120</sup> The texts can be divided into two distinct groups. In the first group, specific nations bring their wealth to the Assyrian king. In the second group, however, the text employs what I earlier termed the rhetoric of totality (see §2.4.1): *all* the earth, *all* the nations, and *all* the peoples bring their wealth to the king of Assyria.

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<sup>119</sup> The king himself is typically the described as the direct recipient of the nations' wealth. There are, however, a number of notable exceptions. For example, in the text inscribed on the famous Black Obelisk of Shalmanesar III (858-824 B.C.E.), the king claims that, in his 30<sup>th</sup> regnal year, he stayed behind in Kalhu and sent the LÚ *tur-ta-nu*, Daiiān-Aššur, in his stead, who is said to have received tribute (*ma-da-tú*) from Datana. Black Obelisk Inscription, obv. lines 159b-161 (RIMA 3), 69-70. A similar report is made, only with regards to the 31<sup>st</sup> regnal year, in lines 174b-84 of the same inscription.

<sup>120</sup> For terminology issues, see Bär, *Der assyrische Tribut und seine Darstellung*, 7-10 and Karen Radner, "Abgaben an den König von Assyrien aus dem In- und Ausland," in *Geschenke und Steuern, Zölle und Tribute*, 213-30.

### 3.3.1.1.1 With References to Specific Nations

In “the longest preserved version of Adad-nārārī II’s annals,”<sup>121</sup> the king claims that he “received the tribute [*ma-da-tu*] of the Suḫu.”<sup>122</sup> In a lengthy inscription rendered on the stone reliefs from the Ninurta Temple at Kalhu, there are a number of references to Ashurnasirpal II receiving the nations’ wealth. The text claims:

Moving on from the land Tummū I went down to Mount Kurruru. I received the tribute [*ma-da-tu*] of the Mounts Kurruru and Simesu, the land Simerra, the land Ulmania, the land Adauš, the land Ḫargaia, the land Ḫarmasaia—horses, mules, oxen, sheep, wine, (and) bronze casseroles. I imposed upon them corvée. While I was in Mount Kurruru the radiance of Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed the Gilzānu and the Ḫubušku (and) they brought to me as their tribute [*ma-da-ta-šú-nu*] horses, silver, gold, tin, bronze, (and) casseroles.<sup>123</sup>

Other similar formulations are found elsewhere in this inscription. For instance, the king claims that “I received the tax (and) tribute [GUN *ma-da-tú*] of the land Kamuḫu (and) the Mušku, bronze casseroles, oxen, sheep, and wine.”<sup>124</sup> From the same inscription we read,

On my march, I received the plenteous tribute of Samanuḫa-šar-ilāni [*ma-da-tu* ḪI.A šá<sup>md</sup> šá-ma-nu-ḫa-MAN-DINGIR.MEŠ-ni], a man of the city Šadikannu, (and) of Amīl-Adad, a man of the city Qatnu—silver, gold, tin, bronze casseroles, garments with multi-coloured trim, (and) linen garments.<sup>125</sup>

Similar references in this inscription to the king’s reception of foreign wealth could be named.<sup>126</sup>

In another text from the reign of Ashurnasirpal II, running across a large stone slab and several winged lion and bull colossi from his North West Palace at Kalhu, the king claims the following:

<sup>121</sup> Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC [1114–859 BC]*, 145.

<sup>122</sup> Adad-nārārī II Annals, obv. line 33 (RIMA 2:149). Many other examples from this particular text could be mentioned. See, e.g., lines 90, 98-99, 104, 107, 110, 115, 119 of the same inscription

<sup>123</sup> Ninurta Temple Inscriptions, obv. lines i 54b-58a (RIMA 2:197).

<sup>124</sup> Ninurta Temple Inscriptions, obv. line 74 (RIMA 2:198).

<sup>125</sup> Ninurta Temple Inscriptions, obv. lines 77-78 (RIMA 2:199).

<sup>126</sup> See, e.g., lines 96, 101 of the same inscription.

At that time I received tribute [*ma-da-tú*] from the kings of the sea-coast, from the lands of the people of Tyre, Sidon, Amurru, Byblos, Maḥallatu, Kaizu, Maizu, and the city Arvad which is (on an island) in the sea – silver, gold, tin, bronze, bronze casseroles, linen garments with multi-coloured trim, ivory of nāḥirus (which are) sea creatures. At that time I received from them with their tribute [*ma-da-ti-šú-nu*] large female monkeys (and) small female monkeys.<sup>127</sup>

These themes continue into the reign of Shalmanessar III, who makes the following claims: “While I was residing in the same city Aridu, I received tribute [*ma-da-tu*] of teams of horses from the people of the lands/mountains Ḥargu, Ḥarmasa, Siriš, Ulmānu, (and) Simerra.”<sup>128</sup> Similarly, “On my return from the sea I approached the city Gilzānu. I received tribute from Asû (Asua), the Gilzānean: teams of horses (and) camels with two humps. I brought (it) to my city Aššur.”<sup>129</sup> From a different set of annals engraved on a stele from Kurkh, Shalmanessar III states,

While I was residing in the same city, Aridu, I received tribute [*ma-da-tu*] from the people of the lands/mountains Ḥargu, Ḥarmasa, Simesi, Simerra, Sirišu, (and) Ulmānu: teams of horses, oxen, sheep, (and) wine.<sup>130</sup>

Further down in the inscription, the text states, “I received tribute [*ma-da-tu*] from Qatazilu, the Kummuhite: silver, gold, oxen, sheep, (and) wine.”<sup>131</sup> There are many other examples both from this particular stele inscription and from the reign of Shalmanessar III more generally.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> North West Palace Inscription, obv. lines 27-31a (RIMA 2:226). For additional references from Ashurnasirpal II, see, e.g., Stone Slab Dedicatory Text, obv. line 28 (RIMA 2:230); Nimrud Monolith Inscription, obv. lines 26-27, i 77b-81a, i 88, ii-48a, ii 70-76, iii 35-36, iii 96-98, iii 136'-137' (RIMA 2:239-249); The Kurkh Monolith, obv. lines 36-37, 41, 55-56, 57-58, 67-68, 101-102 (RIMA 2:258-62); Tablet Fragments from Ashur, obv. line 6' (RIMA 2:266), etc.

<sup>128</sup> See Annals on a Stone Slab from Fort Shalmanessar, obv. lines 17-19 (RIMA 3:8).

<sup>129</sup> See Annals on a Stone Slab from Fort Shalmanessar, obv. lines 38-40 (RIMA 3:9). For similar statements, see lines 43-45, 75'-81', 81'-82a' 93'-95'.

<sup>130</sup> See Annals on a Stele from Kurkh, obv. lines i 17-18 (RIMA 3:14).

<sup>131</sup> See Annals on a Stele from Kurkh, obv. lines i 35-36 (RIMA 3:14).

<sup>132</sup> For additional citations from the aforementioned text, see lines 28, 35-36, 40-41, ii 7, ii 12-13, ii 39-40, etc. For additional citations from the reign of Shalmanessar III, see, e.g., Annals from the Nabu Temple at Kalhu, obv. lines 96-98 (RIMA 3:24); Balawat Gate Inscription from Imgur-Enlil (Balawat), obv. lines 4, vi 7 (RIMA 3:29-32); Annals on Clay Tablets from Assur, obv. lines i 41, i 55-i 56, ii 18, ii 24, ii 40, ii 52-54, iii 12-14 (RIMA 3:34-38); Annals from Two Monumental Bulls from Kalhu, obv. lines 14'-15', 22'-23', 40'-41', 51', 25''-27'' (RIMA 3:45-48), etc.

Finally, a few examples from Tiglath-Pileser III may be mentioned. In an extremely long list of tributaries and their gifts, the mighty empire builder claims the following:

The tribute [*ma-da-at-tu*] of Kushtashpi of Kummuh, Rezin (Rahianu) of Damascus, Menahem of Samaria, Hiram of Tyre, Sibittibi'il of Byblos, Urikki of Que, Pisiris of Carchemish, Eni-il of Hamath, Panammu of Sam'al, Tarhulara of Gurgum, Sulumal of Melid, Dadi-ilu of Kaska, Uassurme of Tabal, Ushhitti of Tuna, Urballa of Tuhana, Tuhamme of Ishtunda, Urimmi of Hubishna, Zabibe, queen of the Arabs: gold, silver, tin, iron, elephant hides, ivory, multi-coloured garments, linen garments, blue-purple and red-purple wool, maplewood, boxwood, all kinds of precious things from the royal treasure, live sheep whose wool is dyed red-purple, flying birds of the sky whose wings are dyed blue-purple, horses, mules, cattle and sheep, camels, she-camels together with their young I received.<sup>133</sup>

Unlike previous inscriptions examined, this one contains both a long list of tributaries and a long list of goods brought by the tributaries. A similar feature is found elsewhere in Tiglath-Pileser III's inscriptions (see esp. Stele II B).<sup>134</sup> Shorter statements about the king's reception of tribute—much like those found in the inscriptions of his royal predecessors—also occur in the his inscriptions. For instance, in a summary inscription from Kalhu, he claims, “The tribute [*ma-da-tu*] of the city rulers of the Medes as far as Mount Bikni I received.”<sup>135</sup>

From the reign of Esarhaddon comes the following:

(As for) Bēl-iqīša, son of Bunnannū, a Gambulian whose residence is located twelve leagues distance in water and canebrakes, by the command of the god Aššur, my lord, unprovoked fear fell upon him and of his own free will he took tribute and payment [*bil-tu u man-da-at-tu*], uncastrated bulls, (and) teams of white mules from the land Elam and came to Nineveh, before me, and he kissed my feet. I had pity on him and encouraged him. I strengthened the city Ša-pī-Bēl, the city (which is) his strong fortress, and I put him together with his archers therein as a garrison and (thus) locked it (the fortress) up like a door against the land Elam.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Hayim Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III King of Assyria: Critical Edition, with Introduction, Translations and Commentary* (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1994), 69-71.

<sup>134</sup> For the relevant citations from Stele II B, see *ibid.*, 105-109.

<sup>135</sup> See *ibid.*, 124-25.

<sup>136</sup> All of the texts cited here from Esarhaddon are now accessible in two media formats. They appear in a print format (see Erle Leichty, *The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (680-669 BC)* [Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 4; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011]) and in an online format created by the University of Pennsylvania as part of the Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period project (<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap>). I cite the texts as RINAP Text Number (e.g., 001) and line numbers. The

Noteworthy here is that the text emphasizes the voluntary nature of the tribute. This was no philanthropic act, however, but rather was motivated by fear and terror of Esarhaddon—at least, so says the Assyrian king. Elsewhere, Esarhaddon demonstrates both his largess and his ability to acquire great wealth from his subjects:

(As for) the city Adumutu, the fortress of the Arabs, which Sennacherib, king of Assyria, (my) father, who engendered me, conquered and whose goods, possessions, (and) gods, together with Apkallatu, the queen of the Arabs, he plundered and brought to Assyria — Hazael, the king of the Arabs, came to Nineveh, my capital city, with his heavy audience gift [*ta-mar-ti-šú ka-bit-ti*] and kissed my feet. He implored me to give (back) his gods, and I had pity on him. I refurbished those gods and I had the might of the god Aššur, my lord, and (an inscription) written in my name inscribed on them and I gave (them) back to him. I placed the lady Tabūa, who was raised in my palace, as ruler over them and returned her to her land with her gods.<sup>137</sup>

Here again, Esarhaddon displays both his kindness—in his willingness to return gods and repatriate lady Tabūa—and his ability to extract wealth from his subjects (in this case, an audience gift). All of this is placed in contrast to his father, Sennacherib, whom he describes as a conqueror and plunderer of Arabs. In the following text, the awesome fear of the deity Ashur, along with the need for military assistance, inspired the bestowal of many handsome gifts upon the king:

(As for) Uppis, chieftain of the city Partakka, Zanasana, chieftain of the city Partukka, (and) Ramateia, chieftain of the city Urakazabarna, Medes whose country is remote (and) who had not crossed the boundary of Assyria nor trodden on its soil in the time of the kings, my ancestors—the awesome fear of the god Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed them and they brought to Nineveh, my capital city, large thoroughbreds (and blocks of) lapis lazuli, hewn from its mountain, and they kissed my feet. Because of the chieftains who had threatened them, they implored my lordship and begged me for help. I sent my officials, the governors of the boundary areas of their land, with them and they trampled the people living in those cities and made (them) bow down at their feet. I imposed the tribute (and) payment [GUN *man-da-at-tú*] of my lordship upon them yearly.<sup>138</sup>

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present quotation, then, is cited as follows: RINAP 001 iii 71-83. For similar texts, see RINAP 031 9'-14a'; RINAP 002 iii 37-52; RINAP 007 i 11'-14'.

<sup>137</sup> RINAP 002 ii 46-62.

<sup>138</sup> RINAP 002 iv 1-20.

For these city rulers, the wealth of the nations is payment for the protection of Assyria. Their safety, it seems, came at a high price.

### 3.3.1.1.2 “Totalizing” Texts

The second category of texts, which are slightly less numerous than those in the first group, employ a rhetoric of totality, in which the king claims that *all* the earth, *all* the nations, and *all* the peoples bring their wealth to the king of Assyria. Particularity and administrative precision fade into the background, and the ideology of the king’s world domination is fully expressed. I will proceed, again, chronologically, moving from the earlier parts of the first millennium to the end of the Assyrian empire in the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

Several fine occurrences of the second group occur in texts from the reign of Ashurnasirpal II. In the (already-cited) Ninurta Temple Inscriptions, the following is exemplary:

Ashurnasirpal . . . (he who) has always contested with every last enemy of Aššur above and below and imposed upon them tribute and tax [GUN *u ma-da-tú*], conqueror of the foes of Aššur, strong king, king of Assyria; son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), vice-regent of Aššur, who defeated all his enemies (and) hung the corpses of his enemies on stakes.<sup>139</sup>

The rhetoric of totality is given full expression in this text: “every last” enemy of Ashur—above and below—was defeated and made into a tributary. Ashurnasirpal II, who is keen to associate himself with the mighty Tukulti-Ninurta II, is without rival. The following is found in the Standard Inscription from the Ishtar Temple at Nineveh. The king is described as a

valiant man, foremost of all rulers, who treads upon the necks of rulers, magnificent, lord of lords, tempestuous deluge, who receives tribute and tax [GUN *u i-gi-se-e*] from all lands, at the attack of whose angry weapons all lands convulse, writhe, (and) melt as though in a furnace, opener of paths in mountains which rise perpendicularly to the sky

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<sup>139</sup> Ninurta Temple Inscriptions, obv. lines i 18b-31a (RIMA 2:195).

like the edge of a dagger, whose protection spreads like the rays of the sun over his land and who has governed his people in well-being.<sup>140</sup>

In this inscription, the king is a mythic, even chaotic force that brings about the defeat of the nations through his magnificent power. But in the ideology of the inscription, the king's raging against the insubordinate nations is ultimately for the well-being of his people. The king is even compared to the life-giving and preserving rays of the sun. In a dedicatory inscription found in the Ninurta temple at Kalhu, the same king claims the following:

Ashurnasirpal . . . the king who subdues those insubordinate to him, who rules all peoples, strong male, who treads upon the necks of his foes, trampler of all enemies, the one who breaks up the forces of the rebellious, he who acts with the support of the great gods, his lords, and has conquered all lands, gained dominion over the highlands in their entirety and received their tribute [*bi-lat-su-nu*], capturer of hostage, he who is victorious over all lands.<sup>141</sup>

The king is second to no man, and no kingdom is able to stand in his way. In an inscription on the Nimrud Monolith, Ashurnasirpal also prays that similar blessings would fall upon the one who acts according to the ordinances found in his inscription. He prays, "May they [Aššur, Enlil, and the great gods] grant the tribute [*bi-lat*] of the four quarters as his portion."<sup>142</sup> The following texts of Shalmaneser III come from inscriptions found on two monumental bulls at Kalhu: "Shalmaneser . . . receiver of booty (and) tax [GUN *igi-se<sub>II</sub>*] from all the (four) quarters."<sup>143</sup> Similar claims are found in an inscription found on a large stele from Kalhu: "son of Shalmaneser (III), king of the four quarters, rival of princes everywhere, trampler of the lands, grandson of Ashurnasirpal (II), receiver of tribute and tax from all the (four) quarters. . . ."<sup>144</sup> A particularly interesting text comes from the time of Esarhaddon. What makes it so remarkable is

<sup>140</sup> Standard Inscription from the Ishtar Temple at Nineveh, obv. lines 12b-16 (RIMA 2:308).

