

AZARYAW, THE GREAT PRINCESS

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1. The seal of ZRY/<H>W HR/BT

In 1974, Yohanan Aharoni published a scaraboid seal of white limestone (15x12x8 mm) from the collection of Moshe Dayan, which he read as LZRY/<H>WHR/BT "(Belonging) to Zerya<hu> the Rabbat(ite)".¹ The script of this unique seal is relatively crude and the seal itself possibly one of the earliest Israelite seals, for some letters look very similar to those of the Gezer Calendar. Therefore Aharoni dated the seal to the late 10th, early 9th Century BCE. L.G. Herr, however, expressed some doubts about its authenticity and he suggested that it might be a modern forgery, mainly for palaeographic reasons,² but there is too little comparative material from this early period in Israel to dismiss the seal for palaeographic reasons only.³ On the other hand there are features which may confirm an early Iron II date. The backside of the hedgehog(?) scaraboid seal has a checker-board pattern (Gittermuster Dekoration) which is often found with early Iron seals.⁴ It is the oldest scaraboid seal, which has this pattern with a non-Egyptian inscription. In this respect the seal may represent a transitional stage like the script itself, of which the ductus is still clearly Phoenician. Some letters are difficult to read, because they were poorly incised by the seal-cutter.⁵ The first sign top right was read by Aharoni as a *lamed*, but it was perhaps a triangular ^c*ayin* now slightly damaged to the right. The last sign bottom left is also damaged but was most probably a *tau*. The strange first letter in the second line was understood as a ligature by Aharoni's, but his references to the Arad-seals are not convincing. It was certainly not an *hê*. A poorly executed *wau* resembling the earliest forms of Hebrew tradition,⁶ is still the best option. I suggest therefore to read here the good Yahwistic name ^c*zryw* instead of *lzry<h>w* (see figure)⁷.

However it is not so much the personal name as well the second word that is of interest here. In the *editio princeps* the word *hrbt** was interpreted as a gentilic name: *harabbat(i)* " The

¹ Y. Aharoni, 'Three Hebrew Seals', *Tel Aviv* 1 (1974) 157f pl.30:3-5

² L.G. Herr, *The Scripts of Ancient North West Semitic Seals*, (Harvard Semitic Monographs 18, Missoula 1978) no.161; also J.H. Tigay, *You Shall Have no Other Gods. Israelite Religion in the Light of Hebrew Inscriptions*, (Harvard Semitic Studies 31, Atlanta, Georgia 1986) 51; however, see K. Jaroš, *Hundert Inschriften aus Kanaan und Israel* (Fribourg 1982) 39f.

³ Herr's remark on the dipping tail of the *yôd* is presumably not correct. It involves a minor damage of the surface. The hardly discernable tail is horizontal. Different *rêš*-signs with round and triangular head are found together in early Byblite inscriptions and the Gezer-calendar, even written under a slightly different angle. The same applies for the *yôd*.

⁴ O. Keel, M. Shuval & Ch. Uehlinger, *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel III*, (Orbis biblicus et Orientalis 100, Göttingen 1990) 381 (nrs. 71-75)

⁵ If palaeography is taken in consideration, one should realise that the seal-cutter is not necessarily identical to the scribe of the inscription. It sometimes may account for mistakes or poorly executed letters.

⁶ Herr, *Semitic Seals*, 149

⁷ This name occurs also on a seal published by N. Avigad, 'A Hebrew Seal With a Family Emblem', *IEJ* 16 (1966) 50-53. The rendering ^c*zryw* was kindly confirmed by Benjamin Sass (letter of 31 May 1994) who also informed me that Avigad in his material too made Aharoni's *lzry<h>w* into a more sensible ^c*zryw*. The seal is now re-published in N. Avigad, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals, revised and completed by B. Sass*, Jerusalem 1997, p.140f., No 311; see also No 310 ^c*zryw* *hghb*. The present whereabouts of the seal are unknown and the last sign on the photograph difficult to read. It is perhaps mutilated but a *tau* is still a good guess according to Sass who dates the seal ninth-eighth Century BCE on the basis of the *zayin* and *wau*.

Rabbat(ite)". Such a rendering is certainly possible, though gentilics very rarely occur on seals⁸.



