

The Old Testament in its Context: 5 Judah, Exile and Return

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We present a further instalment of Mr Kitchen's outline-appreciation of the Old Testament. The series will be concluded with a general survey of 'profiles and perspectives' in our next issue.

JUDAH ALONE AND BABYLONIAN EXILE, c. 640-539 BC

1. Historical outlines and background

a. Josiah, c. 640-609 BC. This king is most famed for his attempts at religious reform (2 Ki. 22-23; 2 Ch. 34-35), when a 'book of the law' was found.¹ The new XXVIth Dynasty in Egypt began as an Assyrian vassal, but became Assyria's ally (out of self-interest) against Babylon and Media. In 609 BC, Necho II thus marched to Assyria's aid. Josiah saw his chance to bring down Assyria by hindering the pharaoh, but paid for his effort with his life (2 Ki. 23: 28-29; 2 Ch. 35: 20-24). And in 609/8, the shrunken Assyrian realm vanished forever,² leaving Babylon master.

b. Decline and fall of Judah, 609-582 BC. In 605 BC, the Babylonians decisively defeated Necho II of Egypt, claiming Syria-Palestine (*cf.* 2 Ki. 24: 1, 7), taking hostages (Dn. 1: 1-7); at this time, Nebuchadnezzar II became king of Babylon.³ Babylon was less successful against Egypt in 601, and Jehoiakim foolishly rebelled against Babylon (2 Ki. 24: 1). After siege, Jerusalem capitulated in March 597 BC; young Jehoiachin and many Judaeans were carried off to Babylon (2 Ki. 24: 10-17; 2 Ch. 36: 5-10; Je. 24: 1), as the Babylonian chronicle also records.⁴ Zedekiah learned nothing from his predecessors' errors, and in turn rebelled (2 Ki. 24: 20) with the connivance of the pharaoh Hophra (Je. 44: 30; *cf.* 37: 5). This time the Babylonians utterly swept away city, temple and state in 587/6 BC,⁵ and more people after the trouble in 582 BC.⁶

c. The Babylonian exile. At court, Jehoiachin and family were on regular allowances; ration-tablets for 595-570 BC were found at Babylon.⁷ Nebuchadnezzar eventually attacked Egypt in 568/7 BC,⁸ as predicted there by Jeremiah (46: 13ff.) and Ezekiel in Babylonia (29: 17ff.), among the exiles. Cyrus II took over Media (550) then Babylon (539).

2. Literary prophets, 7th-6th centuries BC

a. Nahum, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Obadiah. As the Assyrians had sacked Egyptian Thebes (c. 663 BC),⁹ so would Nineveh crash (as it did, c. 612)¹⁰ and his people be free of her, proclaimed Nahum (1: 12-15). Zephaniah upbraided the sins of Judah and her neighbours in Josiah's time. With the Babylonian triumph (605 BC and after), Habakkuk was concerned over the judgment of his people and the wickedness of the oppressor. Edom treacherously rose against Judah c. 586 BC when struck down by Babylon; Obadiah's brief utterance may

date from this episode (or perhaps later). There is no cause to deny authorship of any of these books to the men named.

b. Jeremiah. Active from *c.* 627 BC (Je. 1: 2; 25: 3) until at least 582 when he was carried into Egypt (Je. 40-43; 52: 30); his book shows real personal qualities. Its composition may be threefold: (i) Individual prophecies could be written down as given (*e.g.* by Baruch), and at one stage everything from 627 BC ('the beginning ...') down to 604 BC (*cf.* Je. 36, 604). (ii) Once in Egypt, Jeremiah and Baruch probably ended by putting together all that is in Je. 1-51 (1-36 + 37-51), ending with the colophon, 'Thus far are the words of Jeremiah' (51: 64 end). (iii) Je. 52 is substantially¹¹ the same as 2 Ki. 25, ending with Evil—Merodach favouring Jehoiachin in Babylon in 562 BC, some twenty years (and many hundred miles) from phase (ii). Thus, when copies reached Babylon, its account of the kingdom's end (Je. 39) was supplemented with chapter 52. This 'appendix' apart, there is no reason to deny the authenticity of the book as a whole. The book has no marked structure, but one may see¹² (a) a series of oracles, 1-25 from the time of Josiah to Zedekiah and (b) narratives, 26-52 (incorporating oracles, *e.g.* 30, 31, 46-51, from the time of Jehoiakim and afterwards).

