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“You will be named after your ancestors”:

Replicating Israelite Tribal Names in Judean Hebrew Inscriptions as Indexes of Refugee
Identity Alignment and Community Cohesion

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Near Eastern Languages and Cultures

by

Moise Isaac

2016

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

“You will be named after your ancestors”:

Replicating Israelite Tribal Names in Judean Hebrew Inscriptions as Indexes of
Refugee Identity Alignment and Community Cohesion

By

Moise Isaac

Doctor of Philosophy in Near Eastern Languages and Cultures

University of California, Los Angeles, 2016

Professor William M. Schniedewind, Chair

Following the Assyrian invasion in 733-722 BCE, the Northern Kingdom of Israel underwent a series of political-economic crises and a demographic decline that led to the displacement of thousands from the tribes of Israel and their resettlement in southern Judah. Within this fluid context of social change, war, statelessness, and displacement, there emerged a discourse concerning refugee tribal heritage.

This dissertation explores the forced migration of Israelite refugees into Judah during the late 8th century BCE and examines refugee language ideologies pertaining to their pre-displaced past as expressed by the replication of iconic tribal names. Tribalism is explored as a semiotic cognatic alliance in ancient Israel, and theories of linguistic anthropology are used to analyze naming variation between tribes and clans in Israel and Judah. Emphasis is placed on how

naming, as ritual practice, was embedded in cultural ideologies and values. The main contribution of this study is its revelation of how Israelite refugee name-giving practices were aligned with tribal history prior to the Israelite exile, and how this was one of the many social movements against assimilating to Judean identity and the threat of cultural erasure. Refugee heritage-naming practices indexed a reinforcement of group solidarity and embodied resilience in maintaining family and religious identity in Judean space. The performance of replicating tribal names by migrant families also indexed a certain nostalgia discourse about their tribal homeland and the hope of a restored segmentary tribal state. Israelite refugee naming practices also indexed the creation of a new symbolic Diaspora community in Judah that was not based upon territoriality or political regime, but instead on family kinship ties and community cohesion. At the same time, Israelite migrations brought in new social influences that reshaped the Judean cultural environment, such as creating hybrid forms of religious culture associated with Omri and Ahab, leading to negative social stigmas about those of minority status occupying the same social space, as evident in the Hebrew Bible. These stereotypes aside, the incorporation of refugee elites into the administration of Judah acted as a catalyst for social networks across the territorial boundaries of Israel and for King Hezekiah's expansionist ideologies and nostalgia aspirations for the reunification of Israel and Judah under one symbolic segmentary tribal state.

The dissertation of Moise Isaac is approved.

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2016

To:
My loving parents
Moise Isaac Sr., and Ginette Isaac

...

עשרת זקנים בני בנים ותפארת בנים אבותם

Grandchildren are the crown of their elders; the glory of children are their parents.

Proverbs 17: 6

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AHI* *Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions: Corpus and Concordance*. 2 Vols. G. I. Davies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991-2004
- CAI* *A Corpus of Ammonite Inscriptions*. W. E. Aufrecht. Ancient Near Eastern Texts and Studies 4. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1989
- COS* *The Context of Scripture*, Vols. 2-3. Monumental Inscriptions from the Biblical World. W. W. Halo and K. L. Younger (eds.). Leiden: Brill, 2003
- DDD* *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*. K. Van der Toorn, B. Becking, and P. W. van der Horst (eds.). 2nd ed. Leiden: Brill 1999
- DNWSI* *Dictionary of the Northwest Semitic Inscriptions*. 2 vols. J. Hoftijzer, and K. Jongeling. Handbuch der Orientalistik 21/1–2. Leiden: Brill, 1995
- DULAT* *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*. G. del Olmo Lete and J. Sanmartín. Translated by Wilfred G.E. Watson. Leiden: Brill, 2003
- HAE* *Handbuch der althebräischen Epigraphik*. 3 vols. in 4. J. Renz and W. Röllig. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995–2003
- HALOT* *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner, and J. J. Stamm. trans. and ed. under supervision of M. E. J. Richardson. 5 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1994–2000
- HITBP* *Hebrew Inscriptions: Texts from the Biblical Period of the Monarchy with Concordance*. F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, J. J. M. Roberts, C. L. Seow, and R. E. Whitaker. New Haven: Yale University, 2005
- KAI* *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*. 3 vols. 3rd-5th ed. H. Donner, and W. Röllig. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1979-2002
- PIAP* *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy and Prosopography*. R. Zadok. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 28. Leuven: Peeters, 1988
- PNA* *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*. S. Parpola (ed.). Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project. 1998- 2011
- PNPPI* *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions*. F. Benz. Studia Pohl 8. Rome: Biblical Institute, 1972
- PPD* *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary*. C. R. Krahmalkov. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 90; Studia Phoenica 15. Leuven: Peeters, 2000

- PTU* *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit*. R. Gröndahl. Studia Pohl 1. Rome: Pliptliches Bibelinstitut, 1967
- WSS* *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals*. N. Avigad and B. Sass. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1997

LINGUISTIC ABBREVIATIONS

DN	divine name
IH	Israelian Hebrew
JH	Judean Hebrew
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
Phoen.	Phoenician
PN	personal name

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Dissertation writing is more than developing a theoretical and analytical framework for the discovery of new information; rather, it is a journey, involving people, places, and painstaking labor, intersecting in ways that test the limits of human physical, intellectual, and emotional capacity. Along the journey there is a guide in whom academic and personal life can be made awfully difficult or unbelievably smooth. I have been blessed and privileged to have the latter in the name of William M. Schniedewind. He has been a model human being and I cannot possibly overstate my gratitude for his endless guidance, kindness, patience, wisdom, and intellectual brilliance. His courses in Hebrew Bible and Northwest Semitics were the inspiration for this dissertation topic. His door was always open to discuss research matters with me, and life in general. Without his assistance I would never have completed my dissertation research, and his careful remarks and feedback on multiple drafts of every chapter considerably improved the final product. I have been incredibly fortunate to have him as my mentor, advisor, and friend; indeed, his support is second-to-none.

During my academic journey at UCLA, I became interested in interpretive approaches outside the typical paradigms in my field. A new world was open to me in the field of anthropology; a world in which the apparently unlimited inventiveness and variability of human communities is seen not just in their arts, but in their social organization, interaction with the environment, cosmologies, and the details of meaning in their everyday lives. First and foremost was Paul Kroskrity, my outside advisor in anthropology, who opened this vista to me during my first year of graduate studies at UCLA. I am truly grateful for his many courses in Linguistic Anthropology that stimulated this research. He was incredibly kind in giving of his of time and insights to me with matters pertaining to language ideologies.

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I want to thank all my fellow colleagues at UCLA who have been very supportive over the years, specifically Cale Johnson and Matthew Suriano. I am grateful to Jena Barchas-Lichtenstein for inviting me to give a lecture on my research interests for the course Linguistic Anthropology: Language and Religion. She also provided excellent feedback and helpful comments on an earlier draft of Chapter 5.

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INTRODUCTION

From earliest recorded history right up to present-day Iraq and Syria, refugee migration is one of the surest outcomes of war and political turmoil. In the eighth century BCE, the Neo-Assyrian military conquest of the northern kingdom of Israel (consisting of the tribes of Ephraim, Manasseh, Issachar, Zebulun, Asher, Naphtali, Gad, and Reuben), resulted in both massive deportations to Mesopotamia and refugee migrations elsewhere, with a resulting severe demographic decline in the Galilee, Transjordan, and the highlands of Ephraim. In contrast, Judah and Jerusalem experienced tremendous settlement and demographic growth in the eighth century BCE. Archaeologists and historians have suggested that the urban expansion of Judah was a direct result of the influx of Israelite refugees after the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C.E. (see Finkelstein 2015).

Until recently, the general consensus among scholars was that the defeat of Israel led to a flood of refugees that migrated to the southern kingdom of Judah, especially Jerusalem. For the last thirty years, researchers such as Broshi, Avigad, Schniedewind, and Finkelstein have generally concluded that Israelites fled from the highlands of Samaria and other regions of Israel into Judah during the late eighth century BCE (Broshi 1974; 1978; Avigad 1983; Finkelstein and Silberman 2001; Schniedewind 2004; Finkelstein and Silberman 2006; Finkelstein 2008). Their evidence was based on the collection of Israelite stories in the canon of Judah as well as the population increase of Judah, especially Jerusalem, the capital city of the southern kingdom of Judah, in the eighth century BCE.

However, this theory has recently come under attack. Several scholars, such as Na'aman (2007; 2008; 2009a; 2014) and Guillaume (2008) have challenged the notion of a wave of late eighth century BCE Israelite refugees to Judah and Jerusalem. Some attribute the settlement

increase in Judah to natural growth alone (Barkay 1985; Vaughn 1999; Faust 2014). Others see the expansion of Jerusalem as caused by both natural growth that began in the late ninth century BCE and by an influx of local Judeans from areas of Judah devastated during the Sennacherib campaign of 701 BCE (Na'aman 2007; 2009a).

A close reading suggests that theories both for and against the refugee hypothesis have been proposed in passing without being based on a sustained or in-depth analysis. Since Magen Broshi's 1974 proposal that a flood of refugees from Israel came to Judah during Hezekiah's time period, scholars have generally assumed it to be true or agreed with this interpretation without adding supporting argumentation. To date, the most comprehensive attempts to determine the presence of Israelite refugees in eighth century Judah are found in Schniedewind (1999; 2003; 2004; Rendsburg and Schniedewind 2010), Finkelstein (2008; 2015; Finkelstein and Silberman 2001; 2006), and Burke (2011; 2012). However, absence of a full examination of Israelite refugee migration to Judah has been an important theoretical gap in the studies of ancient Israel and Judah.

This dissertation aims to fill this gap, and draws upon the field of linguistic anthropology for heuristic tools to determine Israelite identity in Judah. Linguistic anthropology's theories and methods bring together linguistics, cultural anthropology, and sociology. Using these methods also allows us to bring in archaeology, history, and inter-related aspects of human society. Language, which is central to human society and culture, is a fundamental marker of group identity. Linguistic anthropology provides ways to link the microanalysis of language with macro socioeconomic patterns, cultural and religious institutions, and political forces. For linguistic anthropologists, context is absolutely key when investigating linguistic forms. Michael Silverstein, one of the major figures in the field, argues that the fundamental datum for the

scientific study of language is the ‘total linguistic fact,’ which is produced from the “unstable mutual interaction of meaningful sign forms contextualized to situations of interested human use, mediated by the fact of cultural ideology” (1985: 220). Hence, language encodes cultural ideologies and provides an avenue to reconstruct Israelite refugee identity in Judah.

Refugee migration in urban centers is an especially rich context in which we can examine the relationship among language, identity, and politics. While language contact is a fact of almost all refugee situations, it has rarely been addressed by scholars of ancient Israelite society as a key factor for linguistic identity, language change, or language maintenance. However, here the notion of language ideologies, a subfield of linguistic anthropology, can be of real use. The study of language ideologies allow us to examine how language works as a social process, linking language, meaning, and social structure. The theories and methods of linguistic anthropology can be fruitfully applied to the study of ancient Israelite and Judean society and help us shed light on the consequences of migration. The eighth century B.C.E. is particularly well-documented by both historians and archaeologists, and so provides good ample data for an in-depth analysis of the role refugees in Judah.

Given this dissertation’s focus on Israelite identity, the following terms will be used to describe the tribal groups and dialects of the northern kingdom of Israel in distinction from Judah. The name *Israel* will refer to the Northern kingdom of Israel or the Israelite tribes in contrast to the name *Judah*, which refers to the southern tribes and the southern kingdom. The term *Israelian Hebrew* (IH) will refer to the dialects of the Northern kingdom of Israel in contrast to *Judean Hebrew* (JH), which refers to the dialects of the southern kingdom of Judah. The term *Israelian* was coined by H. L. Ginsberg to designate the sociopolitical entity of the northern kingdom (1982: 2) and the term *Israelian Hebrew* was used by Rendsberg (1990b) to

describe the dialectal differences from Judean Hebrew. Certainly, there were spoken dialects in Israel that were believed to be distinct from the ones spoken in Judah during the Iron Age II period, but accounting for them in written text-artifacts is a challenge given the limited number of sources (Schniedewind 2013: 74-77). There is a tradition of scholarship, however, attempting to account for Israelian Hebrew in inscriptions (Harris 1939; Sarfatti 1982; Garr 1985; Israel 1989; 2000; Briquel-Chatonnet 1992a; 1992b; Young 1997; 2003; Rendsburg and Schniedewind 2010; Schniedewind 2013: 76-77, 88-92) and in the Hebrew Bible (Gordon 1955; Kutscher 1982; Ginsberg 1982; Rendsburg 1990b; 2002; 2003; 2012; Young 1993; Noegel 1994; Schniedewind and Sivan 1997; Rendsburg 2003; 2012). Criticisms frequently aimed at this approach have drawn attention to the lack of adequate inscriptional data from which to make broader claims regarding the Israelian Hebrew language.¹ However, the substance of this dissertation research is not based upon limited sources. To the contrary, the data set for this research is based entirely on Israelian Hebrew names that are found in abundance in inscriptions and in Israelite genealogies that allow conclusions to be drawn from a more stable foundation (the approximate number of Israelite and Judean names in the corpus of epigraphic Hebrew inscriptions of the Iron Age II period is over 675 [Davies 1991-2004; Renz and Röllig 1995-2003; Dobbs-Allsopp et. al. 2004; Aḥituv 2008]). Since language is the most definitive form of ethnic identity, it affords us the best chance to find markers of Israelite identity in Judah.

The methods of linguistic anthropology will be used to show how in the late eighth century BCE, elite Israelite refugees often maintained their connection to their pre-displacement

¹ Some have questioned the school of thought about the reconstruction of Israelian Hebrew—based upon the limitation of sources and the broad definition of Israelian Hebrew (as essentially anything that is not Judahite Hebrew) (Pardee 1992; Fredericks 1996; Smith 2000). Rendsburg and Schniedewind, on the one hand, have recently argued against this view (Rendsburg 2013a; 2014; Rendsburg and Schniedewind 2010).

tribal past through linguistic identity alignment. Previous studies have approached linguistic evidence from Israelite refugees as found in archaeological sources and in the Hebrew Bible from a referential and static point of view, which has its limitations. In general, static and referential approaches to language analysis focus only on the truth-value of denotational features of language and texts: in other words, they only look at what things in the world the words refer to. By contrast, a linguistic anthropological approach focuses on meaning in linguistic activity and the ongoing use of language in social construction. This approach will be used in this dissertation to explore the ways that cultural knowledge and meaning are revealed and constructed through naming practices. Both ethnographic and linguistic anthropological studies will be used to reconstruct refugee identity in both the archaeological record and the Hebrew Bible.

In addition, this dissertation explores the role of language in building tribal self-identification. Using data from excavations from Judah, I will demonstrate that post-displacement elite Israelite refugees in Judah, as constructed in text-artifacts, were oriented away from Judean language and culture and instead aligned towards their pre-displaced tribal past in Israel. Identity alignment towards Israel was expressed in different ways, including the use of Israelite tribal names, the choice of Israelite spelling for personal names, script styles, and code-mixing (hybridization). Naming was one way to embody group identity, and through an examination of naming we are able to construct Israelite bodies in Judean space. Using theories and methods of linguistic anthropology, I work to reconstruct Israelite refugee identity in the material culture of ancient Palestine in the Iron Age II B-C period. Based upon the interdisciplinary analytical frameworks proposed in this dissertation, a total of 184 names in Judah were discovered to index an alignment with elite Israelite refugees.

CHAPTER 1

ISRAELITE REFUGEES IN JUDAH: THE FRAMING OF A NEW ANTHROPOLOGICAL PARADIGM

Scholars of the history of ancient Israel and Judah have long assumed that Israelite refugees migrated to Judah. However, the methodologies for this assumption have been unsatisfactory and the textual data have been lacking. Surprisingly, a comprehensive theory and analysis of refugee migration of Israelites to Judah has yet to be undertaken. This dissertation aims to fill this theoretical gap and fix this long-held assumption by examining Israelite refugee identity in Judean written artifacts.

This chapter provides a brief overview of the debate surrounding the historicity and archaeology of Israelite migration to southern Judah in the wake of the Assyrian invasions of the 8th century B.C.E and frames a new paradigm for this debate. I outline the debate over Israelite migrants in Judah among Biblical scholars and archaeologists. I also discuss various theories on the anthropology of refugees. Theoretical insights from the anthropology of refugees are important to the discussion of Israelite refugee migration, as they help answer questions as to why the Israelites appeared in Judah and help explain the demographic-settlement increase in Judah in the late 8th century BCE. Tracing the path of forced migrants and refugees in Judah helps us understand their urban dispossession and displacement in Israel-Transjordan, and lets us address larger questions of identity and cultural meaning.

There is a significant disparity in the amount of scholarly work that has been done on the migration and exile of ancient Israelites: far more studies have been devoted to the Babylonian exile of Judah in the 6th century BCE than to the exile of Israel after 734-722 B.C.E and the ensuing migration of Israelites to Judah. For example, a number of recent publications on the

history of Israel have focused either on the Babylonian exile of Judah (Lipschits and Blenkinsopp 2003; Lipschits 2005; Ben-Zvi and Levin 2010; Ahn 2011; Kelle, Ames, and Wright 2011; Boda, Ames, Ahn, and Leuchter 2015) or Sennacherib's invasion of Judah in 701 BCE (Oded 1979; Gallagher 1999; Grabbe 2003; Evans 2009; Young 2012; Bagg 2013; Kalimi and Richardson 2014). The few studies devoted to the fall of Israel and its aftermath focus more attention on Israelite exiles in Mesopotamia (Becking 1992; Oded 1995; 2000; 2010; Younger 1998; 2003; Zadok 2002; Shavitsky 2012; Cogan 2013) than the remnants in Palestine (Stern 2001). However, recent studies have drawn attention to the lack of Assyrian regard for building local community economic networks after devastating Israel (Bagg 2013; Faust 2015b) and to the issue of Samaritan origins (Knoppers 2013; Pummer 2016). Hence, a comprehensive study of Israelite refugees in Judah is still a desideratum and this study aims to remedy this void. First, we will trace theories of the origin of Israelite refugees in Judah.

1.1 The Emergence of the Israelite Refugee Migration to Judah: Theories based upon the Hebrew Bible

Academic theories about an influx of Israelite refugees to Judah began in the early 20th century, when biblical scholars began to reanalyze the origins of the Book of Deuteronomy. Several studies advanced the idea that the Book of Deuteronomy originated among prophetic and Levitical circles in Israel and was brought to Judah after the fall of Northern Kingdom in 721 BCE, in particular during the time of Josiah (Welch 1932; Clements 1965; Nicholson 1967:58-59, 119-124). For example, Albrecht Alt (1953) argued that the laws of Deuteronomy were for the system of twelve tribes—originating outside of Jerusalem— and eventually was brought to Judah during Josiah's time. Gerhard von Rad (1953) argued that Northern Levites fled to Judah with their tradition and caused a spiritual awakening centered on the Deuteronomic ideology.

Nicholson (1967) and others advanced a similar idea of displaced prophetic-Levitical groups (Heb. *ger*) migrating south to Judah and reforming Jerusalem cult traditions along Deuteronomic lines. In contrast, Nicholson argued that Deuteronomy was brought to the south during Hezekiah's time, rather than Josiah's, as he sought a policy "to re-establish the boundaries of the all-Israelite state of the Davidic-Solomonic kingdom" (1967: 12). Along these same lines, the preoccupation of the Book of Deuteronomy with the care of the foreigner (Heb. *ger*; Deut. 1:16; 10:18–19; 14:21, 29; 16:11, 14; 24:17, 19–21; 26:11–13) in addition to the fatherless, the widow, and the Levite (cf. Deut. 24:19–21; 26:12–13), fits nicely with the social-structural concerns of displaced refugees.²

The theory of refugees fleeing Israel and bringing their northern religious tradition of Deuteronomy (among other literature) with them to Judah is not undisputed. On the one hand, this theory continues to have support among scholars (e.g., Roth 1981; Ginsberg 1982; van der Toorn 1996a: 352-362; Finkelstein and Silberman 2006; Finkelstein 2012: 153-155; Fleming 2012: 308-312). But on the other hand, differing opinions have been expressed regarding the date and provenance of the book of Deuteronomy, and there are some who locate the book of Deuteronomy in Judah (Na'aman 2008; Knauf 2009). Still others believe the tribe of Benjamin to have been the medium of transmission of Northern traditions into Judah, especially during the Neo-Babylonian/Persian period, thereby rendering unnecessary the refugee migration theory (Knauf 2006; Davies 2007; see also Fleming 2012 on the role of Benjamin). However, according to Finkelstein, in his reanalysis of the archaeology of Bethel, "there is no evidence for

² Whether the Heb. *gr* "foreigner" in Deuteronomy includes some Israelites who were displaced by the Assyrian invasions is up for debate (for support, see for ex. Deut. 24:14–15 and the following studies by Rost 1969; Kellermann 1977: 439-49; Spina 1983: 321-325; van Houten 1991: 156; Bultmann 1992: 216; van der Toorn 1996a: 341-353; Sparks 1998: 240-241; Achenbach 2011: 29 ff; Awabdy 2014: 16-25, 110-114).

meaningful habitation at Bethel between the Iron IIC and the Hellenistic period, and hence 6th century Bethel could not have been the channel for transmission of northern texts into Judah-Yehud” (2011c: 364-365; also Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz 2009). What appears to be indisputable, however, is that Deuteronomy and its traditions “do not originate in one place at one time. They reflect a long history of oral transmission before being collected” (Schniedewind 2004: 83).

More recently, scholars have begun to attribute the Northern traditions and cultural influence in Judah to arrival of Israelite refugees. Bardtke (1971: 238ff) attributed the increased economic productivity in Judah to the influx of liquid capital from refugees migrating from the northern kingdom into Jerusalem (he also tied the complaints of the Judean prophets to the abuse of wealthy refugees). According to Cogan and Tadmor (1988: 220), “northern ideas reached Judah...the refugees from Ephraim after 722 who resettled in Judah brought the proto-Deuteronomy to its new home.” Some date the first redaction of Kings to the period of Hezekiah, when a mass of refugees migrated from the north (Provan 1988). Van der Toorn (1996a: 339-372) attributes Israelite traditions in Judah to an Ephraimite Diaspora that occurred after the fall of Israel. Walter Dietrich and Thomas Naumann observe that refugees from the north “amalgamated with Judahite heritage, alongside legal and poetic material, and even narrative material- the Jacob, Joseph, Moses, conquest, judges, Elijah, Elisha, and Jehu stories” (2000: 302-303). Schniedewind (Schniedewind and Sivan 1997: 337; 1999: 56-59; 2004: 73-81; 2013: 88-90) claims that several Israelite literary traditions were brought to Jerusalem and that the “Northern prophetic texts would have had to be compiled in Hezekiah’s royal court” (2004: 89). Finkelstein and Silberman also argue for the arrival of northern traditions by refugees to Judah during Hezekiah’s time (2001: 223, 2006: 269; Finkelstein 2012: 153-15). Keel (2007) argues

that the influx of refugees from the northern kingdom directly impacted the nationalist theology of Judah, especially regarding rival cults and exclusive worship. Lastly, Wright suggests, among other possibilities, that an Israelite transplant composed the Covenant Code during Hezekiah's reign (2009:116).