<sup>141</sup> Dedicatory Inscription from Kalhu, obv. lines 17b-29a (RIMA 2:229-30). Cf. North West Palace Inscription, obv. line 7 (RIMA 2:224); Standard Inscription, obv. lines 1-5a (RIMA 2:275); Clay Tablet from the Ishtar Temple at Nineveh, obv. line 5 (RIMA 2:330).

<sup>142</sup> Nimrud Monolith Inscription, obv. lines 51-51 (RIMA 2:253). Cf. Standard Inscription from the Ishtar Temple at Nineveh, obv. line 40 (RIMA 2:310).

<sup>143</sup> Annals from Two Monumental Bulls from Kalhu, obv. lines 12-13 (RIMA 3:44).

<sup>144</sup> Stele from Kalhu, obv. lines i 34-38 (RIMA 3:183).

the fact that, like Isa 66:12, this royal inscription describes the coming of the nations' wealth in riverine terms:

[ (As for) the resi]dence of the god Aššur, Ešarra, the ancestral house, the place of renewal, [which] together with your city, Babylon, (and) your temple, Esagil, they found [...] and its people were exhausted. May [the foundation]s of [E]hursaggalkurkura, the place of my renewal, be as solid as a mountain. May [a]ll of the abundance, plenty, (and) produce of the (four) quarters flow [annual]ly into it like a babbling brook.<sup>145</sup>

Esarhaddon's prayer is that the abundant wealth and produce of the world would flow freely to the imperial/cultic center. In another inscription from Esarhaddon, he claims that he is the one,

to whose lordship they [the gods] gave their merciless weapons as a gift; the king, [whom] the lord o lord, the god Marduk, made greater than the kings of the four quarters, whose lordship he made the greatest; the one who made the lands, all of them, bow down at his feet (and) who imposed tribute and payment [*bil-tu ù man-da-at-tu*] on them; the one who conquered his enemies (and) destroyed his foes; the king whose passage is the deluge and whose deeds are a raging lion—before he (comes) it is a city, when he leaves it is a tell. The assault of his fierce battle is a blazing flame, a restless fire.<sup>146</sup>

Not surprisingly, royal hymns also feature the WNT. For instance, the following lines are from Ashurbanipal's hymn to the Ishtars of Nineveh and Arbela:

I knew no father or mother, I grew up in the lap of my goddesses. As a child the great gods guided me, going with me on the right and the left. They established at my side a good genie and a good angel, assigned my life to guardians of well-being and health. They glorified my stature and fortified my strength; they spread my fame over all rulers. [All enem]ies heard (of me), [all] the recalcitrant lands, which did not submit to the kings, my fathers, and did not bring [tribute and] gifts before them, trembled with fear (SAA 03 003, lines 13-20)

This prayer is saturated with common royal themes: the intimate relationship between the king and the deities, the king's strength and military prowess, his resultant fame, and the fear of those recalcitrant lands that did not bring tribute to the king. Later in the same prayer, Ashurbanipal claims,

Not [with] my [own strength], not with the strength of my bow, but with the power [...] and] strength of my goddesses, I made the lands disobedient to me submit to the yoke of

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<sup>145</sup> RINAP 45 iv 6'-12'.

<sup>146</sup> RINAP 98, rev. 7b-14.

Aššur. Unceasingly, yearly they bring me [sumptuous] presents and protect daily the gate of Aššur and Mullissu (SAA 03 003 lines r 4- r 7).

These lines ring with royal piety: With the strength of the gods, the king claims, the rebellious lands are made to submit to the “yoke of Ashur,” which is coded language for people who owe the king annual tribute gifts.<sup>147</sup> Making people to carry the yoke of Assur, according to the Assyrian ideology of kingship, results from the king’s humble obedience to the gods.

Ashurbanipal’s Hymn to Ishtar of Nineveh contains similar themes: “May they bring to you [gifts from] the sovereigns of all the lands! In the great [...] of Nineveh, constantly receive tribute!” (SAA 3 07, r 6-r 7). The 2ms pronoun here (*liš-šu-nik-ka*) almost certainly refers to Ashurbanipal.<sup>148</sup>

Finally, the concept of the wealth-receiving king is also present in Assyrian prophetic texts. In SAA 9 1.2—a fear not prophecy of Sinqiša-amur to Esarhaddon—the king is told not to fear, for Ishtar of Arbela will not only lead the king’s foes to the slaughter, she will also bring them “in necksto[cks, allies] with tribu[te].”<sup>149</sup> In another prophecy from the same source, Esarhaddon is given a similar oracle:

I will pull the orchard of your enemies up by the roots; I will shed the blood of my king’s enemies. I will guard my king; the enemies I will bring in neckstocks and the allies with

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<sup>147</sup> J.N. Postgate, for instance, writes, “First clearly attested under Tiglath-Pileser I, by the first millennium BC it was regular practice for the Assyrian king to exact annual tribute payments from those who ‘bore the yoke of Assur’, but these were quite different from the Assur Temple offerings. They were not basic foodstuffs but valuable gifts, whether in precious metal (in the eighth to seventh century often standard silver ‘tribute bowls’), animals (especially horses), or other goods including local specialties.” See J.N. Postgate, “The Land of Assur and the Yoke of Assur,” *World Archaeology* 23 (1992): 252-254.

<sup>148</sup> The pronouns in this hymn, however, do shift regularly, beginning around r 4. Lines 1-12 are clearly directed toward Ishtar, who is described in the third person, and beginning with line 13, attention is focused more on Ashurbanipal. The pronominal shift occurs between r 4-5 and r 6. In the second half of r 4-5, there is a shift to second person and then back to third (“May there constantly be abundance [and ...] in your years, may [the ...]s of the upper and lower seas go into *his presence!*”). The pronoun used here in “your years” is MU].AN.NA-MEŠ-ka and the one used for “his presence” is *maḥ-ri-šú\** (r 5). r 6, however, shifts into second person discourse: “May they bring to you [gifts from] the sovereigns of all the lands! In the great [...] of Nineveh, constantly receive tribute!” In spite of these shifts, lines r 6-r 7 give no cause for assuming a referent other than Ashurbanipal.

<sup>149</sup> See Nissinen, et al, *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East*, 103. Both this text and the next one use the term, *maddanāti* for “tribute.”

tribute before his feet. I am your father and mother. I brought you up between my wings;  
I will see how you prosper.<sup>150</sup>

In both cases, Ishtar of Arbella, through the medium of the prophet, promises that she will defeat Esarhaddon's enemies in addition to bringing tributaries to enrich the king.

### 3.3.1.2 Babylonian Texts

Although there are no visual images of foreigners bearing wealth to Babylonian kings in the first millennium, there are textual references to the king as a recipient of foreign wealth, though from my survey of the material, these seem less abundant than in Assyrian texts.

The first exemplar comes from an inscribed cylinder that dates to the reign of Merodach-Baladan II (Marduk-Apla-Iddina II [721-710 B.C.E.]).<sup>151</sup> The similarities between this text and Isaiah 60 and Psalm 72, in fact, were already noticed by Pierre Grelot in a helpful note.<sup>152</sup>

According to the inscription, the king's mind was set "upon fulfilling ordinances, correcting rites, and renewing sanctuaries and *geparu*-shrines of the great gods of the land of Akkad."<sup>153</sup>

These pious projects included renovation of the "holy place E-anna, the seat of Ištar, lady of the lands."<sup>154</sup> In light of these deeds, the king says:

Therefore, when the goddess Ištar looks with joy upon that work may she bestow life upon Marduk-apla-iddina, king of Babylon, may she multiple his years, may he be fulfilled with offspring, by her exalted command, unalterable, may he bring down to submission at his feet all his enemies, may the kings his enemies drag (the train of) their heavy tribute [*bilat-su-nu kabit-ta*] into Šuanna, the abundance of the four regions, the harvest of land and sea, may he receive their presents and bring them into Esagil before the lord of lords, (and) may his reign be established in Tintir longtime.<sup>155</sup>

<sup>150</sup> See *ibid.*, 116.

<sup>151</sup> The original publication of the inscription can be found in C.J. Gadd, "Inscribed Barrel Cylinder of Marduk-Apla-Iddina II," *Iraq* 15 (1953): 123-34.

<sup>152</sup> Grelot, "Un parallèle Babylonien d'Isaïe LX et du Psaume LXXII," 123-34.

<sup>153</sup> See line 22 in Gadd, "Inscribed Barrel Cylinder of Marduk-Apla-Iddina II," 124.

<sup>154</sup> See line 23 in *ibid.*, 125.

<sup>155</sup> See lines 30-36 in *ibid.*

The king prays that his work might result in blessing from the goddess for whom he labors. Chief among his wishes is that all his enemies would submit to him and bring their abundant or “heavy” tribute (*bilatsunu kabitta*). He describes this tribute further as “the abundance of the four regions, the harvest of the land and sea,” which are all ways of describing the global breadth of this request.<sup>156</sup>

A much later example comes from the reign of Nabonidus (556-539 B.C.E.). The relevant text is found on the Ebabbar-Ekurra-Cylinder, which concerns the building of the Ebabbar for Šamaš and the Ekurra for Bunene at Sippar.<sup>157</sup> In a petition near the end of the inscription, Nabonidus says,

Den Thron meines Königtums möge ich lange innehaben, bis (daß ich) mich an Alter gesättigt! Die Götter von Sippar und Ebabbar mögen vor Šamaš und Aya gutheißen meine Taten! Ich sei der ewige, versorgende König! Ich möge *empfangen* den Tribut der ganzen Welt [*bi-lat-/si]-nu\* šá ka-liš kib-rat\**!<sup>158</sup>

In light of his good deeds, Nabonidus asks that the gods make him the recipient of the wealth of the entire earth. This occurrence of the WNT, then, is not a reflection on a past event—as is often the case in the Assyrian royal inscriptions—but a prayerful hope for the future, comparable to Psalm 72:10-11 (see §2.3.11). A second cylinder inscription, which also concerns Ebabbar, contains a similar prayer:

Auf die Nennung meines gewichtigen Namens hin möge die Gesamtheit der Feinde ins Wanken geraten, erbeben, sich niederbeugen zu meinen Füßen, bis in die Tage ferner Zeit mögen sie mein Joch ziehen, ihren schweren Tribut [*bi-lat-su-nu ka-bit-ti*] in meine Stadt Bābil vor mich hin bringen!<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> Although outside of the current chronological timeframe set for this study, the “Lied auf Inanna und Schicksalsbestimmung für Urninurta von Isin” is noteworthy in the present context. At one point, Inanna communicates the following blessing to her human royal partner, Ur-ninurta: “Der du [als Herr] im heiligen Himmel strahlend erschienen, der im Lande Sumer zu aller Staunen [dasteht], mein Urninurta, alle Länder mögen die üppige (Gaben) bringen!” See Adam Falkenstein and Wolfram von Soden, *Sumerische und Akkadische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zürich: Artemis-Verlag, 1953), 109.

<sup>157</sup> See Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids von Babylon und Kyros’ des Großen*, 358.

<sup>158</sup> For the translation, see *ibid.*, 360 (line 27). See *ibid.*, 360 for the text.

<sup>159</sup> Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids von Babylon und Kyros’ des Großen*, 394.

The hope is that all of Nabonidus' enemies would stagger at the hearing of his name, and that they would be compelled to pull his yoke, bringing great tribute into his city, Babylon.

### 3.3.2 Persia

Persian royal inscriptions never tire of heralding the universal and cosmic nature of the Great King's rule. DPg (Darius, Persepolis G) , which was found on the south wall of the Persepolis terrace wall—states the following:

A great (god is) Auramazda, who is the greatest among all the gods, who created heaven and earth, created mankind, who gave all well-being to mankind who dwell therein, who made Darius king, and bestowed on Darius the king kingship over this wide earth, in which there are many lands: Persia, Media and the other lands of other tongues, of mountains and plains, from this side of the sea to that side of the sea, from this side of the desert to that side of the desert.<sup>160</sup>

And yet, in spite of this fixation on the global scope of the king's rule, references to nations bringing their wealth to the Great King are surprisingly rare.

The WNT is present in the famous Cyrus Cylinder, which was found near the Marduk sanctuary in Babylon.

Me, Cyrus, the king, who worships him [Marduk], and Cambyses, my very own son, as well as all my troops he blessed mercifully. In well-being we [walk] happily before him. [At his] great [command] all the kings, who sit on thrones, from all parts of the world, from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea, who dwell [in distant regions], all the kings of Amurru, who dwell in tents, brought their heavy tribute [*bi-lat-su-nu ka-bi-it-ti*] to me and kissed my feet in Babylon.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 483. Cf. *inter alia* DZc, DPe, DPf, DSe, DSf in *ibid.*, 485-86, 488, 491, 492.

<sup>161</sup> For this translation, see Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 71-72. For the text, see Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids von Babylon und Kyros' des Großen*, 550-54.

According to the Cylinder, Marduk has caused Cyrus to inherit the Babylonian empire. Because of Cyrus' new status, he is now the undisputed recipient of the nations' wealth. The Cyrus Cylinder, however, is not cast in the standard idiom of Persian imperial monuments; it was formulated to appeal to the traditional sense of its Mesopotamian audience (cf. also Darius I's hieroglyphic inscription, DSab [Darius, Susa ab]). In particular, the Cyrus Cylinder was based upon the building inscriptions of Ashurbanipal.<sup>162</sup> The WNT in the Cyrus Cylinder, then, affords an interesting glimpse into how a Mesopotamian version of the WNT tradition was utilized by a Persian ruler.

The wealth of nations tradition is also found on the Behistun monument of Darius I. The Great King declares,

These are the peoples who obeyed me; by the favour of Auramazda, they were my faithful subjects; they brought me 'tribute' [bājim]; what was said to them by me, whether by night or by day, that they did.<sup>163</sup>

DSe (Darius, Susa e)—another text from the reign of Darius found at Susa—makes the following statement:

These are the people I seized outside Persia; I ruled over them; they brought me tribute [bājim]; what I said to them, that they did; my law that held them (firm): Media, Elam, Parthia, Areia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Drangiana, Arachosia, Sattagydia, Maka, Gandara, India, Saca who drink *hauma*, Saca with pointed hats, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Sardis, Ionians of the sea, Scythians beyond the sea, Thrace, Ionians beyond the sea, Caria.<sup>164</sup>

DNa (Darius, Naqš-i-Rustam a), the Old Persian and Elamite inscription on Darius I's tomb, is similar.<sup>165</sup> A comparable claim is also found in XPh (Xerxes, Persepolis h), a trilingual royal inscription found at Persepolis. In this text, Xerxes (486-465 BCE)—Darius I's successor—states,

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<sup>162</sup> See Harmatta, "Les modèles littéraires de l'édit babylonien de Cyrus," 29-44.