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c. Ezekiel. Like his elder colleague Jeremiah, both prophet and priest. He too had to proclaim the downfall of Judah and Jerusalem (1-24) as well as against the sinful nations around (25-32). Thereafter, once downfall came, he was then, commissioned to proclaim restoration in given conditions (33-35) of the people (36-37, despite future threats, 38-39), and of the temple as focus of restored worship in a renewed nation and land (40-48). False confidence had to be destroyed, and a thereafter dispirited people given new and true hope.

d. Daniel. A work of six chapters mainly narrative, and six of complementary visions; its datelines run from 'the third year of Jehoiakim' (*c.* 605) and Nebuchadnezzar II to the first and third year of Cyrus II (*c.* 538, 536; 1: 21; 10: 1), and it is essentially a unity. It purports to be by Daniel under the Neo-Babylonian and Persian Empires, serving its rulers and having visions of empires and kingdoms to come with periods of time. Here, the point on which all turns is the reader's own attitude to biblical prophecy, and specifically whether it may include the future or not. If so, no problem need arise. If not, tension is immediate, and the work will be dated (regardless of anything else) to the second century BC.¹³ Linguistically, there is no valid support for the late date,¹⁴ nor are the historical errors securely founded;¹⁵ an early date *is* feasible, despite strongly-held prejudices to the contrary.

3. Judah and exile: other literature

a. Poetry. (i) *Lamentations.* This touching lament breathes the atmosphere of fallen Jerusalem, while its poetic form indicates reflection on and after the event. It may well date to the 580s BC; no real evidence exists either for or against Jeremiah's supposed authorship. The literary category of lamentation over the fall of a notable city is very ancient in the biblical Near East. Some ten to fifteen centuries before, Mesopotamia produced the Curse of Agade (*c.* 2000 BC)¹⁶ and Lamentations over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur¹⁷ (including hope of restoration) and over Ur itself.¹⁸

(ii) *Psalms.* To the Exile belongs at least the anguish of Psalm 137.

b. The prophetic history — Kings. This book takes the story of the Hebrews from the death of David to the fall of his dynasty and its fortunes in exile, c. 561 BC (2 Ki. 25: 31-34). Like the book of Samuel which it follows,¹⁹ it is an anonymous narrative. Its standpoint is that of the prophets, and it sets forth the failure of kings and people on the central matters of apostasy in terms of the law and covenant, and the dissolution of Israel and exile of Judah as the consequential punishment from God. The term 'Deuteronomic history' is understandable, but is too narrow a label, perhaps even erroneous, as the basic concepts involved reached far beyond Deuteronomy and even beyond just the Old Testament.²⁰ The chronicular style, and synchronisms between the two kingdoms, find some analogy in Mesopotamian historiography;²¹ the chronological data in Kings exhibit the highest standards of accuracy.²²

RESTORATION AND DIASPORA UNDER PERSIA, c. 539-330 BC

4. Historical outlines and background

a. The return. Babylon fell quickly to Cyrus in 539 BC,²³ after a sharp battle at Opis for the province of Babylon.²⁴ The new ruler brought in a new policy of returning subject peoples and deities to their homelands.²⁵ The decrees of Cyrus sent images of Babylonian deities back to their cities — and the Jews back to Judea, as many as wished (Ezr. 1: 1ff.). There is no warrant to dispute the authenticity of the decrees of Cyrus or Darius I (Ezr. 6: 2-5).²⁶ Darius confirmed a similar decree of Cyrus in Asia Minor;²⁷ Cambyses and Darius I showed interest in temples in Egypt;²⁸ and in the late fifth century Darius

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II was concerned with the cult of Jews at Aswan in Egypt ('passover papyrus').²⁹ Sheshbazzar as governor with Zerubbabel (adjutant?) began a new temple in Jerusalem, but Samaritan interference delayed its completion till 515 BC.

b. Time of Xerxes I. The narrative of Esther is set in this reign, otherwise alluded to only in Ezra 4: 6.

c. Ezra and Nehemiah. In the seventh year of Artaxerxes I of Persia (458 BC),³⁰ Ezra the scribe came (with further migrants) to regulate spiritual life in Judea, including temple matters (Ezr. 7-8). A crisis arose over paganizing marriages, resolved by separations rather than face possible absorption of the Hebrew community and its role for the future (9-10). Thereafter, Ezra disappears from Palestinian affairs for a decade; being responsible to the Persian administration, he had probably returned to his office in Babylon.³¹ Later, the cupbearer Nehemiah heard of the sad state of unwalled Jerusalem; in Artaxerxes' twentieth year (445 BC), he got permission to go and rebuild the walls as governor (Ne. 1ff.; 10: 1). In this task, plus a covenant and dedication of the walls, he was seconded by Ezra (8; 10; 12: 36). Abuses that had arisen in Ezra's absence, including more paganizing liaisons, were corrected (Ne. 5; 13), some on a second spell as governor from 433 BC (13: 6-7).