Aharoni's copy



Herr's copy



my copy

Aharoni preferred to connect this gentilic with the city or village of that name from Judah (Joshua 15:60), apparently also mentioned in Egyptian sources, instead of the capital of Rabbah of the Ammonites.⁹ It is indeed somewhat strange that an inhabitant of Rabbat Ammon would carry a Yahwistic name. It is more usual that titles are added to the names of the owners of the seals. Also in this case a title may be meant which provisionally could be construed as "the Great One" or "the Lady", i.e. as a cognate to the well known divine epithet (*h*)*r**b**t*, which frequently occurs in Ugaritic, Akkadian and Phoenician texts.¹⁰ If so, the seal belonged to a female person, perhaps a lady of standing. For this reason the seal should be included among the about 20 female seals which have been discovered so far.¹¹ It is remarkable that this lady carried the Yahwistic name *ʿzryw*, but it might be noted that quite a number of Yahwistic names for women occur in the Bible, on seals and on bullae.¹²

⁸ Aharoni himself mentioned Diringier, *Iscrizioni*, 235, No 75 *šlm bn ʿdryh hhr*, i.e. the Heferite, but it might be a mistake for *hspr* "the scribe", see R. Hestrin, *Inscriptions Reveal. Documents from the time of the Bible, the Mishna and the Talmud*, revised second edition (Jerusalem 1973) Nos 16 and 17. The only other clear example is perhaps R. Hestrin, *hwtmwt myty byt r'šwn* (Jerusalem 1978) No 67: *rbyhw hglnyh* "Rabi-Yahu, the Gilonitess/Golanitess"; see F.M. Cross in Tigay, *You Shall Have No Other Gods*, 61. Unclear too is the case of the late 8th century BCE seal *fzryw hghh* (Avigad, *IEJ* 16 (1966) 50-53), which Avigad interpreted as a kind of nickname "the locust" given to Azaryaw's father or family. A gentilic name is in any case not probable here. The similarity to the seal under discussion seems to be purely coincidental.

⁹ Aharoni, *Tel Aviv* 1 (1974) 158, Jaroš, *HIKI*, 40; S. Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents* (Jerusalem/Leiden, 1984) 165-167.

¹⁰ Hofstijzer & Jongeling, *DNWSI* 2, 1049 e.g. *lhrbt l'lt KAI* 172:3; *hrbt/rbty b'lt gbl KAI* 10:2-3; *rbt hwt 'lt KAI* 89; Von Soden, *AHW*, 937 C 1b.; Ugaritic *rbt aṛt ym*; *špš rbt* and *rbt špš*, cf. respectively *KTU* 1.3.V.40 passim *KTU* 1.16.I.36f.; 1.23:54. On the Lachish-Ewer this title is often restored [*rb*] *ty 'lt* (*Inscriptions Reveal*, no.4; Jaroš, *HIKI*, 32).

¹¹ Basically Hestrin, *hwtmwt*, Nos 28-34 though *yzb* could only be counted among these seals on the basis of the alleged identity with the queen of that name, but see also *IEJ* 15 (1965) 222 *yhwysm' bt šwššr'sr* Diringier, *Iscrizioni*, 218, No 61 *ʿmāyhw bt šbnyhw*; *ibidem*, No 62 *'bgyl 'št 'šyhw*; N. Avigad, 'Hebrew Seals and Sealings and their Significance for Biblical Research', in: J.A. Emerton (ed.), *Congress Volume: Jerusalem 1986*, SVT 40 (Leiden, 1988) 14; further: *lhnnyhw 'mt* [?]; *lyhw' dn bt 'ryhw*; *f mdyhw bt ʿzryhw* and *lrbtyhw hglnyh*. The stamp of the seal of *lhnh/bt ʿzryhw* is attested on a jar-handle and one or two impressions of female seals on bullae are known to me *f mdy[hw b]t(?) pthyh[w]* and *lšlmyt 'mt 'lntn pḥw*. None of them however contains a female title, except the seal of princess *m'dnh bt hmik*.

¹² J.J. Stamm, 'Hebräische Frauennamen', in: *Hebräische Wortforschung Fs. W. Baumgartner*, SVT 16 (Leiden, 1967) 301ff., especially 308f., 311, 313f.