<sup>163</sup> See Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 143. See also See also Roland G. Kent, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon* (AOS 33; New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1950), 116-35.

<sup>164</sup> See Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 491. See also Kent, *Old Persian*, 142.

<sup>165</sup> See Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 502. See also Kent, *Old Persian*, 137-38.

By the favour of Auramazda, these are the countries of which I was king outside Persia; I ruled them; they bore me tribute [bājim]. What was said to them by me, that they did. The law that (was) mine, that held them (first/stable): Media, Elam, Arachosia, Armenia, Drangiana, Parthia, Areia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Babylonia, Assyria, Sattagydia, Lydia, Egypt, Ionians who dwell by the Sea and (those) who dwell beyond the Sea, the Maka people, Arabia, Gandara, Indus, Cappadocia, Dahae, Scythians (Saca) who drink *haoma*, Scythians (Saca) who wear pointed hats, Thrace, the Akaufaka people, Libyans, Carians, Nubians.<sup>166</sup>

Once again, as in the last inscription, the king is the recipient of both perfect obedience and abundant foreign wealth.

Clearly, the tradition of foreign nations bringing their wealth to the emperor was present in Persian royal texts, as it was in Persian art. Like their imperial predecessors, the rulers of the Persian Empire associated emperors with the receipt of great amounts of wealth from the far reaches of the earth.

### 3.3.3 Levant

Royal inscriptions are present in the Levant: see, e.g., the Yehimilk Dedication Inscription (*KAI* 4); the Mesha Stele (*KAI* 181), the Kilamuwa Inscription (*KAI* 24), the Zakkur Stele (*KAI* 202), the Hadad Inscription (*KAI* 214), the Panamuwa Inscription (*KAI* 215), the Bar-Rakkab Inscription (*KAI* 216), the Tel Dan Stele, the dedicatory of 'kyš son of Padi from Ekron, to name but a few.<sup>167</sup> The second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century in particular saw a rise in royal inscriptions from

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<sup>166</sup> See Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 305. See also Kent, *Old Persian*, 150-52.

<sup>167</sup> See Seymour Gitin, Trude Dothan, and Joseph Naveh, "A Royal Dedicatory Inscription from Ekron," *IEJ* 47 (1997):1-16.

this area of the ancient Near East—a trend that was perhaps inspired by Assyrian prototypes.<sup>168</sup>

None of these inscriptions, however, have any direct relevance for the present study.

Concerning Israel and Judah in particular, one finds royal inscriptions on miniature artifacts (bullae, seals/seal impressions, etc.), funerary inscriptions,<sup>169</sup> and a small handful of monumental inscriptions (not all of which are royal),<sup>170</sup> to name but a few. The archaeological record, however, is largely devoid of royal inscriptions describing the king's deeds, military prowess, wealth, and divine favor. In fact, I am unaware of any references to the WNT in the epigraphic records of Israel and Judah.

This is not to say that there were no monumental inscriptions in Israel or Judah. As Christopher Rollston points out, the highly fragmentary Samaria Stele and one of the fragments found at the Ophel in Jerusalem (referenced above) suggest that some monumental royal inscriptions were made.<sup>171</sup> The famous Siloam Tunnel Inscription, although certainly monumental, is not a *royal* inscription, for, as Simon Parker cogently argues, it completely lacks the features one would expect from either a building dedication inscription or a royal inscription. The most likely explanation is, in Parker's words:

that the inscription was produced by or for the 'civil engineer' who planned and supervised the project. He would have had the most at stake in the meeting of the two parties excavating from opposite ends of the tunnel, he would have been proudest of the measurements, and he would have been both most interested in recording these things and most anxious that such a record be inconspicuous and that his name not be displayed

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<sup>168</sup> See the comments in Nadav Na'aman, "Three Notes on the Aramaic Inscription from Tel Dan\*," *IEJ* 50 (2000): 93-96; André Lemaire, "Hebrew and West Semitic Inscriptions and Pre-Exilic Israel," in *In Search of Pre-Exilic Israel* (ed. John Day; JSOTSup 406; London: T & T Clark International, 2004), 366-67.

<sup>169</sup> See, e.g., Nahman Avigad, "The Epitaph of a Royal Steward from Siloam Village," *IEJ* 3 (1953): 137-52; "The Second Tomb-Inscriptions of the Royal Steward," *IEJ* 5 (1955): 163-66.

<sup>170</sup> See, e.g., Joseph Naveh, "A Fragment of an Ancient Hebrew Inscription from the Ophel," *IEJ* 32 (1982): 195-98; Ronny Reich and Eli Shukron, "A Fragmentary Palaeo-Hebrew Inscription from the City of David, Jerusalem," *IEJ* 58 (2008): 48-50.

<sup>171</sup> Christopher A. Rollston, *Writing and Literacy in the World of Ancient Israel: Epigraphic Evidence from the Iron Age* (SBLABS 11; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 55.

on it . . . Finally, he would have had the resources to produce such a well-prepared and well-carved inscription.<sup>172</sup>

The now infamous Jehoash Inscription, which is couched in terms of a royal building text, has too many questionable features to be considered authentic.<sup>173</sup> Israelian and Judahite kings have bequeathed to scholars very little by way of monumental architecture and royal inscriptions, and what has been passed down has little in the way of relevance for the present study.

### 3.3.4 Egypt: The Third Intermediate Period (1069-702 B.C.E.), the Late Period (747-525 B.C.E.), and the Persian Period (525-332 B.C.E.)

The literary image of the Pharaoh receiving the wealth of the nations was much less prevalent in the first millennium than it was in the New Kingdom.<sup>174</sup> To be sure, one continues to encounter

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<sup>172</sup> Simon B. Parker, *Stories in Scripture and Inscriptions: Comparative Studies on Narratives in Northwest Semitic Inscriptions and the Hebrew Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 39.

<sup>173</sup> See the helpful comments and bibliography in Victor Avigdor Hurowitz, “The Jehoash Inscription.” Cited 20 March 2013. Online: [http://www.bibleinterp.com/articles/Hurowitz\\_report.htm](http://www.bibleinterp.com/articles/Hurowitz_report.htm); Edward L. Greenstein, “Methodological Principles in Determining That the So-Called Jehoash Inscription is Inauthentic,” in *Puzzling out the Past: Studies in Northwest Semitic Languages and Literature in Honor of Bruce Zuckerman* (ed. Marilyn J. Lundberg, Steven Fine, and Wayne T. Pitard; Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 55; Boston: Brill, 2012), 83-92. For a brief survey of the issues at hand, see Stig Norin, “Die sogenannte Joaschinschrift: echt oder falsch?,” *VT* 55 (2005): 61-74.

<sup>174</sup> New Kingdom royal inscriptions often make reference to nations bringing their goods to the Pharaoh. The “Early Proclamation” found on the boundary stela of Amarna, for instance, contains an elegant blessing that includes the theme of tribute: “May his lordship govern from Akhet-Aten. May you conduct every land to him. May you tax the towns and islands for him. Every city . . . its [entirety belongs to] Aten, acting in accordance with what he himself ordains. All flat lands, all hill countries and the islands of the sea are bearing their tribute, their products on their backs, to the maker of their life, at the seeing of whose rays one lives” (William J. Murnane, *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt* [SBL Writings from the Ancient World 5; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995], 76, §4). Another text from one of the Aten temples at Karnak is also representative: “[Giving] adoration to the Good God by the chiefs of [every] foreign country. [Presenting] tribute to the victorious king by the chiefs [of] Naharin (and) the chiefs of Kush. [The] chiefs of every remote foreign country [have come, bearing] every sort of good thing so that they may live (ibid., 38, §10-I.2). References to tribute-bearing are especially present in elite funerary contexts. For example, the following text is associated with a tribute scene from the Theban tomb of Huya: “Year 12, second month of Peret, day 8. Life to the father, Re lives, [Ruler of the horizon who rejoices in the horizon], in his name of ‘Re who has returned as the Aten’, given life forever and ever. The appearance of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferkheperure-Waenre, with the great Queen, Nefer-neferu-aten, Nefertiti, may she live forever and ever, upon the great high throne of electrum, in order to receive the tribute of Khor and Kush – West and East, and every foreign country united altogether as one, and the islands in the middle of the sea, presenting their tribute to the king, upon the great throne of Akhet-Aten for receiving the revenue of every foreign country, and letting them be given the breath of life.” See Benedict G. Davies, *Egyptian Historical Records of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty*

traditional claims about the breadth of Pharaoh's rule over all foreign nations in these later periods,<sup>175</sup> but references to foreigners bringing their wealth to the pharaoh are only minimally present.

One important exception comes from the Bubastis Jubilee (i.e., *sed*-festival) reliefs of Osorkon II (874-850 BCE). The relevant text is found on a relief that depicts women rejoicing in a city.<sup>176</sup> It reads, "All foreign lands carry their best, bearing jugs in (gold) and libation jars in electrum." It comes as no surprise that Osorkon II would associate himself with such imperial rhetoric, for a similar trend is present in his titulary. Kenneth Kitchen writes, "His titles proclaim him as an adherent to the styles both of his own dynasty and of the Ramessides of Egypt's imperial past."<sup>177</sup> My discussion above of Piya's famous Victory Stele is also relevant here, insofar as it contains references to Libyan tribute (see §3.2.4.1).<sup>178</sup>

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(Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1995), 6:22. For the original publication, see Norman de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna: Part III.-The Tombs of Huya and Ahmes* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1905), 9. This list could easily be expanded.

<sup>175</sup> For instance, on the Gebel Es-Silsilah Quarry Stele no. 100, one finds the following divine address to Sheshonq I: "Words said by Mut the great, Lady of Asheru, Mistress of all the gods: 'O King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Hedjkheperre-setepenre, Son of Re, Shesho(n)q, beloved of Amon, I have granted all life, stability, and dominion, and all health, with protection behind you as all life, stability, and dominion, all health, and all joy, all foreign lands being beneath your sandals.'" From a much later stele of Nastesen (last third of the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. B.C.E.), one finds the following conventional introduction: "Amen-Rê, lord of the Thrones of Two-lands (Egypt), foremost of Karnak, given all life stability, and dominion, like Rê, for ever. Utterance: I have given you all lands, desert countries, and the Nine Bows bound together under your sandals, like Rê for ever." See Eide, et al., *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*, 2:472. For additional examples, see, e.g., Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy*, 189. Later in the same inscription, Sheshonq's titulary is recounted: "The Two Ladies: 'He who appears in the double crown like Horus son of Isis, pacifying the gods with 'Truth'; Horus of God: 'Powerful of strength who strikes the Nine Bows, great of victories (in) all lands, the Good God, Re in his essential form, descendant of Horachty; Amon placed him upon his throne in order to perfect what he had initiated and to found Egypt once more; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Hedjkheperre-setepenre.'" See *ibid.*, 190. Similar claims—also from the reign of Sheshonq I—can be found in the inscriptions associated with the Bubastite Portal at Karnak. See *ibid.*, 195, 200-202, 204-205. See also the Karnak Sanctuary Block (*ibid.*, 214); Karnak Victory Stele of Sheshonq I (*ibid.*, 216); Inscription from the Bastet Temple of Osorkon I Associated with a Scene of the King before a Male Deity (*ibid.*, 243, 245); Inscription of Sheshonq II on a Nile God Statue (*ibid.*, 266); Victory Scarab of Shabako (*ibid.*, 496); the Stela of Taharqa from Kawa (690-664 B.C.E.) (Eide, et al, eds., *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*, 1:145). One again, this list could easily be expanded.

<sup>176</sup> See Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy*, 304.

<sup>177</sup> See Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)*, 313.

<sup>178</sup> A highly fragmentary portion of an inscription from the reign of Irike-Amannote (late 5<sup>th</sup>-early 4<sup>th</sup> centuries) also seems to claim that Irike-Amannote received abundant wealth from a surrounding nation. The text was inscribed as graffito on the eastern wall of the south side of the Hypostyle Hall of Temple T and Kawa. In its

### 3.3.5 Summary of the Literary Evidence

The WNT is abundantly attested in the literary record of the ancient Near East. Most of the occurrences are from Mesopotamia and Persia. Among the sources from Mesopotamia and Persia, the highest number of occurrences is found in the NA material.<sup>179</sup> In addition, from the perspective of literary genre, the texts from the NA empire are exceptionally diverse, appearing in royal inscriptions, prophecies, and even prayers. The WNT occurs in Egyptian texts from this time, but it is only sparsely attested, a fact which may reflect the diminished state of Egypt's power, especially when compared with the New Kingdom.

### 3.4 Conclusions

This chapter shows that many ancient Near Eastern cultures made use of the WNT in which foreign nations bring their wealth to a king as an act of homage, deference, and submission.<sup>180</sup> The tradition is geographically and culturally widespread, being found in abundance in Mesopotamia (Assyria and Babylon), Persia, and Egypt. Assyria and Persia, however, have the highest number of occurrences by far. This trend is unsurprising, since the Assyrian and Persian empires were the largest and longest lasting ancient Near Eastern empires prior to that of Alexander the Great.

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present state, however, the relevant portions are highly damaged. For the text and a translation, see Eide, et al., *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*, 2:418.

<sup>179</sup> For a comprehensive treatment of tribute in the NA empire, see Bär, *Der assyrische Tribut und seine Darstellung*.

<sup>180</sup> Wildberger draws a similar conclusion. In an excursus associated with Isa 18:7, he notes that “The motif of ‘peoples paying homage on Zion,’ apparently being used in this passage, is itself old, and the motif is also known among Israel’s neighbors.” He then goes on to cite a number of texts, some of which I have discussed above. See Wildberger, *Isaiah 13-27*, 223-24.

In terms of content, the WNT is consistent over time, space, and genre. Each of the examples given in this chapter depict a king as the recipient of foreign wealth, which the nations bring as a sign of submission. To be sure, in every particular instance, the tradition is shaped by factors like generic conventions, cultural assumptions, media constraints, etc. And yet, these culture- and media-bound factors do not conceal that a common tradition is being invoked in each case. The WNT's widespread use suggests that it, much like images of lion-slaying, temple building/renovation, and deity veneration, belonged to the "canon" of ancient Near Eastern imperial imagery.

The consistency of the tradition across both cultures and media, moreover, will prove to be quite significant when, in the final chapter, the comparative evidence is juxtaposed with the biblical texts. Many biblical texts are pristine examples of the WNT. In a number of important cases, however, significant changes in the tradition occur. These shifts in the tradition are significant, since they represent a change to a tradition that has shown itself to be consistent over the centuries.

Finally, the evidence discussed here problematizes any attempts to date the biblical texts based on when the WNT was available. The tradition was "in the air," and as I noted above, was part of the "canon" of ancient Near Eastern imperial symbolism. Unless a special case can be made for connecting a particular text with a particular period, text, or artifact, one should assume that the biblical texts are echoing a tradition that was readily available. The WNT did not belong to a particular period in ancient Near Eastern history, but rather to the institution of empire.

