

Contents

Acknowledgments — vii

Abbreviations — xv

List of Original Publications — xix

Introduction — 1

David between Ideology and Evidence — 5

- 1 Introduction: Images of David — 5
- 2 The Problem of Historiography — 6
 - 2.1 Sources or Evidence? — 7
 - 2.2 Theories of Truth — 8
 - 2.3 The Idea of Narrativism — 10
 - 2.4 History Writing as Reenactment based on Evidence — 11
- 3 Landscape — 12
- 4 Climate — 12
- 5 Archaeology — 13
 - 5.1 The Palace of David and the Battle with Goliath — 15
 - 5.2 Demographic Developments in Iron IIA — 17
 - 5.3 Improvement of Terrace Building — 17
 - 5.4 Apiculture at Têl Rehōv — 18
 - 5.5 Fish bones in Jerusalem — 20
- 6 Epigraphic Evidence — 20
 - 6.1 Inscriptions Mentioning David — 20
 - 6.1.1 The Tel Dan Inscription(s) — 20
 - 6.1.2 Mesha:31 — 22
 - 6.1.3 Sheshonq Relief # 106 — 23
 - 6.1.4 Conclusions — 24
 - 6.2 Tenth Century BCE Inscriptions — 24
 - 6.2.1 Minor Inscriptions — 24
 - 6.2.2 The Tel Zayit Abecedary — 26
 - 6.2.3 Khirbet Qeiyafa Inscription — 28
 - 6.3 Literacy, Writing and the Emerging State — 29
- 7 Hebrew Bible — 30
- 8 David between Evidence and Ideology: A Reenactment — 33

Assyrian Evidence for Iconic Polytheism in Ancient Israel? — 34

- 1 Introduction — 34
- 2 An Assyrian Text: Sargon II Nimrud Prism IV:25–41 — 35
 - 2.1 Text and Translation — 36
 - 2.2 Differing Interpretations — 38
 - 2.3 A Literary Topos? — 39
 - 2.4 What has been carried away from Samaria
by the Assyrians? — 43
 - 2.5 Conclusion — 44
- 3 Sargon II Palace at Khorsabad Room V Slab 4 Upper
Register — 45
 - 3.1 Room V and Sargon's Western Campaigns — 45
 - 3.2 Slab 4 Upper Register: A Suggestion — 46
 - 3.3 Analysis — 46
 - 4 Conclusion — 48

How to Encounter an Historical Problem? “722–720” as a Case Study — 50

- 1 De ondergang van Samaria (1985) — 50
- 2 What is a Text? — 50
- 3 The Source as a Container of Evidence — 51
- 4 Point of View as a Power Position — 53
- 5 A Five Dimensional Matrix — 54
 - 5.1 Landscape — 55
 - 5.2 Climate — 56
 - 5.3 Archaeology — 56
 - 5.4 Epigraphy — 60
 - 5.5 Hebrew Bible — 61
- 6 The Two-Conquests Theory — 62
- 7 Event and Waves of History: *histoire conjuncturelle* — 64

West Semites at Tell Šēḫ Ḥamad: Evidence for the Israelite Exile? — 66

- 1 Introduction — 66
- 2 The “Red House” at Dūr Katlimmu — 67
- 3 Historical Context — 68
- 4 Assyrian Texts under Babylonian Rule — 69
- 5 West Semites at Tell Šēḫ Ḥamad — 72
- 6 Israelite Names in the Tell Šēḫ Ḥamad -Documents — 74
- 7 Remarks on the Theophoric Element *-iā-a-u* — 78
- 8 Evidence for the Israelite Exile? — 79

**Phoenician Snakes and a Prophetic Parallelism: An Implication
for Zephaniah 1,9 of a Recent Discovery in the Egyptian Pyramid Texts — 81**

- 1 A Problematic Parallelism — 81
- 2 Religiously Jumping over the Threshold — 83
- 3 Semitic Serpent Spells in the Egyptian Pyramid Texts — 84
- 4 Translation — 86
- 5 Rîr-rîr Versus Phoenician Snakes — 88
- 6 Prototypical Scenario — 89
- 7 A Side Step: Psalm 24 — 90
- 8 Zeph. 1:9 and Stage 2 of the Prototypical Scenario — 91