As builder, Nehemiah faced three foes. First was Sanballat, governor of Samaria;³² second, Tobiah, governor in Ammon,³³ third and most dangerous was Geshem (or Gashmu), known now to have been local king of Qedar in north Arabia, a realm linked with the Persian court.³⁴

d. Epilogue. After 433 BC, little is known of Hebrew history for some time. The recently-discovered Samaria papyri³⁵ indicate that Sanballat II, Hananiah and Sanballat III were governors in Samaria in the fourth century BC down to the coming of Alexander the Great. A Jewish community at Aswan in Egypt of the fifth century BC is long known,³⁶ while back in Babylonia various Jews had dealings with the banking firm of Murashu and Sons c. 450-400 BC.³⁷ Thus, by the dawn of the Hellenistic age, Jews were to be found in both Palestine and far beyond, a situation intensified by Roman times and the period of the New Testament.

5. Literary prophets, late 6th century BC

a. Haggai prophesied in the second year of Darius I, to encourage the people to resume the rebuilding of the temple.

b. Zechariah followed up Haggai in his exhortations, with eight visions that year (Zc. 1-6); in the fourth year, he proclaimed obedience better than fasting (7-8). The rest of the book contains just two sections, each headed 'oracle' (9-11; 12-14). There is hardly anything that can really be labelled as inconsistent with Zechariah's time. However, scholars are not lacking who would date these either long after Zechariah,³⁸ or (remarkably) earlier than he.³⁹ But it is possible that they are oracles given by Zechariah later in his career, and included with 1-8 in the one book.

c. Malachi is, strictly, undated. But as the Jews have a governor (1: 8) and a temple and cult (1-2), the Persian age is generally agreed. Probably some time after Haggai and Zechariah, he seeks to stir up God's people who have relapsed into slackness.

6. Post-exilic historiography

a. Ezra. This has two parts: events before Ezra (1-6), activities of Ezra (7-10). The former includes (i) the return in 538 BC, (ii) temple-building under Darius I (4: 1-5, 24; 5-6), and (iii) various opposition to the Jews under Xerxes I and Artaxerxes I (4: 6-23).⁴⁰ The latter covers essentially Ezra's activities in 458 BC; there is no reason to date the extant book much later or assume any author other than Ezra.⁴¹

b. Esther. Its local colour as a narrative is clearly Persian and no later. As history, it is often dismissed, but usually on rather subjective and flimsy grounds.⁴² Mordecai may be known from contemporary Persian

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documents under Xerxes I.⁴³ The book explains the origin of a feast.

c. Nehemiah is almost throughout in the first person and devoted to his activities as governor of Judah, c. 445-430 BC. The book begins with a proper title (1: 1, 'The Words of Nehemiah...'), and so should *not* be regarded as one book with Ezra, whatever later tradition may opine. It will have been written by Nehemiah about 420 BC or soon after.⁴⁴

d. The priestly history — Chronicles. This work is notable for its use of genealogies⁴⁵ (esp. 1-9), and interest in the temple and cult. Such 'religious' chronicles are by no means foreign to the biblical Near East, early or late.⁴⁶ On date, the narrative ends with the decree of Cyrus,

538 BC (2 Ch. 36: 22-23). But the genealogies continue down further, especially that of David whose line runs through to grandsons of Zerubbabel in 1 Chronicles 3: 1-21, probably born *c.* 525 BC.⁴⁷ Four following generations (verses 22-24) would follow with the last born within about 440/430 BC — which puts the effective date of Chronicles in the time of Nehemiah.⁴⁸ Authorship is unknown. It is fashionable to regard Ezra as the Chronicler, although there is no evidence for or against.⁴⁹ On historicity, the older *Alttestamentler* could hardly treat the Chronicler with enough contempt; but in fact, his work — like other such 'culturally late' compilations⁵⁰ — contains a mass of valuable data preserved to us from no other source. And when checks are available, his data can and do find confirmation.⁵¹