To be sure, there are explicit references in the Hebrew Bible to arrival of refugees from Israel into Judah. Micah, a prophet during the 8th century BCE, chides the inhabitants of the city of Lachish for following the cult traditions of Israel—undoubtedly due to the arrival of refugees—and the rich elites in Judah for adhering to the cultural practices of Omri and Ahab, the two prominent Israelite kings (Mic. 1:12–13; 6: 16). The prophet Isaiah gives several oracles to the remnant of Israel and survivors of the House of Jacob living in Judah and to the Israelite exiles in Mesopotamia (Is. 4:2; 10:20-21; 11:11-13; 14:1). The post-exilic Chronicler mentions that some Israelites migrated to Judah after the Assyrian exile (2 Chr. 30:25; 2 Chr. 31:1; 2 Chr. 34:9; 2 Chr. 35:18; 41:5). Moreover, refugees in Judah may have been the target audience for prophetic oracles regarding the restoration of Israelite territories (Isa. 9:1; 33:9; Mic. 7:14; Jer. 4:15; 8:16; 22:20; 31:6ff; 50:19; Ezek. 48).

To sum up, an Israelite refugee migration theory emerged in Biblical studies out the need to explain the arrival of Israelite traditions in Judah, and this view continues to find support among scholars. However, whether or not one may be able to reconcile this view with the archaeology of Jerusalem and Judah is a matter of debate.

1.2 Israelite Refugee Migration to Judah: Theories based upon the Archaeology of Judah

In the 8th century BCE, Jerusalem underwent a settlement transformation to become the largest city in Judah. The settlement of Jerusalem during late-8th-7th centuries BCE consisted of

a total of 70 hectares within and 20 hectares of extramural settlements (Geva 2003b; 2014).

Most settlements in Judah were at most 3 hectares, and Lachish was approximately 6 hectares in size. Jerusalem's Upper City or Southwestern Hill (comprising the modern Jewish and Armenian Quarters of the Old City and Mount Zion) covered an area of 450 dunams (Avigad 1983: 31–60; Geva 2014: 139). Population estimates for Iron Age Jerusalem range from 6,000- 20,000 (Broshi and Finkelstein 1992; Broshi 2001: 110-120), 15,000-20,000 (Kloner 2003: 23*), or 20,000-26,000 (Faust 2014: 267-268).³ Hence, Jerusalem was a major center and city-state during this time. What were the factors that contributed the growth of Jerusalem? This survey is not intended to be exhaustive, but will rather highlight import features of the debate regarding Israelite refugees as the cause for the settlement growth of Jerusalem and Judah.

The contention over the archaeological evidence of Israelite refugees in Judah emerged as a secondary concern to the question of whether or not the Upper City (western hill) of Jerusalem was occupied during the 8th century BCE. The first century CE Jewish historian Josephus was first to affirm the occupation of the western hill in Jerusalem during the Biblical period (Avigad 1983: 57; Vaughn 1999: 59). Scholars could not verify if Josephus' statement applied to the Biblical period or just the Second Temple period. On this question, scholars were divided in two camps: the maximalists, who supported the view that the western hill or upper city was occupied during the Biblical period, and the minimalists, who did not (Vaughn 1999: 59-61). The debate raged on, without archaeological confirmation or denial, until the 1960s. The excavations of Jerusalem by Kathleen Kenyon in the 1960s further complicated the picture. After digging a trench in the western hill, Kenyon claimed, based upon her view of *pars-pro-toto* of limited

³ Some estimates of Jerusalem's population are lower, such as those of Geva (2014: 140-141), who recently proposed figures of 2,000-3000 in the 8th century BCE and 6,000 in the 7th century BCE.

samples, that the Upper City was not settled during the Iron II period. Her findings would be later disputed by Avigad's excavations of the Jewish quarter from 1969-1978.

At first, Avigad was a minimalist—as many were, as Kenyon's hypothesis of the occupation of the Upper City was the dominant theory of his day—until the discovery of a broad fortification wall changed his perspective. Avigad's excavation in Area A revealed an 8th century BCE fortification wall in the northern section of the Jewish Quarter that had obliterated an earlier building (1983). The ceramic finds in the fills, stratigraphic layers on the floor, and *lmlk* seals (“belonging to the king”) on the top and side of the wall supported Avigad's dating of this wall (Vaughn 1999: 61). Beside the fortification wall, several residential buildings were discovered just north of the Broad Wall and were dated to the same period (Vaughn 1999: 62). But the questions of when the Upper City began to be occupied and the extent of the occupation remained unresolved (Geva 1979; 2003b).

There are two challenging factors that are relevant in establishing both the emergence and occupational capacity of the Upper City that are often overlooked. First, Avigad's excavation was a salvaged dig prior to the erection of modern houses and buildings, which have hindered further excavations. Therefore, many areas in Jerusalem can not be excavated, because they became settled and occupied (this includes the majority of the Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Quarters). Second, there were no catastrophes that befell the Upper City between the Iron IIB and Iron IIC period; the Broad Wall and the Babylonian invasion from 605-586 BCE are the only destruction layers. Third, there were no large-scale excavations of the Upper City with stratigraphic sequences of the 8th and 7th centuries BCE (there was a *longue durée* of occupation in which the stratigraphic layers were superimposed upon each other). That is, we do not possess enough knowledge on the exact periodization of the Iron II period in Upper City to allow us to

determine if the expansion occurred in 720 BCE or 770 BCE. Consequently, further theoretical refinement on the expansion of the western hill is virtually impossible, and we may never know the exact decade when the Upper City expansion began to accelerate. This quandary has left some scholars cautious about any thesis regarding the size and expansion of Jerusalem (Ariel and de Groot 2000:162). Nevertheless, there were some indications in Avigad's excavations that the Upper City was inhabited prior to the late 8th century, such as the discovery of tombs along near the fortification walls of the Western Hill (Vaughn 1999: 64). This evidence led Avigad to conclude that the Upper City was first settled in the early part of the 8th century BCE (1983: 55). However, he attributed the building of Broad Wall to Hezekiah in the late 8th century BCE, based in part on the ceramic finds and the textual references in Isaiah 22: 9-11 and 2 Chronicles 32: 4-5 (Avigad 1983: 56).

1.2.1 The Growth of Jerusalem: Gradual Growth, One Wave, or Two Waves of Migration?

Since Avigad's discoveries, archaeologists and historians have tried to account for the urban expansion of Jerusalem and Judah during the eighth century BCE.⁴ According to Broshi, the growth of Jerusalem was due to two waves of refugees: an influx of refugees from the northern kingdom of Israel after the fall of Samaria and the depopulation of rural Judah after Sennacherib's campaign in 701 BC (Broshi 1974: 21-25; 1978: 5-14). Kenyon also supported

⁴ For a brief overview of the discoveries in Jerusalem, see Greenhoot 2012. Thus far, the following excavation reports on the archaeology of Jerusalem that are relevant to the refugee hypothesis have been published: the City of David (Shiloh 1984; Ariel 2000; Ariel, Brandl, Cahill, Naveh, and Shoham 2000; Ariel and de Groot 2000; Ariel, Hirschfeld, and Savir 2000; De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg 2012); Kenyon's excavations of the South-East Hill (Franken and Steiner 1990; Eshel 1995); the Upper City (Geva 2000; 2003; 2006; 2010; 2012; 2014); Western Hall tunnel (Bahat and Solomon 2003); Necropoli (Barkay 2000); Temple mount and Ophel (Mazar and Mazar 1989), and Givati parking-lot (Ben-Ami 2012; 2013).

this view, stating that the settlement on the western hill was to accommodate refugees from the north (1978: 79). However, McClellan contends that while a few refugees came from Israel, “the bulk of the new refugees came from Judah itself, from the regional towns which were destroyed before and at the time of the Assyrian invasion of 701 B.C.” (1978: 282).

The two-wave migration hypothesis (from Israel and the Shephelah of Judah) continues to have adherents (Zwickel 1994; 1999: 358; Van der Toorn 1996: 339-373; Miller and Hayes 2006: 412). Of particular note is Schniedewind, who provides several points in support of Israelite refugees in Judah (1999; 2003: 380-86; 2004: 68–73, 94–95; 2013: 76-77, 88-90; Rendsburg and Schniedewind 2010). Schniedewind maintains that a necropolis on the eastern slope of the Western Hill was in use in the 8th century BCE, but went into disuse after arrival refugees and the building of the Broad Wall (1999: 52-53). Secondly, Hezekiah’s water and building projects during this period point to the rapid growth of Jerusalem during his reign (1999: 53; 2004: 66-72). Schniedewind regards Hezekiah naming his son ‘Manasseh’ (a powerful Israelite tribe) (2004: 94-95) and the appearance of *lmk* jar impressions in Israel as indicating Hezekiah’s attempt to incorporate the northern tribes of Israel (1999: 54; cf. 2003: 94-95; 2004: 71). Regarding the second wave of refugees, Schniedewind observes that “the increase in smaller settlements around Jerusalem established in the late eighth or seventh century . . . Er Ras, Beit Safafa, Malḥa, En Yael, and Mevasseret Yerushalayim” was needed to “replace the devastated agricultural infrastructure of the Shephelah” (1999: 54-54).

Israel Finkelstein is another scholar that supports the two-wave migration hypothesis (Finkelstein and Silberman 2001; 2006; Finkelstein 2008; 2012; 2015). Regarding the transformation of the Jerusalem in the 8th century BCE, Finkelstein and Silberman argue:

In a matter of a few decades-surely within a single generation-Jerusalem was transformed

from a modest highland town of about ten or twelve acres to a huge urban area of 150 acres of closely packed houses, workshops, and public buildings. In demographic terms, the city's population may have increased as much as fifteen times, from about one thousand to fifteen thousand inhabitants (Finkelstein and Silberman 2001: 243, 266, 273).

For Finkelstein, Jerusalem's rapid transformation was not the result of natural population growth.

First, he contends that Upper City was not inhabited in the 9th century BCE and that the discovery of a few sherds from the Iron II A-B does not point to settlement activity (2008: 504).

On the contrary, Jerusalem's rapid growth did not begin prior to the middle of the 8th century and reached its peak in the last third of that century (Finkelstein 2008: 514). Secondly,

Finkelstein argues that the rapid growth of Jerusalem (and Highlands of Judah) was due to a wave of refugees from Israel and by Sennacherib's devastation of the Shephelah in 701 BCE (2008: 514-515; 2015: 197). Regarding the percentage of refugees in Jerusalem and Judah,

Finkelstein and Silberman claim, "in light of the extent of the population growth in this short period, an assumption that up to half of the Judahite population in the late eighth/early seventh century BCE was of Israelite origin cannot be too far from reality" (Finkelstein and Silberman 2006: 266). However, proof for this claim is difficult to assess and they confess that the evidence

is "meager" (Finkelstein and Silberman 2006: 266). Finkelstein supposes that the reason why one cannot find Israelite pottery and other cultural artifacts is because "the refugees came from the southern part of the highlands of Israel . . . where the material culture was quite similar to

that of Judah" (Finkelstein and Silberman 2006: 266). But the demographic decline in the

southern Samaria highlands— from 238 sites in the 8th century to 127 in the Persian period, and a decrease in population in the regions between Shechem and Bethel from 34,000 to 9000 people (in contrast to the relative stability of settlements in the northern Samaria highlands)— suggests

that Israelites who migrated to Judah fled from southern Samaria (Finkelstein and Silberman

2006: 267-269). Finkelstein and Silberman (2006: 267) appeal to the fact that the olive-oil presses in the rural areas of the Northern Kingdom (late 9th -8th century BCE) that suddenly emerge in the Shephelah of Judah during late 8th century BCE indicate the presence of refugees in Judah. Moreover, Finkelstein (2015: 202-203) finds certain elements of Israelite culture in Judah that began to appear in the late 8th century BCE such as: pottery from the Phoenician coast/Israel; ashlar masonry at Beersheba and Ramat Rahel; proto-ionic capitals; longitudinal pillared buildings; rock-cut tombs; square bone scaraboids; and a large number of Israelite traditions in Judahite literary texts.

The two-wave migration hypothesis has garnered support from archaeologists such as Ronny Reich (Reich and Shukron 2003: 217; Reich 2011: 313). Reich maintains that the eastward expansion of the City of David took place in the 8th century BCE, and that there was then a western expansion as a result of the fall of the Northern Kingdom (Reich 2011: 313-314).

However, there are other models concerning the expansion of Jerusalem's Upper City. Barkay (1985; 1992: 367) has argued that the Upper City began to be settled in the 9th century BCE, and that the growth of Jerusalem stemmed from Hezekiah's theological agenda. Halpern argues that Hezekiah moved the rural population to the western hill in preparation for the Assyrian invasion (1991). Herr (1997) argues that the flight of refugees in the 8th century along with economic trade were the catalyst for Jerusalem's growth. Vaughn insists that Jerusalem did not grow overnight, but that instead extramural settlements "began gradually by at least the beginning of the 8th century...It is reasonable to assume that when refugees came south after the fall of Israel, many of them settled in Jerusalem. However, this new influx of settlers should not be taken, as Broshi argues, as the primary cause for the settlement and development of the land around the old City of David" (1999: 69).

Of particular interest is Hillel Geva's conservative theory on the occupation of the Western Hill (1979; 2003b; 2006; 2014). Geva asserts that the expansion of the southwestern Hill was the result of natural increase and internal migration. He rejects the idea that the settlers' origins were outside Judah; that is to say, even if some settlers came from outside Judah, they were insignificant in number and most were indigenous Judeans. Geva contends that settlement in the Upper City began in the mid-8th century BCE and that the lower strata of local Judeans sparsely settled this area and not Israelite refugees (2003a: 522).

The recent excavation of the Givati Parking Lot in the Western Hill has added another dimension to the debate. The excavations by Ben-Ami (2012; 2013) led to the discovery of Stratum XII, which is dated to the 9th century BCE. Faust incorporates the few pieces of Iron II A pottery that were discovered in Stratum XII into his model to argue for the gradual progression and natural growth of the Upper City without a major catastrophe from the 9th century BCE to the 8th century BCE; this natural growth peaked in the 7th century BCE (Faust 2014). However, in an earlier article, Faust concedes that, "[a]dditional growth probably occurred with the arrival of refugees from Samaria, after the kingdom of Israel was destroyed by the Assyrians" (2005: 109). Uziel and Szanton (2015: 247-248) consider Building 2482 in Areas C of the City of David—dated to the late 9th–early 8th centuries BCE—along with the finds from the Givati parking lot as supporting the gradual growth of Jerusalem in the 9th century BCE.

Over the last few years, some scholars have rejected the claim that Israelite refugees caused the demographic increase in Judah and Jerusalem. The most vocal critic has been Nadav Na'aman. Na'aman in particular is stridently opposed to attributing the growth of Jerusalem to Israelite refugees. According to Na'aman's model, based on his interpretation of the textual evidence, "the growth of the city of Jerusalem was gradual, starting in the ninth century and

accelerating in the eighth century BCE, culminating in the late eighth-early seventh centuries” (2007: 21). He contends that Jerusalem’s growth was a slow process and then, after Sennacherib’s invasion in 701 BCE, there was a one-wave migration of Judean refugees from the Shephelah (Na’aman 2007; 2008; 2009a, 2009c; 2009d; 2014). Na’aman also contends that the discovery of four buildings that preceded the construction of the Broad Wall point to emergence of the settlement of the Western Hill in the late 9th century BCE (2007: 27). Moreover, Na’aman finds no evidence of Israelite refugees in the archaeology of Judah, such as inscriptions, names, or cultural artifacts (2007; 2014). He also denies that Israelites would have been able to migrate to Judah under Assyrian supervision (2007). Others support Na’aman’s contention that Jerusalem’s growth was due to an influx of refugees from the Judean Shephelah (Ariel and de Groot 2000:162; Knauf 2006).⁵

Davies (2007) argues that migrants fled from the territory of Benjamin in Jerusalem, not Israel. Davies observes, “If Benjamin had been part of the territory of Judah at the time of Hezekiah, it is hard to explain the expansion of Jerusalem as resulting from mass flight from Israel; many of the refugees, if there had indeed been any, would more probably have settled in the cities of Benjamin” (2007: 103 n. 23). Davies assumes that a migration of Israelite refugees, “is intrinsically improbable: agrarians would not flee to a city that could not support them and especially to one whose ruler was an Assyrian vassal; nor would such an influx have led to the

⁵ Ariel and De Groot point out that, “If one accepts Broshi’s reconstruction, one would expect to find that the construction of the extramural neighborhoods of Jerusalem was restricted to the second half of the 8th century BCE. Broshi was not aware of the fact that on the western hill and on the eastern slope of the City of David hill, such an extramural neighborhood was already in existence. The development of the neighborhoods was gradual, starting at least at the beginning of the 8th century BCE and in some cases, as in the City of David, even earlier. Broshi’s reconstruction should therefore be revised. Any influx of refugees to Jerusalem would have brought about some growth of the extramural neighborhoods, to the point where Hezekiah was unwilling to continue to leave them outside the city limits. We have seen, however, that Hezekiah may have had other reasons for fortifying the western hill *besides* an influx of refugees” (2000: 162).

kingdom adopting the name of a defeated neighbor that had in all likelihood dominated it for centuries” (2013: 110-111).

Philippe Guillaume (2008) raises several objections to the Israelite refugee hypothesis. Guillaume draws attention to the fact no Biblical or archaeological source mentions a migration of Israelites into Judah (2008:196). Selectively citing the archaeological data, Guillaume promotes the idea that Judah and Jerusalem likely experienced *lower* growth and expansion from 735-701 BCE than after that time period. In his estimation, Jerusalem exploded after 701 BCE, “in particular when Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal mounted all out operations against Egypt (671-667 BCE)” (2008:196). Accordingly, Jerusalem would have been a supply base for Assyrian troops and thus would have been fortified by the Assyrians rather than Judeans (2008:198). Therefore, he insists that the defensive works around Jerusalem were part of the Assyrian offensive under Manasseh and not a flood of Israelites or Benjamite refugees under Hezekiah (2008:199). Regarding the phenomenon of refugee migration, Guillaume poses this question: “Were deportations feared enough to prompt farmers to abandon their land?” (2008:200). He answers in the negative: Israelites, facing Assyrian armies, would have likely sought shelter among caves and other regions like Gilead and returned home shortly thereafter rather than migrate to the distant areas of southern Judah and Jerusalem. Guillaume also attributes the dramatic population growth of Judah and Jerusalem to Assyrian importation of populations, possibly from Ashdod, Gimtu, and Ashdod-Yam (2008:201).

However, Guillaume does not do readers the service of informing them of other realistic possibilities. First, not all migrants were farmers; it is more likely that Israelite elites migrated to Judah, and these are the identities more clearly represented in the corpus of artifacts than poor farmers. In fact, Schniedewind had already raised the idea that the, “new immigrants were not

the north's farmers or pastoralists, who would have stayed on their ancestral lands. A disproportionate number of the refugees would have been the social and cultural elites: nobles, government officials, scribes, craftsmen, temple priests" (2004: 95). Secondly, Guillaume's contention that the Broad Wall was built in the days of Manasseh is unsubstantiated (Vaughn 1999: 61-62; De Groot, Geva, and Yezerski 2003: 15-16; Ben-Ami 2014). Finally, he does not consider Israel's pre-existing kinship and patronage ties with Judah or Hezekiah's agenda to incorporate Israel into Judah's political orbit as factors in the refugee migration debate. According to Middle Eastern ethnographic studies, tribes and clans will merge to form larger kinship groups based upon ideas of cooperation, mutuality interest, and common enemies (Eickelman 1989; 2002). Before the arrival of Assyria, Israelite and Judean tribes were enemies, but at other times they coexisted and were treaty partners (Miller and Hayes 2006). The kinship, economic, and political networks created during these partnerships did not dissolve after the Assyrian invasion (for more on this, see Chapter 5). Moreover, the recruitment of Israelites into Judah would have been to Hezekiah's advantage in the context of his uprising against Sennacherib from 704-701 BCE (Schniedewind 2004: 69, 83).

Burke endorses a new archaeological model as a refutation of Na'aman's hypothesis (2011; 2012), adapting eight concepts from the *Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction* (IRR) model to the archaeological record to determine the identification of refugees in the material culture of Judah. These eight concepts are landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increased mortality, and community disarticulation (2011: 44-46; 2012: 4, 9). In addition, Burke adds linguistic evidence to the equation when identifying refugees in Judah—i.e. two official *lmlk* seals ('belonging to the king') with the *yw* theophoric name and the linguistic idiosyncrasies of the Siloam tunnel inscription that point to Israelian

Hebrew (2012: 17-18). He also finds evidence of marginalization in Jerusalem and the Judean Desert to support his model. Burke reasons that the refugees were employed in labor projects—including Hezekiah’s Tunnel and the Broad Wall— and that the growth of Jerusalem’s hinterland and expansion to the Judean Desert were strategies for dealing with an influx of refugees (2011: 51-53; 2012: 21-23). Burke notes that Jerusalem grew in size from ca. 8 hectares in the 9th century BCE to ca. 50 hectares in the 8th century BCE (2012: 12-13), and illustrates how the growth rate in Jerusalem more than doubled in the 8th century BCE in comparison the Iron II A period (from 0.6 percent per annum to more than 1 percent per annum). He declares that, “[t]aken as a normative growth rate for Jerusalem’s population over the Iron Age . . . Jerusalem’s attested size by the end of the eighth century vastly exceeds the anticipated growth of the city based on earlier trends...approximately 53 percent of Jerusalem’s population arrived in the late eighth century” (2011: 49-50).