#### 4. A Tradition-Historical Biography of the WNT: Conclusions

The first 3 chapters of this dissertation set out to accomplish the following: First, they described, defended, and implemented a particular model of tradition history. This model, which takes the work of Odil Hannes Steck as its starting point, claims that verbal forms of communication (i.e., textual and oral media) are not the sole proprietors of “tradition.” Images, which are typically excluded from tradition-historical studies, are in fact valuable witnesses to tradition, when the relevant sources are available. Throughout, I have contended that tradition historical analyses should, when the resources are available, fully utilize visual resources as a witness to tradition in culture. In fact, given the accessibility of iconographic materials in biblical studies, tradition-historical research undertaken without reference to available visual materials must be considered insufficient. In short, this approach to tradition history recognizes that, as a cultural phenomenon, tradition often manifests itself in transmedial ways.

As a way of demonstrating the viability of this transmedial approach to tradition history, I then analyzed a discrete tradition that is found in both the HB and in the literature and art of the ancient Near East: the Wealth of Nations Tradition (WNT). The WNT is a trinodal constellation in which (1) *foreign nations bring their* (2) *wealth to a* (3) *king as an act of homage, honor, and submission*. The following biblical texts bear witness to this tradition: 1 Kgs 10:1-10, 13, 15//2 Chr 9:1-9, 12, 14; 1 Kgs 10:23-25//2 Chr 9:22-24; Pss 68:19, 29-32; 72:10-11; 76:12; 96:7-8//1 Chr 16:28-29; Isa 18:7; 45:14; 60:4-17; 61:5-6; 66:12; Zeph 3:10; 2 Chr 32:23. As a way of mining these texts for relevant data, each one was analyzed according to the following questions, the answers to which were collected in §2.4:

Who brings the wealth to Zion?	
What goods are received?	
What terminology is used to describe how the	

wealth of nations comes to Zion?	
Who receives the wealth?	
What is the text's genre?	
What is the text's date?	

The current chapter uses these textual data to construct a synthetic, multilayered “biography” of the WNT. This tradition-historical biography will have two foci. The first focuses on developing a profile of how the tradition’s contents (themes, motifs, vocabulary, etc.) developed chronologically, with particular attention paid to how those contents compare to other, extra-biblical ancient Near Eastern exemplars: How did the tradition change at different historical periods? How stable are the tradition’s core features over a long period of time? What historical forces contributed to either the tradition’s change or transformation? The second concerns genre and social location. Here, I map the tradition from the perspective of genre and social setting. In what literary genres does the tradition occur? How does genre change how the tradition is expressed and vice versa? Assuming a close connection between genre and social setting, under what circumstances was the WNT used? This biography of the tradition, then, tracks the WNT according to its contents, literary form, and use in society. **Finally, in light of these results, I consider again the relationship between art history and tradition history, reflecting on the methodological gains of integrating the visual into tradition historical analysis.**

#### 4.1 Sketching a Tradition-Historical Biography of the WNT

The texts that bear witness to the WNT (1 Kgs 10:1-10, 13, 15//2 Chr 9:1-9, 12, 14; 1 Kgs 10:23-25//2 Chr 9:22-24; Pss 68:19, 29-32; 72:10-11; 76:12; 96:7-8//1 Chr 16:28-29; Isa 18:7; 45:14; 60:4-17; 61:5-6; 66:12; Zeph 3:10; 2 Chr 32:23) have been dated to the following periods:

Period <sup>1</sup>	Texts
Iron Age IIA (1000-900 B.C.E.)	1 Kgs 10:1-10, 13//2 Chr 9:1-9, 12 (oral core of material?)
Iron Age IIB (900-800 B.C.E.)	
Iron Age IIC (800-586 B.C.E.)	
NB-Persian Periods (600/587-333 B.C.E.)	1 Kgs 10:1-10, 13//2 Chr 9:1-9, 12 (written version); 1 Kgs 10:15//2 Chr 9:14; 1 Kgs 10:23-25//2 Chr 9:22-24; Isa 18:7; Zeph 3:10; Ps 72:10 (original psalm = monarchic)
Neo-Babylonian Period 600/587-539 B.C.E.)	
Persian Period (539-333 B.C.E.)	Ps 96:7-8//1 Chr 16:28-29; Isa 45:14; 60:4-17; 61:5-6; 66:12; 2 Chr 32:23
Undatable Materials	Pss 68:19a, 29-32; 76:12

The most striking aspect of this chart is the way in which the texts cluster together in the NB and Persian periods—i.e., in the periods subsequent to the fall of the Judahite monarchy. As the analysis below will indicate, at the same time the WNT was on the rise, it was also undergoing radical changes. Change in content went hand in hand with frequency of use. The WNT's most malleable moment, in other words, came not during a period of native Judahite rule, but while the tradition's tradents were under the following conditions: (1) The loss of the Judahite monarchy; (2) the exile of a portion of the population; (3) the political, cultural, and economic demands of the Neo-Babylonian and Persian empires.

#### 4.1.1 The Tradition Maintained

But before discussing how the WNT was transformed in the NB and Persian periods, it is important to note that, in a handful of biblical texts, the standard conventions of the WNT are

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<sup>1</sup> This periodization is adapted from Keel and Uehlinger, *Gods, Goddesses, and Images of God in Ancient Israel*, 410.

largely maintained: Ps 72:10; 2 Chr 9:1-9, 12, 14//2 Chr 9:22-24 and 2 Chr 32:23. In these texts, the WNT is used to glorify individual Judahite kings by describing them as recipients of foreign wealth and tribute.

In the case of Ps 72:10, the psalm hopes that kings from distant lands will bring Judah's king "tribute" (*mnḥh*). This post-monarchic insertion (see §2.3.11.2) expands upon the surrounding verses, which pray for the king's enemies to before the king and lick the dust in his presence (Ps 72:9). In Chronicles, the WNT is used to magnify two of the Chronicler's favorite kings: Solomon (2 Chr 9:1-9, 12, 14, 22-24) and Hezekiah (2 Chr 32:23).<sup>2</sup> The story of Solomon's encounter with the Queen of Sheba (2 Chr 9:1-9, 12, 14,) and the declaration that he received the wealth of the nations (2 Chr 9:22-24) are nearly identical to the parallel verses in the Book of Kings, except that the deuteronomistic context of Kings adds an element of irony (see below and §2.3.1). Second Chronicles 32:23 is entirely unique to the Chronicler. After Yhwh's miraculous deliverance of Jerusalem from the Assyrians, v. 23 claims that many people brought "tribute" (*mnḥh*) to Yhwh at Jerusalem and "precious items" (*mgdnwt*) to Hezekiah, who was exalted in the eyes of the nations. That the WNT has a place in Chronicles is no surprise, given that the Chronicler—like many of ancient Near Eastern texts—is fond of using wealth to distinguish its royal darlings.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The parallel narrative in the Book of Kings will be discussed separately below.

<sup>3</sup> For instance, while commenting on Jehoshaphat's reign in 1 Chronicles 17, McKenzie writes, "The peace, prosperity, building projects and military strength attributed to Jehoshaphat's reign in 17.10-19 are all well attested signs of divine favour in Chronicles in reward for his righteous 'fear of Yahweh.'" Steven L. McKenzie, "The Trouble with King Jehoshaphat," in *Reflection and Refraction: Studies in Biblical Historiography in Honour of A. Graeme Auld* (ed. Robert Rezetko, Timothy H. Lim, and W. Brian Aucker; VTSup 113; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 303. Matthew Lynch, in his recent dissertation, writes, "Accordingly, Chronicles exhibits a propensity to use wealth to indicate the success of Judean kings, just as it marked the success of the divine king" ("Agents of Exaltation," 277). He then cites 1 Chr 22:11, 13; 29:28; 2 Chr 7:11; 26:5; 31:21. See also Mark A. Throntveit, "The Relationship of Hezekiah to David and Solomon in the Book of Chronicles," in *The Chronicler as Theologian: Essays in Honor of Ralph W. Klein* (ed. M. Patrick Graham, Steven L. McKenzie, and Gary N. Knoppers; JSOTSup 371; London: T&T Clark, 2003), 116. Cf. Raymond Dillard, "Reward and Punishment in Chronicles: The Theology of Immediate Retribution," *WTJ* 46 (1984): 164-72.

Generically, these occurrences are largely unremarkable. They are found in court poetry (Ps 72:10-11) and in legendary literature that is embedded within a national historiographic work (2 Chr 9:1-9, 12, 14//2 Chr 9:22-24 and 2 Chr 32:23). Psalm 72, in fact, may even have connections to Judahite enthronement rituals, though this is speculative.<sup>4</sup> The occurrence of the WNT in court poetry/prayer is precisely the place one would expect to find such traditions. The Book of Chronicle's use of the tradition is also unsurprising, even if the book differs significantly from other genres in which the WNT appears (royal inscriptions, royal prophecies, etc.). Like royal inscriptions, the Book of Chronicles exalts the more outstanding of David's descendants, including both Solomon (2 Chr 9:1-9, 12, 14//2 Chr 9:22-24) and Hezekiah (2 Chr 32:23).<sup>5</sup>

#### 4.1.2. The Tradition in Transformation

A number of texts, however, make significant changes to the tradition. I begin with the verses in the Solomonic Narrative in the Book of Kings (1 Kgs 10:1-10, 13, 15; 1 Kgs 10:23-25). Unlike Chronicles, the book of Kings does not glorify Solomon's meeting with the queen of Sheba, at least, not when the legend is considered against its broader literary context, and especially chapters 11.<sup>6</sup> In fact, the Solomonic narrative (1 Kings 1-11) casts an ironic hue over the entire Queen of Sheba legend, repurposing the once-encomiastic account to serve the book's broader

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<sup>4</sup> See Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 393-394.

<sup>5</sup> Hezekiah, in fact, is probably meant to be understood as a second "David and a second "Solomon." See Throntveit, "The Relationship of Hezekiah to David and Solomon," 105-21; Robb Andrew Young, *Hezekiah in History and Tradition* (VTSup 155; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 257.

<sup>6</sup> See Fretheim, *First and Second Kings*, 60; Seibert, *Subversive Scribes and the Solomonic Narrative*, 177-80.

deuteronomic criticism of Solomon (1 Kgs 10:1-10, 13, 15; 1 Kgs 10:23-25) and of kingship more generally.

As numerous commentators have indicated, the irony is thickest when the queen praises Solomon's wisdom and divine election, and then concludes by mentioning his charge to keep justice and righteousness (see 1 Kgs 10:6-9). To be sure, if read without regard for the larger Solomonic Narrative, the story serves much as it does in Chronicles—to display Solomon's great wisdom and the breadth of his authority. If the broader context, however, is taken into consideration, then the legend is far less positive, or at least far more ambiguous. While these shades of irony were absent from the original legend, the composition grew to take on such associations as later deuteronomistic editors evaluated Solomon's reign in light of deuteronomic theology and especially of Jerusalem's fall. The HB's greatest emperor is rhetorically undermined by the very same language and images that would conventionally be used to grant him legitimation. This ironic twist in the tradition took place after the fall of Jerusalem and displays one of the many ways in which the tragedy of the exile shaped the WNT.

In another interesting shift in the tradition, Yhwh is made the direct recipient of the nations' wealth (see Pss 68:19a, 30-32; 76:12; 96:7-8//1 Chr 16:28-29; Isa 18:7; 60:4-17; Zeph 3:10; 2 Chr 32:23). In fact, when the tradition is considered as a whole, Yhwh is among the most frequent recipients of foreign wealth, as the following chart from §2.4.3 demonstrates:

Recipient	Citation
Hezekiah	2 Chr 32:23
Unnamed Human King	Ps 72:10-11
Yhwh	Pss 68:19a, 29-32; 76:12; 96:7-8//1 Chr 16:28-29; Isa 18:7; 60:4-17; Zeph 3:10; 2 Chr 32:23
Solomon	1 Kgs 10:1-10, 13//2 Chr 9:1-9, 12; 1 Kgs 10:15//2 Chr 9:14; 1 Kgs 10:23-25//2 Chr 9:22-24
Jerusalem/Zion	Isa 45:14; 60:4-17; 66:12
Unspecified Audience (Probably	Isa 61:5-6

Jerusalem's/Zion's Population)	
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Two of the texts in this table are in the “undatable” category (see Pss 68:19a, 29-32; 76:12), but the others are from either the NB or Persian periods. There are, to my knowledge, no first millennium ancient Near Eastern texts in which a deity instead of a king is described as the direct recipient of the wealth of the nations. Of course, in many of the art pieces discussed in Chapter 5, the deity accompanies the king and could be understood as an indirect recipient of the wealth of nations (see, e.g., the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis, the Black Obelisk, etc.). This idea of co-reception is also represented textually in an inscribed cylinder that dates to the reign of Merodach-Baladan II (see my discussion in §3.3.1.2):

may the kings his enemies drag (the train of) their heavy tribute [*bilat-su-nu kabit-ta*] into Šuanna, the abundance of the four regions, the harvest of land and sea, may he receive their presents and bring them into Esagil before the lord of lords, (and) may his reign be established in Tintir longtime.<sup>7</sup>

Through the intermediary of the king, the deity is the indirect recipient of the nations’ wealth. The closest parallel in the biblical text is 2 Chr 32:23, which describes both Hezekiah and Yhwh as dual recipients of the nations’ wealth. Apart from the undatable texts (Pss 68:19a, 29-32; 76:12), this distinctive emphasis on Yhwh as the recipient of foreign wealth is limited to post-monarchic periods.

With all that said, it really comes as no surprise to see Yhwh in a position normally reserved for the earthly king. On the one hand, this shift to emphasize the global dominion of Yhwh may reflect the fact that Judah has no earthly king: In light of the vacant Davidic throne, certain royal privileges, titles, and honors were conferred upon Yhwh, who is Judah’s heavenly king. On the other hand, it is not as if Yhwh was only first crowned in the years after the fall of

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<sup>7</sup> See lines 30-36 in Gadd, “Inscribed Barrel Cylinder of Marduk-Apla-Iddina II,” 125.

the monarchy.<sup>8</sup> In fact, if the early dating of Exodus 15 is correct, then the image of Yhwh as king is potentially quite old, even pre-monarchic.<sup>9</sup> Additionally, the numerous Oracles Against/Concerning Foreign Nations, many of which are monarchic in date, assume Yhwh's domination of the nations as a *global emperor*. These oracles attest, in David Petersen's terms, to Yhwh's "international imperium."<sup>10</sup> Kingship and deity go hand-in-hand in the ancient Near East. It is unlikely, then, that Yhwh's association with the nations' tribute was invented in post-monarchic times. The undatable texts (Pss 68:19a, 29-32; 76:12), after all, may very well come from earlier times. The likelier explanation is that the image of Yhwh as the recipient of the nations' tribute simply gained more traction in the generations following the demise of the Judahite monarchy, perhaps as a polemic against human empires (see my comments on the deuterio- and trito-Isaianic texts below). Perhaps the void created by the loss of a native Judahite king prompted a fresh focus on divine kingship, which would have included the redistribution of royal titles and functions to Yhwh's cosmic kingship. Similar responses to the fall of the Davidic monarchy have been detected elsewhere in the HB, especially in the Psalter.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> See Patrick D. Miller, *The Religion of Ancient Israel* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2000), 10. Titles such as, "Yhwh Sebaoth," may be an ancient royal epithet, see, e.g., Ollenburger, *Zion, the City of the Great King*, 37-41 and more recently, Siegfried Kreuzer, "Zebaoth: Der Thronende," *VT* 56 (2006): 347-62.

