

The Old Testament in its Context: 4 The Twin Kingdoms, Judah and Assyria (c. 930-640 BC)

by
K A Kitchen

Lecturer in the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies, Liverpool University

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This paper carries forward Mr Kitchen's outline-appreciation of the books and content of the Old Testament in the context of that ancient Near Eastern world in which their authors lived and wrote. As in the earlier essays,¹ the style is necessarily succinct. It is hoped to complete the series with a further paper which will deal with the exile and afterwards and conclude with a synoptic perspective.

1. Historical outlines and background

The books of Kings and Chronicles provide the main backbone of history to the fall of the monarchy (early sixth century BC), and in fact constitute our sole source for the first 150 years until the 'writing prophets' supplement the twin histories. Because these later periods of biblical history are the best-documented and are covered by various 'histories' of Israel, the following treatment is sharply limited to points with Near Eastern background.²

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a. First half-century. *i.* After the secession of Israel under Jeroboam I, leaving only Judah and Benjamin to Rehoboam (1 Ki. 12; 2 Ch. 10), foreign interference quickly befell the divided and weakened realm, in the shape of Shishak of Egypt who swept through Judah, being bought off from sacking Jerusalem through Rehoboam offering its wealth as tribute (1 Ki. 14: 25ff.; 2 Ch. 12) in his fifth year, c. 925 BC. This was the wily Pharaoh Shoshenq I (c. 945-924 BC), whose triumphal relief in the Karnak temple of Amun in Thebes lists many places in Israel and Judah; a broken stela from Megiddo emphasizes the reality of his visitation.³

ii. For the first half-century, the twin kingdoms were intermittently at war (1 Ki. 15: 6, 7, 16). Asa of Judah was able to repel the vast force of Zerah the Nubian (2 Ch. 14: 9ff.)⁴ in his fourteenth or fifteenth year c. 897 BC.⁵ Thereafter, he unwisely called in another alien power against his threatening neighbour Baasha of Israel — *i.e.* Benhadad I of the Aramaean kingdom of Damascus (1 Ki. 15: 17ff.; Ch. 16: 1-10).⁶

b. Dynasty of Ahab. *i.* The royal succession in Israel was repeatedly marked by *coups d'état*. Eventually a 'strong man' emerged, Omri (c. 884-873 BC), who founded for Israel a new capital, Samaria (1 Ki. 16: 21ff.). More famous is his son Ahab who married Jezebel, daughter of 'Ethbaal, king of the Sidonians' (1 Ki. 16: 31). This was Ittobaal I (c. 897-865 BC), king of Tyre and Sidon.⁷ Ahab's main opponent was probably Benhadad II of Aram-Damascus (*e.g.* 1 Ki. 20), the Adad-idri of the Assyrian inscriptions.⁸ In 853 BC, both kings appear in Assyrian texts as part of a coalition that clashed in battle with Shalmaneser III

of Assyria. Another of the allies was 'Musri', Egypt. In the palace of Samaria was found a presentation-vase of the pharaoh Osorkon II that perhaps indicates an Egyptian-Israelite *rapprochement* in Ahab's day.⁹ About this time, the twin kingdoms under Ahab and Jehoshaphat came into uneasy alliance (1 Ki. 22). The mysterious 'ivory house' of Ahab (1 Ki. 22: 39) has long been recognized as a pleasure-pavilion whose walls and furnishings were adorned with ivory panelling and coloured inlays.¹⁰

ii. With the last years of Ahab and especially his death, Mesha king of Moab was able to rebel against Israelite overlordship; Ahab's second son Jehoram then attacked him, aided by Judah and Edom (2 Ki. 1: 1; 3: 4-27). The campaign was indecisive, and Moab stayed free. Found a century ago, a stela of Mesha ('Moabite Stone') gives his version of the affair.¹¹ He attributes to Omri the Hebrew conquest of Moab, admitting that Moab served Israel under Omri and 'half his son's (or: sons') days' up to 40 years. Taken literally, Mesha's account is self-contradictory in the light of the detailed Old Testament data on Hebrew reigns. Omri's reign (12 years) and half Ahab's (11 years) is only 23 years, not 40. Even if one translates 'sons' (plural), then the reign of Omri (12) plus half that of his descendants (max. 18 years, half of 22+2+12=36) is 30 years at most,¹² a little nearer to 40. This would put Mesha's rebellion in the last years of Ahab. One may doubt whether he had much success until Ahab died; then he doubtless threw off the Israelite yoke completely as 2 Kings 1: 1 and 3: 5 suggest.¹³ The Mesha stela is an invaluable historical document, giving an 'outsider's' view of the power of the dynasty of Omri and Ahab.¹⁴

c. The last dynasties of Israel. *i.* By 843 BC, Hazael had supplanted Benhadad II as king of Aram-Damascus,¹⁵ and by 841, Jehu had usurped the throne

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of Israel (2 Ki. 8: 7-15; 9-10). That year, Hazael appears among foes of Shalmaneser III of Assyria¹⁶ while Jehu appears by name (and perhaps in effigy) on that monarch's 'Black Obelisk'.¹⁷ Hazael became a leader among the Syro-Palestinian kingdoms, and a formidable foe of Israel;¹⁸ archaeologically, he is personally attested by an ivory fragment inscribed *l-mr'n Hz'l*, 'for our lord Hazael'.¹⁹ By *c.* 805-802 BC, when Adadnirari III of Assyria was attacking Syria including Damascus, Hazael was seemingly known as *Mari*, 'lord', par excellence, and appears under that epithet in the Assyrian's inscriptions.²⁰ By then, however, the two Hebrew thrones had changed hands several times. In Israel, Jehoash reigned from *c.* 798 BC — and probably in 796 BC²¹ paid tribute to Adadnirari III, who mentions him along with 'Mari' of Aram-Damascus on a recently-published stela from Tell Rimah in Assyria.²² The Assyrian attacks on Damascus probably weakened its power, both military and economic; thus, Adadnirari III may be the 'deliverer' alluded to in 2 Kings 13: 5. Hazael's successor Benhadad III was thus no match for Joash of Israel (2 Ki. 13: 24-25, *cf.* verses 14-19), any more than for Zakir, king of Hamath and Lu'ash.²³ As Assyria too made no further headway in the Levant before *c.* 745 BC, the decline of Aram-Damascus left the way open for lesser powers to expand their influence and rule; these included, in turn, Jeroboam II of Israel and Uzziah of Judah.