Admittedly, the extramural neighborhoods of Jerusalem began before the late 8th century BCE (Barkay 1992: 329; Faust 2014), but this is not the nail in the coffin in the refutation of a refugee migration theory. As mentioned above, the recent excavations of the Givati Parking Lot of Jerusalem revealed pottery types dated to the late 9th century BCE (Ben-Ami 2012; 2013). However, this finding does not answer the question of when the acceleration of settlement density began to take place in the Givati Parking Lot. Secondly, De Groot, Geva, and Yezerski (2003: 15-16) point out that all pottery types from the Upper City in areas A, W, and X-2 do not pre-date the 8th century BCE. The same argument holds for Area A (Yezerski 2006: 84), and Areas X, D, and T (Yezerski 2012: 268).⁶ While certain parts of the Upper City may have been

⁶ There are some parallels to Lachish IV-III, but the quantity is not definitive enough to date the whole strata to this period (contra Barkay 1985). The findings from the Givati parking lot are more in line with Barkay’s theory regarding typological parallels with Lachish IV in the Upper City (Vaughn 1999: 68).

slowly occupied in the 9th century BCE, the acceleration process occurred after the mid- 8th century BCE (as Finkelstein, Schniedewind, and Burke point out). This was when the so-called Broad Wall was erected. If settlement density occurred in the late 9th-early 8th century BCE, then why wasn't the Broad Wall built during this time (in the Givati Parking Lot)? According to Ben-Ami, "all Iron Age fortification components unearthed in Jerusalem are the outcome of one comprehensive building operation that took place at the close of the 8th century BCE" (2014: 17). If so, then the more likely scenario is that the Broad Wall was built as a consequence of refugees that densely settled in the Upper City decades prior to the Assyrians threat.

Another quandary in the debate over the gradual growth, one-wave, or two-wave migration theories is that the growth of the settlement of the Upper City is difficult to quantify. It is challenging to calculate the exact nature of the demographic changes to the Western Hill. It is unclear if the houses in the Western Hill were built in the late 9th century BCE or mid 8th century BCE. That is to say, it is difficult to distinguish between early and late phases of the Iron II B period (i.e. between the early to late 8th century BCE). Thus, the archaeology of the Western Hill alone can not determine whether or not expansion occurred in 770 BCE or 720 BCE. The only conclusive point is the fact that Jerusalem grew tremendously in the 8th century BCE. Needless to say, the challenges in quantifying settlement growth should not lead us to exclude the anthropological phenomena of refugees during this time. In other words, migration is the inevitable consequence of war and in light of the demographic decrease in the Northern Kingdom of Israel in the late 8th century BCE it makes the most sense to attribute Jerusalem's demographic increase during this same period to the arrival of refugees from Israel.

On another note, notions that lie behind the anti-Israelite migration theory do not withstand much scrutiny if we broaden the scope of the debate to include the overall population

increase in Judah at the end of the 8th century BCE. First, several studies have documented the population density and territorial expansion of Judah during the Iron II B period, specifically during the eighth century BCE. Studies have shown that Judah reached the peak of settlement density during the Iron II B period in the regions surrounding Jerusalem (Kloner 2000; 2001; 2003; Weiss, Zissu, and Solimany 2004; Greenhut and De Groot 2009), the Highlands (Kochavi 1972; Ofer 1993a; 1993b; 1997; 2001; Patrich 1994), the Shephelah (Dagan 1992; 2000; 2004; 2006a: 36*-39*; 2006b; 2010; 2011; Sion 2015), Judean Desert (Hirschfeld 1985: 8*-9*; Finkelstein 1994; Vaughn 1999: 71-78; Faust 2008; Master 2009), and the Negev (Cohen 1985: vii-xii; Govrin 1991: 14*-15*; Rosen 1994: 17*-18*; Beit-Arieh 2003: 11*-12*; Cohen and Cohen-Ami 2004: 5*, 12*-13*; Thareani-Sussely 2007; Faust 2008; Baumgarten 2012; Thareani 2014; Eldar-Nir and Danino 2014; Baumgarten and Silberklang 2015). If the southern region of Benjamin is added into the equation, it is seen that it too experienced settlement increase during this period (Finkelstein and Magen 1993: *29); in fact, Magen attributes this growth to the arrival of refugees from Israel (2004: 2). Therefore, the growth of satellite communities throughout Judah occurred during the 8th century BCE and not the late 9th century BCE. This suggests that significant growth of the rural population of Judah occurred after the fall of the Northern kingdom, thus causing the region of Judah to be remapped demographically. Settlement patterns in the Judean Shephelah, Negev, Desert, and Highlands experienced significant density,

and Israelite refugees were part of the catalyst for this settlement increase.⁷ The population of receiving states that were war-free zones, such as Judah, increased dramatically.⁸

As another corrective to the misguided singular focus on Jerusalem in the refugee migration debate, it is important to call attention to the fact that Shephelah experienced the zenith of settlement density in the late 8th century BCE (Dagan 2000; 2004: 2681; 2010; 2011). The number of settlements in the Shephelah (including the recent publication of the Ramat Beth Shemesh survey) grew from 71 sites in the Iron IIA period to 731 sites in the Iron IIB period and then decreased—after the Assyrian invasion of 701 BCE— to 128 sites in the Iron IIC period (Dagan 2011: 257, 259, 261). Because refugees are a general consequence of war, then it stands to reason that the exponential increase of sites and economic production in the Shephelah was a result of the settlement decrease in Israel that was brought on by the Assyrian invasions from 732-722 BCE.

Studies have shown that the peak in economic production in the Shephelah occurred before 701 BCE. This peak could only have been stimulated by an exogenous population, such

⁷ It cannot be discounted that were other ethnic groups that sought asylum in Judah. The states of Israel, Philistia, Aram were dissolved, and the consequence was the movement of populations throughout the southern Levant.

⁸ It must be noted that any integration of the population of Jerusalem changed the social fabric of that society. For example, Chatty notes the millions of refugees in the Middle East changed the host nations tremendously (2015). Just an increase of 10% of the Jerusalem's population would have been dramatic and had a profound impact on Jerusalem's culture. If Jerusalem under Hezekiah was a city of 20,000 people and absorbed 2,000 refugees from Israel, then this increase would have significantly impacted Judean culture. Schniedewind highlights one area where Israelite elites affected Judean culture: the level of literary production. He promotes the idea that "a significant number of the immigrants who fled south into Judah and Jerusalem would have been literate. One is reminded of a modern example: the refugees who poured into the modern state of Israel after the breakup of the Soviet Union. This huge flood of immigrants was largely composed of cultural elites, but there was no room immediately for all of their skills. As a result, concert pianists worked as street cleaners. In a similar way, ancient Jerusalem must have received a very large number of skilled and literate refugees. Many of these people, however, could be put to work in the burgeoning government bureaucracy. The demographics of literacy added a catalyst to the development of literature at the end of the eighth century B.C.E." (2004: 95).

as the mass migration of refugees from Israel (Vaughn 1999: 20-21, 64-69; Katz 2008a: 171-178; 2008b). For example, Katz (2008b) argues the mass olive production of the Shephelah—especially Beth Shemesh— was accomplished by the influx of refugees. Secondly, Jerusalem’s hinterland grew exponentially during the late 8th century BCE. Hundreds of farmsteads and agriculture estates emerged in late the 8th century BCE— a date based upon the pottery-types and the scores of *lmlk* seal impressions discovered at these sites. These agricultural sites appeared to meet the growing food-supply need that was a result of the population increase (Edelstein and Kislev 1981; Edelstein and Milevski 1994; Feig 1994; 1996; Edelstein, Milevski, and Auran 1998; Edelstein 2000; Feig 2000; 2003; Faust 2003; Kloner 2003; Feig 2011; Moyal and Faust 2015). Hezekiah’s economic buildup was accomplished with the help of refugees (Zwickel 1994).

There are also recent attempts to account for Jerusalem’s hinterland growth in the 7th century and not the 8th century BCE. First, Greenberg and Cinamon (2011:101) contend that wine production in Rogem Gannim began to intensify in the 7th century BCE. Moyal and Faust state that Jerusalem’s “dense network developed in the 8th century BCE, and peaked in the 7th century BCE, in tandem with the development of the city itself. This growth was probably augmented by the arrival of refugees, mainly from the Shephelah” (2015: 284). Gadot argues that the zenith of economic production in the Soreq Valley and Rephaim Valley occurred in the 7th century BCE (2015). But again, the discovery of hundreds of *lmlk* seal impression at these sites requires a beginning date in the late 8th century BCE— even though the storage jars continued to be used in the 7th century BCE (Greenberg and Cinamon 2011:95). Moreover, Greenberg and Cinamon acknowledge that the technology of “large-scale viticulture was not practiced in the Jerusalem Hills prior to the late 8th century, technological know-how would

have to have been introduced in an organized manner. This would have included both the planting and tending of the vines and the processing of the grapes into wine. It is tempting to suggest that such know-how could have been purveyed by the putative northern (Israelite) refugee” (2005: 238). Hence, it is more likely that Jerusalem’s hinterland began to experience settlement density and increased economic production during the late 8th century BCE.

Second, the presence of Israelite artisans and craftsmen in Judah is also evident during the late 8th century BCE.⁹ Keel and Uehlinger argue that Egyptian-Phoenician iconography arrived in Judah only in the late 8th century BCE, and “craftsmen who resettled there from the North” influenced these iconographic styles (1998: 179). Brandl (2000b; 2006; 2012; 2015) contends that a stone cosmetic palette, an epigraphic bulla, and a basketry-box seal were items brought to Jerusalem by Israelite refugees. Winderbaum (2015: 391-392, 408) finds two bullae—one with a trunkless palmette decoration and another with a four-winged scarab—as originating from the Northern kingdom and brought to Judah by Israelite refugees.¹⁰

Third, the royal *lmlk* jar handles dispersed throughout Israel during the late 8th century BCE—Bethel, Jericho, En-Tut, Gezer, Jezreel, Kefar Ata, Mt. Meiron, and possibly Nahalal—underscore the lack of closed borders between the territories of Israel and Judah and potentially explains how refugees could come to Judah (contra Na’aman 2007; Guillaume 2008).¹¹ For if Judeans could come to Israel, then surely Israelites could come to Judah.

⁹ The sudden emergence of rock-cut tombs in Judah during the late 8th century BCE may be due to the migration of Israelite artisans to Judah after the fall of Samaria (Barkay 2000; Nutkiewicz 2006; Fantalkin 2008; Faust and Bunimovitz 2008; Osborne 2011).

¹⁰ Among other artifacts that point to a Northern influence, Geva published a stone colonete that is similar to ones at Hazor and Beth-Shean (Geva 2012: 460).

¹¹ The sites in Israel where the *lmlk* jar handles were discovered (Lipschits, Sergi, and Koch 2010) are outside the hegemonic orbit of Judah while they were under the *Pax Assyriaca*. See the discussion in

Fourth, the ceramic inventory in Jerusalem, based on sites that have been excavated, reveals strong indications of contact with Samaria and southern Ephraimite sites of Gezer during the eighth century BCE (Eshel 1995: 62; de Groot, Geva, and Yezerski 2003: 7; Yezerski 2006: 86; 2010: 104; note the Samarian-type cult stand in de Groot, Geva, and Yezerski 2003: 15). The morphological parallels of Israelite pottery types in Jerusalem points to the presence of immigrants in Judah and contact with Israel.

Many opponents of the theory of an Israelite migration to Judah would agree that certain material cultural indicators listed above are more convincing than others. However, many points remain unresolved, given the limitation of sources. Thus, we may never be able to fully reconcile the archaeology of Jerusalem with refugee debate.

Recently, there are been several rejoinders between Finkelstein (2008; 2015) and Na'aman (2009; 2014) over the presence of refugees in Judah. Na'aman (2014) repeats the same arguments with fervor or outright dismisses Finkelstein's evidence. For Na'aman, the absence of evidence is the evidence for the absence of refugees in Judah. I will highlight the one issue in this debate that is most relevant to this dissertation: the absence of the Israelite theophoric *yw* names (and Israelite names in general) in Judah. To counter Na'aman's assertion that Israelite names are absent in Judah, Finkelstein reasons, "one can assume that descendants of Israelite families had already taken Judahite names, or written their name in a Judahite form" (2008: 509). However, Na'aman responded with this point:

Of the 12 personal names with the theophoric element *yhw/yw* whose names were impressed on the *lmk* jars and are precisely dated to the late 8th century BCE, only one (*ywkn*) is spelled with *yw*, whereas a second name was rendered on one stamp *ywbnh* and on another *yhwbnh*.¹ . . . The diminished popularity of the *yw*-names in the late 8th–early 7th century contradicts the assumption that thousands of Israelites, many of them carrying the Israelite theophoric element *yw*,

entered the Kingdom of Judah after the Assyrian conquest of Israel in 720 BCE. Otherwise, we would expect to find a dramatic increase in popularity of the element *yw* in Judahite personal names slightly before and after Sennacherib's 701 campaign to Judah (Na'aman 2014: 5).

In his last rejoinder, Finkelstein claims that Na'aman's argument would only be valid if we possessed a larger onomastic database for Israel "close to 720 and for Judah immediately thereafter" (2015: 194). Moreover, Finkelstein lists six refutations to Na'aman rejoinder; I will only quote four of them:

3. What we have at our disposal from seals and seal impressions (and bullae) are names of officials, probably relatively high in the hierarchy of the Judahite bureaucracy. It must have taken at least several decades for Israelites to reach this status. By then Israelites or their descendants may already have used the Judahite version of the theophoric component in their names.
4. Israelites who reached the high echelons of Judahite bureaucracy must have adopted Judahite ways of writing the theophoric name. In fact, they may have embraced local culture as a means to advance their social status.
5. Many of the Israelites who made their way south must have emigrated from southern Samaria, which bordered on Judah. We do not know how the theophoric name was written in this region.
6. When it comes to the broader set of data, most inscriptions found in Judah as well as late monarchic biblical texts date to the late 7th and early 6th centuries BCE, approximately a century after the migration of Israelites from the north. One cannot expect the Israelite manner of writing theophoric names to have survived in Judah over so long a period (Finkelstein 2015: 194).

The issue here is really over naming and 'identity.' Both Na'aman and Finkelstein raise valid arguments, but at the same time, the methodological sophistication on both sides is problematic. First, the criterion for identifying Israelite refugees solely by the theophoric *yw* is extremely narrow. Israelite naming styles varied in Israel, and therefore their identity in Judah cannot be narrowly defined by the theophoric *yw*. Secondly, as will be discussed in Chapters 2, 3, and 5, naming styles are semiotic systems that are encoded with social habits, values, ideologies, and cultural beliefs. Thus, if we broaden the criterion to include all Israelian Hebrew naming styles, then their identity in Judah will be more clearly recognizable. Third, Israelite

naming styles were used in interactive contexts with specific meaning and these meanings were created and being created by users. The meaning of a name in interactional contexts points to the name-bearer's agency and stance in relation to his/herself and the other. Thus, the theophoric *yhw* does not possess meaning on its own, but is created and being created by users in interactional contexts. That being the case, the meanings and values attached to the *yhw* theophoric by users in Judah may not be what Finkelstein and Na'aman assigned them to be. For example, it appears inconceivable to Finkelstein and Na'aman that an Israelite refugee could reconfigure his or her name into a code-mixed form with the theophoric element *yhw*. Both scholars assume *a priori* that the only cultural and ethnic categories available to users with this theophoric *yhw* were "Judean" and "non-Judean"—as if hybrid identities in naming styles did not exist. Therefore, naming and identity is more complex and messy than what both scholars recognize them to be. Fourth, the social contexts are not given their due consideration. For example, under what conditions would a user select a name with the theophoric *yhw* in the late 8th century BCE versus the mid 7th century BCE? This question is left unanswered. These are just a few points that highlight the methodological flaws in both approaches to the representation of Israelite identity in Judah and the need for new theories and fresh ways (specifically interdisciplinary contributions) of conceptualizing this issue.

Having described the archaeological arguments for and against Israelite refugees in Judah, I want to move towards providing tools for both analyzing and raising questions about the ancient formations of refugee identity. Rather than go down the same path as the studies outlined above, I propose a different reading and interpretation of the data: one that incorporates anthropology and examines culture and society.

1.3 The Archaeology of Refugee Migration: Framing An Anthropological Paradigm

The study of refugee migration and other forced displacement episodes are a major area within the field of anthropology. In this scientific field (along with history, sociology, and psychology), this area of research is still developing and being refined. Unfortunately, advances in the field of refugee migration have not yet been incorporated into the study of the Levant (Syria-Palestine and Transjordan) in the Iron Age II period. Scholarship in this area has stagnated in terms of examining the affects of imperial policies upon the lives of ancient people and how the displaced construct agency and meaning in their new settings. (Some recent studies on exile tacitly approve the role of anthropology for insights on the topic, but do not sufficiently implement these insights, including Ahn 2011; Kelle, Ames, and Wright 2011; Berlejung 2012; Nadali and Vidal 2014; and Boda, Ames, Ahn, and Leuchter 2015).¹² Our field can benefit from how anthropology approaches the study of displacement and forced migration. To fill this void, this dissertation draws upon theoretical and ethnographic studies from the geographic horizon of the Middle East and North Africa. Because of the currently ongoing war and displacement in Syria, more study has been devoted to the Syrian refugee crisis than any other area (for example, see the website: www.unhcr.org). These theoretical and ethnographic studies provide the modern interpreter a possible range of analogous experiences that can help fill the gaps of our historical and cultural knowledge of the past.

1.3.1 What is a refugee?

¹² The effects of war on society in general, from the perspective of archaeology and socio-cultural anthropology, is found in volume edited by Otto, Thrane, and Vandkilde 2006.

According to the UN Refugee Agency, there is a difference between a migrant and a refugee. “Migrants, especially economic migrants, choose to move in order to improve the future prospects of themselves and their families. Refugees have to move if they are to save their lives or preserve their freedom. They have no protection from their own state”

(<http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c125.html>). Thus, a refugee is someone who is forced to leave their homeland and cross a border to another country to seek asylum and ensure their survival. Their movement is involuntary and/or politically motivated, as opposed to the more predictable category of economic migration and illegal immigration (Chatty 2010: 11). Refugees are also internally displaced persons, stateless persons, and people who have little control over their environment and were forced to flee extreme conditions (Chatty 2010: 17).

The number of refugees around the world is at a record high. In 2014, the United Nations refugee agency placed the number of internally displaced people (IDPs) and refugees worldwide to approximately 60 million—that figure is up 8.3 million from the previous year (unhcr.org). At the time of writing, the majority of the refugees and dispossessed are to be found in the Middle East (Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan, Egypt, and the Maghreb).

Turning our attention to Syria, the political crisis and conflict that has been ongoing since 2011 is the main contributing factor to the increased trend of displacement. As of the end of 2015, there are approximately 9.5 million people in the Syrian Arab Republic who are displaced—those who refused to cross the border into neighboring states, which is approximately 28% of the Syrian population, outnumbering the refugees who have fled to other countries

(<http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php#>). In addition, there are over 4.5 million registered Syrian refugees— that is not to say anything of refugees who are unregistered—who have fled and emigrated from their homeland to other countries (cf. the 2015 mid-year trends at

unhcr.org or <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php#>). Based on these figures, there are more Syrians who are internally displaced than are refugees in other countries. These internally displaced persons fear that if they leave Syria they will not be able to return, given to the Assad's regime's strict stance on emigration.

Despite this threat, Syrian refugees can be found in all of the countries neighboring Syria; it is expected that refugees will be found in states adjacent to the devastated region that was once their home (an expectation that holds for the Iron Age period as well).¹³ Registered Syrian refugees have found temporary asylum in adjacent regions such as Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, and Lebanon (over 2.1 million), Turkey (1.9 million), Iraq (Iraqi-Kurdistan), and more distant countries in North Africa and Europe (<http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php#>). The vast majority of the Syrian refugee population is Sunni Arab, but there are ethnic minorities among them, such as Christians, Kurds, Druze, Armenians, and Shiite Muslim sects. The refugee population ranges in age, class, education, and skill sets. It goes without saying that the presence of such a large refugee population in host countries has changed and will change the ethno-cultural landscape of these nations for a significant amount of time

Having established what a refugee is, the question that now remains is: what theoretical tools and analytic framework are at our disposal that can be productively applied to the debate on refugees in ancient Israel and Judah? It is important to not only apply a theory of refugees, but also to incorporate empirical and ethnographic data. What questions need to be asked in framing this line of inquiry and why do they matter?

¹³ For Israel in the Iron Age period, it was Ammon to the east and Phoenicia to the west, and Philistia and Judah to the south. The material culture of Judah also experienced changes, which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

First, we must determine the state of research of the anthropology of forced migration in the Middle East. There is much common ground among the social sciences on the need to view refugees less in terms of state paradigmatic centers and more in terms of micro-community activity.

A central theoretical problem in migration studies is that fact the field makes the state the starting point, and people are classified as belonging either inside or outside the state. Shacknove (1985) argues that refugee studies are too state-focused, and considers a broad spectrum requiring international intervention (1985:277). Immigrants are typically assigned the “outside” status in relation to the state and role they play is a marginal one. More often than not migrants are viewed as destructive to the unity of society; one can just observe the present-day concerns about Mexican and other Hispanic immigrants in the national discourse in America (or the same scenario in Europe in terms of the millions of Middle Eastern refugees). However, the empirical data on identity formation for immigrants shows that they often have contradictory experiences in the host state and a lot depends on the needs and openness of host state so that immigrants can thrive (Haddad 2008; Hanafi 2014; Chatty 2014). Furthermore, immigrant’s assimilation to a new environment is not always conclusive, as some resist and retain their alignment with their old identity, while others forge new hybrid identities. Not all immigrants are perceived or evaluated in the same way; consider some American views that are more open towards Cubans but not Haitians, or Europeans but not Mexicans. Nor are they integrated in the same pattern or rate, nor assimilate in the same way. We must take into consideration on the cultural ties, ideology, and the politics of the host state.

Generally, there are three factors that affect refugee migration, which are classified as push factors and pull factors (Haddad 2008; Chatty 2010; 2015). First, decisions to migrate are

typically based upon the availability of information regarding safe zones or regions where one can gain a livelihood. This information will influence the choice of destination. Second, decisions to migrate can be based upon the attachment someone has to a specific new location and its connection to his/her identity (whether religious or sentimental). Third, social networks play a role in migration; for example, pre-existing family connections in a target destination increase the likelihood of thriving.

1.3.2. What Does it Mean to be a Refugee?

A variety of factors play a role in the refugee experience and identity, including age, gender, ethnicity, language, health, socio-economic status, religion, the cause of the crisis (e.g., socio-political or natural), and affected geographical area. A refugee, once displaced, must learn new behaviors and deal with new situations: e.g. documentation requirements, receiving aid, and living in less than ideal conditions. Furthermore, to be a refugee is to be in a new state or a new category, situations to which the refugee must adjust and adapt. A refugee must learn to survive in a new environment, one that is outside the usual political order of citizenship and inclusion. A refugee must also endure the trauma of losing family ties, educational opportunities, and work opportunities in their homeland. As refugees travel by land and sea, they are often threatened by death and, if they have money, serve as targets for theft and the seizure of any goods they brought with them.

