JOURNAL OF NORTHWEST SEMITIC LANGUAGES

VOLUME 46/2

2020

Department of Ancient Studies

Stellenbosch University

Contributions and books for review should be sent to
The Editor: *JNSL*
Department of Ancient Studies
Stellenbosch University
Private Bag X1, Matieland, ZA-7602
SOUTH AFRICA
e-mail: ancient7@sun.ac.za

Subscriptions should be sent to the same address but marked as
Subscription: *JNSL*

House rules
Articles submitted for publication must be according to the house rules on the homepage

JNSL **homepage (house rules, contents, subscription)**
http://academic.sun.ac.za/jnsl/

CONTENTS

Ohad Cohen (Haifa University)

THE IMPACT OF SPOKEN VARIETIES ON LITERARY TEXTS IN SOUTHERN AND CENTRAL PALESTINE DURING THE PERSIAN PERIOD (538-332 BCE)

ABSTRACT

The paper implements an interdisciplinary approach to the historical characterization of the Hebrew language during the Persian period by investigating three morpho-syntactic constructions – the Infinitive Construct, the Infinitive Absolute and the Relative Pronoun. The analyses provide evidence for the impact of colloquial Canaanite variants, particularly Phoenician, on LBH. Areas of structural and functional overlap and divergence between LBH and Phoenician are demonstrated, indicating that these three forms did not constitute new paradigms, but were competing alternatives to the classical options. The paper concludes with the claim the texts composed in Persian Judea were shaped by a mixed, living language, that had a profound effect on grammatical systems which are highly susceptible to transfer in contact situations.

Mitka R Golub (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

TRENDS IN IRON AGE II HEBREW HYPOCORISTIC THEOPHORIC NAMES

ABSTRACT

Do Israel and Judah differ in their use of hypocoristic theophoric names? Previous studies have found onomastic differences between Israel and Judah supporting the argument that Israel and Judah were two distinct political and cultural entities. This study, however, reveals a remarkable similar percentage of hypocoristic names and their forms (i.e., independent or with the suffix א or י) in Israel and Judah. That is, with regard to hypocoristic names, Israel and Judah are considered one entity. After the destruction of Israel, we find a decline in the percentage of hypocoristic names and changes in the occurrences of hypocoristic suffixes in Judah. This indicates that the use and forms of hypocoristic names depend on chronology and not on polity.

Nadav Na'aman (Tel Aviv University)

JEROBOAM'S "POLYTHEISM" ACCORDING TO 1 KINGS 12:28-29

ABSTRACT

The article analyzes in detail Jeroboam's declaration, "Here are your gods, O Israel, who brought you up from the land of Egypt" (1 Kgs 12:28b). It suggests that in this Israelite cult formula, the author deliberately replaced "YHWH" with "Elohim" because the latter could be construed with a plural mode. He then put in the king's mouth a declaration that refers in plural to the national God of Israel. In this manner, he depicted Jeroboam not only as a king who established a cult with forbidden images of calves, but – like non-Israelite foreigners – failed to understand the unique nature of the God of Israel and referred to him in the plural mode.

Dmytro Tsolin (Martin Luther University of Halle-Wittenberg)

THE PARTICIPLE MORPHOSYNTAX IN MIDDLE ARAMAIC: SOME IMPORTANT OBSERVATIONS

ABSTRACT

*The intensive use of the participle in the predicate function is one of the characteristic features of Middle Aramaic languages. However, the problem of distinguishing between the syntactic functions of the participle and other semantically overlapping verbal forms is still insufficiently considered. This is largely a matter of the functional correlation between the participle and the conjugative verbal forms (*yiqṭul *and* qəṭal*). Usually their overlapping functions are represented in the grammars descriptively, i.e., without consideration of the main tendencies in development of the participle morphosyntax. The participle morphosyntax in Middle Aramaic is considered in this article on the basis of its etymology and further historical development and covers the main Middle Aramaic languages and dialects.*

Tamar Zewi (University of Haifa)

NOUNS IN THE CONSTRUCT STATE FOLLOWED BY RELATIVE CLAUSES IN BIBLICAL HEBREW[1]

ABSTRACT

The article discusses Biblical Hebrew construct phrases in which the second member is a relative clause, such as קִרְיַת חָנָה דָוִד (Isa 29:1), תְּחִלַּת דִּבֶּר־יְהוָה בְּהוֹשֵׁעַ (Hos 1:2). This Semitic pattern only occasionally appears in Biblical Hebrew and has caused some confusion among scholars as to its analysis and interpretation. The discussion covers all its linguistic aspects and suggests that grammaticalization process was involved in its development.