ii. The long reign of Jeroboam II of Israel was a high-water mark of political and military vigour in Israel,²⁴ a fact merely hinted at in passing in 2 Kings 14: 25-28, referring to Israelite dominance over even Damascus and Hamath. In fact, there *is* a gap in the known list of kings of Damascus between Benhadad III (*c.* 795-770 BC) and Rezin (*c.* 750-732), for the period approx. 770-750 BC, during which Aram-Damascus may well have been a vassal of Israel. In

Hamath too, a similar gap may occur after Zakir (*c.* 790-770 BC?), when Israel could have obtained a brief ascendancy there also.²⁵ Jeroboam II's political influence perhaps lasted about 770-755 BC, to be succeeded briefly by that of Uzziah (Azariah) of Judah.²⁶ Azariah is named as a prominent opponent by Tiglath-pileser III of Assyria *c.* 743(?) BC,²⁷ when the revived Assyrian power came westward once more.

With the death of Jeroboam II, the final dissolution of the kingdom of Israel came swiftly, in some 30 years over-all. Menahem (2 Ki. 15: 19-20) and Pekah (2 Ki. 15: 29) both felt the power of Tiglath-pileser III, and occur in his annals, along with Hoshea whom he claimed to have installed.²⁸ (Jeho)ahaz of Judah sought help against Rezin of Damascus by paying tribute to Tiglath-pileser III (2 Ki. 16: 5-18); the Assyrian accepted it,²⁹ and destroyed the kingdom of Damascus in 733-732 BC.³⁰ About 725 BC, Hoshea rebelled against the new overlord, Shalmaneser V, asking help of 'So, king of Egypt' (2 Ki. 17: 4), almost certainly Osorkon IV, senior pharaoh in Tanis and Bubastis (E. Delta).³¹ This worthy had no military capability, so no help came. Thus, after three years' siege, Samaria fell to Assyria, to the benefit of the new king Sargon II in 722 BC,³² while the Judeans looked on.

d. Judah and Assyria. Hezekiah of Judah safely survived the reign of Sargon II (*c.* 722-705 BC), but fell foul of Sennacherib who besieged him in Jerusalem (2 Ki. 18: 13ff.; 19: 1-36), in the year 701 BC.³³ Led by the young prince Taharqa (pharaoh a decade later),³⁴ help from Egypt was unavailing. Judah had to become a vassal, although Jerusalem remained unconquered. Hezekiah's stand was noted elsewhere.

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Marduk-apal-iddina II of Babylon³⁵ had long conducted stubborn resistance against Assyria; as Merodach-Baladan, he appears in 2 Ki. 20: 12ff. (Is. 39) as sending envoys to Hezekiah, doubtless to enlist his aid. Archaeologically, the most famous work of Hezekiah is probably his water-conduit at Jerusalem with commemorative inscription.³⁶

Manasseh, the long-lived apostate son of Hezekiah, appears also in Assyrian records; with other vassals, he had to serve Esarhaddon (*c.* 681-669)³⁷ and Assur-banipal (*c.* 669-630).³⁸ At some point in his career, he was exiled by the Assyrians — but to Babylon, not Assyria (2 Ch. 33: 11). An exasperated Sennacherib had destroyed rebellious Babylon, but Manasseh's contemporary Esarhaddon rebuilt it,³⁹ Assur-banipal's brother later ruling there as a king. Hence, Manasseh's personal exile in Babylon under Assyrian rule within *c.* 680-650 BC agrees with the known trends of the epoch.

During the entire period of the twin monarchies, a class of men came into ever-increasing prominence, acting as spokesmen from God in the affairs of people and nation: the prophets. Some of these men have left a notable literary heritage; the first phase of their extant production was contemporary with the eighth century BC, from Jeroboam II to Manasseh. To them and their antecedents we now turn.

2. Prophecy: biblical background⁴⁰

Long before an Amos or an Isaiah spoke forth, a tradition of 'prophecy' had grown up among the Hebrew people, including several aspects.

a. Second millennium BC. i. Biblically, the term 'prophet' comes first with Abraham (Gn. 20: 7), as intercessor with God for his fellow-man.

ii. From Moses onwards, the main strands of prophecy are visible. Between God and man, communication is two-way. Man might speak to God, in prayer. To obtain response from deity, the pagan nations developed the artifices of divination, soothsaying and magic (Dt. 18: 9-14). But to reveal His directives to Israel, God appointed a spokesman— one who should speak to the people messages from God as and when given by God, and neither more nor less, neither of his own volition nor in the name of any other deity (*cf.* Dt. 18: 15-20). Fulfilment of what was proclaimed was one test of authenticity (Dt. 18: 21-22); but no marvel could ever justify a call to apostasy (Dt 13: 1-5). Insofar as admonition over obedience and disobedience involved promise of blessing and threat of sanctions respectively, the concept of consequences is central to this aspect of prophecy, and leads straight on to 'prediction' as an important aspect of a prophet's messages. Moses himself is the example above all; with him, God spoke 'face to face', while with others He would reveal Himself in a vision or a dream (*cf.* Nu. 12: 6-8; Dt. 34: 10).