The lived experience of forced migrants is highlighted in Chatty (2010), in particular in a 2005 interview with a man named Abdul Salem, who was 93 years old at the time. Abdul's parents and grand parents had been refugees who fled from the Russian–Ottoman wars in the Northern Caucasus at the end of the 19th century. As his family gathered around him to hear him

tell his story about his parents and grandparents, he begins with this statement:

We came in carts – big carts – we didn’t stop. Eating and drinking were all done in the carts – all the way from Abkhazia to Sham [Syria]. What can I say? Death would have been much better. When a person dies, he is rested. But those grandfathers of ours suffered a lot, as no other people ever did (Chatty 2010: 7).

Abdul’s story is not dissimilar to the lived experiences of Israelites and Judeans under Assyrian hegemony in the Iron Age II period. One need only to look at the detailed palace reliefs of Tiglath-Pileser III and Sennacherib, two prominent kings of the Assyrian empire during the 8th century BCE, to get an ancient version of the scene Abdul Salem has described. For instance, in the palace reliefs of Tiglath-Pileser III there is a scene of Assyrians taking away Israelites from Ashtaroth in Bashan (Tadmor 1994: 239, fig. II, Wall III, Relief 36; Tadmor and Yamada 2011: 144-146 no. 51). The displaced Israelites are depicted as leaving the fortified city in one line, carrying a small sack of food on their shoulders, and wearing a tilted cap and sandals, as if to say that they have left all their prized possessions and belongings behind them and will take only the bare necessities with them as they walk to exile. Similarly, Sennacherib’s southwest palace relief in Nineveh depicts the siege, destruction, and deportation of Judeans from Lachish, but in greater detail (Ussishkin 2014: 86-88). On slabs 4, 5, and 6 are vivid drawings of soldiers carrying off booty from Lachish and slaying the officials of King Hezekiah’s who led the rebellion against Assyria. In the upper and lower row are woman and child deportees on carts with their belongings and men walking barefoot with their children toward their exile in Assyria. The oxen driving the carts are emaciated with their ribs depicted and the little children cling to their father’s hands, as if fearing their foreboding fate. Thus, like Abdul’s parents, they too could have claimed: “We came in carts – big carts – we didn’t stop” on our way to Assyria.

Migration is an inevitable part of human society. For modern refugees, as well as ancient

ones, there are critical decisions to be made about staying or leaving. The choices between the two are generally based on the most preferable living conditions. Typically when people emigrate across a border and settle in a new territory, there is no return to their homeland but instead, they will remain in the host community for the rest of their lives (especially Iraqi and Syrian refugees). Generally, only the highly skilled or financially capable can return home (with the exception of those for whom their country of origin is dangerous for political reasons, such as present-day Syrian men who have fought against Assad's regime).

Research in present-day Jordan indicates that over 600,000 refugees from Syria have been registered there (<http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/country.php?id=107>). Interviews that were conducted with Syrians in Jordan provide a nuanced perspective of the importance of labels such as a 'refugee' versus a 'displaced person' (Davis and Taylor 2015). These labels are usually politically loaded: consider, for example, the difference between 'illegal immigrants' and 'asylum seekers'. When Syrians in Jordan are asked whether or not they consider themselves refugees, the answer is no. Rather, they label themselves as displaced individuals because they plan to go back home Syria; their citizenship and alignment remains with Syria, and they are reluctant to change labels. (Note that Syrians in Jordan consider the Palestinians there to be refugees, because they can never go back home [Davis and Taylor 2015]).

According to UN Refugee agency studies, the amount of time that refugees are uprooted from their home averages 17-18 years globally (unrefugees.org), an estimate that is based upon the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) studies of 20th and 21st century trends (unhcr.org). At some point, a refugee will either chose to become a life-long resident in the host community, move on to other regions, or will return to his/her homeland. When applying this observation to ancient Israel under Assyrian rule, it is important to note that this is

the time frame we will be examining regarding refugees from Israel to Judah. Thus, we will be able to access the presence of Israelite refugees in Judah based upon the average displacement time about 18-21 years (roughly from 721-701 BCE) before they disperse elsewhere (especially in light of the looming devastation of Judah brought on by Sennacherib's campaign against King Hezekiah in 701 BCE).¹⁴

1.3.3. Refugee Community Cohesion

In her recent book, *Displacement and Dispossession in the Modern Middle East*, anthropologist Dawn Chatty surveys contemporary displacement and dispossession from diverse locations in the Middle East as a result of the dissolving Ottoman, Russian Austro-Hungarian, and German empires after World War I. Her approach interweaves history, anthropology, and ethnography in order to study the consequences of forced migration on cultural diversity of the Middle East. Chatty's ethnographic interviews focus squarely on the oral histories and traumatic narratives of Palestinian, Armenian, Circassian, and Kurdish refugee families who resettled in Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and Egypt. The narratives reveal a recollection of homeland, a resilience of community, and the establishment of "institutions and networks in their new places" (2010:3). In the late 19th-early 20th century, several Circassian, Chechnyan, Muslim, and Jewish communities were forced out from the Caucasus and the Balkans during the conflict with the Ottoman-Russian Empire. Yet these groups maintained their language, cultural peculiarities, and

¹⁴ The claim that the UN study of present-day refugee time frames matches up with a similar amount of time for Israelite refugees to be resettled in Judah is debatable, given that a lot has changed in 27 centuries. However, this time frame is the only ethnographic data based upon modern-day averages for displacement in the last century. The UNHCR time-frame of 17-18 year for refugee resettlement contradicts Na'aman contention that twenty years is too a short of period for the resettlement of refugees in Judah: "All this takes many years, and the whole process cannot be shoehorned into the chronological slot between the conquest and annexation of the kingdom of Israel (720) and Sennacherib's campaign to Judah (701)" (2007: 325).

religion while, at the same time, achieving economic success in the region of the Bidad al-Sham (2010: 32).¹⁵

Chatty demonstrates that the Ottoman multicultural accommodation of difference and religious pluralism supported the cultural cohesion of refugees and displaced persons in the Levant (2010: 45-48).¹⁶ Chatty's term for this development in the Middle East is "integration without assimilation" (2010: 4, 32, 125, 267, 295). She draws on Sami Zubaida's theory of "local cosmopolitanism" in development of minority culture of the displaced and their creation of multicultural spaces in host communities (2010: 2, 30-32 173, 280-283). This theory applies to the culture of displaced persons in that the Ottoman empire was open to multicultural differences and displaced persons were able to retain their distinctive linguistic and religious culture.

Most migration studies centered on the Middle East tend to focus on voluntary (for economic reasons) and not involuntary migration (due to political crisis). Chatty identifies two theoretical approaches to migration relevant to our study of ancient Israelite refugees: 'push-pull' theories and the historical-structural approach. The "push-pull" theories, which are based on neo-classical economic theory, regard people as "following certain predictable actions. For example, people generally move from sparsely to densely populated regions, and from low- to high-income areas. Pull factors are those that attract people to certain areas, such as access to jobs,

¹⁵ Conspicuously absent in Chatty's case study is a discussion of displacement Jews from Arab countries following the establishment of the State of Israel.

¹⁶ "Ottomans established the institution of the millet (which comes from the Arabic *milla*, a religious community or denomination) as a way of managing the internal affairs of their empire. Ottoman law did not recognize notions of ethnicity or citizenship" (Chatty 2010: 46). The millet community was allowed to have self-governance, an educational system in the local language, judicial autonomy, welfare institutions, and exact their own taxes (ibid 2010: 47). This system helped keep ethnic refugee identities in host communities separate.

land, and opportunity, while push factors are generally those negative aspects that drive people away, such as low living standards or lack of economic opportunities” (2010:12). The historical-structural approach, based in Marxist theory, “recognizes the unequal distribution of power in the world economy and sees migration as a way of mobilizing cheap labour for capital” (2010:12). While push-pull theories focus on the voluntary migration of individuals, the historical-structural approach examines the ways that capital engages in the mass recruitment of labor. However, Chatty sees both paradigms as inadequate: “the first neglects historical causes of movement and the second sees the interests of capital as predominant, giving little attention to the actions and motivations of individual migrants” (2010:12). In their place, she advocates for a “transnational theory” or “transnationalism,” in which “migrants are increasingly able to maintain close links with their homeland and places of origin” or people “migrate regularly between a number of places where they have social, economic, and political links” (Chatty 2010: 12-13).¹⁷

Chatty’s new analytic framework departs from the usual approach to displacement, with its focus on exile or trauma, and moves toward the agency of minority refugees in the construction of community. Her case studies are anthropological attempts to reexamine “the assumptions concerning identity formation, social cohesion, integration, and assimilation in the context of dispossession, forced migration and, often, statelessness” in the Middle East (2010: 32). To problematize this notion, she draws on Cohen (1985) to define community as “a symbolic rather than structural construct” that exists “in the minds of the members and in the meanings people attach to them.” (Chatty 2010:33). According to Chatty, this reality “is most

¹⁷ The application of a transnational theory to Israelite refugees in the late 8 -7th centuries BCE is relevant because, as documented in Chapter 5, Israelites in Judah maintained close links with their families in the homeland of the Northern Kingdom (as evidenced by the presence of Judean *lmlk* seals within many Israelite satellite communities in the Assyria provinces).

often expressed symbolically and through culture. A community often expresses its unity through a shared past, through shared beliefs of past events which unite them, and through other common experiences. These in turn are frequently expressed through rituals or traditions that are often under threat in contemporary circumstances” (Chatty 2010: 33-34). Hence, a model for refugee ‘community’ –both in the modern era and in ancient times–can be defined along symbolic and ideological lines rather than on a physical or literal socio-political structure.

For Chatty, identity in community is strengthened by intense contact and symbolic performances in a heavily colonized community. In the colonized communities of the displaced, narratives are created about the homeland to, “imbue the community with a symbolism particularly effective in maintaining cohesion” during a crisis (2010: 34). Consequently, it is important that researches pay close attention to symbolic forms of community cohesion within colonized communities.

Chatty’s most useful contribution for the purposes of this study is her illustration of the principles of community cohesion through select case studies of minority Circassian, Armenian, Palestinian, and Kurdish refugees. These minority groups prevailed over loss, statelessness and displacement, and demonstrated resilience in rebuilding their lives and in creating a new community identity (2010: 91-280). For example, some Circassian refugees, who fled from provinces of the Ottoman Empire in the beginning of the 20th century, migrated to Jordan (2010: 101-133). They were quickly able to make the transition from “refugee to settler to respected citizen” (2010: 222). They established organizations such as the Circassian Welfare Society and Circassian Charitable Associations in Jordan and Syria. They purchased villages and farmland early on, which later became suburbs of Amman, Zarqa, Wadi al-Sir, and Jerash. They prospered and increased their wealth in these cities, and created organizations that were instrumental in

promoting their language, culture, and identity. Circassians were supporters of Hashemite kingdom of Jordan and were recruited into the Royal Guard of the Royal (2010: 222-223). Thus, through social networks they built cohesion and engaged in cultural maintenance, despite being displaced, dispossessed, and facing other threats to their survival. And the same holds for Kurds, Armenians, and other minority groups in the Levant, who were disposed and stateless yet gained legal status and citizenship in their host states.

Chatty's ethnographies show us that language and naming are also important vehicles for community cohesion. When refugees formed their own community spaces in the host states and could not find blood relatives, then the fictive kinships were created (Chatty 2010: 301). Parts of certain cities where refugees sought asylum, became recognized as established ethnic communities; for instance, there are sections of Amman in Jordan and Damascus in Syria that are recognized as Circassian or Chechnyan (2010: 302). Within these community spaces, the refugee migrants spoke their native languages, went to church, synagogue, or mosque, and received native language instruction in school.

The case of Armenian refugees in Egypt illustrates well the impact of language on community. A 2006 interview with an Armenian named Sonia shows how important language could be in the lived experience of the descendants of refugee migrants: "My native family name is Vosgueritchian. It means goldsmith, because my grandfather had been a goldsmith in Severeg, which is in Western Armenia...I grew up speaking Armenian. I went to the Armenian primary school but then I went to the American College. We don't have this feeling of being different. We are Egyptians, I mean we are Armenians by birth, so we speak our language, we cook our food, we dance our dances, we have our customs..." (Chatty 2010: 135). Here, Sonia lists ways that the Armenian language has been maintained in her world and calls attention to her family

name and its symbolic meaning (which meaning was passed on in her family tradition).

Family names are also an important ethnic identity marker for Circassian refugees, although it is important to keep in mind that the concept of ethnicity itself is flexible. Regarding Circassian refugees in the Levant, Chatty observes: “A Circassian one moment may perceive himself as Jordanian, Palestinian, Syrian, or Turkish, for that matter. The context, both social and political, makes matters of identity complex, fragmentary, and illusionary” (2010: 126). Chatty’s observation is important in terms of showing how a single person can index multiple identities given what is going on in a particular situation or context. This concept is critical to what will be described in Chapter 5 as Israelites in Judah creating hybrid identities with the religious theophoric name *yhw*.

An example of how naming relates to refugee identity is provided by Chatty’s interview with Mahmoud Sharkas, who drew attention specifically to his Circassian family name. His grandfather was an officer in the Ottoman army, and was stationed in modern day Israel, and his grandmother was a Palestinian Arab. Mahmoud was born in Haifa, but his family experienced forced displacement from Palestine and so they migrated to Lebanon, then Syria, and finally found a home in Jordan. As he grew to adulthood, he was shaped by the Circassian Charitable association and aligned his identity with them. “His identity today is firmly Circassian, as reflected in his family name, Sharkas, which simply indicates that he and his family were identifiable as being the ‘other’, different from the rest of the community in Haifa and hence were given the name of ‘the Circassian’ to differentiate them from the rest of the settlement,” writes Chatty (2010: 126). Hence, the interviewee’s feelings about being marked Sharkas—meaning “Circassian”—by the host community remained positive as he proudly declared his alignment with his family’s heritage. Language use and personal names are felt by many in these

refugee migrant groups to be a “link to the past, the imagined homeland and contemporary spaces” (Chatty 2010: 135).

Chatty’s work on displacement give us a foundation for analyzing minority agency and lived experiences for Israelite refugees in 7th and 8th century BCE Judah. Ultimately, it is this “processes of social incorporation, social cohesion, and social capital formation or the building of social relationships” among refugees in the Arab Middle East that may provide analogous forms for the pre-modern period (2010: 280). For instance, the idea of “integration without assimilation” resonates with ideas recently advanced by several scholars regarding the ‘Assyrianization’ of ancient Israel; namely, that Levantine communities under colonial rule, such as Israel, were not forced to assimilate to Assyrian culture (Berlejung 2012; Bagg 2013). The same holds true for the host state of Judah, which was under vassalage to Assyria from 733-640 BCE (that is, the period at the center of contention regarding Israelite refugees). Building upon this understanding allows us to correlate displacement and resilience strategies in the late Assyrian period with those in the post-Ottoman Middle East.

This dissertation also draws upon Chatty’s anthropological notion of community cohesion (2010: 1, 5, 27ff) in its attempt to ascertain answers to several questions. The appeal to symbolic forms of community cohesion frames this study of Israelite refugee identity in Judah. The concept of ‘community’ that is grounded in symbolic (semiotic) and ideological terms is especially apropos in situations of statelessness and landlessness and this concept fits the status of Israelite refugees in the late 8th century BCE. That being the case, how did Israelite refugee communities create stability, cohesion, and separateness in shifting landscapes, and amid statelessness, and deterritorialization? Secondly, how did Israelite refugees use language and naming practices to preserve their cultural heritage and express their imagination of community

in their new space? These are the questions that will be evaluated in this dissertation.

1.3.4. The Fragmented Frames of Judah's Remembrance of Israel

Judahite textual sources, which were composed and compiled by the scribes of the Judahite state, give us information about the Israelite deportation and displaced persons.¹⁸ That is, the story of Israelite displacement is based upon how Judean scribes remembered Israel; it is Judah's memory of Israel's fall to the Assyrians. The Israelite homeland was remembered through narratives by minority groups who lived in close proximity to each other in the host committee of Judah. With that being said, the sources for Israelite dispossession and loss of territory come from the selective memory of Israel's past by Judean scribes; therefore many details are left out in Judeans reconstruction of Israelite's past (what Israelites were saying and thinking). Hence, we learn about Israelites through Judean remembrance: Israelite national history was captured and transformed into text-artifacts that we locate and interpret today. It is therefore important to avoid constructing wholesale theories of Israelite refugees in Judah based on only the fragmented stories and representations of the events that took place that were produced, circulated by Judahite state.

Another issue is the question of whether or not Israelite refugees fell under the category of "foreigner" in Judean sources. One must be careful in attaching labels and classificatory categories to the ancient migrant identity. In understanding the labels attached to refugees and their political loading in Judah, it is important that we understand the idea of a broad category of refugees in Iron Age Judah and we are uncertain how refugees were classified. The politics of asylum often dictated the labeling and categories for refugees. If Israelites immediately departed

¹⁸ For studies on Judean literature under the Assyrian empire, see Spieckermann 1982; Schniedewind 2004: 64-117; Carr 2011: 304-338).

their home upon the arrival of Assyrian armies in 733 or 721 BCE but returned later, then they would be considered as displaced persons (in the modern sense of the term). On the other hand, Israelites who never returned home but instead remained in other regions such as Judah would be considered refugees, according to the present-day understanding. We have no information as to whether Assyrians prevented Israelites from returning home. Nor do we know if Judeans considered Israelites to be ‘foreigners.’ What we do know, however, is that some were displaced and returned to their homeland and others left and never returned again. Unfortunately, we have no way to determine if those who are identified as Israelites in Judah never returned home and became naturalized as Judeans.

Fragmented sources also play a role in our understanding the motivations for Israelites moving to Judah. The host society, in this case Judah, would define the relationship with refugee minorities or migrant groups, either by emphasizing segregation or inclusion/participation. Kerswill’s (2006) study of the sociolinguistic effects of refugee migration upon receiving communities indicate that a host society’s orientation will be determined by cultural, religious, and social factors. What is known about Judah during the Iron II period is that intermarriages in the royal households of Israel and Judah began under the United Monarchy and intensified in the second half of the 9th century BCE (Levenson and Halpern 1980; Niemann 2006a). During this period, Judah was under Israelite hegemony and the Judean King Joash married Athaliah, the daughter of Omri king of Israel (2 Kgs. 8:26). The royal kinship relationships between the two kingdoms continued under Jereboam II king of Israel and Uzziah and Hezekiah, kings of Judah (Ackerman 1993; Spainer 1994; 1998; Niemann 2006a). All historical indications point to the assimilation of Israel and Judah in the periods preceding the fall of Israel and that Judah’s practice of inclusion was both involuntary and voluntary (depending on the century). Secondly,

it is clear from the textual and archaeological record that some Israelite families lived in Judah before the fall of Samaria. The artifacts from Kuntillet Arjud that are dated to the late 9th-8th century BCE provide first-hand evidence to that effect. Second, after the split of the tribes of Israel from Judah, a number of Israelite families continued to live in the cities of Judah under Rehoboam (1 Kgs. 12:17). No indications are given regarding which tribes remained, their number, or the duration of their stay in Judah. Lastly, it must be emphasized, based upon ethnographic studies of the pre-modern period, that citizenship was not based on birthplace alone but also on ethno-religious alignments. Chatty (2010) notes that in the late Ottoman Empire, Jewish, Christian, and Muslim refugees fled from parts of the Ottoman Empire to Syria and formed communities based upon existing religious ties in Syria, which shows us that an ethno-religious community can be the primary category of alignment among migrants in the Middle East. The veneration of Yahwism in the Temple of Jerusalem may have been one rationale or motivation, among many, that led Israelites to migrate to Judah. That is, the temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem may have been a strong force in refugee's attachment to Judean space. Hence, one cannot discount the appeal of the Jerusalem Temple as a pull factor for migration.

This study examines how Israelites were dispossessed during the 8th century by the Assyrian invasion, and forced out of their land to cross the borders into Judah. It also seeks to understand the ways they were able to re-create new communities even though they were de-territorialized. The mechanisms that refugees used to create their identity, such as creating political social institutions to build new communities in Judah, were not based upon territoriality regime but on social ties that were both local and found across border regions. In the next chapter, I provide the theoretical and methodological foundations for how language and naming were instrumental in forging community cohesion among Israelite refugees in Judah.

CHAPTER 2

A LINGUISTIC ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACH TO ISRAELITE REFUGEE TRIBAL IDENTITY IN JUDAH

We invent an incidental and historical or situational “reality” through the conscious use of language, one that demands “correct usage” from the speaker. If language is arbitrary and capable of correction and change for us, the world of “fact” and “event” is definitely nonarbitrary: our scientific, legal, and historical investigations are (inventive) efforts to find out “what the facts are” and “what really happened.” . . . we require our language to be a precision instrument (albeit one of our own making) for the description and representation of a stubbornly factual world, and our view of language in general often reflects this bias.

– Wagner (1981:78)

This chapter frames a linguistic anthropological approach to written text-artifacts as a heuristic model. This approach is relatively new to the study of ancient Israel and Judah; therefore, it is important to lay out the relevancy of the linguistic anthropological method to our study and make the case for why using this method is an improvement over others. In this dissertation, this heuristic model will be used to analyze Israelite refugee tribal identity across borders, particularly in Judah during the late Iron Age IIB and IIC periods.¹⁹

2.1 What is Linguistic Anthropology?

Linguistic anthropology is one of the four major subfields of American anthropology (the others are cultural anthropology, biological anthropology, and archeology). It is based on the argument that language is quintessentially semiotic²⁰ and linked to social structure and culture

¹⁹ Generally, linguistic anthropology evaluates present-day languages. This dissertation is a historically oriented approach of linguistic anthropology that investigates the indexical significance of historical variation in language due to population movements, settlement processes, and culturally based varieties and ideologies. There, however, are few historical linguistic anthropological studies such as Silverstein (1985; 2006) and Hanks (2000; 2010).

²⁰ Linguistic anthropology builds on the Peircian notion of signs as communicating between an object (such as written word) and an interpretant (Silverstein 1996; Mertz 2007). For a critique of the formal linguistic paradigm (philological, structural, and historical grammatical focus on phonology, morphology,

(Duranti 1997; Ahearn 2012). In the words of Edward Sapir, “language is a guide to social reality” (1949:68). That is, language indexes or points to something “other” than itself. It indexes the political and ideological beliefs, norms, assumptions, values, and structure of society (whether language users are aware of it or not).²¹ In this understanding of language, words are in some respects arbitrary in that the combinations of sounds that make up a word do not have inherent meaning, nor do they do anything in and of themselves. Instead, words are understood to be context-sensitive instruments of communication with invented socially motivated meaning. People are socialized into using language in ways that are assigned particular meaning within the groups of which they are members. In other words, people do more than just acquire the grammatical rules of a language – they also are socialized into understanding the social meanings and rules of language. People are routinely socialized into using language according to how society is structured; for example, the choice to use honorifics in lieu of other forms of address is very much about social meaning and social structure. Hence, in order to fully understand what’s happening in terms of language use in a given context, one needs to know more than grammar; one needs to know and understand the social meanings of language use. In addition to understanding the ways language reflects the social context in which it is used, it is also important to consider the impact of language in terms of identity formation – both self-presentation and the creation and maintenance of group identity. This includes what people do with words, what they mean, how the words are used, what people are doing when they speak those words, and what the words say about the speakers’ identity.

and syntax of an abstract ideal speaker) and how it differs from the contextualized analysis of linguistic anthropology see Volosinov 1973:65-82; Duranti 1997:162-199).