BOOK REVIEWS

De Regt, L J 2019. *Linguistic Coherence in Biblical Hebrew Texts*: *Arrangement of Information, Participant Reference Devices, Verb Forms, and their Contribution to Textual Segmentation and Coherence* (Perspectives on Hebrew Scriptures and its Contexts 28). Piscataway: Gorgias Press. 160 pages. ISBN 978-1-4632-3938-1. $68.97.

This monograph is a revised and extended version of a dossier of publications that De Regt submitted in 2016 as his habilitation treatise at the University of Strasbourg. The revised version arranges the findings of 31 publications dating from 1991 to 2019 into four chapters, viz. 1. *Shifts in participant reference*; 2. *Speaker, addressee, and communication flow in the discourse: Presupposed and unexpected information*; *the verbal system; domains; non-chronological arrangement; segmentation*; 3. *Information in the text, focus, and word order in the clause*; and 4. *Lexical cohesion and impact of individual words and phrases on the text as a whole.* In a fifth chapter, *Linguistic coherence in the Balaam pericope*, De Regt illustrates how the perspectives provided in Chapters One to Four could be applied to describe the coherence of Numbers 22-24. A final chapter (not numbered) presents the conclusions and suggestions for further research.

De Regt is a seasoned Bible translator and this book illustrates that he is familiar with the types of challenges that Bible translators have to face on a daily basis – but for which there are often no "immediate" solutions to be found in the resources that Bible translators typically have at their disposal. Given the typical time constraints of Bible translation projects and the pressure on translation advisors, De Regt must be lauded for the value he has placed over the years on preserving the academic integrity of some of these difficult choices that Bible translators have to make.

In Chapter One De Regt draws together valuable insights into the way that different patterns in the shift of participant reference in a narrative text should be interpreted. For me, this chapter represents the most compelling contribution of this monograph. The value of its insights is borne out by their application in the analysis of Numbers 22-24.

In Chapters Two to Four De Regt, amongst other things, makes three important observations. Firstly, Bible translators are obliged to interpretively resemble the communication clues and coherence markers of the Hebrew text, and therefore they must under no circumstances try to smooth over or harmonize any non-chronological arrangement of the text,

or instances where it is clearly evident that the hands of later editors were involved. Secondly, not all instances of the non-canonical or so-called marked word order have the same function and could merely be mirrored by a corresponding non-canonical word order in the target language. He illustrates some of the negative consequences of such an approach to word order in the recent English translation of the Bible by Robert Alter. Thirdly (and in line with the challenge of interpretively resembling the functions of non-canonical word order), De Regt points out that if translators want to realize their commitment to be true to the source text that they are translating, the lexical choices made and constructions used by the authors of the Bible text to establish cohesion must be reflected in the target language. However, since the grammatical and lexical structures of the Biblical Hebrew source texts and that of target texts often differ significantly, translators must take care to make well-justified choices in the target texts. On the one hand, the appropriate functional value of the source language expression must be established, and then, on the other hand, be interpretively resembled in the target text in terms of the idiom of the target text. This is no new insight. Eugene Nida had already more than 50 years ago called for the genius of both the source text and the target text to be respected. De Regt just illustrates the reality of this challenge clearly and provides some perspective on how this challenge could be addressed.

In contrast to my response to Chapter One, I am not fully convinced by some aspects of his Chapters Two and Three. In Chapter Two De Regt posits that the Biblical Hebrew verbal system represents a dichotomy of information that is either cognitively proximate or cognitive non-proximate to addressees. I have two general concerns in this regard. First, despite the fact the De Regt suggests a few criteria, how does one measure exactly cognitive proximity in an intersubjectively verifiable way? Secondly, I am not aware of any compelling linguistic-typological evidence that entire verbal systems could be divided in terms of referring to what is cognitively proximate or not to addressees. Given that language is a dynamic and complex system, is it realistic to posit a simple static dichotomy for a verbal system?