<sup>9</sup> Frank Moore Cross, Jr. and David Noel Freedman, for instance, argue for a terminus ad quem in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, at least for its written composition. Orally, the poem circulated, they aver, during the period of the Judges" (see *Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry* [Biblical Resource Series; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997]), 33. The original publication of Cross and Freedman's dissertation was in 1975. See also Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), 121-44. See also David A. Robertson, *Linguistic Evidence in Dating Early Hebrew Poetry* (SBLDS 3; Missoula: Society of Biblical Literature, 1972), 155. For a more recent affirmation of Cross and Freedman's theory, see Brian D. Russell, *The Song of the Sea: The Date of Composition and Influence of Exodus 15:1-21* (SBL; New York: Peter Lang, 2007).

<sup>10</sup> Petersen, *The Prophetic Literature*, 38.

<sup>11</sup> This point was famously made by Gerald Wilson in his dissertation. In a later reflection on his contribution, he summarizes his thesis in the following manner: "The basic idea advanced in my early work is that certain royal psalms (in particular Psalms 2, 72, and 89) have been intentionally placed at the seams of the first three books (Psalms 2-89) in order to shape the understanding of those segments of the Psalter as an Exilic response to the loss of the Davidic monarchy. This response offers agonized pleas for deliverance and intends to foster hope for the restoration of the Davidic kingdom and the fortunes of Judah . . . It is further posited that the last two books (Psalms 90-150) were added at a later point as part of the final redaction of the Psalter, a movement that reflects the concerns of the sages, and intends to offer a response to the questions and hopes raised in the earlier books. The intent is to

Finally, a number of texts in Isaiah 40-66 inflect the WNT in a highly unique manner by representing *Zion herself* (Isa 60:4-18; 45:14; 66:12) and her inhabitants (Isa 61:5-6) as recipients of the nations' tribute. This shift in the tradition is quite significant, and warrants further comment. I will divide the discussion into two parts, one focusing on Lady Zion and the other on Zion's population.

Lady Zion: Isaiah Isa 60:4-18; 45:14; 66:12 wrap Zion in imperial raiment, describing her as one who receives the wealth of the nations as tribute, an image typically reserved for male monarchs. One can readily see this transformation in the tradition by comparing Isaiah 60 with Psalm 72.<sup>12</sup> Psalm 72:10-11, an intercession for the king, reads as follows:

Let the kings of Tarshish and the islands pay tribute,  
the kings of Sheba and Seba bring gifts

Let all kings bow to him,  
all the nations serve him (Ps 72:10-11)

The supplicant prays that the male monarch would receive the tribute and gifts of the nations, as a material sign of their subservience. This is a clear example of the WNT as it is conventionally represented in the ancient Near East: A single king receives the wealth of many nations as a sign of his superiority over them. Isaiah 60:5-9, however, which is directed to Lady Zion (note the 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns), takes the tradition in a markedly different direction:

Then you will see and *you* will cheer up,  
and *your* heart will tremble and enlarge,

for the abundance of the sea will be turned over to *you*,  
the wealth of nations will come to *you*.

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redirect the hopes of the reader away from an earthly Davidic kingdom to the kingship of Yahweh . . . The result is a Psalter that recalls the foundational pre-monarchical faith of Israel (Psalms 90, 105-106), and directs the faithful to trust in Yahweh as king rather than in fragile and failing human princes (Psalms 145-146).” See Gerald H. Wilson, “King, Messiah, and the Reign of God: Revisiting the Royal Psalms and the Shape of the Psalter,” in *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception* (ed. Peter W. Flint and Patrick D. Miller; VTSup 99; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 391-93. See also his, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter* (SBLDS 76; Chico: Scholars Press, 1985), 207-14.

<sup>12</sup> As I already noted in §2.3.11.2, Isaiah 60 draws on and develops specific wording and imagery from Psalm 72, suggesting that the psalm, in some earlier form, was a source of inspiration for Isaiah 60.

A multitude of camels will cover *you*,  
 the young camels of Midian and Ephah;  
 they will all come from Sheba.

Gold and frankincense they will bear,  
 and they will make known the praises of Yhwh.

Every flock of Kedar will be gathered for *you*,  
 the rams of Nebaioth will minister to *you*.

They will ascend my altar acceptably,  
 and I will beautify my beautiful house.

Who are these that fly like a cloud,  
 like doves to their cotes?

Marine vessels of the islands wait,  
 and the ships of Tarshish are at the head,

to bring *your* sons from afar,  
 their silver and their gold with them,

for the name of Yhwh *your* God,  
 and for the Holy One of Israel,  
 because he has beautified *you* (Isa 60:5-9)

Unlike Psalm 72, the nations' wealth in Isaiah 60 will not be given to a king but rather to "you" (fs), namely Lady Zion. Similar results emerge if one compares Psalm 72 to Isa 45:14 or Isa 66: Isa 45:14:<sup>13</sup>

Thus said Yhwh:

The laborers of Egypt  
 and the merchants of Cush  
 and the Sabaens, bearers of tribute,

will pass over to *you* (2fs)  
 and will be *yours* (2fs)

Behind *you* (2fs) they will follow,  
 they will pass by in shackles.

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<sup>13</sup> For translational and text-critical note, see the appropriate sections in Chapter 3.

They will bow to *you* (2fs)  
 they cry out to *you* (2fs):

“Surely God is among *you* (2fs)!  
 There is no other God whatsoever!”

Isa 66:12

Look, I am about to extend peace to her like a river  
 and like an overflowing wadi, the glory of nations,

You will suck, at the side you will be carried,  
 and upon knees you will be dandled.

These Isaianic texts also differ from Psalm 72 rhetorically, strongly suggesting a different social setting. Psalm 72, which is a prayer, refers to the king in the third person, and supplicates the deity on his behalf. Such a prayer, at least in its original iteration, belongs to the royal court. The texts cited from Isaiah, however, are promissory proclamation that also directly addresses Zion:

Then *you* will see and *you* will cheer up,  
 and *your* heart will tremble and enlarge,

for the abundance of the sea will be turned over to *you*,  
 the wealth of nations will come to *you* (Isa 60:5)

The prayerful supplication of Psalm 72, which asks that the nations bestow their wealth upon the king, becomes in Isaiah 45:14; 60; 66:12 utopian proclamations of the future, in which Zion is made into a bustling, wealthy imperial metropolis.

Prima facie, the image of royal Zion receiving tribute seems revolutionary, not only because a city is personified as a recipient of the nations' wealth, but also because that city is personified as a *woman*. With respect to the city's gender, however, a number of potential prototypes are available. The mortuary complex of Hatshepsut (1478-1458 BCE) at Deir-el Bahri depicts the female Pharaoh as the recipient of lavish foreign tribute. But Hatshepsut's monument is highly exceptional and is in any case chronologically quite distant from Isaiah 60-61. A more

convincing prototype can be found in the long and rich history of cities being personified as females and especially as goddesses.<sup>14</sup> The image of Jerusalem as a woman, of course, occurs with some frequency in the HB (2 Kgs 19:21; Isa 37:22; 66:8; Lamentations 1, etc.). As Mark Biddle notes, “the feminine imagery employed in the Hebrew Bible with reference to Jerusalem is not the result of the whims of individual poets, but rests on well-developed traditions of great antiquity and geographical scope.”<sup>15</sup> The depiction of Zion as a female, then, is hardly original. The creativity, rather, lies in the poems’ combination of the city-as-woman tradition with the WNT. The seamless and creative merger of these two traditions results in a compound presentation of Zion as the queenly recipient of the nations’ wealth. This bold and creative welding together of traditions, is a remarkable development in the WNT, especially given the fact that all of the first millennium ancient Near Eastern exemplars assume that only male monarchs receive the wealth of the nations.

Zion’s Inhabitants: The expansion of the tradition to include the city’s populace (see again 61:6) is, to my knowledge, entirely unprecedented. These chapters hope for a future in

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<sup>14</sup> The body of literature around this topic is extensive. See, e.g., W. F. Stinespring, “No Daughter of Zion: Study of the Appositional Genitive in Hebrew Grammar,” *Encounter* 26 (1965): 133-41; Aloysius Fitzgerald, “Mythological Background for the Presentation of Jerusalem as a Queen and False Worship as Adultery in the OT,” *CBQ* 34 (1972): 403-16; idem, “BTWLT and BT as Titles for Capital Cities,” *CBQ* 37 (1975): 167-83; Chayim Cohen, “The Widowed City,” *JANES* 5 (1973): 75-81; John J. Schmitt, “The Gender of Ancient Israel,” *JSOT* 26 (1983): 115-25; idem, “The Motherhood of God and Zion as Mother,” *RB* 92 (1985): 557-69; idem, “The Virgin of Israel: Reference and Use of the Phrase in Amos and Jeremiah,” *CBQ* 53 (1991): 365-87; Elaine R. Follis, “The Holy City as Daughter,” in *Directions in Biblical Hebrew Poetry* (ed. Elaine R. Follis; JSOTSup 40; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), 173-84; F.W. Dobbs-Allsopp, *Weep, O Daughter of Zion: A Study of the City-Lament Genre in the Hebrew Bible* (BibOr 44; Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1993), 75-90; idem, “The Syntagma of *bat* Followed by a Geographical Name in the Hebrew Bible: Reconsideration of Its Meaning and Grammar,” *CBQ* 57 (1995): 451-70. For an iconographic treatment of this topic, see Christl M. Maier, “Daughter Zion as Queen and the Iconography of the Female City,” in *Images and Prophecy in the Ancient Eastern Mediterranean* (ed. Martti Nissinen and Charles E. Carter; FRLANT 233; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 147-62.

<sup>15</sup> See Mark Biddle, “The Figure of Lady Jerusalem: Identification, Deification and Personification of Cities in the Ancient Near East,” in *The Biblical Canon in Comparative Perspective* (ed. K. Lawson Younger, Jr., William W. Hallow, and Bernard F. Batto; Ancient Near Eastern Texts and Studies 11; Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1991), 186.

which the human kings of the earth will bow, not only to Yhwh and Lady Zion, but also to Lady Zion's *inhabitants*, the people of Judah.

This transformation of the WNT accords with a broader tendency in certain segments of post-monarchic literature to redistribute the ideological symbols of kingship to the developing collective concept of the "people" of Israel—a concept that was surely under negotiation in these later periods.<sup>16</sup> Isaiah 55:3-5 is the textbook example:

Incline your ear ( *ʿznkm*) and come to me  
Listen in order that you (*npškm*) may live.

I will make an eternal covenant with you (*lkm*),  
The reliable covenant promises made to David (Isa 55:3-5)

The plural pronouns are the item of interest here: What once belonged to David now belongs to "you." In Shalom Paul's words: "These verses constitute a unique ideological innovation: The former Davidic covenant is now extended to the entire nation, and the divine reassurance is formulated using the same terms of the promise to David."<sup>17</sup> Paul Volz, similarly, writes,

Namhafte Exegeten . . . finden hier eine Weissagung auf den Messias. Aber davon steht im Zusammenhang rein gar nichts, und es wird vollends unwahrscheinlich gemacht durch die Tatsache, daß Dtjes. auch sonst keine Messiasweissagung ausspricht. Das Bemerkenswerte unsere Stelle ist vielmehr, daß die Davidsverheißung auf das Volk Israel übertragen wird.<sup>18</sup>

Just as David was a leader over nations, so Israel would have dominion over nations (Isa 55:4-5).

The attributes of world domination, normally reserved for kings, are now conferred upon the people as a whole.<sup>19</sup> William Schniedewind, who holds a similar position, sees the extension of

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<sup>16</sup> See H.G.M. Williamson, "The Concept of Israel in Transition," in *The World of Ancient Israel: Sociological, Anthropological and Political Perspectives: Essays by Members of the Society for Old Testament Study* (ed. R.E. Clements; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 142. For a helpful discussion of how "Israel" developed from the "Israel of history to the Israel of faith," see Reinhard G. Kratz, "Israel in the Book of Isaiah," *JSOT* 31 (2006): 103-28.

<sup>17</sup> Paul, *Isaiah 40-66*, 434, 437-38. See also the discussion of these views in Donald C. Polaski, *Authorizing an End: The Isaiah Apocalypse and Intertextuality* (BibInt 50; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 133-35.

<sup>18</sup> Paul Volz, *Jesaja II* (KAT 9; Leipzig: A Deichert, 1932), 139.

<sup>19</sup> See Paul, *Isaiah 40-66*, 438.

the Davidic promise to the people as “an attempt to rationalize the failure of the Promise. . . .”<sup>20</sup> Indeed, Isaiah 55 is concerned with showing that the Davidic promise lives on in the people rather than in the monarchy.<sup>21</sup> Hermann Spieckermann points to another example in the 7<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> centuries version of Deuteronomy.<sup>22</sup> Although the Davidic covenant is clearly not in Deuteronomy as it is in Isaiah 55, the fundamental hermeneutical procedure is similar: royal status is bestowed on the people rather than an individual king.

The changes made to the WNT in Isa 60:4-18; 45:14; 66:12 were not without significant political risk. Given their historical setting in the Persian period, Isaiah 60-61 could easily have been perceived as radically subversive. These daring poems took standard ancient Near Eastern imperial images and reconfigured them into something new, bold, and potentially dangerous, a point recently made by Brent Strawn.<sup>23</sup> To deny any polemical or political intent to these chapters is to underestimate fundamentally them: Isaiah 60-61 depict a future in which Yhwh and Zion—i.e., *not* the Great King of Persia or any other foreign monarch for that matter—reign from the holy city of Jerusalem. But it is not only the king who is dethroned. The very god who upholds the Persian Empire is rhetorically usurped: As Strawn points out, even the sun—an image often used to represent Auramazda—is entirely supplanted by Yhwh (see Isa 60:19-22).<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> William M. Schniedewind, *Society and Promise to David: The Reception History of 2 Samuel 7:1-17* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

<sup>21</sup> Schniedewind sees similar tendencies in Psalm 89 and 1 Kgs 8:22-53. See Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise to David*, 107-114. For other examples of “democratization” in Isaiah, see Scott R.A. Starbuck, “Theological Anthropology at a Fulcrum: Isaiah 55:1-5, Psalm 89, and Second Stage Tradition in the Royal Psalms,” in *David and Zion: Biblical Studies in Honor of J.J.M. Roberts* (ed. Bernard F. Batto and Kathryn L. Roberts: Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 247-66.

<sup>22</sup> Spieckermann writes, “At roughly the same time [7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries], critical voices were raised against kingship. The idea of a chosen people replaced the king installed according to divine will. The destruction of Jerusalem in 586 BCE, the loss of the Davidic dynasty and the exile fostered the idea of the one God choosing and guiding his people without any intermediary. Only exceptional intermediaries such as Abraham, Moses, and the Servant of the Lord are welcome.” See his, “God and His People: The Concept of Kingship and Cult in the Ancient Near East,” in *One God – One Cult – One Nation: Archaeological and Biblical Perspectives* (BZAW 405; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 352.

<sup>23</sup> See Strawn “A World under Control,” 85-116.

<sup>24</sup> See *ibid.*, 116.