²¹ The notion of indexicality will be discussed below.

More than a century of study of contextualized language use by scholars of linguistic anthropology has demonstrated that language is more than just interpersonal communication. Language, as a central component of society, is replete with economic, political, religious, and cultural overtones. It is the medium with which we think, construct the world, and interact with one another. For example, writing and speaking in your “own” language allows someone else to see the world as you see it – as suggested in a more light-hearted way by the t-shirt on which is written: “By reading this, you have given me power over your mind.” As linguistic anthropologists Judith Irvine and Susan Gal observe, there is no “view from nowhere” (2000:36). We are always positioning ourselves in relation to our hearers and readers whether or not we or they are aware of it. Language is a way to self-index that is used by agents (individuals) in constructing identity. The semiotic meanings behind this type of indexicality are multiple and can be contested. For example, when one writes in an official language, this literacy act reflects the beliefs and attitudes of the writer and his/her shared values with the ethnic-political community whose (invented) official language it is. Most importantly, this act of writing in an official language demonstrates the consent of that writer to share in the symbolic dominance and identity associated with that language, community, and national state.

There are few stories that better demonstrate the interplay of metalinguistic awareness, migration, and identity than the famous *Shibboleth-Sibboleth* incident in Judges 12:5-6:

The Gileadites held the fords of the Jordan against the Ephraimites. And when any fugitive from Ephraim said, “Let me cross,” the men of Gilead would ask him, “Are you an Ephraimite?”; if he said “No,” they would say to him, “Then say shibboleth”; but he would say “sibboleth,” not being able to pronounce it correctly. Thereupon they would seize him and slay him by the fords of the Jordan. Forty-two thousand Ephraimites fell at that time.

The *Shibboleth-Sibboleth* incident is most illustrative of how “fugitive” identities—and by extension, refugee identities—were marked based upon linguistic stereotypes among tribal groups in ancient Israel.²² The discursive social marking of the word “Shibboleth” as an icon of Gileadite linguistic identity was forged in contexts of tribal conflict and war in which Ephraimite refugees were leaving the border of Transjordan and returning back to Cisjordan in the Iron Age I period. Even in modern usage, the term “shibboleth” has come to mean the linguistic or cultural marking of group membership. This membership is based on shared collective cultural and linguistic experience, and expertise.

When migration and other forms of population movements occur, language, as a vehicle for self-index and the construction of self-identity, is especially salient, as the use of nonstandard linguistic forms marks the “other” as non-native. For example, the eye trained in standard American English orthography perceives non-standard spellings or lexical forms as odd or carrying a certain type of social stigma. Isolating an American name in a list of names such as Amit, Robert, Abdul, Ji, would not be difficult; all but one are transliterations of names with origins in languages other than English. It is also easy for native speakers and readers to distinguish between English-language spelling standards: for example, the American standard English spelling “color” versus the British standard spelling “colour.”²³

As in the present-day United States, standard spelling and linguistic practices in the ancient Near East were also dictated by the norms and socio-cultural values of each political-state. Granted, the evidence for northwest Semitic languages Iron Age II is fragmented and

²² On the debate over the graphemic representations of these letters, see Rendsburg 1992; 2013b; Bloch 2008.

²³ For more on the indexical role of spelling in written names, see Sebba 2007.

partial—based entirely on a small number of papyri and monumental inscriptions, and ample seals, bullae, and broken potsherds— but from these fragments a picture emerges of written norms based upon political centers. For example, Phoenician was standardized based upon cultural centers in Mediterranean coasts of Tyre and Sidon (Benz 1972; Segert 1976; Friedrich and Röllig 1999; Krahmalkov 2000; 2001). Official Aramaic was a *lingua franca* in the Levant—starting during the latter part of the Iron Age period under the Assyrian and continuing with the Babylon and Persian empires—and though attempts were made toward unifying the written language of Old Aramaic in the 7th -6th century BCE, based upon the cultural centers of Mesopotamia, the reality on the ground remained regional linguistic diversity in areas outside of Mesopotamia (Segert 1975; Hug 1993; Folmer 1995; see the more recent treatment in Gzella 2015: 46-211). Attempts to establish a “standardized” and “nationalized” Hebrew script and language was achieved by the 8th century BCE, based upon the cultural centers of Jerusalem and Samaria.²⁴ Deviation from the standard linguistic norms indexed “otherness” and could be manipulated to construct the identity of the self or “the other” as non-native. It is important to note that, there were scores of dialects spoken in the Levant that were not represented in the written record. As the Shibboleth incident instructs, ancient Levant informal registers and special registers of verbal performance (including poetry, wisdom, humor, letters, oracles against

²⁴ On the standardization of ancient Hebrew, see Garr 1985; Sáenz-Badillos 1993; Gogel 1995; Renz 1995; Sanders 2009; and Schniedewind 2012. However, this is not to deny the existence of linguistic diversity in epigraphic Hebrew and Biblical Hebrew, see the evidence presented in Sarfatti 1982; 1992; Israel 1989; 2000; Giano 1996; Young 1993; 1997; 2003; Schniedewind and Sivan 1997; Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensverd 2008; Rendsburg, and Schniedewind 2010; and Rendsburg 2003; 2012; 2013a; 2014.

foreign tribes and nations) were filled with nonstandard forms; one element of their identity construction was capturing the “authenticity” and “otherness” of a social group’s language.²⁵

Because writing is an explicit discursive form of language, writers can more consciously exploit spelling, lexical, and grammatical variation to project or construct particular facets of identity or symbolic meaning. Admittedly, non-standard spelling, respelling and lexical variations are often found in “illegitimate” writing surfaces. For example, today we may encounter non-standard spelling as part of graffiti on bathroom stalls, walls, bricks, trees, or any hard surface. But this is not the only public presentation of non-standard language forms. For example, lexical respelling and non-standard orthography is commonly found in poetry, movie scripts, text messaging, emails, personal websites and the like (Sebba 2007). Purposeful non-standard orthography can mark any socioeconomic level and the accidental ones probably marks lower due to issues with acquisition of literacy.

This dissertation will use linguistic anthropology to tease out the subtle and complex social meanings of both spoken and written language in the Ancient Near East, along with its consequences, in order to better understand refugee migration in the eighth and seventh century BCE. Linguistic anthropology is a particularly broad field, with a variety of theoretical models that examine the function of language; this dissertation will focus on theories relevant to non-standard orthographies, linguistic variation, and indexicality in order to best analyze the Israelite tribal names found in inscriptional text-artifacts of ancient Hebrew. The location and period for this analysis, Israel and Judah in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE, is relatively well known historically, linguistically, socially, and archaeologically and as such is an excellent historical

²⁵ The same is the case in the present day. For example, in America there is the non-standard spelling of “kool” instead of “cool,” a spelling associated with particular subcultures. Using this spelling indexes alignment with or membership in one of these groups.

period in terms of using the theoretical framework of language ideologies. Israelite tribal names, non-standard orthographies, and lexical variation in Judean text-artifacts represent a multitude of rationalizations that were privileged by users (thus the plural ‘ideologies’) who were either fully or partially aware of the social and political values that they attached to their chosen names, word choices, and spellings.²⁶

In this chapter, I use four concepts from linguistic anthropology to better understand the migration of Israelite refugees to Judah in the late eighth century BCE: language ideologies, indexicality, enregisterment, and identity alignment.

2.2 Language Ideologies

The study of language ideologies is a subfield of linguistic anthropology that grounds our study of Israelite refugee identity in Judah. There is no universally accepted definition of language ideologies in the field of linguistic anthropology.²⁷ However, a good starting place is found in Michael Silverstein’s classic and extremely influential study, in which he defined linguistic ideology as “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (Silverstein 1979:193). A related definition, proffered by Judith Irvine, is, “the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests” (Irvine 1989:255; also see Woolard 2008: 436). Both definitions highlight the fact that language awareness and rationalizations are informed by both cultural values and politics. The task of studying language

²⁶ In addition to the social meaning imbued by Israelite refugees in names, spellings, and word choice, other people with power, such as state scribes, also imbued social meaning and values in their own choices – social meaning and values that can be best understood using the theories of linguistic anthropology.

²⁷ In this case “literate ideologies” may be more applicable since our data is not speech but writing.

ideologies is necessarily interdisciplinary, drawing upon the fields of linguistics, history, sociology, and anthropology, and pioneers of the field emerged from several independent branches of the social sciences.

Some early elaborations on the topic of language ideologies derive from the work of linguistic anthropologist Michael Silverstein. In his groundbreaking 1979 essay “Language Structure and Linguistic Ideology,” Silverstein builds on the work of Peirce and Jakobson on semiotics, Whorfian linguistics, and cultural anthropology to construct what he labels linguistic ideology.²⁸ In this essay, Silverstein distances himself from the modern linguistic approaches of Saussure and the American structuralist linguistics of Bloomfield, and aligns himself with Boas’ distinction between primary cultural patterns (referential) and secondary explanation or rationalizations.²⁹ He also draws upon Whorf’s famous proposition that differences in

²⁸ Hymes and others would like to see the history of language ideologies be pushed back, to include them. To be sure, Silverstein acknowledges his indebtedness to Austin, Hymes, Jakobson, and the Prague School of Linguistics (1979: 194). However, to begin the method with Hymes creates a kind of inappropriate approach since one could go back as far as Sapir in the 1920-40’s who argued that natives have a practical consciousness about language and that it was unnatural to view language objectively so they did not possess a real awareness of language. Boas also argued that native awareness is lacking in the natives; that is, they have no analytic awareness of what they do and need authoritative specialists to tell them what’s going on (the experts perspective). Whorf was also a forerunner to a linguistic ideological approach. However, the form of linguistic ideology that extends back to Sapir, Boas, Whorf and Hymes is not the same as language ideologies as articulated by Silverstein (1979), which directed our attention to the beliefs and rationalizations of language use for sundry purposes and social contexts. The main critique, however, with Silverstein’s essay is that it is incomplete in the development of the social side (a development that is taken up by later studies).

²⁹ Over a century ago, the Structuralist philosophy of language emerged and was led by the Swiss scholar Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913), the so-called father of modern linguistics, based upon his lectures published posthumously entitled *Course in General Linguistics* (first published in 1916 as *Cours de linguistique general* and the English translation published in 1959). Saussure first saw language as a symbolic system that could be divided into *langue* (internal structure of grammar) and *parole* (speech in practice). Saussure’s theories were an early departure from the genetic view of language as an organism. In analyzing language as a symbolic system, Saussure argued that linguistic analysis should differentiate between the signifier (sound) and the signified (meaning). However, Saussure focused his investigation on *langue* and the signifier as a homogeneous abstract system composed of symbolic parts that could be subject to rigorous structural analysis in comparison to *parole* (the heterogeneous meanings in practice).

worldview and thought may be affected by someone's language, a proposition more generally known as linguistic relativity.³⁰ Silverstein's study of linguistic ideology is an extended form (and not a replication) of Whorf's hypothesis of language awareness vs. language structure itself.³¹ While Silverstein acknowledges his indebtedness to pragmatic theories of Austin, Hymes, Jakobson, and the Prague School of Linguistics (1979: 194), his study is more concrete in linking ideology and cultural meaning with language, semiotics, and social structure.

In this essay, Silverstein demonstrates the relationship between language structure and social institutions, arguing the internal structure of language does not evolve automatically. He suggests that, "generalizations about historical change of linguistic structure, at both the referential and more broadly functional levels of analysis, seem to be the outcome of a structure-

Saussure critiqued the model of linguistics that neglected history, yet he went on to neglect the social aspect of language use (*parole* and the signified) and approached linguistics in its pure form (*langue*)—that is, the sound-image (signifier) of language in its ideal form. Consequently, the field of Historical Linguistics was defined as a field only concerned with the paradigm of linguistic structure of ideal speech to the neglect of social meaning and culture. Likewise, American structuralist linguistics, an approach developed by Leonard Bloomfield, seeks to provide a rigid systematic approach to language/speech as an abstract homogenous entity and the laws that govern them. Applications of this method included phonology, syntax, and semantics, and neglects sociocultural meaning. However, Volosinov (1973 [1929]) argued that the signifier and signified were inseparable and Derrida, a French philosopher, in his *Of Grammatology* (1974 [1967]) critiqued Saussure's method and the Euro-American traditional approach to language as abstract.

³⁰ This view was in distinction to the one proposed by Sapir, who argued language maps the world unconsciously, writing, "It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection. The fact of the matter is that the 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built upon the language habits of the group" (Sapir 1958 [1929]: 69). Franz Boas seemed to think along the same lines. As Kroskrity (2004: 499) points out, Boas did not think that the linguistic consciousness of natives and their rationalizations produced anything of analytic value.

³¹ Silverstein does not necessarily endorse the Whorf-Sapir theory of 'linguistic determinism' in which language determines thought and worldview. This theory was widely criticized and was mostly abandoned, especially because of its circular reasoning and neglect of the codability of the native American languages. It has, however, been re-examined in some form through new studies, such as Lucy 1993. Silverstein concludes that, "[o]ur purpose in this part has not been linguistically to account for the rise of egalitarian ideology in general, nor to make a claim about the effects of propositional linguistic structure on "world view" (1979:231).

ideology dialectical process. This contrasts with views of change as autonomous internal evolution of rule structures, from some tendency to analogy . . . rule ordering relationships, or . . . variable rules (1979:194). Silverstein also argues that the “dynamic synchrony” of language is the “tension between linguistic structure and various institutionalized and non-institutionalized ideological understandings of that structure. Thus the necessary conditions for the formation of ideologies, and the sufficient conditions for their institutionalization, ought really to be the heart of historical explanation” (1979: 194-195).

Silverstein goes on to critique the structuralist principle of separating lexicon from grammar, explaining that both are needed if one is to uncover meaning of social action in society (which he refers to as secondary rationalizations). Silverstein’s illustrations principally derive from the “speech-acts” theory of Austin (1969), which draws upon data from English, and from Javanese lexical alternations of etiquette forms that link linguistic forms with social stratification or speaker-addressee relationships (216). Javanese honorifics have three variations and Silverstein noted that local speakers perceive the hierarchy and rank of each style that “has a fixed position in a system that functions to maintain the correct amount of deference and distance of speaker to addressee” (1979:225). Silverstein convincingly demonstrates how certain lexical forms are ideologically marked and invested with pragmatic social functions.

In another study on the relationship between linguistic structure and use, Silverstein (1985) studied the seventeenth century Quaker English use of the second-person singular address “thou.” The Quaker’s insistence and fidelity to “thou/thee” forms eventually became iconic of Quaker identity. The Quaker address form was based upon fidelity to the English translation of the Bible’s distinction between the *thou/ye* usages in prose. Thus, Quakers esteemed the “*you*” plural pronoun as uncivil, false, arrogant, and irreligious before God and

avoided in social interaction (as there is no distinction between formal, informal, polite, and impolite). However, among the wider English-speaking population, the result was the use of “you” in contexts that formerly would have taken “thou.” Because of Quaker ideologies about society and God and their use of thou and thee, people responded with a pronoun change from “thou” to “you” to avoid being associated with the Quakers. Because of these ideologies and historical changes, English now has “you” for both singular and plural, and for both formal and informal. Language awareness, combined with ideologies, became the basis of manipulations of and rationalizations for particular language structures.

In another study, Silverstein (1985) points to the use of gendered language in English as another example of the awareness and rationalization of speakers that results in changed linguistic structure. Silverstein examines the cultural use of English pronoun “he” and the shift to gender inclusive “he/she” in American English as an example of how ideology can change linguistic structure. With the rise of feminist criticism of English language usage, there arose debate over the use of “he” as an indexical of not only an asymmetry of gender categorization of noun phrases in linguistic usage, but also gender equality and status in society. Silverstein traces the correlation between the denotational use of “he”, gender ideology, and the switch to the inclusive “he/she” in American English to show that linguistic structure is tied to discursive consciousness, ideology, and political struggle (as feminist sought to redress asymmetries in society).³²

³² Prior to Silverstein’s contributions, the fields of linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics (which are closely related) consisted of three major paradigms. One was the correlational sociolinguistics of Labov (e.g., Labov 1966). Labov was trained in linguistics, sociology, and demographics (demography), and in the 1960’s he sampled speech communities, gathering speech samples and correlating variation with speaker’s class, gender, age, etc. For example, his study of the post-vocalic “r” in New York city showed a correlation between class and the presence or absence of “r” after vowels. A second paradigm is interactional sociolinguistics, closely associated with John Gumperz, who was less interested in

Silverstein's groundbreaking 1979 essay significantly altered the study of language ideologies, bringing scholarly attention to the relationship between language structures and ideologies of social practice. In his work, he moved away from the negative treatment of linguistic ideologies by American structuralists such as Leonard Bloomfield and Noam Chomsky, who neglected the "meaning" aspect of language in favor of studying the relationship among the parts of language, studying language only as an "object" or "reference" (Duranti 1997; Kroskrity 2004). Silverstein's work was also a departure from the sociolinguistic studies of the 1960's and 70's in that he incorporates political ideology to this research. Silverstein examination of language ideologies also departed earlier ideas that human agents are not aware of their language use, such as Boas' notion of the unconscious character of linguistic phenomena,³³ and from Marxist notions of ideology in which human agents are acting under a "false consciousness."³⁴ Following Whorf, who saw language through cultural experience, Silverstein argued that language ideology is the "articulated use" of language. That is, language users can have an explicit or verbalized ideology about their language, so much so that they can talk about it and sometimes, and change aspects of it. Kroskrity (2004), using a term borrowed from Giddens, calls this self-awareness of language "discursive consciousness."

correlations and more interested in social variables of interactional contact (e.g., Gumperz 1971). The third paradigm was the "ethnography of communication" of Dell Hymes (e.g., Hymes 1962, 1974). Hymes was particularly interested in how language is used in contexts or "events," so he looked for norms that were widely shared in linguistics, sociology, and anthropology. Hymes formulated a vocabulary of usage for the context of speaking, which he labeled the "speech event," and formalized the components of these speech events.

³³ See, for example, Boas (1911: 63).

³⁴ In linguistic anthropology, this concept is dichotomous with Marxist false consciousness (Woolard 1998: 5-9).

The field of linguistic anthropology began to shift in the 1980s and 90s towards a greater focus on speakers' beliefs about their language and their explicit use of language (i.e. discursive consciousness). Publications by Susan Gal (1989), Jane Hill (1985), Kathryn A. Woolard (1985), and Judith Irvine (1989) on the implicit and explicit use of language broadened and refined theories of language ideologies. For example, Irvine's 1989 article "When Talk Isn't Cheap" deconstructs the Western cultural idea of "talk is cheap" and the expression "actions speak louder than words." According to Irvine, the fundamental assumption in this expression, that words are not actions, is patently wrong. This belief partly derives from the fact that words are marginalized in Western consciousness (that is, they are not particularly visible). Irvine demonstrates the false dichotomy of these folk expressions, showing the ways that actions are words and words are actions; for example, a curse word or racial slur used in public will be treated similarly to a non-verbal action considered offensive. (Note that this Western notion where words and actions are distinct is in contrast to the Ancient Near East, where words were in fact seen as actions).

Kroskrity (2004: 501-510) outlines five core attributes of language ideologies: 1) interests, 2) multiplicity of ideologies, 3) awareness, 4) mediating functions, and 5) identity construction. The first attribute of language ideologies is the construction of an ideology based upon the interests, biases, or contention of a specific individual or cultural group. That is, language is not a neutral technology, but it is connected to cultural belief systems that privilege some groups over others. The key question is: who is dominating whom and how is this accomplished symbolically through language. Smaller in-group members, minority groups, or any social actor in a particular society can contest the dominant ideological practices of institutions of power. Hence, language ideologies is interested in what people actually think

about language. For example, Jaffe's (1996; 1999) published an ethnographic study of the political debates on the French island of Corsica on the proper role of the minority language of Corsican in relation to French, the official written language of the state. There were political efforts to make the Corsican language and orthographic conventions equal with French; the interest of this group represents an ideological resistance against French domination.

The second attribute of language ideologies is evaluating the multiple patterns of cultural representation among individuals and groups in a given society. That is to say, there is not a singular homogenous view of language in a population; on the contrary, there are culturally diverse perceptions of language that are divided along the lines of class, gender, clan, or tribe, and some notions reign supreme over others. As Kroskrity points out, "language ideologies provide an alternative for exploring variation in ideas, ideals, and communicative practices" (2004: 496). For instance, in the debate over French and Corsican, Jaffee (1999) observes that not everyone agreed that French literature should be translated into the Corsican language; some perceive it be a reminder of colonial identity, while others see it as a way to place the Corsican language on equal footing with French. Hence, it is important to understand the sentiments about a language from both the perspective of the dominant class and the perspective of those belonging to other groups. A case in point regarding this aspect of language ideologies is the 1990s debate over the status of the dialect sometimes called "Ebonics," in that this type of vernacular English is believed to be an illegitimate language by the dominant class of American society (and so not a legitimate choice of dialect for classroom instruction); however, some believed that Ebonics should be recognized as an official English language. We also see debates in the US over English-only as the language for classrooms and official business; as those who promote English only seem to hold ideologies in which English is both a superior language and

threatened by Spanish (Kroskrity 2004: 497). Hence, variation is especially important among minorities in opposition to a dominant culture.

The third attribute of language ideologies is linguistic awareness and this is the most diagnostic aspect of language ideologies. This category of language ideologies analyzes the discursive consciousness of language users or what speakers know and do not know about their linguistic system—their beliefs, assumptions, and prejudices about language. Practical consciousness implies that speakers are not aware of what they do with language and discursive consciousness is when they are and this awareness is an ideology. Language ideologies are not understood to be only at the discursive level. While observing group members' behavior and language practices helps to understand the discursive level, there are limits of awareness (Silverstein 1981), phenomena that are outside of people's awareness or simply not recognized. In addition, certain phenomena are more discursive and articulated than others. Generally, nouns (for things) are referentially more part of folk awareness than verb morphology (that is, people are generally more aware of nouns than other parts of speech). Language ideologies are often made clear in cases of language contact. For example, Kroskrity (1998) showed that Arizona Tewa are more aware of vocabulary than grammar, so their expressions of linguistic purism, which involved avoiding loanwords from neighboring tribes such as the Hopi, ended up essentially flagging nouns to be avoided. However, grammar was less salient, and so grammatical borrowings from Hopi entered the Tewa language, flying under their linguistic radar. Because the lexical level is more salient to speakers, it is more available for manipulation or change, and is more commonly an index of cultural values and ideologies than other components of linguistic structure. Linguistic awareness is especially acute when making orthographic and lexical choices in written texts (as in the study of Corsican), as it is one of the

clearest discursive forms that reflects group member awareness, in that writing is always to some extent planned, and is often expected to be public (or potentially public) in some way.