I fully agree with De Regt in Chapter Three that marked word order may have more than one function. However, it seems that he assumes that dislocation and fronting tend to have exactly the same functions. Furthermore, he appears to assume that whenever a contrast could be postulated for two fronted constituents, they represent an instance of constituent focus. Both these two assumptions may be questioned (see Van

der Merwe, C H J, Naudé, J A & Kroeze, J H 2017. *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar*. 2nd ed. London: Bloomsbury, pp. 419-518). Lastly, De Regt does not indicate what translators should do with instances of fronting that cannot be classified as instances of constituent focus or topic shift.

<div align="right">

Christo H J van der Merwe
Stellenbosch University

</div>

Eppihimer, M 2019. *Exemplars of Kingship: Art, Tradition, and Legacy of the Akkadians*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 320 pages, 87 illustrations + maps and tables. ISBN 9780190903015. $99.00.

This book is an updated and revised version of Eppihimer's 2009 PhD dissertation *The Visual Legacy of Akkadian Kingship* obtained from Harvard University and supervised by Irene Winter. This though is not a simple reproduction of the dissertation, but a thorough reworking. Many up-to-date publications have been incorporated into the study, and the new division into three main chapters each dealing with a type or category of artefact makes for accessible and easy reading. This accessibility, as well as the book being very well illustrated, means that it can be enjoyed by non-specialists. However, it is still of a high quality of research, and specialists will appreciate many of the insights offered by Eppihimer. Although it is well illustrated, there are more obscure artefacts which are discussed but not illustrated in the book, so a deep knowledge of Mesopotamian visual culture would be advantageous, although not necessary, for readers.

In this book, Eppihimer discusses the visual legacy of the Akkadian Empire. This includes not only the influence of Akkadian visual culture on later Mesopotamian visual cultures, but also its modern reception. The latter highlights the Eurocentric and colonial manner in which Akkadian art has been viewed since its rediscovery. For example, Eppihimer notes (p. 49), that "For Pottier and many of his contemporaries, the stele of Naram-Sin and its terrifying image of an unabounded Near Eastern king provoked an experience of the sublime from which one could escape by clinging to European ideologies of power that claimed the stele as a scientific artefact, not as a trophy of war." Eppihimer argues that the modern reception of the Akkadian visual culture needs to be explored, as it impacts on our modern understanding of its ancient legacy. As she states (p. 4), "The modern reception of Akkadian art must be deconstructed before its ancient

reception can be reconstructed." The focus of the book though is on the legacy of Akkadian art on later Mesopotamian visual culture, and the modern reception provides a backdrop against which this can be viewed.

The book is divided into six chapters. In the first chapter, *Behold Sargon* (pp. 1-7), Eppihimer discusses Nabonidus's discovery and restoration of an image of Sargon, and details the outline of the rest of the book.

Chapter two, *Exemplars of Kingship and the Art of Memory* (pp. 8-35), provides the historical and theoretical foundations for her study. She reviews the history of the Akkadian dynasty, as well as the ideological and material aspects of Akkadian kingship. The Mesopotamian cultural memory traditions of the Akkadian kings are also laid out. The reader is also introduced to the art historical concepts of interpictoriality and intervisuality. These encompass the visual allusions to Akkadian images by the producers of these, and how viewers of the works may have made mental links with memories of the Akkadians, even if no such interpictorial links were present.

The following three chapters each deal with one type or category of artefact which provided visual models of Akkadian rulership. Chapter three, *Triumphant Kings and the Legacy of Akkadian Steles* (pp. 36-89), deals with royal victory steles; chapter four, *Royal Bodies and the Legacy of Akkadian Statues* (pp. 90-140), discusses royal statues; and chapter five, *Curly-Haired Heroes and the Legacy of Akkadian Seals* (pp. 141-192), deals with cylinder seals. Eppihimer (p. 5) notes that this division is one devised by herself, and that "ancient terminology did not distinguish between a ṣalmu [i.e., image] carved in relief on a stele and a ṣalmu carved in the round as a statue." However, she also explains that this division "draws attention to three different subjects in the art of Akkadian kingship: the king victorious over his enemy in battle, the king in the presence of the gods in the temple, and the struggle between mythological heroes and animals known today as the contest scene" (p. 5).