2. The female title (*h*)r^bt

The next question to answer is whether (*h*)r^bt is only a very general, honorific title, or that it infers a special, even official function. To put it more precisely: what kind of woman was allowed to carry the title *hrbt*? Was it a title like the other official titles found on seals like for example *hspr* “the scribe”, *hnss* “the standard-bearer (?)”, *bn/bt hmlk* “son/daughter of the king”? I am inclined to think of an official and even a rather well known royal title.

In a study about the title “Great Princess” in the Hittite Empire,¹³ I. Singer has convincingly shown that the official Hittite title, usually written with the logogram DUMU.SAL.GAL, was the title given to daughters of the Great Kings of Hatti or of kings from other great powers like Egypt. These royal daughters were given in marriage to foreign rulers for diplomatic reasons. They were expected to become the principal wife, certainly in vassal states and preferably in foreign powers of equal rank. The title was as such translated into *s3t wrt* in Egypt and ^{sal}*Rabitu* in Akkadian texts of the Levant,¹⁴ in particular in the large ‘dossier’ concerning the tragic daughter of Bentešina, better known as the *bitu*(DUMU.SAL) ^{sal}*Rabiti*.¹⁵ The wife of Bentešina, Gaššul(iy)awiya, who is given the title ^{sal}*Rabitu*, was the daughter of the Hittite king, Hattušili. This title referred not so much to her position or function in the royal court of her spouse, but to her lineage, i.e. her descent from the king of a superpower.

Singer arrived at the conclusion that there is no evidence for the association of the title DUMU.SAL.GAL = *Rabitu* “Great Princess” to the office of the Queen Mother, including biblical *g^ebīrāh*.¹⁶ This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that in 1 Kings 11:19 the name of the Egyptian queen Tahpenes, actually a corruption of an Egyptian title *t3 hm.t.nšw* “the Kings wife”,¹⁷ is correctly glossed with *g^ebīrāh*. The title identified her as the “chief consort” as distinct from the other royal wives of the royal harem. Also in Judah and possibly in Israel too, the chief consort of the king was supposed to become the official *g^ebīrāh* or Queen Mother, an office from which she could be removed if necessary (1 Kings 15:13).¹⁸ Singer may be correct in his assumption that this position was supposed to be given to the most important wife of the king, given to him in marriage, usually a princess from a royal family of equal if not of higher

¹³ I. Singer, ‘The Title “Great Princess” in the Hittite Empire’, *UF* 23 (1991) 327-335, especially 334-335

¹⁴ The relationship with Gilu-Ḫepa, *aššitu rabitu* “the wife, the Great Princess” or “the Chief Consort” (= Egyptian *hm.t wrt*) in the letters of Tušratta von Mittani (EA 29:18ff.; 63, 66f.) remains unclear and needs further investigation, compare also *wrt* referring not only to the Hittite Queen but also to a Great Princess in Egyptian documents; see E.Edel, ‘Weitere Briefe aus der Heiratskorrespondenz Ramses II; KUB III 37+ KBo I 17 und KUB III 57’, in: *Geschichte und Altes Testament* (Fs.Alt) (Tübingen 1953) 62; Singer, *UF* 23 (1991) 334.

¹⁵ H. Kühne, ‘Ammistamru und die Tochter der “Grossen Dame”’, *UF* 5 (1973) 175-184; W.H. van Soldt, ‘Een koninklijke Echtscheiding te Ugarit. De problemen van Ammistamru II van Ugarit en zijn echtgenote, dochter van Bentesinna van Amurru (13^e v. Chr.)’, in: K.R.Veenhof (ed), *Schrijvend Verleden. Documenten uit het Oude Nabije Oosten verraan en toegelicht* (Leiden, Zutphen 1983) 150-159.

¹⁶ Singer, *UF* 23 (1991) 335 referring to Kühne, *UF* 5 (1974) 180f who in turn quoted Schaefer, *Ugaritica III*, 32; H. Cazelles, *VT* 8 (1958) 104f, *CAD* (A 2) 464a.