To offer up such a radically alternative religio-political vision poses a clear challenge to the adequacy of the reigning one. The current empire is shown to be not only inadequate, but also finally penultimate. While these Isaianic texts were probably never used to incite revolt, they almost certainly stirred up hope that Jerusalem's best days were not locked away in vault of "history" (i.e., during the reigns of Solomon, Hezekiah, or Josiah), but rather were still a lively option, to be found in the future, when the nations of the world would recognize Zion's true status as the world's imperial center. In other words, these chapters are neither safe nor innocent speech. From the perspective of the poem, the sun will eventually set on the *Pax Persica*, with the rise of a *Pax Jerusalem* on the horizon.<sup>25</sup> These changes to the WNT are not simply toothless utopianism. They bear the fingerprints of a polemicist who sees not only a hopeful future for his people, but one in which the other nations of the earth are firmly underfoot.

But apart from the obvious contrasts with contemporary ancient Near Eastern royal ideology, is there additional evidence suggesting the polemical nature of the Isaianic evidence? The answer, I think is yes—at least for Isaiah 60—and it is to be found in the secondary additions to the chapter (see Isa 60:12, 14; 61:3a [*lth lhm*]; for my arguments, see §2.3.7.2). These minor additions are the first recorded commentary on the text and provide modern readers with a fragmentary glimpse into how these chapters were received by early audiences. It is not accidental that one of these additions is explicitly antagonistic toward foreign nations. Isaiah 60:12 threatens that, if the nations of the earth do not serve Yhwh and Zion, they will perish (*y'bdw . . . ḥrb yḥrbw*). This early polemical addition, I would argue, is not introducing an alien element into these chapters. It picks up, rather, on the polemical nature of the texts, by making explicit what was originally just beneath the surface.

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<sup>25</sup> See Strawn, "A World under Control," 115.

The scribes responsible for Isa 45:14; 60-61; 66:12 look upon the Persian empire from the bottom up—as subjects relating to a dominant authority. These chapters constitute, then, what James Scott has called “hidden transcripts”<sup>26</sup>—backstage, after-hours ways of speaking that typically take place away from the gaze of the subjugator. In this case, the transcript records ancient hopes for a radical shift in political order. The vision of the future cast in Isaiah 60-61 is nothing less than a reversal of Judah’s tumultuous history: The pillaged are now enriched; subjects now sit on the throne; and the ruled have been given the authority of the rulers. These texts are not *post*-colonial in the sense that they eschew the fundamental structures of imperialism and colonialism. In fact, they do not hope for an end to empire at all, only a change in regime. Isaiah 60-61 adopt the fundamental tenants of ancient Near Eastern royal mythology (e.g., centralized rule of the nations, the institution of tribute as a sign of homage, etc.), but not without making significant alterations to its features, resulting in a polemical statement of confidence in the future of Jerusalem. Tradition history, in this instance, is not a matter simply of subsequent adoption or adaptation, but of cooptation in hopes for a better future.

It is clear that the HB makes abundant use of the WNT, especially in the NB and Persian periods. But just as a tumbling snowball is never the same shape at the bottom of the hill as it was at the top, the WNT changed in unique and sometimes even surprising ways. It is notable that, of the three elements in the WNT ([1] foreign nations bring their [2] wealth to [3] a royal figure), the element that undergoes the most significant changes is the royal figure (typically, a king). The destruction of Jerusalem, the deportation of certain elements of the population, and the gradual return of some exiles to Jerusalem, apparently set into a motion a number of complex processes that ultimately resulted in fundamental changes to the WNT. These changes

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<sup>26</sup> James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

emphasize especially the global emperorship of Yhwh and the royal status of Zion and her populace.

Genre analysis provides another set of data for sketching a biography of the WNT. Studying genre is not just about identifying literary forms, but is also about determining where and how a text functioned in society. The following table, which is reproduced from Chapter 2 (see §2.3.5), illustrates the wide variety of genres in which the WNT appears:

Genre	Citation
Claim to Universal Sovereignty	1 Kgs 10:23-25//2 Chr 9:22-24
Doxology to the Kingship of Israel's God	Ps 68:19a, 29-32
Hymn of Thanksgiving	1 Chr 16:28-29
Intercession for the King	Ps 72:10-11
Legend	1 Kgs 10:1-10, 13//2 Chr 9:1-9, 12
Notices	1 Kgs 10:15//2 Chr 9:14; 32:23
Oracle Concerning Cush	Isa 18:7
Prophetic Exhortation	Zeph 3:10
Promise of Salvation	Isa 45:14; 60:4-17; 61:5-6; 66:12
<i>Yhwh mlk</i> hymn	Ps 96:7-8
Zion Song	Ps 76:12

A number of important observations emerge from this chart. First, much like the NA literary evidence (see §3.3.1.1), which contains references to the WNT in poetry, prophecy, and annalistic literature, the biblical WNT occurs in a wide variety of genres, ranging from prophecy to historiography. The vast majority of biblical examples, however, are in poetry, not prose. Second, related to this observation, with only a few exceptions in Kings and Chronicles (1 Kgs 10:1-10, 13//2 Chr 9:1-9, 12; 1 Kgs 10:15//2 Chr 9:14; 1 Kgs 10:23-25//2 Chr 9:22-24; 2 Chr 32:23), most occurrences of the WNT appear either in texts dealing with a future state of affairs (see Isa 45:14; 60:4-17; 61:5-6; 66:12; Zeph 3:10; Pss 72:10-11; 76:12; 96:7-8; 1 Chr 16:28-29)<sup>27</sup> or in a theophanic/mythic context (see Ps 68:19a, 29-32), the temporality of which is difficult to define. Unlike many royal inscriptions describing the past deeds of kings, in the eyes

<sup>27</sup> Isa 18:7 is a prose addition to Isa 18:1-6\*. See §2.3.5.2.

of Judah's scribes, the concept that Zion's king will receive the wealth of the nations was largely a matter of hope, not of history.<sup>28</sup> The future-orientation of these texts aligns the biblical exemplars more with NA royal prophecies than with royal inscriptions which are generally concerned with relating the accomplishments of the king.

Third, while a large chunk of the relevant ancient Near Eastern evidence is found in royal inscriptions, there are no indications that any of the relevant biblical texts were ever used in this manner. Prayers, of course, are found on royal inscriptions outside ancient Israel and Judah,<sup>29</sup> but again there is no evidence that any of the biblical prayers containing the WNT (e.g., Psalm 72) were ever used as royal inscriptions. As noted earlier (§3.3.3), Israelian and Judahite royal inscriptions were quite rare. Even the surge of North West Semitic, alphabetic inscriptions in the latter half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century in Syria-Palestine—likely inspired by Assyrian prototypes<sup>30</sup>—is largely unfelt in the archaeology of Judah. One of the main genres in which the WNT is found, then, is surprisingly difficult to find in the archaeological record of Judah and Israel.

Fourth, given that the WNT is typically found in royal images and texts exalting the greatness of the king, it is unsurprising that the biblical WNT appears in genres that are encomiastic in nature (Ps 68:19a, 29-32; Ps 96:7-8//1 Chr 16:28-29; 76:12; 96:7-8) or that are otherwise intended to magnify the king's grandeur (Ps 72:10-11). This same laudatory atmosphere, in turn, frequently marks texts dealing with Yhwh's kingship (Zeph 3:10; Pss 68:19a, 29-32; 76:12; 96:7-8) and Zion's future glory (Isa 18:7; 45:14; 60:4-17; 61:5-6; 66:12).

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<sup>28</sup> The texts related to Solomon (1 Kgs 10:1-10, 13//2 Chr 9:1-9, 12; 1 Kgs 10:15//2 Chr 9:14; 1 Kgs 10:15//2 Chr 9:14; 32:23) and Hezekiah (2 Chr 32:23), of course, are exceptions to this general rule.

<sup>29</sup> The "Early Proclamation," found on the Boundary Stelae at El-Amarna for instance, contains the following prayer from a courtier: "May his lordship govern from Akhet-Aten. May you conduct every land to him. May you tax the towns and islands for him. Every city [down] to every [ . . . ], its [entirety belongs to] Aten, acting in accordance with what he himself ordains. All flat lands, all hill countries and the islands of the sea are bearing their tribute, their products on their backs, to the maker of their life, at the seeing of whose rays one lives." See Murnane, *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt*, 76.

<sup>30</sup> See the comments in Na'aman, "Three Notes on the Aramaic Inscription from Tel Dan\*," 93-96; Lemaire, "Hebrew and West Semitic Inscriptions and Pre-Exilic Israel," 366-67.

The panegyric shimmer that distinguishes the WNT even shines through in the story of Solomon's encounter with the queen of Sheba (1 Kgs 10:1-10, 13; 1 Kgs 10:1-10, 13). In its current deuteronomistic context, and especially in light of 1 Kings 11, however, this legend is tinted with shades of irony and criticism. Chronicles' version of this account (2 Chr 9:1-9, 12), which generally lacks the critical edge found in the book of Kings, goes a long way toward buffing out the legend's original gleam.

Fifth and finally, these observations about genre also allow one to map the WNT socially, at least in very general terms. To begin with, the fact that the WNT occurs in multiple, disparate genres already suggests that the WNT did not function in a single social setting. The tradition, rather, existed in a handful of social settings: historiographic writing (1 Kgs 10:1-10, 13//2 Chr 9:1-9, 12; 1 Kgs 10:15//2 Chr 9:14; 1 Kgs 10:23-25//2 Chr 9:22-24; 1 Chr 16:28-29; 2 Chr 32:23), temple and court hymnody (Pss 68:19a, 29-32; 72:10-11; 76:12; 96:7-8), and prophecy (Isa 18:7; 45:14; 60:4-17; 61:5-6; 66:12; Zeph 3:10). Granted, the social labels given above are general and lack precision. Even with this qualification in mind, we do know enough about these texts and their genres to conclude that they emerged from a variety of social contexts, some more "official" (i.e., close to the throne) than others. In fact, in most cases, these texts were written when there was no Judahite king whatsoever. Many, in fact, probably emerged in post-monarchic contexts, in connection with the temple and with prophecy.

Based on this generic evidence, one thing is certain: Even though we may not be able to identify precisely how and where each of these biblical texts functioned in society, it is nonetheless the case that, in stark contrast to the comparative evidence presented in Chapter 3, there is no indication that the WNT in the HB was limited to texts produced by or in service of the royal court. In fact, if my dating of the texts is correct, then quite the opposite is true: many

of these texts were produced when the Judahite monarchy no longer existed. Somehow—and the reasons may ultimately lie beyond reach—a tradition that emanated from royal courts migrated outside of its native environment. In point of fact, the WNT not only existed outside of the court, it flourished. This fact makes the WNT one of the clearest examples of how tradition, under the right circumstances, can continue functioning in society, even though its originating social situation no longer exists.

#### 4.2 The Visual and the Verbal

This dissertation also aims to make a methodological contribution. Chapter 1 shows that tradition history has conventionally been a text-oriented method. Either implicitly or explicitly, scholars doing tradition-historical work tend to view texts as the primary repositories of tradition. The unfortunate consequence of this *modus operandi* is that art-historical sources are typically overlooked in tradition-historical studies. Given the historic divide in academia between scholars of literature and scholars of art, the limiting of tradition to verbal media by biblical scholars is unsurprising. Recent efforts to integrate these two disparate fields (see §1.1), however, have cleared a methodological space in which one can reevaluate whether “tradition” is better understood as something other than just a verbal phenomenon. I have suggested that a more fruitful way of conceiving tradition<sup>31</sup> is to understand it as a multi-medial category.<sup>32</sup> Texts, in other words, are not the sole proprietors of tradition. The current project has shown that, when relevant art historical materials are present, they add several layers of depth and complexity to one’s understanding of the tradition and its development.

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<sup>31</sup> As stated in §1.1, tradition refers to concepts, notions, and constellations that are inherited from the broader intellectual environment.

<sup>32</sup> Of course, one’s ability to study a tradition across multiple media requires that relevant sources are extant in the archaeological record.

An important follow-up concern is whether the art-historical evidence provides any information that could not otherwise be found in the textual evidence. In many ways, the art-historical evidence echoes what one finds in the textual sources. The visual sources confirm that the WNT occurs most frequently in official media, which is to say that it is a tradition most closely associated with the royal court. The tripartite character of the tradition—royal figure, wealth, and foreigners—remains intact across both visual and verbal media, with the royal figure (typically a king) being the tradition's most prominent feature. The gifts brought to this figure, moreover, are a sign of superiority over the gift-givers. In conjunction with the literary evidence the visual evidence also confirms that the WNT was widespread in the ancient Near East. This observation is significant, for it indicates that the WNT is not distinct to any one ancient Near Eastern culture. Rather, the WNT was part of a larger, conventional configuration of royal images. In many ways, then, the art historical evidence strengthens what one might conclude from the literary evidence alone.

But the visual evidence provides important insights into the tradition that could not have otherwise been gleaned from textual sources alone. The presence of the WNT on a number of highly visible, large-scale royal monuments (e.g., the Tribute Reliefs from Room D of the Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II [§3.2.1.1]; the Mamu Temple Gates of Ashurnasirpal II [§3.2.2.1], the Apadana reliefs from Persepolis [§3.2.2.1]) indicates that the WNT was an important element of public royal display. Within the cultures that made use of such public images, the image of a king receiving wealth from the earth's nations was an important element of the king's public persona. Cuneiform texts, which often accompany the monuments, also served this purpose, but in a decidedly less accessible way, since: (1) the text was not always

easy to see (e.g., the Behistun reliefs) and (2) may not have been comprehensible to large segments of the population.

Closely related to this last point, the visual examples of the WNT also demonstrate that the tradition was not only available to the literate elite. People who lacked the ability to read royal inscriptions, but who otherwise had access to visual media on which the WNT was depicted (e.g., large scale reliefs, stele, ivories, etc.), would likely have comprehended the scenes, at least on some basic level. In certain cases, like Room D of Ashurnasirpal II's palace (§3.2.1.1), the Black Obelisk of Shalmanessar III (§3.2.1.2) or the Apadana reliefs from Persepolis (§3.2.2.1), foreign visitors may well have perceived their own fate in the reliefs. Images of foreign nations bringing their wealth to a foreign king reinforced their status as servants of a mighty monarch, no doubt with an immediacy and effectiveness unachievable by the texts alone, especially if they were written in a foreign language.

#### 4.3 *Creatio ex Traditio*

The history of the WNT tells a story of human creativity. Humans do not create *ex nihilo*. They create using the tools, insights, and materials inherited from their pasts. As the arguments made above indicate, sometimes ancient Israel left the WNT largely unchanged. They used it much in the same way it had been used by the surrounding cultures: to glorify the reign and power of individual human monarchs. At other times, the WNT was recast and reconfigured to make the received traditions sing their song in a different key. In these instances, the WNT became a remix. These “remixed” versions of the tradition are most abundant in the years following the

fall of Jerusalem and the collapse of Judah's monarchy, suggesting that the exile from and return to Jerusalem were among the most generative years for the creation of biblical literature.