Chapter three, *Triumphant Kings and the Legacy of Akkadian Steles*, discusses the Naram-Sin Victory Stele and how this stele has often been regarded as a model for later victory monuments. She also demonstrates how our modern idea that the stele has served as such a model has coloured our understanding of those monuments. Included in this chapter are discussions on rock reliefs from the Zagros Mountains, such as those at Darband-I Gawr and Sarpol-I Zohab; royal steles from the Old Babylonian Period, particularly those of Dadusha and Shamshi-Adad I; and the Behistun Relief of the Achaemenid king Darius I.

In the fourth chapter, *Royal Bodies and the Legacy of Akkadian Statues*, Eppihimer discusses the Akkadian royal statuary, noting that these have generally received less scholarly attention than the Naram-Sin Victory Stele. She discusses the visual legacy of the Akkadians on the royal statuary of Gudea of Lagash, the Ur III rulers, and rulers of Mari and Eshnunna from the late third and early second millennia BCE. She also notes our modern lack of knowledge of Akkadian visual culture, and how this makes it difficult to determine whether some post-Akkadian statues are appropriated Akkadian statues or newly produced imitations of Akkadian prototypes. These include a statue from Ashur (VA 2147) and those associated with Puzur-Inshushinak. Eppihimer's views here on the Akkadian visual legacy on the statuary of Ur-Ningirsu II of Lagash would have been interesting, considering how different his representations are to those of his father Gudea (see Van Dijk-Coombes 2017).

Chapter five, *Curly-Haired Heroes and the Legacy of Akkadian Seals*, discusses the mythological contest scene depicted on Akkadian cylinder seals associated with the elite class, and the curly-haired *laḫmu* figure of these scenes. The majority of later pieces she discusses are from the Neo-Assyrian Period, such as the colossal lion-wielding heroes from Sargon II's palace at Khorsabad. Examples from the Middle Assyrian Period, such as the lid of a jar from Ashur (VA 7989) and the cult pedestal usually associated with Tukulti-Ninurta (EŞ 7802), and the base of the statue of a ruler from Zincirli (EŞ 7768) are also discussed. This chapter feels somewhat at odds with the rest of the book, considering Eppihimer's conclusion that "Akkadian cylinder seals were not major instruments of image-based responses to and recollections of Akkadian kingship" (p. 191). This chapter serves rather to demonstrate how the modern response to ancient Mesopotamian art can influence our understanding of it. Eppihimer achieves this by noting that the modern belief that the *laḫmu* represents Gilgamesh has lent this figure a royal identity, which in turn was granted to the Khorsabad lion-wielding figures. Though this identification of the lion-wielding figures with Gilgamesh is generally dismissed today, it was supported as recently as 2012 by Annus.

The final chapter, *Allusions and Illusions* (pp. 193-207), brings together the ideas presented in the earlier chapters, and offers further avenues of research. The latter includes the possibility of an Akkadian visual legacy in Hittite art, and the possibility of a visual legacy of Ur III kings, particularly in the form of the Neo-Assyrian basket-bearer steles.

On the whole, the book is well researched and thought-provoking. The amount of direct influence which Akkadian Period art had on the visual cultures of the succeeding periods could, and should, be further debated. For example, the rock reliefs in the Zagros may have been influenced more by Ur III prototypes, rather than Akkadian, particularly as the Akkadian prototypes themselves are not rock reliefs (see for example Suter 2010:335). However, this does not detract from the indirect influence of the Akkadian visual legacy.

Eppihimer's arguments for an Akkadian visual legacy in later periods are less compelling than those for the third and early second millennium artefacts. This is to be expected, as it is unclear how much exposure to Akkadian visual culture rulers of later periods had, such as those of the Neo-Assyrian Period, as noted by Eppihimer herself. Still, this does not diminish the influence which Akkadian Period visual culture clearly had on that of later periods, whether as a direct or indirect response, and this is well documented by Eppihimer throughout this book.