¹⁷ M. Noth, *Könige I*, BKAT IX/1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1968) 253

¹⁸ G. Molin, ‘Die Stellung der *g^ebira* im Staate Juda’, *Theologische Zeitschrift* 10 (1954) 161-175; H. Donner, ‘Art und Herkunft des Amtes der Königinmutter im AT’, in: R. von Kienle et al., *Fs. J. Friedrich* (Heidelberg, 1959) 105-145; G.W. Ahlström, *Aspects of Syncretism in Israelite Religion*, (Lund, 1963) 61-85; De Vaux, *Les Institutions I*, 180ff.; Kosmala, *TWAT I*, col. 909; I. Ithromi, ‘Die Königinmutter und *‘am ha‘arez* im Reich Juda’, *VT* 24 (1974) 421-429; B. Lang, *Kein Aufstand in Jerusalem. Die Politik des Propheten Ezechiel*, Stuttgarter Biblische Beiträge (Stuttgart 1981) 101-104; N.E.A. Andreasen, ‘The role of the Queen Mother in Israelite Society’, *CBQ* 45 (1983) 179-194; J. Alberto Soggin, *An Introduction to the History of Israel and Judah* (London, 1993) 211f (with references).

rank in the political hierarchy. Several of the biblical royal weddings fit into this pattern of diplomatic marriages.¹⁹ The most famous one is Solomon's marriage with the daughter of Pharaoh (1 Kings 3:1; 7:8; 9:16, 24; 11:1).²⁰ Queen Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal king of the Sidonians became the *g^ebīrah* under Achab and his son Joram (2 Kings 10:13) and in turn her daughter Athaliah, the wife of Jehoram of Judah, was as such in office under her son, Ahaziah. Certainly more diplomatic marriages between the kingdoms of Syria and Palestine may have been concluded than the history of the ancient Near East²¹ and Old Testament mention (1 Kings 11:1ff; 14:21, 31; Psalm 45).

3. The title *rabbat(i)* and *g^ebīrah*

What then was the title of the king's wife who after dynastic marriage and, supposedly, after having given birth to a royal heir, was designated to become the next *g^ebīrah*, before she came in office? Could it have been the title *šēgal*? De Vaux suggested the title *šēgal* (Ps. 45:10; Nehemiah 2:6)²² to be the Israelite equivalent of the Judean *g^ebīrah*, but the Sumerian origin and almost exclusively Neo-Assyrian usage of the title does not favour his suggestion.²³ Landsberger considered the possibility that *šēgal* replaced the title *g^ebīrah* under Neo-Assyrian influence, but that is contradicted by 2 Kings 24:12; Jeremiah 13:18 and 29:2. On the other hand the context of *šēgal* in Psalm 45:10 identifies the young queen as a daughter of the king of Tyrus²⁴ and expresses clearly the favourite position of the newly wed royal consort. In any case, such a favourite consort *šēgal* is supposed to be of equal royal lineage. In Judah, this word *šēgal* had presumably a connotation similar to the title *rabītu*, *rabbat(i)* "Great Princess" in the extra-biblical texts, perhaps replaced it under Neo-Assyrian influence. Also in Judah and Israel, most probably the *rbt* as the chief consort of the king got promoted to the office of the *g^ebīrah* when she fulfilled the high expectations of her royal descent.

We suggest therefore to construe the word *hrbt* on this seal as the royal title "Great Princess", being the status of the king's chief consort before she officially became the new Queen (-Mother). Actually, this may never happen, for instance, if she happened to die before the old Queen(-Mother) passed away. We have no evidence from Ugarit that this title *rbt* was used for a Ugaritic queen, though we know of a *klt bt špš* "bride, daughter of His Majesty (the Hittite King)", possibly the spouse of Niqmad III, Anani-pe(n)digalli.²⁵ This might be accidental, because the title was frequently used for the wife of Bentešina, king of Amurru. Her initial title was apparently not *mlkt* for the spouse of the reigning king received the title *mlkt* only after

¹⁹ W. Röllig, 'Politische Heiraten im Alten Orient', *Saeculum* 25 (1974) 11-23; A.R. Schulman, 'Diplomatic Marriage in the Egyptian New Kingdom', *JNES* 38 (1979) 177-193; F. Pintore, *Il matrimonio inter-dinastico nel Vicino Oriente i secoli XV-XIII* (Roma, 1978).

²⁰ Noth, *Könige I*, 48f.; M.J. Mulder, *1 Koningen I*, COT (Kampen, 1987) 115f.; Soggin, *Introduction to the History of Israel and Judah*, 80f.; J.H. Hayes & J.M. Miller (Eds), *Israelite & Judean History* (London/Philadelphia, 1990) 375; H. Donner, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel und seiner Nachbarn in Grundzügen I*, ATD Ergänzungsreihe 4/1 (Göttingen, 1984) 217f.