A second strand of prophecy is that giving praise, often in song, to God, sometimes under specific impulse of His Spirit. This is first seen with the prophetess Miriam who, with the womenfolk handling instruments in the dance, went forth to sing the 'Song of the Sea' (Ex. 15: 20f.). The seventy elders with Moses show this tradition (Nu. 11: 16-17, 24-29), while in later days Deborah is both spokeswoman (Jdg. 4: 4, 6ff.) and a leader in God's praise (Jdg. 5: 1 and ff.). An unnamed spokesman appears in Jdg. 6: 8.

iii. Samuel, of Levitical stock (1 Ch. 6: 33-34, *cf.* verses 27, 28),⁴¹ was a spokesman but also (as a Levite) connected with formal sacrifice and cult, serving at the central Shiloh shrine in his youth (1 Sa. 1-3) and contributing to its organization as later did David (1 Ch. 9: 22-23). 1 Sa. 8 shows Samuel as spokesman to the nation; 1 Sa. 9 shows him more intimately as 'seer', a notable man of God whom others might consult.⁴²

Prophecy in terms of song and praise continued; *cf.* 1 Sa. 10: 5-6, 10-11, where we first meet a band or group of prophets so engaged. From now on, prophecy could additionally be a group activity, perhaps mainly in this role of enthusiastic praise. One might speak of an ecstasy of praise, but the thesis of anything like a dervish frenzy in these cases lacks evidence and may be largely discounted.⁴³

Another important prophetic activity first seen with Samuel is his writing activity. He wrote documents that included a statement on the kingship (1 Sa. 10:

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25) and an account of the early life of David (1 Ch. 29: 29).⁴⁴ In this activity, he had many successors.

b. United Monarchy. Under David and Solomon, all these various aspects of prophetic activity can be seen flourishing. For spokesmen, *cf.* Gad and Nathan under David (*e.g.* 2 Sa. 24: 12ff.; 2 Sa. 7), or Ahijah under Solomon (1 Ki. 11: 26-40). Gad, Nathan, Ahijah and Iddo all left writings pertaining to these reigns (1 Ch. 29: 29; 2 Ch. 9: 29).

c. Early Divided Monarchy. *i. Before Elijah.* A variety of prophets appear as spokesmen in 1 Kings and 2 Chronicles for this epoch, and will not here be listed. They were called to pronounce both blessings and judgments; one (unnamed) prophet was called to announce that, some day, Jeroboam I's compromising altar would be denied by a Josiah (1 Ki. 13: 1ff.), while denouncing the Bethel cult like an early Amos. Writers continued to be numbered among these prophets: Iddo, Shemaiah, Jehu son of Hanani (2 Ch. 12: 15; 13: 22; 20: 34).

ii. Elijah, Elisha and Others. Under Ahab and Ahaziah of Israel, Elijah stood out stubbornly over the central issue of apostasy; Israel had forsaken God's covenant, overthrown His altars, slain His prophets (*cf.* 1 Ki. 19: 10, 14; 18: 4). A kindred soul was Micaiah son of Imlah, in sharp contrast to Ahab's crowd of time-serving court 'prophets' (1 Ki. 22). Elisha similarly served under Ahab's successors, from Jehoram to Joash (2 Ki. 2-13 *passim*); alongside him, one sees the 'sons of the prophets' (2 Ki. 3: 3, 7, 15ff.; 4: 1, 28ff.; 6: 1), perhaps like the bands of prophets under Samuel (*cf.* 1 Sa. 19: 20). And Kings and Chronicles mention others besides. Writing-activity is exemplified by the letter sent to Jehoram of Judah by Elijah (2 Ch. 21: 12-15).

iii. Jonah. With this prophet, we reach a transitional point. In 2 Kings 14: 25, Jeroboam II's successes are presented as a deliverance for Israel promised through Jonah son of Amittai. This record is much like those for many other prophets under the United and Twin Monarchies so far. But in this case, we possess also a book of Jonah—a third person narrative of this prophet's unwilling visit to Nineveh, proclaiming judgment and meeting formal and some moral contrition. His mission and its effect are more credible *c.* 760-750 BC than under the more powerful and ruthless Assyrian rulers of earlier and later epochs; a Jonah so speaking and so received is realistic under Jeroboam II—at any other time, his book would remain an inexplicable curio.⁴⁵ In being a plain narrative, this book is probably of a piece with the (non-extant) writings of earlier prophets already noticed above. In remaining as a permanent record in the heritage of what came to be recognized as 'scripture', it also heralds the blossoming of the phenomenon of the literary prophets from the eighth century to the late sixth. But the Near Eastern 'background' to prophecy (real and alleged) must be quickly reviewed before turning to the giants of the eighth century.

3. Prophecy: extra-biblical background⁴⁶

As seen above, Israel's neighbours sought their messages from deity through a variety of techniques, divination or the like, whereas Israel had the prophetic institution (Dt. 18: 9-22). The two modes of activity are very largely mutually exclusive—there are no manuals of divination in the Old Testament (but much prophecy), and no corresponding literary category to the great writing prophets in the vast realm of cuneiform and other literature, but a superabundance of omens and mantic works.⁴⁷ However, in a small amount of Near Eastern material a slight formal 'overlap' does occur, and must here be very briefly examined.

a. Mari. From the archives of this great city on the Middle Euphrates, of the eighteenth century BC, come so far about twenty-three documents (mainly letters) that show 'prophetic' activity.⁴⁸ This boils down basically to modest length messages from 'respondents' or *mahhu*—'*ecstatics*',⁴⁹ usually limited to claiming advantage for the king from the deity invoked, or concerning the king's political/military interests. Like the Old Testament, promise and threat can be made (rudimentary 'prediction'), but unlike the Old Testament, we have here no Nathan to say 'thou art the man', no Amos to reprove social injustice, no Isaiah to preach at length on judgment for a nation's sins and comfort for contrition among those to be scattered.

b. Egypt. *i. Concept of prediction.* This was a valid concept for the Egyptians of at any rate the twenty-second to thirteenth centuries BC; their litera-

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ture refers at times to 'what the ancestors foretold', *etc.*; one work, the Prophecy of Neferty, is in fact a pseudo-prophecy (*post eventum*) that presupposes the validity of the concept that it models itself upon.⁵⁰

ii. Concept of 'preaching'. Several Egyptian works of the twenty-second to twentieth centuries BC⁵¹ make their respective points not by staccato oracles but by long, even impassioned speeches, including pleas for justice. Like an Isaiah or a Jeremiah up to fifteen centuries later, these writers can express themselves eloquently and at length on their chosen topic; they are a plain warning against imagining that the biblical prophets were limited to stuttering a few primeval words of judgment now and again, to be edited and supplemented into books only centuries later. Unlike the biblical prophets, however, these sages claim no divine authority whatever, and are concerned ultimately with prosperity in human and material terms, not in spiritual terms or of the will of God.