This book also forms part of the legacy of Akkadian visual culture. As Eppihimer concludes, "*Exemplars of Kingship* is a memory of the Akkadians shaped by my own cultural and biographical circumstances. May it stand as an offering to the Akkadian kings and as a memorial to those who experienced firsthand the Akkadians' actions" (p. 207). This she has achieved.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Annus, A 2012. Louvre Gilgamesh (AO 19862) is Depicted in Life Size. *NABU* 2012/2, 44-45, no. 32.

Suter, C E 2010. Ur III Kings in Images: A Reappraisal, in: Baker, H D, Robson, E & Zólyomi, G (eds). *Your Praise is Sweet: A Memorial Volume for Jeremy Black from his Students, Colleagues and Friends*. London: British Institute for the Study of Iraq, 317-358.

Van Dijk-Coombes, R M 2017. Portrait of a Ruler: The Portrayal of Ur-Ningirsu in Statuary and Inscriptions. *JSem* 26/1, 358-381.

Renate M van Dijk-Coombes
North-West University

Keel, O 2020. *700 Skarabäen und Verwandtes aus Palästina/Israel. Die Sammlung Keel* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Series Archaeologica 39). Leuven: Peeters. XX-319 pages. ISBN 9789042941984. €125.00.

This book is published open access and can be downloaded at https://www.peeters-leuven.be/pdf/9789042941991.pdf.

Othmar Keel from the University of Fribourg is without any doubt the doyen among scholars of seal-amulets from the southern Levant (viz. Palestine/Israel). This book and its catalogue deal with scarabs and seal amulets that were collected between 1975 and 2012 during work on the famous *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel* (Keel 1995, 1997, 2010, 2010a, 2013, 2017).[1] The aim of the present study is "to prevent numerous unusual and interesting pieces disappearing from view in unpublished private collections or as items of jewellery, and to guarantee researchers and the public continuing access to them. The 700 pieces were selected in such a way that the most significant groups and motifs that were produced in or imported into Canaan/Palestine are represented and, collectively, form a kind of textbook on the subject. In that respect, the collection and this catalogue are both unique".

The book starts with an introduction dealing with issues such as the aim, origin and even juridical/moral-ethical problems related to the collection, as there are many interesting points related to questions of unprovenanced artefacts and authenticity. The introduction also outlines the system used for the references and descriptions.

There is a **catalogue** dealing with *seven* hundred seals in the format of *seven* chapters (there are also *seven* images on the front cover and Keel spent *seven* months in Jerusalem in 1975). The headings are given here in English translation[2] because this gives an overview of the material included. The contents of the book include the catalogue number and number of objects for every group (e.g., Omega-Gruppe numbers 67-81 [15 objects]).

---

1   All references can be found in the *Bibliographie* of the book, those which are not there are indicated in the *BIBLIOGRAPHY* of this review.

2   For the English terms see the studies by Tufnell (Keel 1995:158ff.).

1. *Early Egyptian scarabs and cauroids*;[3] Middle Kingdom scarabs; cauroids; late Middle Kingdom scarabs; Second Intermediate Period scarabs, and uncertain whether late Middle Kingdom or made early in Canaan.

2. *Early Western Asian scarabs*: omega group; green jasper group; early B-, A- and D-head groups.

3. *Middle Bronze Age Canaanite scarabs*: plant motifs; spirals; Egyptian signs and symbols; concentric circles and rosette pattern; coiled or woven pattern; scroll borders; *hprr* scarabs; uraeus; crocodile; falcon; vulture and other birds; caprids;[4] bull, donkey, wolf; lion; griffon, sphinx, cherub; human carrying palm or flower; human holding an uraeus, attributes of dignity or the cult; human dancing [with empty hands and pseudo inscription]; lord with garment with rolled borders; Canaanite deities; naked [twig] goddess; head of goddess [IC: Hathor]; Egyptian and Egyptianising deities; composition with two or more figures; kneeling figures; name of god Ptah; supplements.

4. *Late Bronze Age scarabs*: Beth-Shean level IX group; Beth-Shean level VIII/VII group; archaising Ramesside group.