## Figures

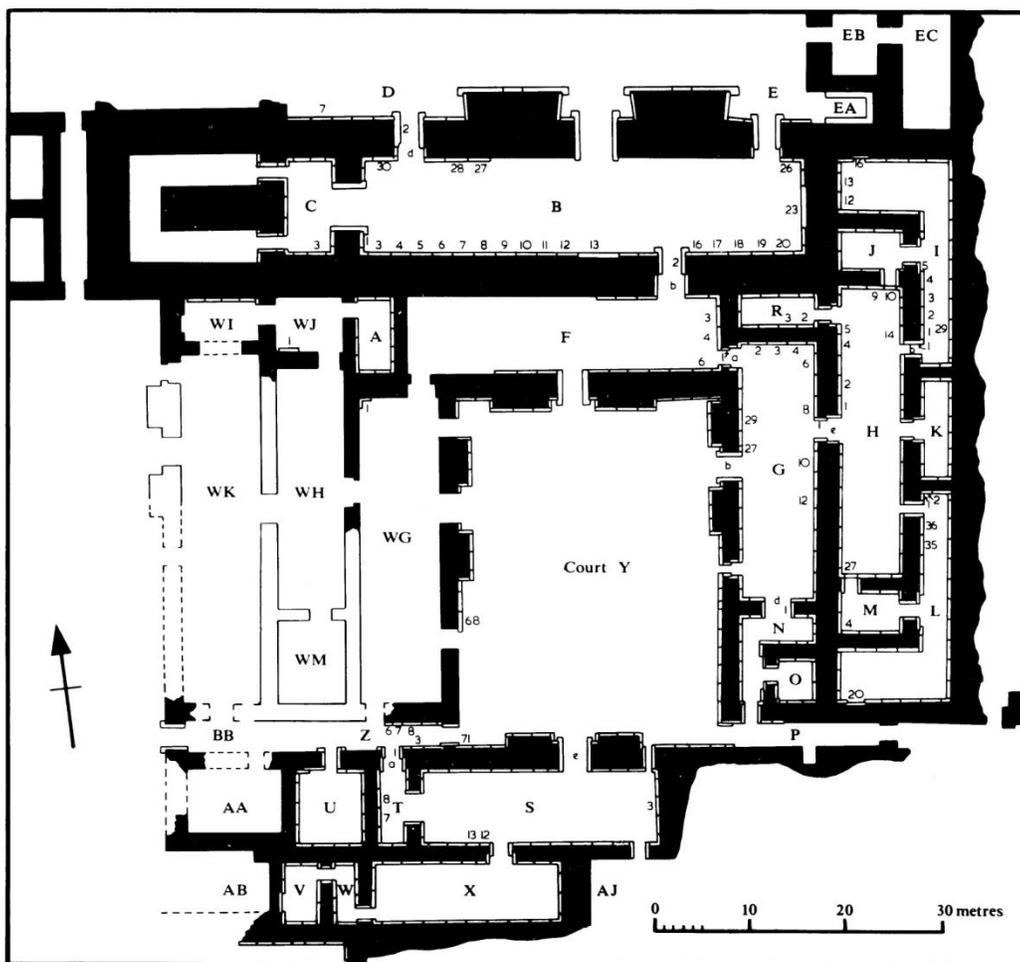
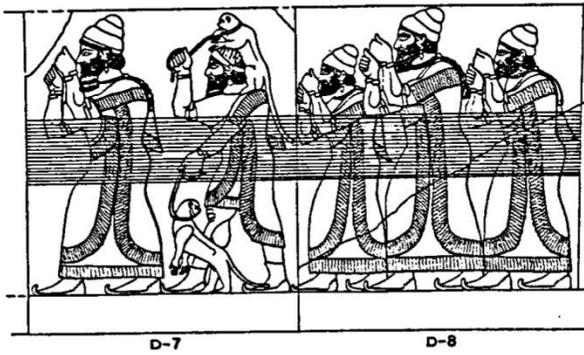
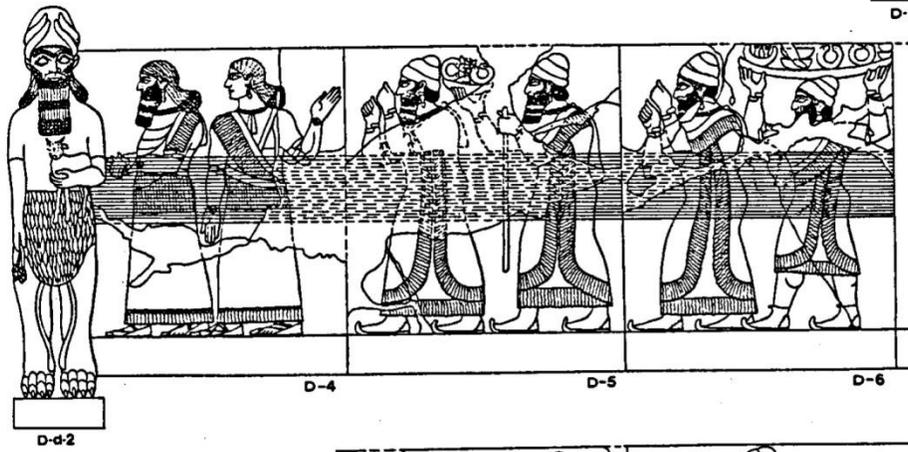
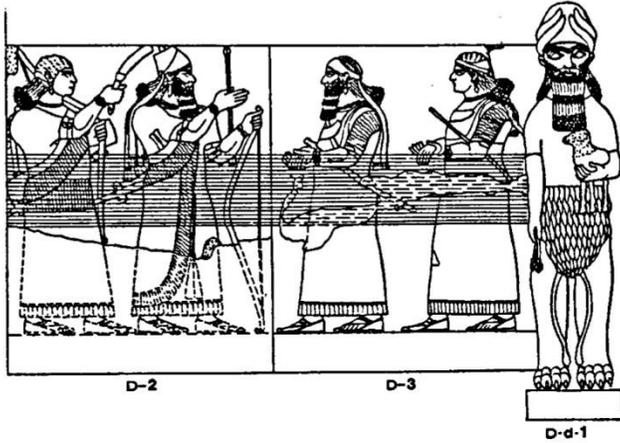


Fig. 1. J.E. Reade, "Texts and Sculptures from the North-West Palace, Nimrud," *Iraq* 47 (1985): fig. 1.



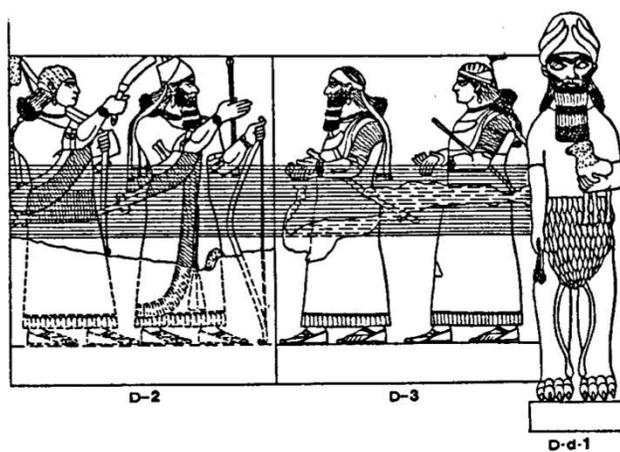


Fig. 2a and 2b. 2a: Tribute-bearers process toward the king (D-2) with gifts. 2b: King detail. Bär, *Der assyrische Tribut und seine Darstellung*, Abb. 12.



Fig. 3. Tribute-bearer from Room D of the Palace of Ashurnasirpal II at Kalah. BM 124562. © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 4. Detail of tribute bearer from Fig. 1. BM 124562. Photographed by Michael J. Chan.



Fig. 5. Detail of tribute bearer from Fig. 1. BM 124562. Photographed by Michael J. Chan.



Fig. 6. The Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III flanked by the much taller White Obelisk. BM 118885. Photographed by Michael J. Chan.

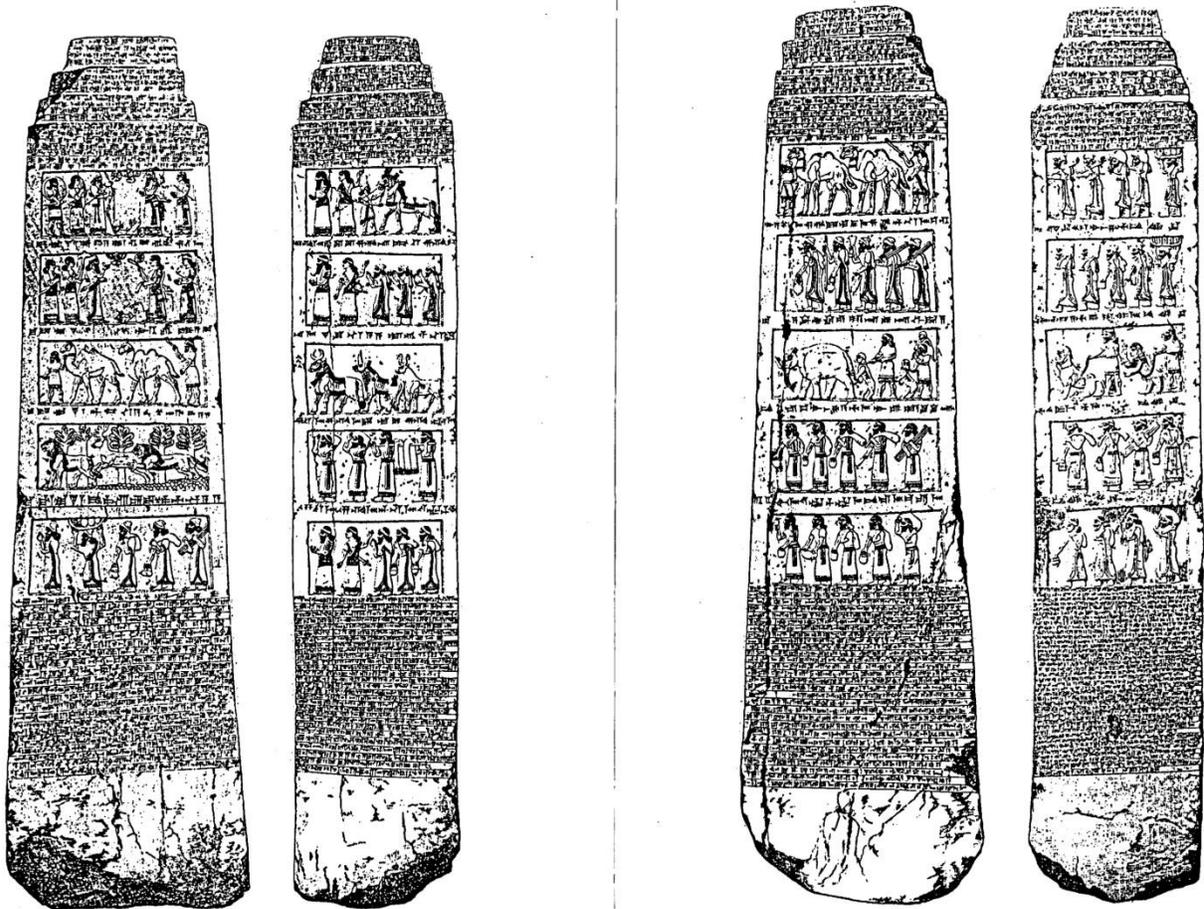


Fig. 7. A sketch of all four sides of the Black Obelisk of Shalmanassar III. After Bär, *Der assyrische Tribut und seine Darstellung*, Abb. 51.



Fig. 8. The Black Obelisk of Shalmanassar III detail (E-1). BM 118885. Photographed by Michael J. Chan.



Fig. 9. The Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III detail (A-1). BM 118885. Photographed by Michael J. Chan.



Fig. 10. The Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III detail (B-1). BM 118885. Photographed by Michael J. Chan.



Fig. 11. The Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III detail (D-1). BM 118885. Photographed by Michael J. Chan.

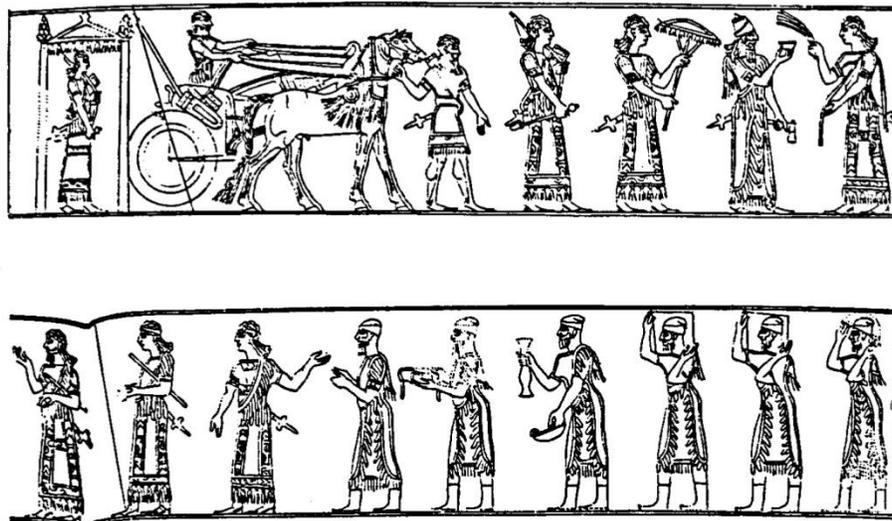


Fig. 12. Line drawing of the ivory, ND 4193. After Bär, *Der assyrische Tribut und seine Darstellung*, Abb. 53.

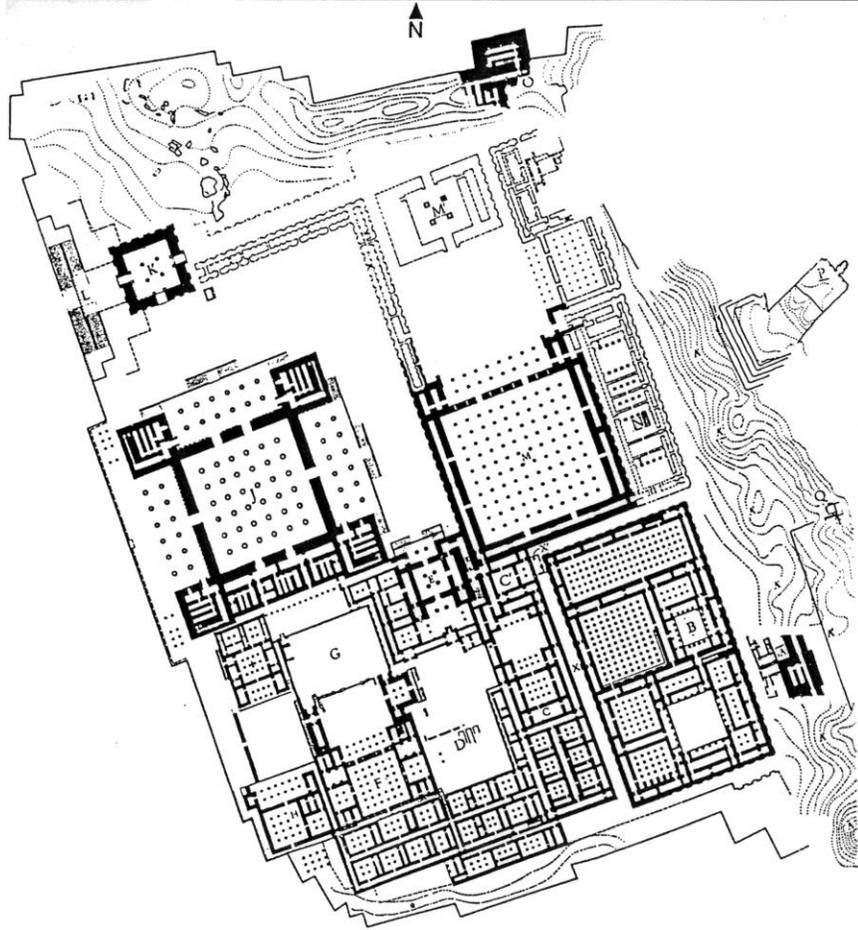


Fig. 13. Map of Persepolis. After Strawn, "A World under Control," fig. 1.