c. The Hittites. A term, translatable as literally 'a man of God',⁵² stands for one who can declare an answer from deity, as by omen or in a dream.⁵³ In nature, the office conceived of was probably like Mari.

d. Canaan. Here the supposed evidence is twofold: Ugarit and the Egyptian account of Wenamun in Phoenicia. At Ugarit, 'seers' are referred to only twice, in Akkadian legal texts that shed no light on their functions.⁵⁴ On the other hand, the Egyptian envoy Wenamun at Babylos in c. 1076 BC reports how a youth at the local king's court was 'possessed' (as the king made offering) and proclaimed that Wenamun was indeed the envoy of the god Amun and should be granted an interview.⁵⁵ Here, at least, is one genuine case of an 'ecstatic' in a trance in Canaan, delivering a brief oracle. Significantly, this is among the rarest forms of 'prophecy' in the Old Testament—Saul was affected (1 Sa. 19: 23f.) like his envoys, and Ezekiel might conceivably have had trances; but of real ecstatic frenzy, there is little other trace except among the prophets of Baal on Carmel.⁵⁶

e. Mesopotamia was the land of divination *par excellence*, and oracles came there by dreams as in Egypt and elsewhere.⁵⁷ One very limited group of texts (five all told) seemed to be almost apocalyptic prophecies of (*e.g.*) kings who should reign given numbers of years, with good or ill fortune attending them (*cf.* Dn. 11). But in fact, these texts have affinities with Babylonian omen-literature, and recent re-examination would indicate that they are actually a lesser branch of that species of literature and linked with Babylonian astrology.⁵⁸ They are pretty certainly not prophecies in a biblical sense at all.⁵⁹

Thus, the Near East provides simply a background for the concepts of God speaking through man and affecting his future, of speaking at length on given subjects, and at more than one emotional or psychological level—but nothing more. On essentials and internals, it has virtually nothing comparable with the range, nature and concerns of Old Testament prophecy.

4. Literary prophets (I) eighth century BC

Omitting Jonah as 'transitional' (section 2, *c. iii* above), our sources for this period are three 'minor' prophets (Amos, Hosea, Micah) and one 'major' prophet (Isaiah), all explicitly and securely dated by their title-lines to the span of time from Jeroboam II to Hezekiah.⁶⁰

a. Amos, Hosea, Micah. In a clearly-delineated little book, Amos gives judgment on the nations culminating in Israel where he spoke (1-2), three sermons in judgment with lament (3, 4, 5-6), a vision and verbal exchanges with a 'government' priest at Bethel (7), two final visions of judgment (8; 9: 1-8) with a prospect of ultimate restoration (9: 9-15). His younger contemporary Hosea opens with the unfaithfulness of Israel to God as seen through the unfaithfulness of his wife (1-3); her (and Israel's) restoration is envisaged. The rest of his book is at once a passionate indictment, just but reluctant (*cf.* 11: 8), and ending at last with a promise of restoration (14). Micah offers a series of addresses, probably first delivered over a

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span of time,⁶¹ of judgment (1-3) also expressed as 'at law' (6) or in reflection (7); in contrast stands glory to come (4-5) from a pardoning God (7: 8-20). An Isaiah in miniature.

b. Prophetic books. Certain features are common to these three books, and will be found in most of the rest. First, the prophets concerned are well able to speak *at length* and not just in brief utterances; Amos 1-2 shows to perfection how a prophet could deliver a message which shows internally a clearly-articulated structure, unit by unit, — but which ultimately makes full sense only if regarded as a unity: Amos builds up his hearers, gaining their initial sympathies, by condemning the wrongs and cruelties of the Hebrews' neighbours—and then shatteringly rounds on them themselves, developing that theme most fully. There is no basis of fact whatever for denying to Old Testament prophets the ability to develop themes at length or in varied ways; if in Egypt the 'Eloquent Peasant' or the sage Ipuwer or Neferty can do this before Abraham was, then there is *no* intrinsic impossibility in a Hebrew prophet doing so ten or fifteen centuries later. Unless one propounds a linear *devolution* of culture and religion alike over that span!

Secondly, in all three books (and most of the rest), one may see *both* judgment on apostasy and specific sin *and* visions of blessing and restoration. Time and again Old Testament scholars commit the folly of assuming that the 'early' prophets (proto-Amos and proto-everyone else) could only speak of judgment and doom—blessings and restoration have always to be the spurious later additions of meddling editorial hands, those who could not believe that things were *so* bad. But for this perverse dogma, there is no shred of evidence and much against it. First, these twin threads recur in prophet after prophet; they are alike endemic to the prophets *en masse* and to emend every blessing must involve the theorist in an orgy of later editorial 'blessingmania'. Second, the prophets spoke not out of the blue but against the people's failure to keep covenant (apostasy; social injustice). That covenant itself contained antecedently the sanctions of curse and blessing on disobedience and obedience, and allowance for restoration after chastisement (Lv. 26; Dt. 28; *cf.* Jos. 24: 19-20). Hence, these twin elements with prophets are to be expected in recalling the people to the covenant. Third, the twin correlation of doom and restoration, or curse and blessing, is to be found well rooted in the literature of the biblical Near East from the twentieth century BC onwards. That early, the author of Neferty follows up his picture of Egypt's woes with the promise of better times under a deliverer. Among the Mari 'prophecies' of the eighteenth century BC, one may instance Adad of Kallassu promising benefits to king Zimri-lim on compliance with his will, but threatening that conversely he can withdraw kingship as well as give it.⁶² In the later

second millennium BC, treaties and covenants have both curse and blessing in their essential structure.⁶³ This ceases to be so in the first millennium BC,⁶⁴ but other branches of 'literature' show the dual theme then.⁶⁵ Therefore, doom and restoration should not be rent asunder in the works of the Old Testament prophets.