5. *New Kingdom imports*: plant spirals and *udjat* eye; *hprr* scarabs; scorpions, fishes, uraei; falcon, unclassified bird, caprid, lion, bull, horse; composite/hybrid beings; king as instituted by the deities and received; king as fighter against all hostiles (IC: e.g., smiting); king as worshipper of deities [IC: typo to items 488-489 (p. 210) Schroer 211 should be 2011]; Hathor fetish; Ptah; other Egyptian deities; Seth and Egypto-Canaanite deities; royal and official names [IC: there is a typo in 5.12 (p. 236) Königs- und Beamtennamen~~namen~~]; name of god Amun and confession formulae; vignettes of the Book of the Dead and related material; supplements.

6. *1ˢᵗ millennium seal amulets*: post-Ramesside mass produced; angular stylized; Neo-Hyksos scarabs; Phoenician-Israelite scarabs; 22ⁿᵈ dynasty scarabs; 26ᵗʰ dynasty scarabs; Persian Period scarabs.

7. *Paralipomena*: gleanings and questionables.

---

3   For a definition, description and images of these objects see *inter alia* Keel (1995).

4   Caprid is preferred to Tufnell's antelope (Keel *et al*. 1990:263).

The catalogue itself is once again and as expected *vintage* Keel! The descriptions are very detailed and include all the necessary technical details (object, base, date, origin and bibliography) and clear colour photographs of the various sides of the seal-amulet and a line-drawing of the base decoration. The headings on the top of every page makes it easy to find an object.

Interesting and intriguing motifs which could be mentioned (these are only a few examples) are described briefly below.

On item 456 there are a horse rider and a hippo (see for horse with hippo Aschdod Nr. 9 = Keel 1997:664-665). Animal motifs occur on various objects and include crocodiles, horses, vultures etc. On 256 there is a donkey with a packsaddle on his back. Keel cites many analogies. This is typical of Egyptian art (Brunner-Traut 1975:Abb. 8). 274 has a being with a griffon head and a human head in combination (from one of the orthostats at Karkamish there is a sphinx with a combination of a lion and human head (Gilibert 2011:173). Keel here links the winged sphinx to the cherub of the Hebrew Bible (see also 287). 275 shows a griffon with hieroglyphs for protection and rising sun and a sphinx with winged sun (on the symbolism see also Cornelius 1990:30 with Fig. 13). 305 shows a human holding an incense bowl. A well-known object which has been published often before is the triumphant-menacing storm god Hadad-Baal on 323. The other god is Reshef with a shield (325-327). An excellent example with Reshef is 540, which compares well with images on relief stelae. 544 has a goddess (Astarte?) on horseback and the Persian 684 Isis (Astarte) lactans with Horus.

There is last but not least a list with B/W photographs of ten cylinder seals not included in the book, but which form part of the Keel collection (published in Keel-Leu & Teissier 2004), a concordance and a bibliography. An index of motifs would have been useful, e.g., "horse".

It is extremely helpful that the book is available on open access. This is especially the case for someone like myself who works in a country with minimal funding for buying expensive books and a weak currency. I suppose this is also true especially in this time of Covid-19, when scholars do not have such easy access to physical copies of books in libraries. What is also a great help are online sources. One wonderful site in this regard is BODO *Bibel+Orient Datenbank Online* in Fribourg, Switzerland (http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch/bodo/) with 34 000 entries (Koenen 2020:93).

As in his other publications Othmar Keel has once again provided the scholarly community with a brilliant collection of sources. This is a unique corpus which should form part of any study of seal-amulets from the southern Levant and consulted in combination with the other objects published in *Corpus* I-V.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brunner-Traut, E 1975. Aspektive, in: Helck, W (Hrsg.). *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 474-488.

Cornelius, I 1990. The Sun Epiphany in Job 38:12-15 and the Iconography of the Gods in the Ancient Near East-the Palestinian Connection. *JNSL* 16, 25-43.

Gilibert, A 2011. *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance: The Stone Reliefs at Carchemish and Zincirli in the Earlier First Millennium BCE*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Koenen, K 2020. Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft im Internet. *VuF* 65/2, 90-97.

Izak Cornelius
Stellenbosch University