7. Other literature

a. Undated works. *Job* stands grandly alone in the Old Testament — dateless and undateable. His figure is patriarchal, and appears as a righteous man of old in Ezekiel 14: 14, 20. Dates offered for the book vary wildly, from Moses to the Persian age.⁵² The literary form is interesting: 'A-B-A', prose prologue, high-flown speeches, prose epilogue. This scheme is visible in the *Eloquent Peasant* in Egypt (twenty-second century BC), again for a work embodying a dispute; *Job* is rooted linguistically in North West Semitic.⁵³

b. Keeping the heritage. Thus, by about 400 BC (on the views propounded in this series of studies-m-brief), a considerable body of varied writings had accumulated. These, and doubtless other literature, were valued by the Jewish communities, and recopied and transmitted by its scribes from the fourth century BC onwards. From the whole, a body of writings — 'the Law', 'the Prophets' (prophetic books and narratives) and '(other) Writings' (psalms, *etc.*, *etc.*) — emerged with the status of God-given Scripture, of eternal significance; some were doubtless so recognized sooner, others later. Thus came in due time the Old Testament.

Notes

¹ See D. W. B. Robinson, *Josiah's Reform and the Book of the Law* (Tyndale Press, 1951).

² *CCK*, p. 19; *ANET*, p. 305 (17th year).

³ *CCK*, pp. 23-26, 67/69.

⁴ *CCK*, pp. 32-35, 73; *ANET*³ (and *Suppl*), p. 564, '7th year'.

⁵ 2 Ki. 25: 2-21; Je. 39; 52: 3-27, 29.

⁶ 2 Ki. 25: 22-26; Je. 52: 30, *cf.* Je. 40-41.

⁷ *ANET*, p. 308; W. J. Martin in D. W. Thomas (ed.), *Documents from OT Times*, 1958, pp. 84-86. *Cf.* Albright, *BA* 5 (1942), pp. 49-55. Later, 2 Ki. 25: 27-30.

⁸ *ANET*, p. 308 end; *CCK*, pp. 94-95.

⁹ Assyrian accounts, *cf.* *ANET*, pp. 295b, 297a; background, *ThIP*.

¹⁰ *CCK*, pp. 13-17.

¹¹ In 2 Ki. 25 and Je. 52 (*cf.* 39-41), the differing sections are complementary.

¹² With F. Cawley and A. R. Millard. *New Bible Commentary Revised* (Inter-Varsity Press, 1970), p. 628.

¹³ Date based on the misconception that the prophecies end with the Seleucids and Maccabees in 165 BC; in fact, however, they run on to the Roman Empire and the first century AD (*cf.* Young, *IOT*, p. 373), before which time the book certainly existed.