²¹ Röllig, *Saeculum* 25 (1974) 11f.

²² De Vaux, *Institutions I*, 180-182, Baumgartner, *HALAT*, 1315a.

²³ B. Landsberger, in: *Hebräische Wortforschung*, 198ff.; W.G. Lambert, 'An Eye-stone of Esarhaddon's Queen and similar gems', *RA* 63 (1969) 66, who definitely established the equation *SAL.Ē.GAL/SAL.KUR = ša ekalli* indicating the main royal consort, distinctive from other, lesser wives in the royal harem.

²⁴ "daughter of Tyrus" is a breivloquens.

²⁵ See about the label *KTU* 6.24: W.H. van Soldt, 'Tbšr, Queen of Ugarit', *UF* 21 (1989) 389-391; M. Dijkstra, 'On the Identity of the Hittite Princess Mentioned in Label *KTU* 6.24 (RS 17.72)', *UF* 22 (1980) 97ff.

the old Queen (-Mother) had died. In the Ugaritic letters the queen is usually the Queen-Mother, often also addressed as *ady* or *umy ady*. The absence of the title *rabbat(i)* is perhaps just a matter of coincidence, because it was only used as long as the old queen was alive. Another case of *rbt(y)* may have survived in a Byblite funeral text from the son of Šipitbaal III of Byblos (ca. 500 BC; KAI 9). We present here a translation of the reconstructed text²⁶:

- 1) [nk b]n šptb¹ mlk gbl p¹lt ly hmškb zn
- 2) []t*h*x*x[]bytk blt [škb b]rn¹it 'rn¹ kn p¹[t]
- 3) [xxxxxxxxx mškb]b 'šl hmškb[zn l]y bmškb zn 'š skb bn wbmqm
- 4) [xxxxxx p¹lt m]qr hmškb 'š tn*[h 's]ly* 'nk* r*b*ty brbm wytn 'nk '[yt?]
- 5) [m ypq]y*t 'm w¹lt 'rn l*[ypt]h '[lt h'rn] zn lrgz šmy '*I*[b¹]
- 6) [šm]m wb¹ 'dr wb¹lt wkl '[ln gbl xxxxx]x '*I**[wb¹l šmm wb¹ 'dr]
- 7) [w]b¹lt wkl '[ln gbl]

- 1) [I am NN, the s]on of Šipitbaal, king of Byblos. I made this resting-place for myself
- 2) [.....the] ancestors(?), so that I would not [rest in] a sarcophagus on top of (another) sarcophagus. Therefore [I] have made [...]
- 3) [..... a resting-]place beside [this res]ting-place [for] myself. In this resting-place, in which rests (my) son and in the place,
- 4) [..... I made the va]ult(?) of the resting-place, in which was laid down(?) [asi]de myself my "Great Princess" in addition and I gave the [...]
- 5) [If someone comes upon] the sarcophagus and the cover of the sarcophagus, let he not [op]en the co[ver of] this [sarcophagus] in order to disturb my bones ! Certainly, [Baal]
- 6) [Šam]em and Baal Addir and Baalat and all the gojds of Byblos will him, who ...] the cover(?) [And Baal Šamem, Baal Addir]
- 7) [and] Baalat and all the [gods of Byblos...]

If correctly read and translated, line 4 implies that someone called *rby* was interred inside the new tomb made by the son of Šipitbaal. Also that this wife of the Byblite king seemingly died and was laid there to rest before the king himself passed away. This would tally with the fact that she did not receive the title "Queen" as the Ugaritic Queen Mother and the Phoenician queen Um-Aštarte, mother of Ešmunazar II, king of Sidon (*KAI* 14:15). She had still the title *rbt(y)* when she died.