Thirdly, the relation between the prophets' spoken message and their written books. Basically, there is no convincing reason why an Amos, a Hosea or a Micah should not have finally put together the existing books practically as we have them, using third-person introductory title-lines as did psalmists and sages. It is possible that they or a sympathizer wrote down their speeches and oracles on the particular occasions that they were delivered, and these were kept and subsequently put into book-form by the prophet. It is known that a prophet could first write a message and then proclaim it or have it proclaimed (so, explicitly, Je. 36: 4-6), and could have someone to write out a whole bookful of accumulated prophecies at dictation (so Je. 36: 32). And that prophets could and did write is abundantly obvious all the way from Samuel onwards (section 2, above) down to Isaiah himself (2 Ch. 26: 22; Is. 8: 1). That on occasion a prophet's accumulated utterances might be put together soon after his death by a disciple is not impossible. But for the common view that a scatter of bits and pieces were collected, added to, and put as one over a period of several centuries to make a 'book' — for this, there is no good, clear evidence at all. And *a priori* views that limit prophecy so as carefully to exclude even some predictive element do not constitute evidence, merely one prejudice among others.

Finally, why should a prophet (or his compeers or legatees) trouble to make a book? Here we return to the essential nature of the prophecies as God-given messages recalling a wayward people to norms long extant, with future consequences—judgment and punishment on disobedience and failure to repent, restoration for ultimate contrition. For the most part, words spoken are here today and gone tomorrow. A written document once made has an objective existence of its own, and can stand as a witness for the time when the future brings fulfilment of woe and weal promised. A witness that can be consulted not merely two weeks or months afterwards, but twenty years or two centuries.⁶⁶

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c. Isaiah. The book of Isaiah opens with a formal heading precisely like its three contemporaries, and shares with them the same basic concerns—but on a much larger scale. After 1: 1, there are seven or eight inner datelines, in chronological order:

6: 1, the death of Uzziah (c. 739 BC).

7: 1, when Ahaz fears Pekah plus Rezin of Damascus (after c. 740 BC).

14: 28, dates by the death of Ahaz (c. 715 BC).

20: 1, by the attack of Sargon II's C-in-C on Ashdod, *i.e.*, c. 712 BC.⁶⁷

22: 15ff. is against Shebna, known under Hezekiah (36: 22; 37: 2).

36-39 turn around the 14th year of Hezekiah, c. 701 BC.

37: 37-38 records the death of Sennacherib, c. 681 BC. This datum carries Isaiah (the book, and probably the man, in old age) into the reigns of Manasseh and his Assyrian contemporary Esarhaddon. No dateline occurs in 40-66; mention of a Cyrus (44: 28; 45: 1) and hope of a

deliverance from Babylon's grasp through his agency ultimately found a fulfilment in the triumph of Cyrus II over Babylon in 539 BC.

When prediction is allowed as one legitimate element in prophecy along with its other aspects, this book presents no real problem. It is only when philosophical *a priori* presuppositions about this aspect are imposed upon the given data, that prediction must not happen, that artificial tensions arise. Then, regardless of all other facts, these books (esp. Isaiah) *have* to be fragmented down the centuries in order to preserve the presuppositions intact. Linguistic, literary, and other lines of inquiry have been solicited in a variety of contradictory ways and fail to give definitive proofs for any major viewpoint.⁶⁸

In the present case, the following points are worth noting, (i) Inclusion of a proper name in a prophecy (as Cyrus) is not unique, *cf.* Josiah in 1 Kings 13: 2.^{68a} (ii) Nothing more is implied in either case than that, some day, such a person will perform what is stated of them — the prophets concerned did not know Josiah and Cyrus II as the personalities that *we now* are familiar with, thanks to the hindsight of history.⁶⁹ (iii) No less than four times outside of Isaiah 40-66, Isaiah is concerned with Babylon: Isaiah 13-14: 23 is explicitly 'the oracle concerning Babylon which Isaiah son of Amoz saw'; Isaiah 21: 1-10 is on Babylon and the 'sea-land' (21: 1);⁷⁰ the difficult verse 23: 13 (see RSV) gives Tyre to the 'Chaldaeans' (Babylonians), not Assyria; finally, after Hezekiah's unwisely over-warm welcome to Babylonian envoys, Isaiah announced that his goods and descendants would be carried off to Babylon (Is. 39: 5-7; 2 Ki. 20: 16-18).⁷¹ Thus, together with Micah 4: 10, one finds a firm tradition in Isaiah 1-39, in the later eighth century BC (at latest, early seventh), that Judah must both be oppressed by, and freed from, Babylon. In that epoch, Babylon's cultural renown and military stubbornness at once enthralled Assyria⁷² and wrung unending military expenditure from her. In that light, and putting aside our later 'wisdom by hindsight', there is nothing impossible in a prophet being impelled to look beyond Assyria to a triumph by Babylon and the latter to be replaced by that notorious thorn in the Mesopotamians' side, the Eastern mountain-peoples—in Isaiah's time, the Medes.⁷³ There is nothing inherently impossible in Isaiah closing his work (and career) by penning chapters to see his people through impending exile⁷⁴ to restoration, events which at that time *could* have come about at any moment. That it in fact occurred in the sixth century BC we know, he did not.

The close interrelations of themes and language (besides merely the unique phrase 'Holy One of Israel') throughout the book,⁷⁵ the essentially Pales-

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tinian frame of reference in 40-66 as in 1-39,⁷⁶ and the lack of any title at 40: 1 (because 40-66 in fact belong with the rest under 1: 1)—all these factors among others⁷⁷ make natural the acceptance of the essential unity of the book as a whole; philosophical predilection is ultimately the only counter-argument. Atomization is needless.⁷⁸

5. Other literary and religious aspects

a. Literature. A variety of official records steadily accumulated in both kingdoms, some written by prophets (*cf.* section 2, above) referred to in Kings and Chronicles but not now extant. The heritage of former days was cultivated; a second series of proverbs of Solomon was recopied by Hezekiah's scribes (Pr. 25: 1, covering 25-29). Completion of the whole book of Proverbs (adding 30, 31) would be in his time or later.

b. Religion. Hezekiah reformed the cult, in Jerusalem, on a scale unequalled since David or until Josiah (2 Ki. 18: 3-7; fuller, 2 Ch. 29-31). With his provision for the temple music (2 Ch. 29: 25-30), it is instructive to compare the remark of Sennacherib that his tribute from Hezekiah included 'male and female musicians'.⁷⁹

Notes

¹ For the three previous studies in this series, see *TSFB* 59 (Spring 1971), pp. 2-10; *TSFB* 60 (Summer 1971), pp. 3-11; *TSFB* 61 (Autumn 1971), pp. 5-14.