- ¹⁴ See Kitchen and Martin in D. J. Wiseman *et al.*, *Notes on Some Problems in the Book of Daniel* (Tyndale Press, 1965), pp. 28-79.
- ¹⁵ *Cf.* (e.g.) Wiseman, in Wiseman *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-18; E. J. Young, *Commentary on Daniel* (1949); Harrison, *IOT*, pp. 111-2 ff.
- ¹⁶ Latest edition, Kramer, *ANET*³ (and *Suppl.*), pp. 646-651.
- ¹⁷ Latest edition, Kramer, *ANET*³ (and *Suppl.*), pp. 611-619; this composition includes what were formerly thought to be two separate pieces.
- ¹⁸ See *ANET*, pp. 455-463.
- ¹⁹ But not directly; it overlaps 2 Samuel slightly (starting with the last days of David), and so should not be treated as a mere continuation.
- ²⁰ *Cf.* Kitchen, *NPOT*, pp. 1-24, esp. 16-19, provisionally.
- ²¹ For latter, *cf.* *CCK*, pp. 1-5; Millard, *Iraq* 26 (1964), pp. 14-35, esp. 32-35. Further references, *AO/OT*, pp. 73, n. 61, and 95/96, n. 34 end.
- ²² As was amply demonstrated by Thiele, *MN*.
- ²³ Best account, S. Smith, *Isaiah XL-LV* (1944), pp. 24-48; the speculations offered in pp. 49ff. are little advance on those criticized in his pp. 1-23 *passim*.
- ²⁴ Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 45, 46, 47, and on reality of at least a brief siege (correcting Weissbach and Rowley) *ibid.*, p. 152, n. 142.
- ²⁵ Cyrus Cylinder, *ANET*, p. 315, *cf.* *NBD*, p. 286.
- ²⁶ A point made in varying degrees from Eduard Meyer to the present; *cf.* R. de Vaux, *Revue Biblique* 46 (1937), 29-57 (his *Bible et Orient*, 1967, pp. 83-113 and English ed. to come); H. H. Schaeder, *Iranische Beiträge I*, and *Esra der Schreiber* (both 1930); E. J. Bickerman, *Journal of Bibl. Lit.* 65 (1946), 244-275; Albright, *A. Marx Jubilee Volume* (1950), pp. 61-82.
- ²⁷ Smith, *Isaiah XL-LV*, p. 41 and nn. 108ff.
- ²⁸ 'Demotic Chronicle', verso (*cf.* de Vaux, *Bible et Orient*, p. 92 and n. 7); texts of Udjahorresenet, G. Posener, *La première domination perse en Egypte*, 1936, pp. 15-16, 17-19, 22.
- ²⁹ A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of Fifth Century BC*, (OUP, 1923), no. 21, pp. 60ff.; *ANET*, p. 491; *cf.* B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, 1968, pp. 128-131, 311-314, and pl. 9.
- ³⁰ So the date in the text of Ezra; many emendations and alternatives have been offered, but none of these is any better than that in the text, and the reasons offered for changes are often inadequate or superficial. For discussions, see references, *AO/OT*, pp. 77-78, n. 72, esp. J. Stafford Wright, Bright, Kitchen there cited.
- ³¹ Kitchen, *TSFB* 39 (1964), *Supplement* (review of Bright, *History*), p. vi.
- ³² Attested with his son Delaiah in an Aramaic papyrus of 408 BC, Cowley, *op. cit.*, nos. 30-31; *ANET*, 491/492.
- ³³ Tombs and later history of family, McCown, *BA* 20 (1957), pp. 63-76.
- ³⁴ See J. J. Rabinowitz, *JNES* 15 (1956), 1-10; other refs., Bright, *History of Israel*, p. 366, n. 20.
- ³⁵ For which see F. M. Cross, *BA* 26 (1963), pp. 110-121.
- ³⁶ From its papyri, Cowley, *op. cit.*, and E. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (1953), with an excellent Introduction; Porten, *op. cit.*
- ³⁷ Refs., S. H. Horn, *Biblical Research* 9 (1964), pp. 9-11.
- ³⁸ Mention of Greece (Ionians, Yawan) in Zc. 9: 13 in no way implies the Hellenistic age as sometimes thought; Greek mercenaries and traders were active in Palestine and the Near East from seventh century BC onwards (*cf.* e.g., Kitchen in Wiseman *et al.*, *Notes on Some Problems in the Book of Daniel*, 1965, pp. 44-48).
- ³⁹ E.g. Tadmor, *Israel Expl. Journ.* 1 (1950/51), pp. 149-159, on Zc. 9: 1-11.
- ⁴⁰ On this passage, *cf.* Wright, *Date of Ezra's Coming to Jerusalem*² (1958), pp. 17-19.
- ⁴¹ In Ezr. 10: 6, Jehohanan son of Eliashib may have eventually become high priest (as a priest in Ne. 13: 4, 7), but this is not stated or implied for Ezra's own time.

⁴² As, for example, by C. A. Moore, *Esther* (Doubleday, Anchor Bible 7B, 1971), pp. xlv-xlvi; contrast Young, *IOT*, pp. 355-357, and Harrison, *IOT*, pp. 1090-1098.

⁴³ An Amherst tablet, in Berlin; A. Ungnad, *Zeitschrift für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 58 (1940/1), pp. 240-244, *ibid.* 59 (1942/43), p. 219; *cf.* also S. H. Horn, *Biblical Research* 9 (1964), pp. 1-12 and Moore, *Esther* (1971), p. 1. and their further references.

⁴⁴ The latest explicit reference is Ne. 12: 22, to records down to a Darius who would be Darius II (424-404 BC). Eliashib was already high priest by 445 BC, perhaps of advanced years. Joiada may have succeeded him before c. 430, and in turn Jonathan (Johanán) about 420, the latter's son Jaddua (see Ne. 12: 10, 11, 22) being possibly already 30 or 40 years old in 420 BC. This would *not* be a Jaddua under Alexander the Great as sometimes supposed.