Sennacherib and Jerusalem: New Perspectives — 93

- 1 Introduction — 93
- 2 A Huge Tribute — 93
- 3 Sources — 95
- 3.1 Data from Assyrian Royal Inscriptions — 95
- 3.2 Data from the Hebrew Bible — 96
- 3.2.1 Hezekiah's Fourteenth Year and the Two-Campaigns
Problem — 96
- 4 A Closer Look at Sennacherib's Inscriptions — 101
- 5 The Focal Question and Some Answers — 102
- 5.1 Not a Problem — 102
- 5.2 Hezekiah as the Leader of an anti-Assyrian Coalition? — 102
- 6 A Fresh Look at the Evidence — 104
- 7 The Focal Question Again — 107
- 8 Money for Land — 108

Means of Revelation in the Book of Jeremiah — 109

- 1 Introduction — 109
- 2 Sign Acts — 111
- 3 Consulting the Divine — 112
- 3.1 Consulting the Deity — 112
- 3.2 Asking the Deity — 115
- 4 Dreams — 116
- 5 Dialogue at the Edge of Loyalty — 118
- 6 Conclusion: A Unique Prophet Persona that, However,
Stands in the Ancient Near Eastern Tradition — 123

A Fragmented History of the Exile — 124

- 1 Introduction — 124
- 2 Assyrian Exile — 124
- 3 Babylonian Exile — 125
 - 3.1 The Time Frame of the Exile — 125
 - 3.2 The Conquest of Jerusalem: Why and When? — 125
 - 3.3 The Gedaliah-Incident — 126
 - 3.4 Bethel and Mizpah — 128
 - 3.5 Egyptian Diaspora — 128
 - 3.6 Assignment Lists — 130
 - 3.7 Amnesty for Jehojachin — 131
 - 3.8 Eagleton and New Jerusalem — 132
 - 3.9 The Myth of the Empty Land — 133
 - 3.10 Traces of Return in Persian Documents? — 135
 - 3.11 The Myth of the Mass Return — 136
 - 3.12 Climate Change — 136
 - 3.13 The Temple Rebuilt — 137
- 4 The Balance — 137

Global Warming and the Babylonian Exile — 139

- 1 Event and Perspective — 139
- 2 Holocene Climate Patterns — 141
- 3 Climate Change and Human History — 145
- 4 Eagleton and New Jerusalem — 146
- 5 Babylonian Exile and Forced Migration — 148

The Return of the Deity from Exile: Iconic or Aniconic? — 150

Is There a Samaritan Identity in the Earliest Documents? — 159

- 1 Introduction: Three Concepts — 159
 - 1.1 Samaritan — 159
 - 1.2 Identity — 161
 - 1.2.1 Ethnic and religious — 161
 - 1.2.2 From the Samaritan we-tradition: — 162
 - 1.3 Earliest Documents — 164
 - 1.3.1 Mount Gerizim Inscriptions — 164
 - 1.4 Samaria papyri — 166
- 2 Samaritan Identity in the Earliest Documents? — 167
- 3 Conclusions — 171

More than one God? Three Models of Construing the Relations between YHWH and the Other Gods — 174

- 1 Introduction — 174
- 2 A Problem However — 175
- 3 Three Different Models — 178
 - 3.1 Intolerant Monotheism — 179
 - 3.2 Conditional Acceptance — 182
 - 3.3 Lending Deities — 184
- 4 Conclusion — 190

A Troubler of “Ancient Israel”: Philip Davies as Heir of Faustus of Mileve — 191

- 1 Introduction: Elijah and Philip Davies — 191
- 2 The Hybrid “Ancient Israel” — 191
- 3 Faustus of Mileve — 193
- 4 Reactions to Philip Davies’ Ideas — 193
 - 4.1 Consent and Approval — 194
 - 4.2 Vehement Resistance — 194
 - 4.3 Tertium Datur — 195
- 5 Later publications — 197
- 6 Lasting Contribution — 197

Bibliography — 199

Index of Ancient Sources — 235

Modern authors — 243