² General histories include (e.g.) J. Bright, *A History of Israel* (SCM Press, 1960), F. F. Bruce, *Israel and the Nations* (Paternoster, 1963, 1969). On the kingdoms of Syria, cf. M.F. Unger, *Israel and the Aramaeans of Damascus* (Clarke, 1957) for Damascus; G. Buccellati, *Cities and Nations of Ancient Syria* (Univ. Rome, 1967) on 'constitutions' of Israel and her neighbours (corrective to Alt); *HHAHT*, on histories and chronologies of all the Levant, c. 1200-550 BC. Useful essays, cf. W. W. Hallo, *BA* 23 (1960), pp. 33-61, B. Mazar, *BA* 25 (1962), pp. 97-120, also H. Tadmor, *BA* 29 (1966), pp. 86-102 (Philistines and Assyria). Chronology is that of *NBD*, s.v. 'Chronology of the Old Testament'.

³ For Shishak, see *NBD*, p. 1181, *AO/OT*, pp. 29-30, 159, and *ThIP*, all with refs.

⁴ So far unattested, probably an army-commander for Osorkon I of Egypt (c. 924-889 BC). One may translate 2 Ch. 14: 9 as 'a myriad of men and 300 chariots', number of latter is quite modest, cf. *TSFB* 41 (1965), 18, and *TSFB* 60 (1971), p. 9, n. 42.

⁵ For the date and on 2 Ch. 15: 19; 16: 1, cf. Thiele, *MN*, ¹pp. 57-59, ²pp. 59f.

⁶ The so-called 'Melqart Stela' may belong to this king (Albright, *BASOR* 87 (1942), pp. 23-29), but could be as late as Ben-hadad III (J. Naveh, *The Development of the Aramaic Script* (Jerusalem, 1970), p. 7).

⁷ Attested as Ithobalos in the Tyrian king-list (Josephus after Menander). Kings of Tyre and Sidon, *HHAHT*, Table III.

⁸ Cf. at present *NBD*, pp. 57, 140-141; *HHAHT*, Table IV. On Ahab's battles with Aram, cf. Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands*, 1963, pp. 304-310.

⁹ Published in Reisner, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria*, I, 1924, p. 247, fig. On African nature of this Musri, cf. *TSFB* 41 (1965), p. 20 § 14.

¹⁰ Published by Crowfoot and Crowfoot, *Samaria-Sebaste II, Early Ivories from Samaria*, 1938. Further refs. for Samaria, A. Parrot, *Samaria* (SCM Press, 1958); P. R. Ackroyd in D. W. Thomas (ed.), *Archaeology and Old Testament Study* (OUP, 1967), pp. 343-354; K. M. Kenyon, *Royal Cities of the Old Testament*, 1971.

¹¹ Translations, *ANET*, p. 320; Thomas (ed.), *Documents from OT Times*, 1958, pp. 196-197. Picture, *NBD*, pl. 10b. Recent linguistic studies with other refs., F. I. Andersen, *Orientalia* 35 (1966), pp. 81-120, cf. P. D. Miller, *ibid.* 38 (1969), pp. 461-464.

¹² To be understood as minus years between Omri's coup and attack on Moab, and years between Jehoram's campaign and decease.

¹³ On the chronological relationships of 2 Kings and the Mesha stela, cf. (e.g.) Thompson, *NBD*, p. 835; F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, *Early Hebrew Orthography* (New Haven, 1952), p. 39, n. 13; A. van Zyl, *The Moabites* (Leiden 1960), pp. 138-140.

¹⁴ And a testimony to such passing comments as 1 Ki. 16: 27 on Omri, 'all the might that he showed'. For Mesha as a sheepmaster (pastoral wealth of Moab), cf. *TSFB* 41 (1965), p. 15, § 7c.

¹⁵ *NBD*, p. 507, with Unger.

¹⁶ *LAR*, I, § 672 (in 838, *ibid.*, § 578); *ANET*, p. 280.

¹⁷ E.g. *NBD*, pl. 7.

¹⁸ 2 Ki. 8: 11-15, 28-29; 9: 14-15; 10: 32-33; 13: 3. Also of Judah, 12: 17-18.

¹⁹ Cf. *NBD*, pp. 506-507 and fig 101.

²⁰ *LAR*, I, §§ 734-735, 740; *ANET*, 281-2.

²¹ Assyrian campaigns in the Levant occur in the Eponym Canon for the years 805, 804, 802 and 796 BC (Ungnad, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, II, p. 429; Thiele, *MN*, 1 p. 289, 2 p. 211). Damascus is not mentioned in these entries, probably because not actually occupied by Assyrian forces. The campaign of 796 alone fits the mention of Jehoash (next note).

²² S. Page, *Iraq* 30 (1968), pp. 139-153, pls. 39-41. Usefully discussed by H. Donner, *Archäologie und Altes Testament (Festschrift Galling)*, 1970, pp. 49-59, correcting Miss Page's 'first year' to 'in one (single) year', but wrongly (and uncritically) preferring the chronology of Begrich/Jepsen, vastly inferior to that of Thiele. Cf. also S. Page, *Orientalia* 38 (1969), pp. 457-458.

²³ On Zakir's stela, defeat of Ben-hadad and allies, *ANET*,² pp. 501-502.

²⁴ But not socially and morally; cf. Amos and Hosea!

²⁵ These matters are discussed in *HHAHT*, Tables IV, V; cf. Tadmor (n. 26).

²⁶ Cf. (i) his military power, 2 Ch. 26: 6-15, and (ii) his role as official leader of a coalition against Tiglath-pileser III (n. 27); cf. also H. Tadmor, *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, VIII (1961), 232 ff. *passim*.

²⁷ Texts, *LAR*, I, § 770, *ANET*, 282, b. Some scholars prefer date 738 BC.