⁴⁵ The use and quotation of genealogies is a particular feature in the biblical Near East in the first millennium BC; they were used in Egypt (esp. the XXnd-XXVIth Dynasties) to back up priestly claims to office and more generally (examples, *ThIP*). In Mesopotamia, one finds scribal 'families' and even lists of 'scholars' in succession (latter, J. J. van Dijk, *XVIII Vorläufiger Bericht, Uruk* 1962, pp. 45ff.).

⁴⁶ One and the same king Tuthmosis III has 'annals' of his campaigns, and dedicatory texts for the feasts of his god Amun (former, *ANET*, pp. 238ff.; latter, Gardiner, *Journ. Eg. Archaeol.* 38 (1952), 6ff.). In Mesopotamia are found what are termed 'religious chronicles' by A. K. Grayson, in *La divination en Mesopotamie ancienne*, 1966, p. 74, *etc.* In Sumer, for a 'temple-history' *cf.* that of the Tummal-sanctuary, S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians* (Chicago UP, 1963), pp. 47-49.

⁴⁷ All the names of 1 Ch. 3: 21 should probably be taken as sons of Hananiah (*cf.* RSV and LXX). The calculation, at twenty-plus years per generation, is based on Jehoiachin being eighteen in 597 BC (2 Ki. 25: 18).

⁴⁸ For similar calculations, *cf.* latterly J. M. Myers, *1 Chronicles* (Anchor Bible, 1965), pp. 20-22, and *cf.* pp. lxxxvi-lxxxix.

⁴⁹ 2 Ch. 36: 22-23 is based on the fuller Ezr. 1: 1-4 and so is (i) later and (ii) makes Chronicles link up with Ezra. This could have been done equally by Ezra or anyone else. A date for Chronicles about 420 BC or so is likely enough (I see no reason for augmented 'editions'), but would be too late for Ezra to be its author.

⁵⁰ As those of Ptolemaic Egypt, for example (third century BC ff.) in the great temples — texts that are invaluable 'late' repository of data valid many centuries (even millennia) earlier. Large numbers in Chronicles are no more and no less a problem there than elsewhere.

⁵¹ As in the case of the Sukkiim (2 Ch. 12: 3), *cf.* *AO/OT*. p. 159, refs.

⁵² The Ezekiel mention sets a bottom date for the man, not needfully for the book, either earlier or later.

⁵³ For the *Eloquent Peasant*, *cf.* translation in *ANET*, pp. 407-412: on N.W. Semitic aspect, *cf.* A. Blommerde, *Northwest Semitic Grammar and Job* (Rome 1969); Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (1968), pp. 226-7, favours a seventh-century date and preferred a north-west Semitic viewpoint to the supposed Arabic or Edomite affiliations of the work.

Abbreviations

<i>ANET</i>	J. B. Pritchard (ed.), <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts rel. to the Old Testament</i> (Princeton UP), 1950, 21954, 31969 (its extra texts being available in a <i>Supplement</i> . . ., 1969, same paging).
<i>AO/OT</i>	K. A. Kitchen. <i>Ancient Orient and Old Testament</i> (Tyndale Press, 1966).
<i>BA</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i> .
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i> .
<i>CCK</i>	D. J. Wiseman, <i>Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings</i> (British Museum, 1956).
<i>HHAHT</i>	K. A. Kitchen, <i>Hittite Hieroglyphs, Aramaeans and Hebrew Traditions</i> (forthcoming; delayed by external factors).
<i>IOT</i>	<i>Introduction to the Old Testament</i> (a) by E. J. Young, 3rd ed., 1964; (b) by R. K. Harrison, 1970 (both Tyndale Press).
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> .

<i>LAR</i>	D. D. Luckenbill, <i>Ancient Records of Assyria</i> , I-II (Chicago UP, 1926-27).
<i>MN</i>	E. R. Thiele, <i>Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings</i> , ¹ 1951, ² 1965.
<i>NBD</i>	J. D. Douglas <i>et al.</i> , (eds.), <i>New Bible Dictionary</i> (IVP, 1962).
<i>NPOT</i>	J. B. Payne (ed.), <i>New Perspectives on the OT</i> (Word Books, 1970).
<i>ThIP</i>	K. A. Kitchen, <i>Third Intermediate Period in Egypt</i> (ready for press).
<i>T(H)B</i>	<i>Tyndale (House) Bulletin</i> .
<i>TSFB</i>	<i>Theological Students' Fellowship Bulletin</i> .

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