The fourth attribute of language ideologies is the mediation between linguistic structure and social structure and practice. For example, Joel Kuipers (1998) examines the Weyewa ‘angry’ ritual speech on the Indonesian island of Sumba and found that this speech genre— and its indigenous associations and expressions of cursing— was being faded out by mostly men in power who were more aligned with Christian colonial identity and its associations with calmness and the avoidance of curse words. Hence, changes in speech/language index social structural changes.

The fifth and final attribute is that language ideologies are used to construct tribal, ethnic, and national identity. Standard language is used to embody the nation, but “they disproportionately represent the interests of specific groups within those nations” (Kroskrity 2004: 509). When this occurs, minorities and subordinate groups who cannot master the standard are left marginalized. Those who do give allegiance to the hegemonic standard imagine themselves as members of the nation (such as spelling standards that differentiate American English from British English or foreigners mastering English as a second language in the US).

These are a few examples of the ways language ideologies are seen to inform beliefs and behavior in the present day. The important studies outlined above articulate the language attitude and the reflexive of behavior of language and most importantly its relationship to political economy.³⁵ Up until this point, the theories of Labov, Hymes, Gumperz, when applied to contextualized language use, were essentially apolitical and did not examine the reflexive

³⁵ For example, in America it is not uncommon for the voice of prestige and luxury in television commercials to be a British accent. An ordinary person does not often think about it but the beliefs about language inform behavior.

attitudes and beliefs of speakers/writers. The advantage of using language ideologies in this dissertation in particular—as opposed to other frameworks such as correlational sociolinguistics, interactional sociolinguistics, and the ethnography of communication—is that the pragmatic relationship between language, awareness and beliefs, and political-economic structure take center stage. (see Gal 1989; Schieffelin 1990; Hill 1998; Kuiper 1998; Schieffelin, Woolard, and Kroskrity 1998; Jaffe 1999; Kroskrity 1998, 2000, 2004; Irvine and Gal 2000; Errington 2001).³⁶ Research on language ideologies suggests that they have taken similar forms cross-culturally, and been related to similar social structures, in the past. There is a relationship between the past and the present; especially when ethnographers find local manifestations of these phenomena in diverse social and historical contexts of the past and present.³⁷ Because language/naming and political identity are interconnected, therefore language ideological theory is good toolkit to trace Israelite identity in the material culture of the Iron II period.

2.3 Applying Linguistic Anthropology to Refugee Migration

An ongoing focal point of the field of linguistic anthropology is language contact of between local and foreign language communities, which is examined not from structuralist or functionalist perspectives, but instead by integrating insights from socio-cultural anthropology. Traditional problems of contact linguistics were opened up through nuanced examinations of language contact in terms of the functions of language in human society. Language contact

³⁶ See Kroskrity's review of approaches of linguistic anthropology and their differences from language ideology (2004).

³⁷ In Chapter 3, I discuss how ethnographers in the present-day Middle East find examples of language ideologies that suggest that similar ideologies were held in the past.

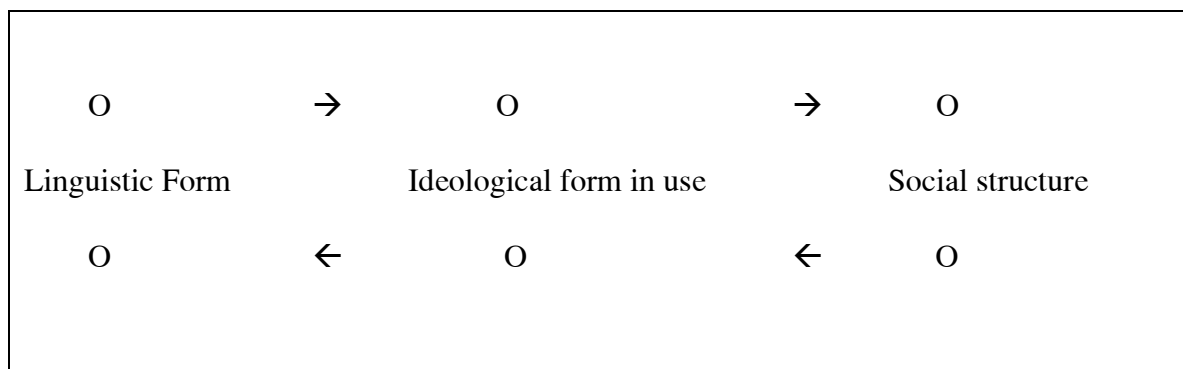
studies within linguistic anthropology are often grounded in semiotic theories of indexicality, which are combined with language ideologies and theories of identity construction.

By looking at language as “total cultural fact” (ibid 401), scholars of linguistic anthropology argue that language, like culture, is quintessentially semiotic. Therefore language points to something “other” than itself, whether the language user is aware or unaware of what the “other” means. Woolard gives insight into the advantage of linguistic ideology in capturing the this total linguistic fact:

[L]inguistic ideology was seen as a crucial mediating link between linguistic form and social structure. No single node in this model was cast as basic or foundational, and none as merely epiphenomenal and predictable from (one of) the others. For many who contributed to its initial growth, the hope was that framing linguistic ideology as an area of inquiry would allow all of the nodes to be connected and all the links to be examined: those from linguistic form to ideologies of form-in-use, from ideologies to social forms, from social forms to ideologies, from ideologies to linguistic form. Moreover, linguistic ideologies were conceived of as embedded in material practice as much as in mental phenomena and explicit metalinguistic discourse (2008: 436-437).

In Figure 1, below, I illustrate Woolard’s three-dimensional model, or what is meant by the “total linguistic fact” in linguistic anthropological studies:

Fig.1 The Total Linguistic Fact



In this model, linguistic ideology is the centerpiece or mediating link between linguistic form and social structure. All three make up what Silverstein terms the “total linguistic fact.” Each

point in the diagram above is understood to important and integral to meaning making in society. Whereas correlational sociolinguistics overemphasizes the relationship between linguistic form and social categories such as class, gender, and ethnicity, linguistic anthropology proposes that ideological mediation is what is central to language use and sociolinguistic meaning. For example, within a speech community, users can claim membership by using linguistic forms ideological aligned with those communities. That is, stylistic forms are often motivated by a speaker/writer's linguistic awareness and ideological activity (Woolard 2008: 441). Rather than mechanically correlating to sociodemographic categories, linguistic variation is often used to either express social distance, closeness, or stance. As Woolard points out, grammatical forms “are pragmatically salient indexes of subjectivity, of ‘how I am feeling about this,’ that the hearer is expected to be able to interpret because of shared membership in a community of practice” (2008:444). Hence, it is the total linguistic fact that a linguistic anthropological approach seeks reveal to the modern researcher.

In order to better understand “language” and “speech” communities, we must understand language as an index to cultural meaning.

2.4 Language as an Index to Cultural Meaning

A main focus of linguistic anthropology is the semiotic aspect of language, in which social meanings and cultural forms are indexed in language structure and use. In other words, through discursive (social) interaction “people participate in semiotic processes that produce their identities, beliefs, and their particular senses of agentive subjectivity” (Silverstein 1998:402). It is through the loci of discursive interaction and contact that agents (be they speakers or writers) experience, facilitate and are symbolically facilitated in identity formation.

Therefore, language can be identified as a “central semiotic medium” through which culture is “articulable, and articulated” (1998: 402); that is, it has a double relationship, one that is simultaneously denotational and semiotic.

Along with the semiotic aspect of language, one must take into consideration the sociocultural history of the political and economic “centers” that gave particular values to certain discursive events. For example, in the context of understanding what is being indexed in language use in the Ancient Near East, it is necessary to understand how ancient Israel and other Levantine polities formed their allegiances to particular denotational norms. And in order to do this, we must examine social history, ethnoarchaeology, and the ethnohistorical sense of the self-other in order to get a nuanced understanding of their projections of group identity. In ancient Israel, tribal groups had multiple linguistic and cultural allegiances. If we are to understand the “locality” of a given language community in Israel and southern Judah, we must understand what and where the centers of authority were that “licensed, warranted, and endowed with its cultural dimensionalities . . . the denotational norm” (Silverstein 1998:402). For Israelite and southern Judean linguistic styles and their indexical meanings, norms emerged from licensed centers of authority in, for example, the temple, the palace, and the scribal schools in ancient Palestine. Although these political centers licensed what oriented “people’s senses of good vs. bad usage and the limits thereto over a population . . .” (1998: 404-5), when social changes like forced migration took place, communities were forced to live in areas where their standard language forms no longer aligned with the local power centers. For example, Israelite migrant and refugee identity could be marked in Judean contexts by the use of linguistic forms that did not conform

to Judean licensed and indexical linguistic standards.³⁸ While Hebrew scholars tend to look for uniformity when describing language communities, we can also advance our understanding of local norms and meanings by examining indexical meaning found in linguistic diversity and variation.

This leads us to another important concept in the field of linguistic anthropology: indexicality. In linguistic anthropology, indexicality refers to the ongoing relationship between language/utterance, cultural context, and social meaning. In this dissertation, indexicality will be central to the analysis of Israelite refugee identity in Judah.

The concept of indexicality has its origins in the American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce's semiotic theories of the difference between three types of signs as markers of meaning: symbol, icon, and index (1955: 102-3). In Peirce's interpretation, the symbol resembles the sign, the icon represents or reproduces the sign (i.e. refers to objects by means of similarity), and the index points to the referent or has a real connection to the sign (i.e. is affected by the sign). Peirce declares that in and of themselves, indexes "assert nothing" (1955: 111) but must be interpreted in context. Several examples of an indexical sign are smoke, which indexes fire; the hand of the clock, which indexes the time of the day; a thunderbolt, which points to the coming rain; or a weathercock, which indexes the direction of the wind (Peirce 1955: 108-9). Peirce observes that an index "is a sign, or representation, which refers to its object . . . because it is in dynamical (including spatial) connection both with the individual object, on the one hand, and with the senses or memory of the person for whom it serves as a sign, on the other hand" (1955: 107). Accordingly, indexes "call upon the hearer to use his powers of observation, and so

³⁸ For instance, the standard Israelite theophoric linguistic form *YW* differed from the standard *YHW* in Judah and indexes an alignment with Israel (Sarfatti 1982; Garbini 1982; Israel 1989; Briquel-Chatonnet 1992b; Millard 2014).

establish a real connection between his mind and the object” (1955: 110). Peirce noted that deictics, a class of words whose meaning is dependent on contexts, such as personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, adverbs like “here,” or temporal forms like “now,” function indexically (1955: 107-110). Peirce concluded, “[a]nything which focuses the attention is an index” (1955: 108).

Roman Jakobson, a disciple of the Prague School of linguistics, was the first to elaborate on Peircian semiotic theories of indexicality in a series of essays on shifters³⁹ and Russian verbs (1957 [1971]) and then on the “essence” of language (1965 [1971]). His studies attempted to show that, in contradiction to what was generally believed at the time, language is in fact not a neutral medium of communication.

Michael Silverstein, a student of Jakobson’s at Harvard, modified Jakobson’s classification of verbal categories, incorporating influences from Whorf and Sapir, to create a broad system for how language predetermines the indexical relationship between the sign and object. For Silverstein, indexicality is “the property of a sign vehicle signaling contextual ‘existence’ of an entity” (1976: 29). Silverstein’s 1976 essay expands on Jakobson’s examination of ways that language is not a neutral medium and questions the view of language as an autonomous entity that can be analyzed by scholars of language without using supplemental information about the speaker and context. To do this, Silverstein highlights two levels of indexicality: referential and nonreferential indexicals. A referential index refers to the denotational value of a word or utterance, its linguistic category, function, and description (i.e. grammatical analysis of parts of speech, number, gender, etc.) (Silverstein 1976: 14-15). These types of approaches and indexes are found in the fields of historical linguistics, philology, and

³⁹ Deictic expressions are called “shifters” because the referents of deictic markers constantly change as discourse and context change (Silverstein 1976: 24).

generative grammar. To this, Silverstein added the idea of nonreferential indexicals (or pure indexes), which are “features of speech which, independent of any referential speech events that may be occurring, signal some particular value of one or more contextual variables” (Silverstein 1976:29). The linguistic features of nonreferential indexes can have a co-occurring element; that is, speakers linguistically signal some aspect of interaction in the here-and-now. Silverstein uses linguistic features of Yana, a language of California, Javanese and other languages that index nonreferential categories such as differences of gender (sex indexes), status, rank, and age (deference indexes).

Silverstein also highlights the importance of the presupposition of nonreferential indexicals, that is, that indexical meanings are developed through past experiences. A language as a code or specific types of utterances can come to be meaningfully associated with certain contexts – these contexts and associations are mediated by means of cultural ideology.⁴⁰ A word-sign points to a presupposed context and meaning that largely depends on the metapragmatic function of the utterance and cultural ideology (Silverstein 1998: 128).⁴¹ As speakers are socialized into rules of using a repertoire of forms, these forms come to have cultural associations, symbolic force, and social stereotypes.⁴²

⁴⁰ On the presupposing element of indexicality, Silverstein notes that “any indexical process, wherein signs point to a presupposed context in which they occur (i.e., have occurred) or to an entailed potential context in which they occur (i.e., will have occurred), depends on some metapragmatic function to achieve a measure of determinacy or textual coherence. . . . It turns out that the crucial position of ideologies of semiosis is in constituting such a “default” mediating metapragmatics. . . . In short, ideology construes indexicality by constituting its metapragmatics. . . . Ideologies present invokable schemata in which to explain/interpret the meaningful flow of indexicals” (1992: 128–129).

⁴¹ By metapramtics, I mean what speech does in a specific context. For example, a wedding officiator’s declaration: “I now pronounce you husband and wife” signals explicitly the type of social event occurring at the time of the declaration.

⁴² For example, Kulick (1998) examines language stereotypes in Papua New Guinea. Tiap is the popular

Indexicality establishes the cultural connection between utterance types and society, and highlights the commonality of a cultural group. Using a particular utterance that presupposes a certain social context can make a political and ideological statement about the speaker. In this dissertation, from this point onward, “indexicality” will be used only for nonreferential indexes, that is, linguistic token sign types or resources that are social indexes evoking meaningful socio-cultural categories and associations such as stances, group affiliations, and identity alignments (Silverstein 1976; 1985; 2003).

2.5 Inscriptional Language and Speech Community

Central to the examination of refugee and migrant identity in Ancient Near Eastern text artifacts is an understanding of the different types of communities involving the languages of that time and place. According to Michael Silverstein, there are three different types of linguistic communities: inscription communities, language communities, and speech communities (2006). An inscription community is one in which a script is shared but not necessarily a language. For example, in present-day Iran and Iraq, literate speakers may share a common script, but in Iran it is generally used for Persian and in Iraq the Arabic script it is generally used for Modern Standard Arabic. A language community connected by use of a common language; i.e. is a

language in Papua New Guinea but is shifting to Pisin. Tiap is an indigenous language stereotypically linked to anger, but Pisin is linked to colonialism, white people, the economy, and Catholicism. When women engage in anger behavior and use profanity they speak in Tiap. Women in this community do not view anger-speech in Tiap as a negative stereotype because it is used as a defense mechanism in disputes. Men, on the other hand, seek to reduce anger and use Pisin in negotiations. Thus, there are two gender paradigms that are juxtaposed and in conflict: indigenous tradition of emotion symbolically linked to Tiap and the Western tradition of pacification linked to Pisin. However, Pisin is becoming more popular as an appropriate discourse because it is as it is linked to male dominance and Christianity, while Tiap is taking more reduced role in the community.

“population manifesting regularity of usage based on allegiance to norms of denotational code” (Silverstein 1997: 129). The allegiance to a referential code “also encompasses an indigenous cultural consciousness of variation and/or change, or . . . fixity and stasis” (Silverstein 1998: 402). For example, the US and England belong to the same language community because of their common use of English. Finally, a speech community is “based on patterns of indexical facts of linguistic usage-in-context—‘rules of use’” or, in other words, “who, normatively, communicates in which ways to whom on what occasions” (Silverstein 1997: 129). A speech community follows the norms that are culturally appropriate and regular, norms that are reached by the processes of socialization and norms maintenance. These communicative and cultural norms may shift over time as boundaries and borders shift as well (Silverstein 2004: 158). A speech community shares values and rules of language use. These shared values and uses can be found in writing (while the US and England may be seen as a language community, spelling differences such as “color” vs. “colour” show that they are distinct speech communities [although these spelling differences are not good indicators of the precise speech differences]), or in greetings and honorifics (as in shared understandings for overall rules of communication such as who can say what to whom and when).

There are both similarities and differences between inscriptional, language and speech communities. Each of the three categories raises a different question pertaining to the social use of language. Questions that relate to what script technology is used to inscribe a language are pertinent to the inscriptional community (Silverstein 2006: 153-154). But questions related to a shared lexicon and grammar (either writing or speaking) are pertinent to a language community (Silverstein 2006: 156). Linguistic anthropology tends to focus on the last category, speech community, and asks questions on the rules of language use (Silverstein 2006: 157). Hence, the

traditional focus on language community is insufficient, and we need to look at speech community.

Traditionally, the European and American study of ancient Hebrew has only conceptualized language according to the second category, language community. However, work done by linguistic anthropologists has demonstrated that social formations are defined not only by how an individual shows allegiance to a particular script or language but also by how he or she follows the ‘rules of use,’ which also extend to writing and literacy. Therefore, traditional European and American theorizing of language in the form of comparative philology and historical linguistics is insufficient in terms of understanding language’s multifaceted life, and ignores the questions and problems associated with the framework of speech communities. What is needed is an approach that outlines the cultural meanings associated with how language actually functions in society, an approach that doesn’t look at only denotational or referential uses of a language, but instead examines the speakers and their writings that invoke this and give it power. Transporting the traditional European model to the study of Northwest Semitic languages in the Bronze and Iron Age periods leaves us with important gaps – using a model that only analyzes language structure causes us to miss important functions of these ancient languages. Examining ancient Hebrew inscriptions from the framework or paradigm of linguistic anthropology will allow for new and important insights into identity, politics, and language use. For example, a linguistic anthropological model can provide a lens into viewing ways that Israelite refugees incorporated aspects of the Israelian Hebrew speech community into the Judean language and inscriptional community (or writing system). To put it another way, in one text-artifact it was possible to hold membership in multiple communities of practice (i.e. contact-induced speech community varieties in language and inscriptional communities). Therefore,

critics of the theory of Israelite refugees in Judah (like Na'aman 2007; 2009; 2014) that assume that the communities of practice in Judah were homogenous are methodologically flawed.

2.6 Language Ideologies of Text-Artifacts

The theory of language ideologies looks not only at the beliefs and values associated with speech, but also writing. Orthographic and spelling choices have just as much semiotic and indexical significance as grammatical significance. Rather than view writing as a neutral graphic representation of the spoken language, language ideologies argue that writing is a social practice.

Whereas literacy studies have moved away from the “autonomous” view of writing (as a mere neutral technology to represent speech to writing as a socio-cultural practice), language ideologies has shown more of a concern for how orthography indexes identity, construction of self and the other, and social boundaries and legitimacy.

Spelling and orthography are often sites of indexicality and identity construction. For example, orthographic choices of new, developed, or older nations are often contested and ideologically charged. Debate has raged in, for example, in present-day Corsica on the “correct” spelling of Corsican words and ways that spelling can and should be used to differentiate Corsican from French (Jaffe 1996; 1999; 2000). A similar debate ensued in Haiti over the colonial influence of French as an orthographic model and how it should relate to vernacular literary use of Haitian Creole. For example, a final ‘r’ in French orthography is silent, so in written kreyol this final letter is dropped (Schieffelin and Doucet 1998). Sebba notes that in Spanish orthography ‘k’ represents /c/ or /qu/ but in Catalonia, countercultural groups use the letter ‘k’ to spell words such as *okupas* instead of *ocupas* as a form of rebellion (2007:3).

Another cultural indexical association in terms of orthography, when the sign form becomes

psychologically associated with the user, is the barred ~~u~~-sign exclusively used by the Bamilke, speakers of a Banta language in Cameroon (Sebba 2007: 114). These examples all show a level of awareness found in politically contested spaces in terms of the role that language and writing conventions have in indexing identity. Sometimes the change in writing system has social and political consequences. For example, after the Tatar Republic gained independence from Russia, there was an ideology to remove all traces of Russian influence in the Tatar language (a Turkic language), including attempts to abandon the Cyrillic script in favor of the Roman script (Wertheim 2012).

2.7 Enregisterment

Enregisterment, a term introduced by Asif Agha, refers to the socio-historical processes through which “distinct forms of speech come to be socially recognized . . . as indexical of speaker attributes by a population of language users” (Agha 2005: 38; see also 2007: 55). That is, enregisterment is the manner by which groups of linguistic styles take on special meaning and become ideologically linked with situations, places, and social identities.

When looking at enregisterment, it is also vital to demarcate the social contexts and identities associated with the area of use in order to evaluate the distribution of linguistic features. Habits of language use can often display an ideology of name and language compartmentalization, that is, an ideology that restricts linguistic forms exclusively to certain groups (similar to Kroskrity’s notion of strict compartmentalization (1998: 109)). While compartmentalization is not a universal ideology, it is applicable in the context of Israelite refugee identity; tracing tribal identity is facilitated by the use of patterns in which certain tribal names and linguistic forms are restricted to use within the tribe. Moreover, language

compartmentalization seems to have led to the result that certain names were not be used or replicated outside of the tribe. The enregistered forms that are compartmentalized are often aligned with identities of power in tribal societies. Enregisterment allows us to better understand how certain linguistic registers are compartmentalized and come to symbolically invoke associations with an individual's social identity.

We can trace the historical process of enregisterment when registers are embodied in written artifacts. Agha argues that historical cultural registers can be recoverable through “the production and use of more perduring artifacts . . . that link persons to each other in communicative behavior across larger spans of space and time” (Agha 2003; 2004: 27).

Applying Agha's notion to the study of ancient Hebrew text-artifacts, one finds that the Hebrew Bible is a rich perduring artifact of genealogies and linguistic variation that permits researchers to trace the historical process of language use.