I mentioned already the frequently found divine epithet (*h*)*rbt*/*rbt(y)*. Though it is as such not found in the Old Testament, an echo of it may be found in some texts, who refer to Jerusalem personified as a queen, in the same way as *g^ob^urah* (st. *g^oberet*) is used for Babel (Isa. 47:5,7). On analogy with the toponym *rabbat b^en^e Ammôn*,²⁷ we may point to *rabbat hamm^uhūmah* in Ezekiel 22:5 and, particularly, to Lamentations 1:1, where the parallellism of *rabbātī*//*šārātī* almost inevitably suggest the first word to be a female title too, implying a pun with *rabbāh* "capital":²⁸

'ēkāh yās^e bāh bādād
 hā'ir rabbātī 'ām
 hāyⁱtāh k^e 'almānāh
 rabbātī baḡḡōyīm
 šārātī bamm^u dīnōt
 hāyⁱtāh lāmās

How deserted lies
 the city once so full of people.
 How like a widow she became.
 The Great Princess among the nations
 the Queen under the lands
 became a slave.

²⁶ The two smaller fragment's apparently join (see *KAI* 2,10), but they together do not join to the large fragment. Still, their position to the right gives the best results.

²⁷ Fabry, *TWAT VII*, col.298

²⁸ H.J. Kraus, *Klagelieder <Threni>*, BKAT XX (Neukirchen-Vluyn 1968) 26.

4. Azaryaw, the Great Princess, an unknown queen?

If this seal indeed be a genuine piece that once belonged to a lady called "Azaryaw, the Great Princess", the last and perhaps most intriguing question is whether we may learn somewhat more about her historical antecedents. Unfortunately, no female person by name of Zeryahu or Azaryaw is known from biblical or extra-biblical sources, let alone a lady from royal descent. But if our deliberations about the diplomatic and dynastic ramifications of the title prove to be correct, the first group of females to think of are the Queen Mothers, whose names have been preserved in the royal annals of Judah used by the Deuteronomistic Historian. Almost all the Queen Mothers from Rehoboam until Zedekia are known. Not merely for genealogical reasons, but in all probability because the *g^bbirāh* held a high office in the Judahite government. In two clear cases however, the Queen Mother is not mentioned. The names of the mother of Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat²⁹ and the mother of Achaz, the son of Jotham³⁰ have not been recorded.³¹ This is quite remarkable, if the Queen Mother was mentioned in the Judahite chronicles for reasons other than genealogy. It is hardly plausible that their names were simply forgotten. Quite often the explanation is given, that they remained anonymous because they died before they could come into office, that is because the old queen simply outlived them staying in office during the lifetime of her son and even under her grandson as, for instance, Maacah and Hamutal did.³² In particular Hittite and Ugaritic customs and sources seem to support the latter possibility.

However, it would be too speculative to connect this "Great Princess" with one of these unknown queens from the Judahite records, for instance the mother of Jehoram son of Jehoshaphat in accordance with the palaeographic date of the seal. We may assume that there existed many more royal wives than the ones, whose names have been preserved in the Old Testament. Still, it remains within the realm of historical probability that this seal from the early 9th Century belonged to an Israelite princess³³ and possibly to a queen. The use of the title *(h)rbt* confirms that beside the office of the Queen Mother also other Hittite political influences and institutions were preserved in Northern Syria and the Levant in the 1st Millennium.³⁴

²⁹ J. Strange, 'Joram, king of Israel and Judah', *VT* 25 (1975) 191-201 suggested that he and Joram, the king of Israel were one and the same king.

³⁰ The third case: the mother of Abiam/Abiyah, who is Maacah, daughter of Ab(i)salom in 1 Kings 15:2, but Micaiah, daughter of Uriel of Gibeah in 2 Chron 13:2 - however again Maacah 2 Chron 11:20-22 - is very unclear, as unclear as the exact genealogical relation between king Abiam/Abija and Asa. In this case however, we may assume that Maacah remained in office for a long time, even after the death of her son before she was removed from office (1 Kings 15:13).

³¹ T. Ishida, *The Royal Dynasties of Ancient Israel* (Berlin, 1977) 156-157; D.B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton, New Jersey 1992) 322, 324f., Table 3.

³² Andreasen, *CBQ* 45 (1983) 192

³³ The ending -YW appears usually in Yahwistic names from Northern Israelite provenance, though not exclusively; see Avigad, *IEJ* 16 (1966) 50; M. Weippert, 'Jahwe', in: *RLA* V, 247; Freedman-O'Connor, *TWAT* III, col.540.

³⁴ Donner, *Fs. Friedrich*, 126, Andreasen, *CBQ* 45 (1983) 181