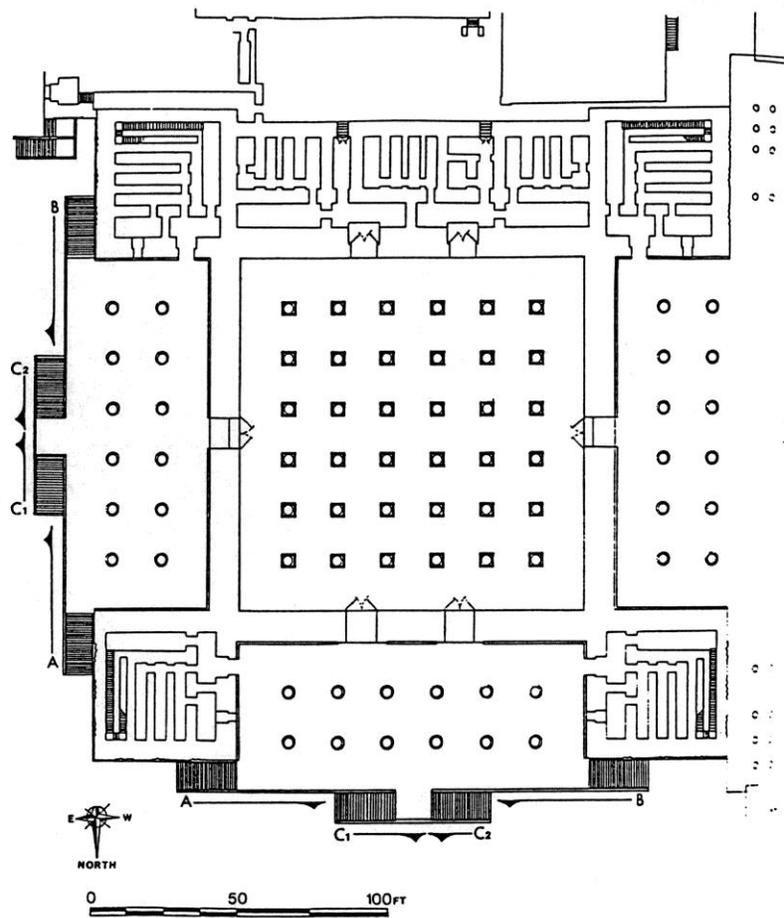


Fig. 14. Persepolis detail: The Apadana. After Strawn, “A World under Control,” fig. 2.

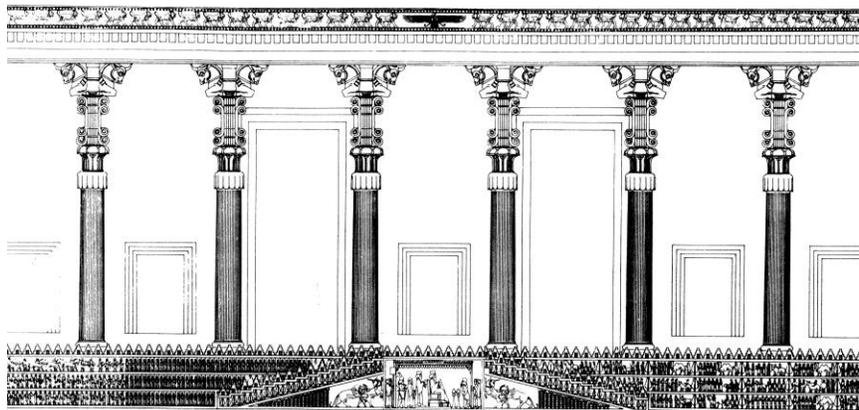


Fig. 15. Reconstruction of the North Façade of the Apadana. After Strawn, “A World under Control,” fig. 3.

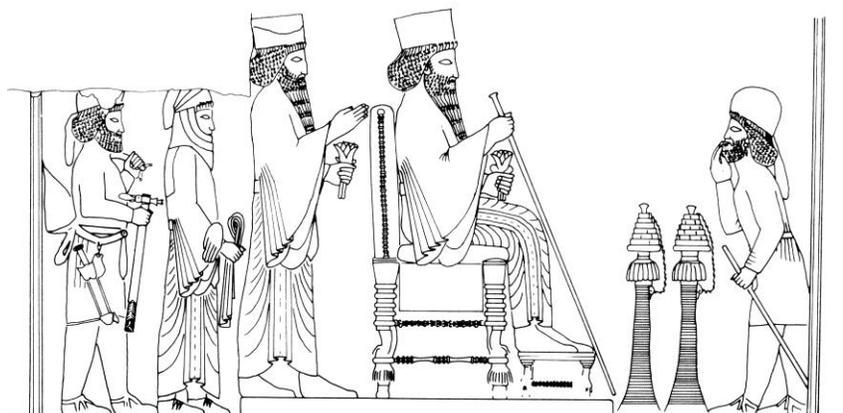


Fig. 16. Drawing of the original central panel from the Apadana's north façade. After Strawn, "A World under Control," fig. 7.



Fig. 17. A lion attacks a bull. From the British Museum's reconstruction of the Apadana façade. Photographed by Michael J. Chan.



Fig. 18. Audience scene on a seal impression from Dascylium. After Brigitte Musche, "Das Mahābhārata und die Reliefs von Persepolis," *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 1989 (1991): Abb. 1.

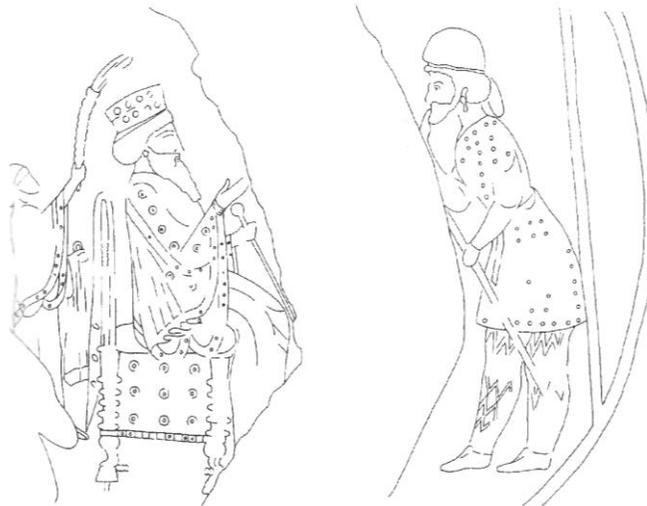


Fig. 19. Audience scene from the sarcophagus of Alexander. After Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, fig. 14.

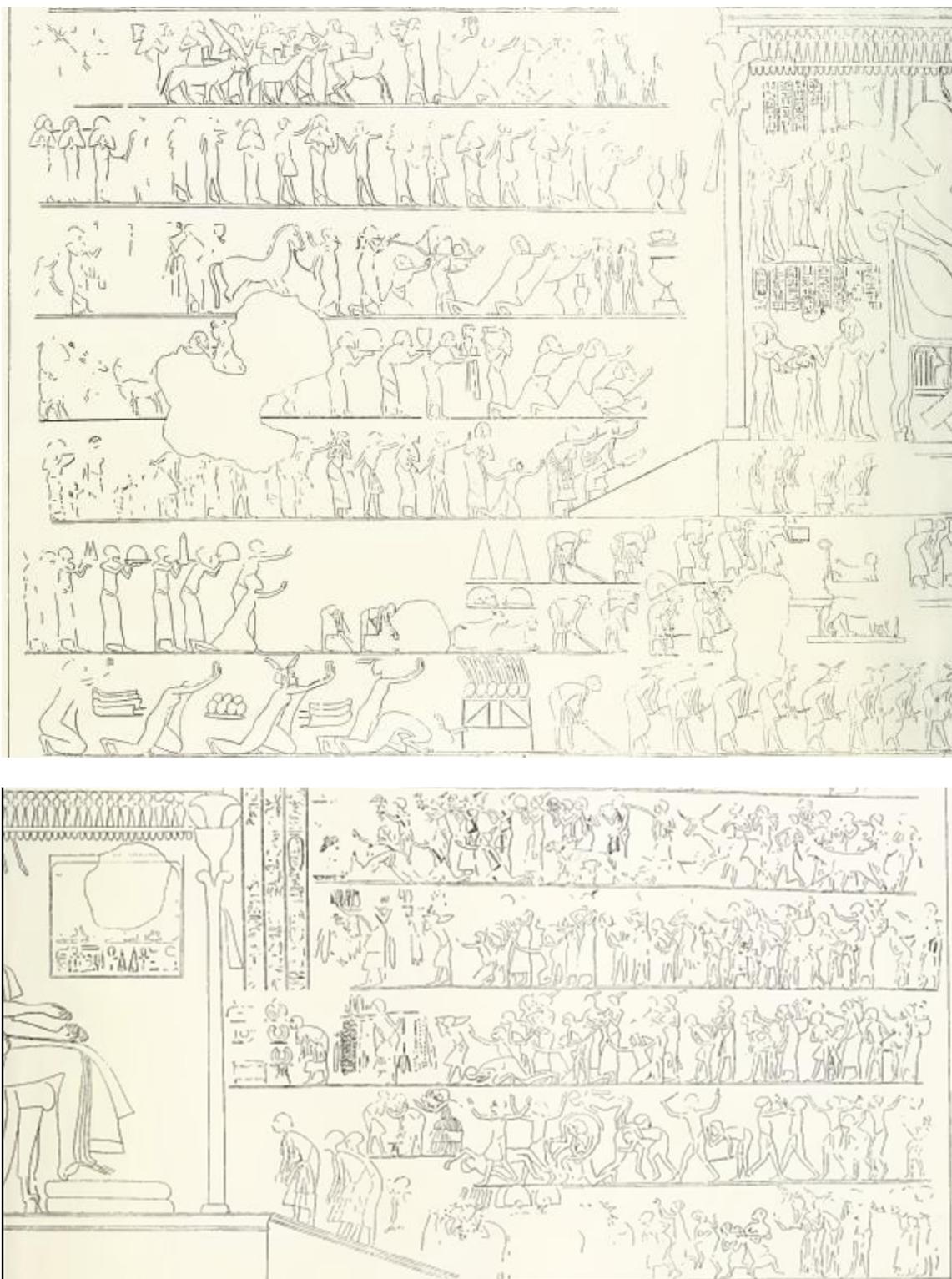


Fig. 20a and b. Tribute scene from the east wall of the tomb of Meryre II. After Norman de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna: The Tombs of Panehesy and Meryre II* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1905), pl. XXXVII.

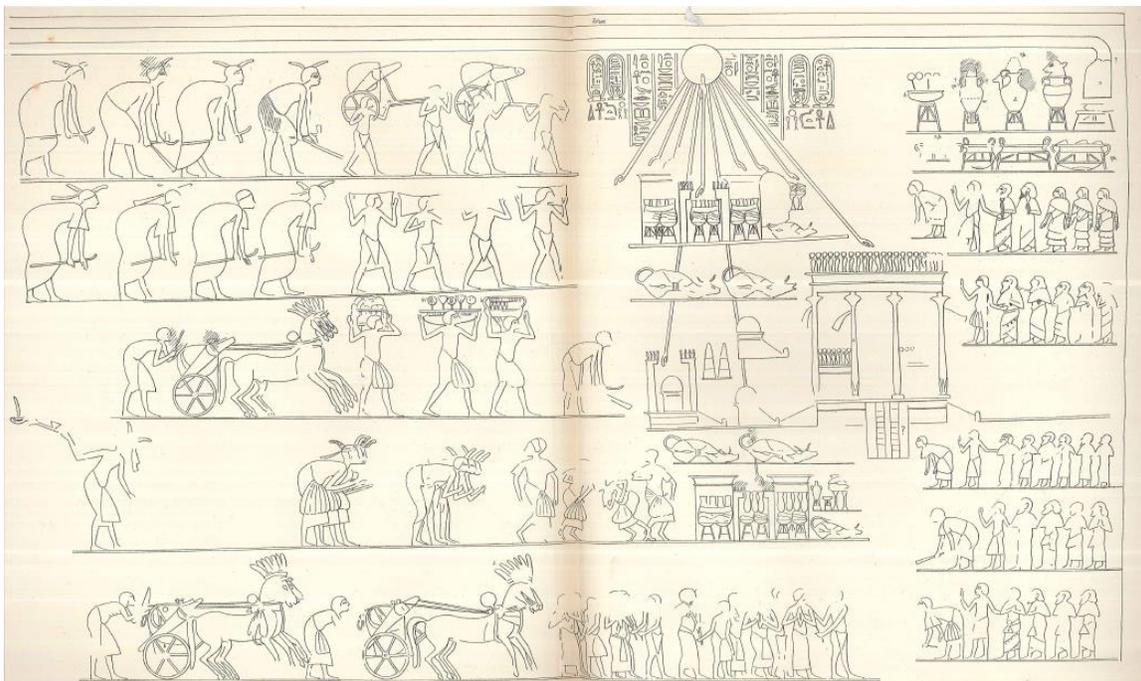


Fig. 21. Tribute scene from the west wall of the tomb of Huya at Amarna. After Norman de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna: The Tombs of Huya and Ahmes* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1905), pl. XIV.



Fig. 22. Lunette of the Victory Stele of Piya. After Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy*, 466.

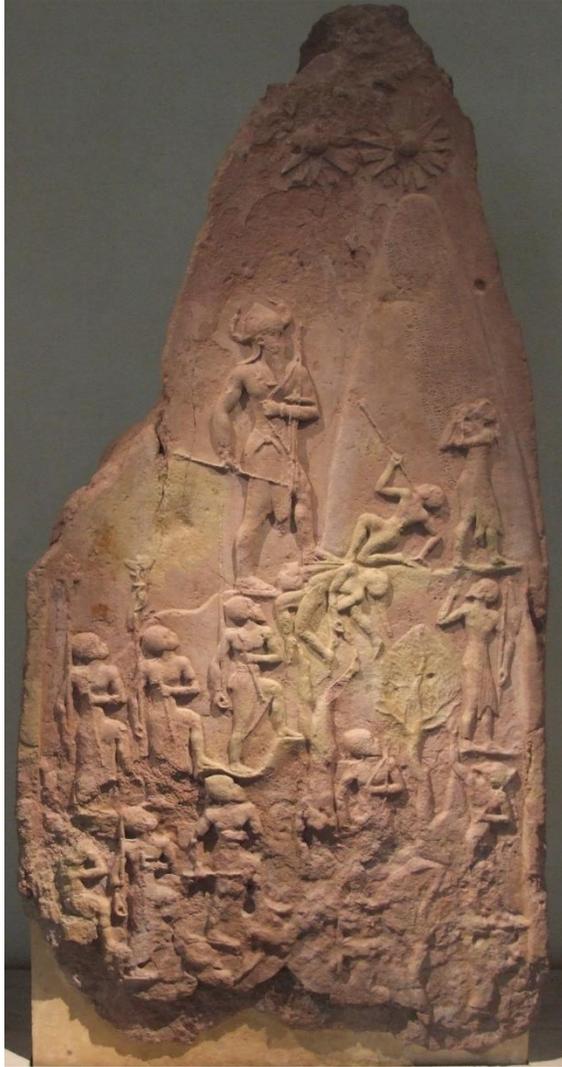


Fig. 23. Victory Stele of Naram-Sin in the Louvre. Photographed by Michael J. Chan.



Fig. 24. Victory Stele of Naram-Sin in the Louvre (detail). Photographed by Michael J. Chan

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