In order to perform ethnography of enregisterment in the Ancient Near East without living informants, data comes from text-artifacts left behind by the upper social strata of society. Any ethnography of ancient Israel will be incomplete because the poor and lower strata of Israelite society are underrepresented in the both archaeological data (text-artifacts) and the Hebrew Bible (including the refugee class that I aim to study here) . Nevertheless, both Hebrew inscriptions and the Hebrew Bible are invaluable ethnographic tools, as they reveal the social constructs and indexical relationships between tribal affiliation and language within ancient Israelite society. These inscriptions and writings provide a small window into the linguistic *habitus* (Bourdieu 1991) of language forms accessible in ancient Israel.⁴³ It is important, as

⁴³ Bourdieu's theory of *habitus* refers to a set of dispositions to act in certain ways in social contexts. Linguistic *habitus* theory moves beyond grammar and style to the social conditions of language production, circulation, and “the markets” on which language offer their linguistic products (1991: 28).

Silverstein argues, that one uses all information available in the reconstruction of the ‘total linguistic fact’ of ancient Israelite culture.

Essential to evaluating enregisterment in ancient Israel is tracking the statistical frequency of forms associated with a particular tribal group. As will be discussed in Chapter 3 and 5, when a high number of attestations of tribal names and linguistic variations are found in a particular text that is aligned with a tribal group, then it seems likely that enregisterment has taken place. For example, the name Hoshea in the Bible is consistently enregistered among elites from the tribe of Ephraimite: a military leader named Hoshea son of Nun (Num. 13:8); the prophet Hoshea son of Beeri (Hos. 1:1); the Israelite king Hoshea son of Ela (2 Kgs. 15:30); and Hoshea ben Azariah, an officer who served the king (1 Chr. 27:20). Therefore, the name Hoshea is enregistered among Ephraimite clans. Examinations of enregisterment place greater emphasis on statistical clusters of indexical forms of language use rather than to purely grammatical and referential occurrences.

2.8 Alignment Theory

The final theories from linguistic anthropology that will be useful in the analysis of Israelite refugee identity involve the concept of alignment. First there is alignment theory, which derives from Erving Goffman’s studies on individual and group identity in interactions. According to Goffman (1959:120-130; 1963:129-130, 136-137; 1981:35), alignment refers to the ways individuals (the self) reveal or communicate their position in relationship to what is occurring. An individual belongs to a group that is derived from “the place of his kind in social structure” (Goffman 1963: 136), and engages in activities and roles that display alignments to

particular social and personal identities. In human communication, these alignments can be ritualized arrangements, the “movements, looks, and vocal sounds we make as an unintended by-product of speaking and listening” (Goffman 1981: 2).

In his elaboration of alignment, Goffman uses the term footing to describe the varied stances an individual chooses in situations when one’s identity is at issue. The self, defined by Goffman as a “stance-taking entity,” can take up a position “somewhere between identification with an organization and opposition to it ... It is thus against something that the self can emerge” (1961: 320). Footing is therefore understood to be a “[p]articipant’s alignment, or set, or stance, or posture, or projected self” that is “somehow at issue” (1981: 128). This projected self “can be held across a strip of behavior that is less long than a grammatical sentence, or longer. . .” Moreover, a “change in footing implies a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance. A change in our footing is another way of talking about a change in our frame for events” (1981: 128). Shifts in footing can be signaled by verbal phenomena such as code-switching (moving from one language into another) or by non-verbal phenomena such as intonation and body orientation. Switching languages (for example from English to Spanish) may signal a change in a speaker’s alignment, and is an example of how language can be used to construct identity. That is not to say that a change in footing is “merely in switching from one stance or alignment to another,” because in reality an individual can have multiple “footing across several . . . turns at talk” (Goffman 1981: 155). Changes in footing index the change of an individual notion of self as alignment shifts in response to a local circumstance.

An individual may feel that his or her identity is stigmatized, based on a range of life experiences (Goffman 1963: 128). Stigma can be defined as some kind of shortcoming attribute and

its stereotype (1963:10-11, 13) often associated with “ethnicity, race, religion, political belief, gender, regional loyalties . . .” (Goffman 1981: 242) that can be “transmitted through lineages and equally contaminate all members of a family” (Goffman 1963: 13). Based on how a member of a stigmatized group decides to manage his or her stigma, the stigmatized individual can choose to align with in-group or out-group identities (Goffman 1963: 136-138).

Goffman’s theory of alignment is relevant to the study of Israelite refugee migration to Judah because forced migrants are typically stereotyped and stigmatized. Because forced migration induces contact and through contact one is able to detect identity difference, an expected outcome of marking difference is stigmatization. Generally, speaking/writing is a semiotic act of communication that index a speaker’s heritage. One component of a speaker’s identity involves socialization into the language values of their family. In general, displaced persons have been socialized into language norms and practices that are different than those of their host community, which can lead to their language and naming practices being both marked and stigmatized (for example, Latino migrants in Los Angeles). Consequently, refugees and migrants will manage their identity differently based on the circumstances. Some displaced persons will take up a stance of identity that aligns with their homeland and others will not (or will choose non-stigmatized stances).

2.9 Identity Alignment

Identity alignment is a concept that explains how displaced peoples use language to construct and represent identity, especially in aligning themselves with their pre-displaced past. Goffman’s theory of alignment provide a compelling lens for examining social roles of refugees in ancient Judah—how their identity was signaled in language and naming, and how they

positioned themselves vis-à-vis one another during interactions. Using language as tool reveals what was fixed in identity construction, but also what is vague and messy.⁴⁴

Several disciplines—such as psychology, sociolinguistics, and linguistic anthropology—have developed separate theories on alignment (Garrod and Pickering 2007; Jaffe 2009: 5-24). The linguistic anthropologist Asif Agha discusses ‘role alignments’ which are “formulated through patterns of discursive and other semiotic behaviors” attributed to a biographic person (2005: 53). Proper names can be used for construing entextualized voices and role alignment based upon the person/tribal member’s explicit cultural behavior.

Identity alignment is a term used by Lim and Ansaldo (2007) and Ansaldo (2010) in their analysis of the colonial multilingual context of Sri Lanka. Identity alignment in multilingual communities under colonial and post-colonial settings means that speakers will not contest imposed identities by nation-states, but will maintain or align themselves with a presumed ethnic identity as a consequence of their desire to identify with a global social group (Lim and Ansaldo 2007). Multilingual and multicultural negotiations occur through contact among displaced persons, therefore “the alignment between language and identity is complex, continuously shifting and not easily captured in terms of mother tongue or nativeness” (Ansaldo 2010: 615). Ansaldo describes the complexity of alignment and codemixing within multilingual Diaspora communities this way:

[T]he processes of shifting and mixing codes, i.e. selection of features from different grammatical systems and recombination in a new grammar, is the natural outcome of an identity alignment that typically occurs in diasporic, ethnically heterogeneous contexts. In doing so, the community achieves both integration within the new context and self-

⁴⁴ For example, the appearance of a foreign Egyptian name in an ancient Judean Hebrew inscription can show a native Egyptian’s agreement or consensus (or an intellectual alignment) with Egyptian culture, but at the same time it could be the pretentious use of the name by a West Semitic individual (who adopted the name of his ancestor) (Muchiki 1999). No one knows for sure and this ambivalence can be both rewarding and frustrating.

identification through cultural innovation. The multiple linguistic resources on which the community draws in this process of alignment constitute the de facto linguistic profile of the community, a profile that goes beyond notions of mother tongue and native competence, and includes multilingualism and mixing practices as the defining points of linguistic and cultural identification (Ansaldo 2010: 616).

Thus, among Diaspora communities one cannot always expect language shifts and loss, but rather mixing and hybridity. Hence, identity alignment is, “a creative process in which speakers have agency in the transmission and transfer of linguistic features. Hybridization is thus a perfectly ‘normal’ outcome of contact ecologies, as the combination of acts of maintenance and divergence that defines an emerging community in a new ecology” (Ansaldo 2010: 621).

In the context of Malay community that Ansaldo examines, language is used to construct identity in the form of switching, mixing, and the varying use of different linguistic resources. For example, the Malays living in Sri Lanka align themselves with their Malaysian homeland by instructing their children in standard Malaysian Malay rather than Sri Lankan Malay. In general, Malays have a global identity; they have their own state, nation, and language. However, in nation-state of Sri Lanka the Malay communities are a minority. Thus language use—and the choice to continue the socialization and everyday practice of Malaysian Malay—demonstrates Sri Lanka Malays’ alignment with their pre-displaced roots despite local changing circumstances (Lim and Ansaldo 2007).

In this dissertation, the focus will be on the linguistic evidence of Israelite refugee migration to Judah under King Hezekiah. The central aspect of identity alignment that is applicable to our study is the use of language as a marker of identity in multilingual and Diaspora contexts. In the linguistic ecology of Diaspora communities, members will engage in language mixing practices and at the same time maintain an alignment with their pre-displaced

homeland.

In the study of Israelite refugee identity in Judah, one cannot expect a complete language shift away from native tribal dialects, but rather hybridity and multilingual ecology. That is, members of Israelite speech community will accommodate their language to their surroundings that is dominated by a Judean religious and political system. Case in point, the Siloam tunnel inscription in Judah that is dated to the late 8th century BCE.⁴⁵ Specific features of the script of the inscription align with iconic forms of the Israelian Hebrew writing system (i.e. Samaria ostraca): the *zayin* and *ṣade* with ‘tick or tail’ at the end, and elongated stems on the *mem*, *nun*, *lamed*, and *pe* (Briquel-Chatonnet 1993).⁴⁶ The inscription has two words with ‘defective’ spelling or contraction of the diphthongs in *ym* (Siloam 1:3) and *ql* (Siloam 1: 2).⁴⁷ The spelling of the lexeme יָם “man” (Siloam 1:2, 4) aligns with Israelian Hebrew יָם at Kuntillet Ajrud (no. 3.9; Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel 2012: 98-100); in contrast with the standard Judean Hebrew spelling יֶם (Arad 40:7–8; Lachish 3:9–10).⁴⁸ Finally, the verb *hyt* “it was” (Siloam 1: 3)—the 3rd feminine singular verbal suffix *-āt* of the Hebrew perfect conjugation of III-*He* verbs—is a

⁴⁵ Regarding the influence of Israelite refugees on the language of Jerusalem, Isserlin states, “there seem to have been different styles of language even within Jerusalem— the non-official or semi-official Siloam Tunnel inscription (c. 703-702 BCE) includes a few deviant forms. Additional impetus towards the use of non-standard Hebrew in Jerusalem may have come from the influx of large numbers of refugees from the north, especially after the fall of Samaria in 722, which some think is also connected with the increase in the size of the city about that time” (1998: 217)

⁴⁶ The *yod* with a tail at the end is also present in Arad no.100, thus underscoring Israelite influence in Judean script in the Negev (Sass 1998).

⁴⁷ On the debate over the distinct spelling of the Siloam tunnel inscription, see Harris 1939: 56; Cross and Freedman 1952: 50; Zevit 1980: 19-21; Garr 1985: 39; Young 1993: 103-107; Gogel 1998: 49-74; Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensverd 2008: 149-56; Schniedewind 2013: 90-91.

⁴⁸ The form יָם is also attested in the linguistic contact zones of Israel: Deir Alla (*KAI* 312 1:1–2); Moabite (*KAI* 181 1:10, 13, 20, 25, 28); Samalian dialect of the Panamuwa inscription (*KAI* 214 1:11, 34); and Aramaic of the Zakkur inscription (*KAI* 202 A:2).

dialectal variant of Judean Hebrew *hyh* (Harris 1939: 58-59, 76; Sarfatti 1992: 64-65; the verbal suffix *-āt* is also attested in Archaic Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic, cf. Young 1993: 105-106). Recently, Rendsburg and Schniedewind (2010) examined specific linguistic forms in the Siloam Tunnel inscription that are features of a regional dialect or Israelian Hebrew: *rʿw* “his friend”, *hyt*, and lexemes *mwš*’ “water source” and *nqbh* ‘tunnel.’ Based upon the linguistic profile of the Siloam tunnel inscription, Rendsburg and Schniedewind argue that the author’s origin should be sought in Benjamin or southern Samaria (2010: 198; also Burke 2011: 50-51).

Needless to say, one is hard-pressed to explain the virtual absence of other Israelian Hebrew features in the inscription that would be expected if the author were an Israelite from southern Samaria.⁴⁹ For instance, there are features of the inscription that are strictly Judean: Judean Hebrew feminine noun ending */-h/* (*brkh* ‘pool’ Siloam 1:5; *ʾmh* “cubit” (Siloam 1:6) instead of the Israelian Hebrew feminine noun endings */-t/* (as in Samaria ostraca *št* “year” [so *brkt* and *ʾmt*]); uncontracted diphthongs *bʿwd* “while” (Siloam 1:2) and *mwš*’ (Siloam 1:5) instead of the contraction of the diphthong */w/* that is standard in Israelian Hebrew (Harris 1939; Garr 1985; Israel 1989; Briquel-Chatonnet 1992a; 1992b).⁵⁰ How does one explain the absence

⁴⁹ We do not have any evidence for a southern Samaritan-Benjamite dialect. This is one of the criticisms that Na’aman (2014) levels against Rendsburg and Schniedewind: the lack of evidence on the distinction between Ephraimite and Benjamite Hebrew. Na’aman points to the uncontracted diphthongs in the inscription as evidence for a Judean scribe. He concludes that, “analysis of the script and personal names discovered in Judah contradicts the hypothesis of mass migration that arrived from the north. The Siloam Tunnel inscription was written by a Jerusalemite scribe, and the text reflects the dialect spoken in Jerusalem at the time the Siloam Tunnel inscription was engraved” (2014:8). However, Na’aman’s recourse to the border descriptions in the book of Joshua as counter-argument is even less convincing—as if tribal boundaries from the book of Joshua map onto linguistic boundaries in the late 8th century BCE. Such is not the case.

⁵⁰ Anticipating this criticism, Rendsburg and Schniedewind state that the “spellings *ʿwd* (2x—, lines 1–2) and *mwš*’ (line 5) suggest that the diphthong *aw* was retained in the dialect of the author. Normally one posits monophthongisation of *aw* > *ô* in IH, but the evidence comes from the Samaria ostraca further north. In line with our contemporary knowledge of dialect geography, it is possible that the phonology of

of expected Israelian Hebrew forms in the Siloam tunnel inscription if the author originated from southern Samaria?

Identity alignment theory provides a different lens to solving this problem in that Diaspora communities are continuously shifting and mixing codes— as this is a sure outcome of contact. First, it is likely that the author of the Siloam Tunnel inscription was a southern Ephraimite because members of this tribal speech community show contact induced linguistic varieties associated with Judah such as the theophoric *-yh* at Gezer and Samaria (*HITBP*: 157; *AHI*: no. 3.109; *HAE* I: 109-110) and the uncontracted diphthong **ay* in the spelling *yyn* “wine” at Gezer (Dever and Yonker 1991; dated to 732 BCE). Secondly, the linguistic landscape within the Diaspora community of Judah in the late 8th century BCE (after the arrival of refugees from southern Ephraim and other regions) included mixed language varieties and the Siloam tunnel inscription is evidence of this practice. Hence, one cannot expect complete linguistic allegiance to either the mother tongue (or matrix language) of Israelian Hebrew (as found in Samaria ostraca, for example) or Judean Hebrew. On the contrary, contact-induced varieties is an agentive choice for the Israelite writer of this tunnel inscription and this is why some forms align with Israelian Hebrew and others align with Judean Hebrew. Sociolinguists label the linguistic practice of switching words within a sentence as intra-sentential code-switching (Urciuoli 1991; Myers-Scotton 2006: 239-240).⁵¹ Thus, in the multilingual setting of Judah after

our posited Benjaminite–southern Ephraimite dialect aligned with that of Jerusalem/Judah, even while the said dialect differed vis-à-vis certain lexical and grammatical features” (2010:198 n. 22).

⁵¹ Two other sociolinguistic theories are relevant in explaining the codemixed forms in the Siloam Tunnel inscription. The role of genre in the form of the literary output is also relevant. In sociolinguistic terms, the idea of ‘focussing’ [sic.] developed by Le Page and Tabour et-Keller (1985) and “highly vs. least” regulated texts by Sebba (2007) is pertinent here. Sebba argues that ‘deviant’ linguistic forms “do not conform to the standard norm, they may nevertheless conform to some norm. . . A ‘focussed’ system is

the collapse of the Northern kingdom of Israel, the linguistic alignment within Israelite migrant speech communities was heterogeneous or mixed (not fully Judahite and not fully Israelite).

In a similar way, as discussed in Chapter 5, certain lexical forms in onomasticon of refugees align with Israel, but the theophoric element *YHW* aligns with Judah. How should the *YHW* form in an Israelite name be interpreted? Again, it is important to stress that the *YHW* form means nothing in itself—but only finds meaning in contextual use— and the linguistic setting of Judah under Hezekiah included mixed varieties and naming practices were part of the equation. That is to say, in this Diaspora setting the mixing of lexical and theophoric features within the Israelite onomasticon in Judah is expected. Therefore, one should not assume *a priori* that a seal

one relatively lacking in variability, but it is not necessarily a standardised [sic.] system . . . focussing without standardisation [sic.] is perfectly possible. So we should be prepared to find, within the unregulated space of spelling, examples of focussed but non-standard orthographic norms . . . we can sometimes relate the presence of such non-standard norms to the nature and strength of social networks, for example in the case of adolescent graffiti, where the anti-standard nature of the spelling is reinforced by peer group pressure” (2007: 46). Sebba concludes by stating, “ in the case of the least regulated texts, orthography is focussed on an anti-standard, a deliberate flouting of the conventions” (ibid). In Table 2.1, Sebba (2007: 46) shows how graffiti is least regulated, adheres to oppositional institutional order, and is anti-standard. The Siloam inscription is graffiti inside a tunnel and the discovery of several codemixed forms in the unregulated orthographic space of a graffiti inscription by an Israelite migrant is not surprising. Legal documents, on the other hand, will exhibit more focus toward the standard language, but unofficial documents such as graffiti may contain more freedom from the written standard. Thus, the southern Samarian author of the Siloam inscription discursively desired to exhibit a few variations from standard Judean Hebrew orthography and lexicon. That a “few” variations appear in this graffiti at all, as opposed to none, is indicative of the less regulated space of the artifact and the hybrid identity alignment of the author. The readership of this inscription would be workers of tunnel or his peer group, not the Judean king, official, or a judge. The second linguistic anthropological explanation for the inconsistency of Israelite forms in the Siloam tunnel inscription is Errington’s notion of pragmatic salience—“native speakers’ awareness of the social significance of different leveled linguistic alternants” (1985:294-95). That is to say, certain linguistic forms— because of their continued pragmatic use—become more noticed and therefore more manipulated in social relations. The uncontracted diphthongs in this inscription— a noticeable vernacular marker that indexes solidarity with the dominant Judean speech community— and the verbal form *hyt* and the contracted diphthongs— noticeable stances that align the writer with Israel— are manipulated by the writer in social relations with his peer group. Ultimately, in the multilingual ecology of Judah during the late 8th century BCE, one cannot expect a 100% allegiance to a migrant’s mother tongue. Documents will either be highly regulated or least regulated and it is in the latter that we find the most indices of agency in a multicultural environment. On the theory of language mixing in written documents, see the essays in Sebba, Mahootian, and Jonsson 2012. For historical sociolinguistics, see Trudgill 2010.

or bulla discovered in Judah (with the *-yhw* spelling) referentially means that the person is Judean. From the perspective of identity alignment, any person referred to in a text-artifact in the contact ecologies of Judah had the agency to transmit or transfer hybridized linguistic forms as the new ‘normal’ (Ansaldi 2010: 621). Chatty (2010; 2015) describes cultural hybridity among displaced minorities of the Ottoman Empire as a form of social resilience (or proto cosmopolitanism), a strategy for survival within a new cultural system. Thus the pragmatic reality is that migrants had to learn to live side by side with other cultural groups in a host community and cultural hybridity is the sure outcome of that.

Overall, this section summarized how I plan to collect the data on refugee identity in Judah. Drawing upon linguistic anthropology theory allows me to give insights into ancient data. Granted, it is an unusual application of this method—which is usually used to analyze the social meaning, indexicalities, and ideologies of present-day languages (the exception being Silverstein’s historical linguistic anthropological study of Quaker pronouns)—but generally it is not usually done and this approach is innovative.

CHAPTER 3

LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES OF TRIBAL NAMING

This chapter examines the language ideologies of naming as indexical of identity in ancient Israel. A name unpeels a veiled layer of the sociocultural onion and is a roadmap for locating identities through time at this temporal remove. Because Israelite names were a distinct marker of ethnic, national, and family identity, they are useful in tracking the migration of the Israelite upper class into Judean society. However, determining and isolating immigrant identity in Judah from personal names from over 2,700 years ago (with no living informants) is a challenge. To accomplish this task, I draw on several disciplines within the fields of semiotic archaeology and linguistic anthropology.

Two linguistic anthropological theories will be used to identify Israelite refugee identity in Judean inscriptions: indexicality and the linguistic ideology of identity alignment of personal names. Tribal naming alignment is the cultural practice of reproducing names within the tribe, clan, or household. Modern ethnographic analogies of the replicating of local clan names in kinship-based societies as an index of tribal identity can be used to reinforce our understanding of naming practices in the late Iron Age. The dynamics of present-day Middle Eastern tribal kinship relationships and naming practices for both agro-pastoralists and urban residents help give insight into the naming practices of in ancient Israel. Contemporary agro-pastoral (and sometimes nomadic) Middle Eastern societies provide a good analogy for ancient Israel because both share similar kinship patterns and cultural ideologies. Evaluating naming practices of present-day societies provide possible antecedents of cultural meaning that might have existed in the Iron Age II period that we will be analyzing here; especially in light of the fact that aligning a

tribe member's personal name with his ancestral clan was a cultural practice among West Semitic tribes of the Bronze and Iron Age period.

In this chapter, I use insights from both theories of language ideologies and from present-day ethnographic insights in order to develop a theory of name-replication as a form of identity alignment. This theory of naming alignment will then be used to identify Israelite refugees and migrants in Judean inscriptions in the eighth-seventh centuries BCE. A list of names that align with Israelite genealogies in Judean text-artifacts is provided in Chapter 5. This list of Israelite names is derived from two main sources: first, genealogies in the Hebrew Bible, and second, onomastic data attested exclusively from text-artifacts discovered in Israel. Because tribal names are constructed according to their in-group values, beliefs, and assumptions, it is possible to correlate personal/family names and tribal genealogical alignments in the epigraphic record. The collection of names in Chapter 5 come from archaeological excavations dated to the eighth-seventh centuries BCE strata in the Highlands of Ephraim and Judah, the Judean Desert, Negev, and the Shephelah.⁵² As will be evident, the total number of individuals identified is marginal in comparison to the possible population of Judah in this period. While this data is not significant demographically, it is significant *ideologically*, as the persons identified in the seals, ostraca, and bullae likely represent the upper or elite strata of society. The migrant upper class that arrived in Judah is influenced Judean identity linguistically, culturally, and ideologically.