²⁸ *LAR*, I, §§ 772, 815, 816; *ANET*, 283/4, 284. Destruction of Hazor (2 Ki. 15: 29, etc.) is vividly illustrated by the excavations, cf. Yadin, *BA* 20 (1957), pp. 39-40; one sherd has the name Pekah, *NBD*, 956, fig. 163.

²⁹ *LAR*, I, § 801; *ANET*, 282a.

³⁰ Eponym Canon, e.g. Thiele, *MN*,¹ p. 90. ² p. 105.

³¹ Preliminary discussion, *NBD*, p. 1201; fuller, *ThIP*. The identification of So as the place-name Sais (Goedicke, *BASOR*, 171 (1963), 64-66) is very unlikely, cf. *ThIP*.

³² *LAR*, II, §§ 4, 53-55, 79-80, 99, 183, 186; *ANET*, p. 284f. An ostrakon from Nimrud (Assyrian Calah) names people who were most probably Israelite exiles; it dates c. 720-700 BC, cf. J. B. Segal, *Iraq* 19 (1957), 139-145, and W. F. Albright, *BASOR* 149 (1958), 33-36.

³³ *LAR*, II, §§ 239f., 284, 311, etc.; *ANET*, 287-288. Picture of text, *NBD*, pl. 10.

³⁴ On the basically artificial problems that some Old Testament scholars raise over Tirhakah's activity in 701, see briefly *AO/OT*, 82-84 or *TSFB* 41 (1965), p. 21, § 17. Full details in *ThIP*.

³⁵ Reigned in Babylon, 722-710 BC, 703/2 BC, 700 BC, being repeatedly expelled by Assyrian kings and bouncing back again. As a 'government in exile', he may have sent to Hezekiah in 701/700; cf. Kitchen, *TSFB* 41 (1965), p. 21, § 18, and *HHAHT*, Table XVIII. On his reign, cf. J. A. Brinkman, *From the Workshop of the Assyrian Dictionary (Studies ... A. L. Oppenheim)*. Chicago UP, 1964, pp. 6-53.

³⁶ *NBD*, p. 1187; picture of text, D. J. Wiseman, *Illustrations from Biblical Archaeology*, 1958, p. 62, fig. 56 (tunnel, fig. 55). Translation, *ANET*, p. 321.

³⁷ *LAR*, II, § 690; *ANET*, p. 291.

³⁸ *LAR*, II, § 876; *ANET*, p. 294.

³⁹ *LAR*, II, §§ 639-687 *passim*.

⁴⁰ Cf. *NBD*, pp. 1036-1044, for a convenient survey; discussion, E. J. Young *My Servants the Prophets* (Eerdmans, 1952). For individual prophetic books, cf. Young, *Introduction to the OT*,³ 1964, and R. K. Harrison, *Intr. to the OT*, 1970 (both Tyndale Press), with bibliography; wide bibliographical data will be found in O. Eissfeldt, *OT Introduction*. 1965.

⁴¹ There is absolutely no factual warrant for doubting 1 Ch. 6; in 1 Sa. 1: 1 the attribution to Ramathaim-zophim in Ephraim is merely geographical, and does not exclude the Levitical descent preserved in 1 Ch.—the Levites, it should be remembered, had settlements throughout the other tribal territories (cf., e.g., Jos. 21).

⁴² That some 'seers' gave counsel for material reward may be reflected by the attitudes of Saul and his servant in 1 Sa. 9: 7-9. In the age of Samuel, Saul and David, the term 'seer' could be concurrently used along with 'prophet'.

⁴³ By contrast, 1 Sa. 18: 10 is probably rightly rendered 'rave' as in RSV (contrast RV); and in 19: 23-24, Saul (like his emissaries) went to a frenzied state beyond that of the prophets and their praises.

⁴⁴ Not of his reign, as Samuel died in Saul's time (1 Sa. 28:3).

⁴⁵ Especially from c. 745 BC ff., with the dynasties of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II. Once one discards the 'straight' interpretation of this book as a plain narrative, then a chaos of rival interpretations ensues without any single clear solution (cf. standard Introductions). Cf. G. C. Aalders, *The Problem of the Book of Jonah* (Tyndale Press, 1948); F. D. Kidner, *TB* 21 (1970), pp. 126-128 (divine names); size of Nineveh, cf. Hallo, *BA* 23 (1960), p. 46 n. 64 and references. On the hoary non-sense of alleged Aramaisms being 'late', cf. in principle *AO/OT*, 145-146; nor is 'universalism' late either (cf. briefly, *AO/OT*, p. 127).

⁴⁶ Fuller statement of the data, my TSF lecture notes *Old Testament and Pagan Culture*, (1971/72), esp. lecture II.

⁴⁷ A phenomenon noted by W. W. Hallo, *Israel Exploration Journal* 16 (1966), p. 231.

⁴⁸ Cf. H. B. Huffmon, *BA* 31 (1968), 101-124; W. L. Moran, *Biblica* 50 (1969), pp. 15-56; Moran, *ANET*⁵ (or *Supplement...*), 1969, pp. 623-625; S. D. Walters, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 89 (1970), pp. 78-81 on recent German work, to which add W. Ph. Römer, *Die Frauenbriefe von Mari*, 1970, p. 18, etc.

⁴⁹ This translation of this term is a makeshift, based on etymology, not context (cf. Moran, *ANET*⁵, (or *Suppl.*), 1969, p. 624 n. 13).

⁵⁰ Cf. already Kitchen, *THB* 5/6 (1960), pp. 6-7 and refs.

⁵¹ E.g., the 'Eloquent Peasant', Neferty, and (either twenty-second or seventeenth centuries BC) the Admonitions of the Sage Ipuwer (*ANET*, pp. 407-410, 441-444, 444-446 ('Neferrohu')).

⁵² LU-DINGIR (LIM) in ideograms (Goetze, *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* 1 (1927-30), p. 233), cf. in Hittite proper, *siunan antuhsas* 'man of God', J. Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* 1952, p. 195a. Translated 'prophet' by Goetze in *ANET*, p. 395 (§ 2), p. 396 (§ 11; text b).

⁵³ Cf. *ANET* as cited (n.52).

⁵⁴ References, A. F. Rainey, *BA* 28 (1965), p. 123 (this ref., courtesy A. R. Millard). In literary text, Pughat divines (*ANET*, 153b). Cf. n. 56.

⁵⁵ Translation, *ANET*. p. 26b.

⁵⁶ 1 Ki. 18: 25-29. For frenzy over death of Baal in Ugaritic literature, cf. *ANET*, p. 139.

⁵⁷ As at Mari, so in Assyria, priestesses attached to temples could give oracles in the names of their respective deities, cf. *ANET*, 449-451, improved versions, *ANET*⁵ (and *Suppl.*), p. 604-606. Dreams, *NBD*, 323.

⁵⁸ See R. D. Biggs, *Iraq* 29 (1967), pp. 117-132.

⁵⁹ Hallo, *Israel Expl. Journal* 16 (1966), pp. 231-242, had compared them with apocalyptic literature. Their classification as 'prophecy' is also rejected by H. W. F. Saggs, *Assyriology and the Study of the Old Testament* (Cardiff, 1969), pp. 13-14, 14 n. 1.

⁶⁰ The only other literary piece to be considered here is the little prophecy of Joel, date entirely uncertain. Pre-and post-exilic dates are both canvassed. If one grouped the twelve 'Minor Prophets' in three chronological sequences (Hosea-Obadiah; Jonah-Habakkuk; Zephaniah-Malachi), then Joel would belong with the eighth-century prophets; but this idea should not be pressed unduly. Its contents neither depend on nor presuppose any particular dating.

⁶¹ Note that ch. 1 originated before 722 BC (Fall of Samaria), cf. 1: 5, 6, while 3: 9-12 at any rate was an oracle under Hezekiah on the evidence of Je. 26: 18.

⁶² *ANET*⁵ (and *Suppl.*), p. 625, h.

⁶³ See already *AO/OT*, pp. 93-100.

⁶⁴ See *ibid.* pp. 95-96.

⁶⁵ For example, on land-donation stelae in Egypt bearing blessings/curses for respect/disrespect of the stela, text and donation, in the late ninth and the eighth centuries BC (Kitchen, *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 8 (1970/71), general commentary).

⁶⁶ Away back under Moses, a writing can be set up as a witness for the future (Dt. 31: 19, Song of Moses; 31: 26, the covenant-law), and this concept was actually used by Isaiah himself (Is. 8: 1-2), having witnesses to attest for him in one case.

⁶⁷ For this date, cf. H. Tadmor, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 12 (1958), pp. 92-94, cf. 95/96.

⁶⁸ For a panoramic tabulation of a representatively-wide variety of mutually-contradictory dates suggested for Is. 13-23 and alleged 'non-Isaianic' parts of Is. 1-12, 24-39, see conveniently S. Erlandsson, *The Burden of Babylon* (Gleerup, Lund, 1970), pp. 44-54, and on the poverty of the methodologies used, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 54-63.

^{68a} Like Cyrus, also treated by some 'moderns' as prophecy *post eventum*.

⁶⁹ Cf. already, *NBD*, p. 1039a.

⁷⁰ Lit. 'wilderness of the sea', equivalent of Akkadian *mat tamti*; cf. Erlandsson, *op. cit.* (n. 68), p. 82 and refs. From the 'Sea-land' came such dynasts as Merodach-baladan.

⁷¹ And, in fact, a few decades later, Hezekiah's son and successor Manasseh was temporarily exiled to Babylon by an Assyrian king (2 Ch. 33: 11-13).

⁷² Most Neo-Assyrian kings called themselves also 'king of Babylon'; Tiglath-pileser III and Shalmaneser V were given special names (Pul, Ululai) in that capacity, contemporaneity not certain; Assurbanipal had his brother to be king in Babylon; the Babylonian gods were included in their own worship by the Assyrians, and Babylonian culture actively cultivated (e.g. literature copied out). See briefly, Erlandsson, *Burden of Babylon*, pp. 87-92 for the period before 681 BC, and standard histories for the rest. Manasseh's temporary exile in Babylon (n. 71) was a 'first-fruit' of Is. 39: 7, as far as fulfilment is concerned.

⁷³ Who alone appear anywhere in Isaiah, never the Persians (who, historically, as rulers of both Medes and Persians, fulfilled his prophecies). On Medes in eighth-seventh centuries BC, cf. Erlandsson, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87; Esarhaddon's treaties with the Medes, see D. J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 20 (1958), pp. 1-99 (and as *The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon*); *ANET*³ (and *Suppl*), pp. 534-541.

⁷⁴ Again, it cannot be over-emphasized that the notion of exile was a *constant* threat on the horizon of all small nations in the biblical Near East from long before even Moses' time; cf. Kitchen, *NPOT*, pp. 5-7 with refs., or (briefly) *TSTB* 41 (1965), pp. 11-12. Notice, also, that once Jerusalem was finally fallen (587/6 BC), Ezekiel's commission swiftly changed from stern admonition to a message of hope, that the exiled people should not perish in total despair—not God's plan.

⁷⁵ E.g., references given by Young, *Introduction to OT*, 212ff.; Harrison, *Introduction to OT*, pp. 778-779; Kidner, *New Bible Commentary Revised*, 1970, pp. 590ff., and *passim*.

⁷⁶ E.g., Young, *op. cit.*, p. 209, §§ 4, 5.

⁷⁷ The ultimate book-form of Is. 1-66 may possibly be construed to show a 'balanced' form, 1-33 'doubled' by 34-66, if the curious spacing between Is. 33 and 34 in a Dead Sea Scroll be taken as meaningful. So W. H. Brownlee, *The Meaning of the Qumran Scrolls for the Bible* (New York: OUP, 1964), pp. 253-259; more briefly, Harrison, *Introduction to OT*, p. 788.

⁷⁸ Against the hypercritical 'atomization' of (e.g.) the prophetic books by over-zealous 'form-critics', cf. S. Smith, *Isaiah XL-LV*, 1944, pp. 1-23 *passim*.

⁷⁹ *LAR*, II, § 240 end; *ANET*, 288a.

Abbreviations

<i>ANET</i>	J. B. Pritchard (ed.), <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts rel. to the Old Testament</i> (Princeton UP), ¹ 1950, ² 1954, ³ 1969 (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>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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