3.1 A Linguistic Anthropology of Naming

In anthropology research, there is a general consensus of the overriding significance of

⁵² For example, Lachish (Stratum III), Tel 'Eton (Katz and Faust 2012), and Bet Shemesh, Beer-sheba (Stratum III), Arad (Strata IX and X–Herzog 2002; Singer Avitz 2002), 'Aroer (Stratum IV–Thareani 2011: 2); Tel Malḥata [Beit-Arieh 2015], Jerusalem (de Groot, Geva etc), Judean Desert, and Hill Country of Ephraim and Benjamin (Lederman, Finkelstein, and ??).

gaining firsthand knowledge of how a community uses and the meanings attached to person names and genealogies through observation. This is the case with the studies of Gellner (1969), Geertz (1979), Alford (1988), Mertz (1983), and Kuipers (1998; 2009), vom Bruck and Bodenhorn (2006), and Bramwell (2016).

One central focus of linguistic anthropology is the study of ways in which language indexes, maintains, and constructs social cultural concepts. In other words, language does not simply refer to things out there in the world. Linguistic forms also point to social meanings, maintain social relationships, and construct both individual and group identities (Errington 2001; Gal 2005). Standard theoretical methods used by researchers in Hebrew and Northwest Semitic studies tend to highlight only the denotative. They present a referential or static value of language (onomasticon) and its utility in speech or writing. However, these methods have their limitations. A referential and utilitarian view of language (and personal names) examines the truth-value of denoting features of lexicon and grammar, and tends to rely upon statistical references. However, it neglects of the power and role of language in its relation with social, political, and ideological forces.

Using a linguistic ideological analysis is a new approach to the study of Israelite personal names. Up to this point, the evolutionary and comparative philological theories have dominated the study of Israelite personal names (and still in more recent times).⁵³ These approaches share

⁵³ The older studies of Gray (1896), Noth (1928), Stamm (1980), and others continue to exert influence over the field of onomastic studies today as witnessed by the publications of Tigay (1986; 1987), Fowler (1988), Zadok (1988), Layton (1990), de Moor (1997), Callaway (1999), Zevit (2001), Hess (2003; 2007), Rechenmacher (1997; 2002; 2011; 2012), and Golub (2014). Pike's dissertation on personal names, under the supervision of Tigay, continues this tradition as well (1990). The most ambitious work to date—on the philological, lexical, morphological, and syntactic construction of names in ancient Israel names—have been the volumes published by Fowler (1988), Zadok (1988), Rechenmacher (2012), and Albertz and Schmitt (2012). While these have made significant contributions to the field, they are deficient in analyzing the materiality and cultural meaning of naming (however, cf. Polak 2012).

the view that names are defined purely by function and as reference – they refer to persons and families. Referential approaches to Israelite naming practices are focused on the statistical and typological comparisons of grammatical and lexical features– sometimes with criteria foreign to ancient Israelite culture–(Noldeke 1902; Noth 1928; Fowler 1988; Layton 1990; Richter 1996; Rechenmacher 2002; 2011; 2012; Schule 2000), and their analogies in cognate languages (Noth 1928; Schultz 1967; Stamm 1980; Fowler 1988; Zadok 1988; Pike 1990; Albertz 2012).

Moreover, referential analyses are used, in a positivistic way, to determine the evolution of Yahweh worship in the pre-exilic period (Nestle 1876; Gray 1896; Noldeke 1902; Tigay 1986; Norin 1986, 2013; Fowler 1988; Zevit 2001: 586-609; Albertz and Schmitt 2012; Albertz 2014; Golub 2014) or to verify biblical persons in the epigraphic record (Mykytiuk 2004; 2009; 2012). The quandary hovering over this referential model – one that is rarely acknowledged to have weaknesses and uncertainties – is the lack of investigations into naming and identity that is facilitated by a cultural knowledge, the assumption that names were fixed categories of static isomorphic neutral elements, and that everyone shared this uniform model of language in ancient Israelite society. By comparison, other academic fields have progressed to the point where they incorporate and apply multidisciplinary approaches to naming, personal identity, and cultural meaning (vom Bruck and Bodenhorn 2006; Bramwell 2016; Hough 2016). Meanwhile,

Granted, Golberg's dissertation (1973), which analyzed Israelite names in the post-exilic Jewish onomasticon, is an exception, to a certain extent, but it is devoid of any anthropological insights. My approach moves away from evolutionary theories of personal names deriving from 18- 19th century as well as a historical-philological analysis. I also have chosen to not engage in the discussion of the evolution of monotheism– as found in the publications of Noth, Stamm, de Moor, Hess, Tigay, Pike, Norin, and others–that seek to prove or disprove (positivistically) Yahweh's pre-exilic origins. These authors view personal names in a referential and typological way in which the focus is on what the names denote and their statistical occurrences. I am more interested in how names are an index of culture; how naming is a form of meaning and is ideological linked to the constructing social identity. I draw upon naming ideologies from modern ethnographies of Middle Eastern kinship-based tribes for making meaning of names in ancient Levantine societies.

Northwest Semitic and Biblical studies have been left behind, still floundering about in outmoded subjective criteria of naming tied to circumstances of birth (Noth 1928; Stamm 1980; Rechenmacher 1997; Albertz and Schmitt 2012; Albertz 2014), antiquated approaches to folk etymologies in literary narratives (Garsiel 1986; Krašovec 2010), and outdated psychoanalytical models (Pedersen 1926 [1991]; Bardis 1972).⁵⁴

Using linguistic anthropology as a heuristic model is a shift in emphasis away from the static, referentially based typological, etymological, and comparative analysis of personal names towards a dynamic view of naming based upon individual choices within a culture, choices that index personal stance, identity, and ideologies. The linguistic anthropological model explains naming through the various semiotic processes of linguistic differentiation, materiality, and cultural meaning, moving beyond supposedly neutral static elements, etymology, or presumed homogeneity. With the help of ethnographies, anthropologists analyze criteria and taxonomies of naming set up by societies themselves, rather than artificial ones invented by scholars who are foreign to the culture.

In linguistic anthropological theory, there is no “view from nowhere” and social forces are at work in every linguistic situation (Irvin and Gal 2000: 36). All linguistic interactions are performances with an audience, and these interactions do not only reflect social relations but also create them. This analytical perspective allows us to understand naming as its own cultural practice and to analyze what social actors were doing with names. An examination of how naming ideologies were inscribed in everyday practice also lets us see how the institution of ancestral lineages and genealogies were more valuable and effective in the politics of Israelite

⁵⁴ One of the earliest studies on the sociology of naming in Israel was O. Pedersen (1926 [1991]: 245-251). Pedersen’s psycho-social study of the folk consciousness of names in ancient Israel concluded that the Israelite social system was a reflection of their perceptions of reality.

society than other institutions. Each example of naming in ancient Hebrew text-artifacts is a form of agency, expressing the ways individuals viewed themselves as well as how they reflected, constructed, and negotiated their political, economic, religious, and ancestral cultural tribal identity.

3.2 Names and Discursive Consciousness

Ideologies of naming center on social actors' discursive consciousness; that is, their subjective choices and rationalized preferences (Kroskrity 1998).⁵⁵ Here a distinction must be made between discursive consciousness and practical consciousness. According to Giddens (1984:45), who discusses three levels of consciousness: discursive, practical, and unconscious, discursive consciousness is "being able to put things into words." It is what people are able to talk, say, and verbalize about choices they make; what Silverstein (1979) identifies in his groundbreaking study of language ideologies as the "articulated use." On the other hand, practical consciousness is what agents are not necessarily able to express that they know but just do (Giddens 1984:49).

Of course, there are limits of awareness- to borrow Silverstein's title (1981)- that fall along the level of practical consciousness. For example, there are features of language that are more outside the awareness threshold than others. Speakers may not show an awareness of certain aspects of their local ideologies but demonstrate a "practical consciousness with relatively unchallenged, highly naturalized, and definitively dominant ideologies" (Kroskrity 2004: 505) because of their "embeddedness" in the social and cultural systems" (Kroskrity 2004: 497).

⁵⁵ For the distinction in the field of language ideologies between discursive "consciousness" and Marxist notion of "false consciousness," see Giddens (1976:143-152; 1984) and Woolard (1998:7).

But, at the same time, there are sites where linguistic ideologies are constructed and contested on the level of discursive consciousness (Kroskrity 2004: 505). For instance, discursive consciousness falls more along the lexical or noun level because people are more self-conscious about word items. As Kroskrity observes, nouns “display an unavoidable referentiality that makes them more available for folk awareness and possible folk theorizing” (Kroskrity 2004: 506; also 2010). The lexicon of a speech-language community is more under control; it can be rationalized and subject to changes based upon actor’s cultural beliefs and ideologies. One can think of the word “computer,” which in nearly every language of the world is a loanword from English except French (the latter invented their own word “ordinateur” for ideological and cultural reasons). Because a language’s lexicon tends to be above a threshold of awareness while its grammar falls below it, the lexicon becomes an important resource for maintaining cultural authenticity, purism, and identity (Hill 1985; Kroskrity 1998).

Hence, naming, as part of the lexicon, is a key site of language ideologies because it resides in discursive consciousness. A case in point is the personal name Jesús. In American culture, naming a child’s name as ‘Jesus’ is not culturally appropriate, but in American Hispanic culture, the name Jesús, with an accented /u/ (a Spanish language index), is highly valued and indexes Hispanic American beliefs and ideologies.

With respect to the Hebrew Bible, scholars continue to investigate ways in which Biblical writers were aware of names (both personal and place names) in both narrative and poetic genres, but they have yet to explore other significant avenues of native speaker ideologies. In the bestowal of names in historical books of the Hebrew Bible, for example, biblical writers used literary word play (such as puns) and folk etymologies in connection to specific historical situations (Key 1964; Bardis 1972; Garsiel 1986; Hess 1993, 1998; Reinhartz 1998;

Rechenmacher 2000; Krašovec 2010; a comprehensive bibliography of Jewish names in the Bible and other literature may be found in Singerman and Gold 2001). For example, upon the bestowal of the name “Moses”, the explanation is given “because I drew him out of the water” (Ex. 2:10).⁵⁶ These episodes demonstrate how names at this time were culturally understood, as well as their rationalized use.

Naming is an important and very conscious process, one that in the present day US, for example, usually entails lengthy and possibly emotional discussions. It is a different kind of practice in terms of language than almost anything else. For example, in the Creation account God commands Adam and Eve to subdue and have dominion over the earth (Gen. 1:28). However, one finds that language is one way of domination in Genesis 2:19. Here, God gives the human the power of name the creatures of the earth. This act of naming underscores the connection between naming, power, consciousness, and social roles in the Ancient Near East.

However, language ideologies allow us to examine other culturally embedded perspectives outside of literary narrative and poetic usage. For example, the reuse of names within a tribe is culturally significant. The reproduction of a name style among lineage groups of one language, ancestral territory, or identity should also be recognized as a culturally imbedded perspective. The recognition and reproduction of native name styles are discursively conscious social activities that link groups together. The reproduction of the same name pattern when newly located outside of one’s ancestral land, as opposed to name variation and borrowing, can be interpreted as representing immigrant discursive awareness along with community or family

⁵⁶ The literature concerning whether or not the etymological origin of the name ‘Moses’ is West Semitic or Egyptian is vast. The contextual explanation of the onomasticon in the narrative tradition makes it West Semitic. However, the main issue, among those advocating an Egyptian origin of this name, is over the correspondence of Egyptian *ś* with West Semitic *š*; a feature attested a few times in West Semitic loan words (Muchiki 1999). But as pointed out by Quack (2000), in the second millennium BCE Egyptian *t* corresponded with West Semitic *š* and not so much *ś*. Thus the name Moses could be of Egyptian origin.

attitudes about a particular name as indexical of an aspect of their culture. Hence, names are significant in identifying refugees and migrant identity, because they are part of the shared awareness or consciousness of the community and its members.

3.3 Agency in Personal Name Choices

The notion of individual agency, based upon Giddens, allows us to better understand patterns and meanings of personal names in texts-artifacts. An entry point to Giddens's theory of agency is the concept of discursive consciousness, which goes beyond the mere "intent" of a person (which bears no fruit in social action) to a person's action performed with full awareness, purpose, and control. "Agency refers not to the intentions people have in doing things but to their capability of doing those things in the first place (which is why agency implies power) . . . Agency concerns events of which an individual is the perpetrator, in the sense that the individual could, at any phase in a given sequence of conduct, have acted differently" (Giddens 1984:9). Here, Giddens connects agency with social structure, which constrains the flow of conduct and enables the agent as 'perpetrator' or performer to break or not break a sequence or pattern.

On the recursive nature of agency and social structure, Giddens writes, "structure is both medium and outcome of the reproduction of practices. Structure enters simultaneously into the constitution of the agent and social practices, and 'exists' in the generating moments of this constitution" (1979: 5). In addition, "people's actions are shaped (in both constraining and enabling ways) by the very social structures that those actions then serve to reinforce or reconfigure," forming a "recursive loop consisting of actions influenced by social structures and social structures (re)created by actions" (Ahearn 2001:117).

Linguistic anthropologists have interacted extensively with Giddens's theory of individual agency.⁵⁷ For Ahearn, agency is the "socioculturally mediated capacity to act" (2001: 112, 118, 130; 2012: 278). Duranti observes that "any act of speaking involves some kind of agency, often regardless of the speaker's intentions and the hearer's interest or collaboration. This is due to the fact that by speaking we establish a reality that has at least the potential for affecting whoever happens to be listening to us, regardless of the originally intended audience" (2004: 451).

Applying agency to the study of personal names means that onomastic data should not be seen as static, neutral, or autonomous but rather as fluid and changing as agents interact "with ideologies and institutions to shape and define the possibilities and life paths of individuals" (Ahearn 2001: 128). Agency in personal name choice means first and foremost that a person is as much the product of structures that he/she transforms or reproduces (Giddens 1979:69; Ortner 2006:134-136). Second, a person in a given society is a performer who can choose to reproduce, align or resist social identities and powers through the selection of a particular name (Ahearn 2001:128; and here I am talking specifically about naming children, where the idea of heritage and legacy is particularly resonant). Locating the social agency in naming involves determining the reproduction, resistance, or transformation of power and cultural ideologies. When it comes to refugee migrant identity in a foreign land, the type of culturally mediated action of interest is oppositional agency – one of the many forms of agency (Ahearn 2001: 115; 2012: 279). While it is true that agency is always linked to questions of power (Ortner 2006), it is also important not

⁵⁷ Space does not allow for a full discussion of agency in social action and its relationship to free will or its development alongside Bourdieu, Sahlins, and other social theorists. For a more detailed analysis, see Duranti 1997, 2004, and Ahearn 2001.

to evaluate agency as either exclusive to the reproduction and maintenance of a cultural order or the resistance against assimilation into a dominant one.⁵⁸

In sum, individual agency is essential to the study of personal names. Through naming practices, members of communities have the ability and choice to project to the world their values, beliefs, and ideologies. Social agents in ancient Israelite society were performers who projected to the world their semiotic ideologies through the resource of personal names. Essentially, every living person in ancient Israelite society, one way or another, was a social agent who projected “who I am” in relation to their social context.

3.4 Indexicality in Naming Practices

Personal names, both first names and family names have indexical meanings; that is, a word or name is situated in a context and points to a contextually understood meaning (Hanks 1999). Examining the indexicality of personal names, as opposed to a referential or static approach to language, permits us to unveil several aspects of meaning. In terms of naming and indexicality, a distinction exists between presupposing and creative indexicality in that social agents both reflect and create their reality through name choices (Silverstein 2003). The theory of the indexicality of personal and family names helps to explain (a) how names are culturally specific, (b) come to be associated with particular groups and social identities, (c) can be used to reflect and create meaning, and (d) can be used to track refugee identity through name choices in a written corpus.

The theory of indexicality is based upon Charles Peirce’s semiotics. Peirce observed that

⁵⁸ There is never a complete reproduction or transformation of a cultural order. This is due, in part, to other forms of agency Ortner (2006) notes other different forms of agency such as the agency of power and agency of projects. Duranti (2004) proposes other dimension of agency, such as performance and encoding.

names are indexes because they refer or point to an individual (1955: 108). Accordingly, personal proper names have “a certain denotative function peculiar, in each case, to that name and its equivalents” (1955: 263), and point to cultural categories such gender, ethnicity, place of birth, or tribal membership.

Indexicality is an important component of language ideologies that relate to identity (Kroskrity 1998; 2000). Numerous anthropological studies of naming have demonstrated that personal names have an indexical relationship to the identity of the bearer (Bruck and Bodenhorn 2006; Forbes 2007:116-173). Bean’s 1980 study of sociolinguistic aspects of proper names, builds on Peircian notions of indexicality. She writes:

Proper names stand for their objects, i.e. bearers, first of all because the act of bestowal creates a connection between the name and its bearer, such that proper names ‘belong to’ their objects. Because proper names ‘belong to’ their bearers they function basically as indexical signs . . . Proper names function indexically because at some time they are ‘given to’ or ‘bestowed upon’ their bearers; that is in a ritual of baptism or by a less formal social convention a name comes to belong to its bearer, a spatio-temporal relationship is established between the name and its bearer (whether real or imaginary). From that time, the proper name functions as an index of its bearer whether or not at each mention there is any spatial-temporal relation between the uttered name and its bearer (307-308).

Bean suggests that names are “terms which stand for cultural entities . . . on account of their bestowal on particular bearers, accepted by a community, the members of which share some understanding of who or what it is to which the name belongs” (1980:309). There is a cultural connection between the name bestowed and the cultural ideologies and beliefs about who receives the name, what it comes to signify, and ways it can be used, and when.

Personal names are not arbitrary labels, but instead deictic expressions that index a “unique individual under certain interactional conditions” (Agha 2007:65). Despite the fact that some names become popular and are consistently replicated in various cultures, what makes

proper's names distinct are their attachment to unique individuals under specific contexts. For example, Whitely (1992) depicts "Hopi names as literature" based upon the level of detailed cultural knowledge of the environment that is needed to understand a name. Hopis are given many names throughout their lifetimes, and each name is traceable to a baptismal event tied to the environment and social context.⁵⁹ Another example of naming tied to social conditions is infant baptism ceremonies in the Catholic Church. A priest performs a speech event that pairs a name with an infant, understood as a referent, and thereafter the name is attached to the referent by continued use as a speech chain (Agha 2007:66).

Silverstein's (2003) three orders of indexicality are also useful for understanding the social meaning of naming practices. Silverstein's analysis of indexical orders explores how language is tied to implicit meaning within a speech community. His first order of indexicality refers to language forms that mark formal difference (i.e. formal and informal use). Second-order indexicals are language that points to differences in class and geography (for example, Labov's study [1966] of the absence of the post-vocalic "r" among speech communities in New Yorker represents a second-order indexical tied to geography and class).⁶⁰ Third-order indexicals are language that points to a specific group identity. For example, certain personal names may be found only in a society's upper class. Identity alignment in tribal naming in ancient Israelite refugee communities can be seen as second- and third-order indexicals. As these indexicals, names can point to class, geographical location, occupation and group identity. As third-order indexicals, names point to specific clan group identities and their associated ideologies.

Personal names are micro-social phenomena that can map onto macro-social concepts. For example, names can create social meaning when a particular dialectal form of a name is

⁵⁹ I thank Paul Kroskrity for this reference.

⁶⁰ For names attached to land and place, see Basso 1984.

used, indexing geographic identity. Naming also creates social relationships; for example, shifting a personal address from a first name basis to the use of a patronymic honorific may index a shift from informal relationship to a more formal one or shift from building an intimate relationship to a distancing one. Using the lens of language ideologies to examine Israelite names lets us see the ways that both first names (the X in the Hebrew phrase ‘X son of Y’) and family names (the Y in the Hebrew phrase ‘X son of Y’) are transformative elements that index in-group identity.

For ancient Israelite refugees, names indexed an individual’s claim to specific social membership as well as a political and ideological statement about the status and relationship of tribal names in circulation as shown in the choice or rejection of a tribal name. Thousands of personal names in ancient Hebrew express the kinship idiom “X son of Y,” demonstrating that patrilineal alignment was important to personal identity. In ancient Israel, the *bet av* or “house of the father” was the basic socio-economic unit of society (Bender 1996; Schloen 2001; Faust 2012) and personal names indexed this unit. The conferral of names within a tribe, clan, or household was not to merely to label a member within the group, nor was the naming process of a person simply arbitrary.

The convergence of meaning, culture, and identity in an indexical approach to naming as social practice is an important tool in tracing tribal identity in text-artifacts. This point is illustrated below by the indexical meaning of the clan name Abiezer from the tribe of Manasseh in ancient Israel:

Table 1. Indexicality of the Clan Name Abiezer

Referential Meaning	Name	Indexical Meaning
A personal or family name; grammatical description	Abiezer	A name iconic of Manasseh tribal identity in Israel

(root word, morphological form, philological data etc); lexical and semantic meaning; cognates in Northwest Semitic languages; statistical distribution of similar name-types in the Bronze or Iron Age period.		(Josh. 17:2); ⁶¹ a sub-tribal clan segment of kinship relationships (Josh. 17:2; Judg. 6:34); a patrilineal association (Josh 17:2; 1 Chr. 7:18); a head of household (Josh. 17:2); a honorific title in address or respect registers (Judg. 6:34); a military and political unit (Judg. 6:34); a territorial unit (Judg. 8:2; Samar 13:1; 28:1); a socioeconomic unit of subsistence among the clans of Manasseh (Judg. 8:2); a clan unit with specific cultural and historical sociolinguistic stereotypes. ⁶²

There are several stereotypical meanings to the name Abiezer. The sociolinguistic stereotypes of the Abiezer clan are specific to the Gideon narratives. They include the following: the dialectal use of the relative pronoun *š-* in direct speech (Judg. 6:17: *š- ʔh*) in contrast to the Judean Hebrew *ʔr* (also note that the narrator continues to use the *š-* index in the Gideon narratives; see *š- l* in Judg. 7:12; 8:26); the contraction of the diphthong **aw* in *hš ʔty* in Judg. 6:18 in contrast to the Judean Hebrew *hwš ʔty* (also attested in Jer. 51:44, a book, according to

⁶¹ Abiezer is also the first name of an Anathothite from Benjamin among David's warriors (2 Sam. 23:27; 1 Chr. 11:28; 27:12). The lineage ideology behind the name Abiezer the Anathothite is intriguing. The use of the gentilic 'the Anathothite' points to his non-Judean background and ties to Benjamin. Both Manassites and Benjamites are described as descendants of the matriarch Rachel and point to an alliance or marriage pattern between the clans (Gen. 35:24; Jer. 31:15; 1 Chr. 9:3; and the House of Joseph which I assume scholars would dispute as too early [see Sparks 1998]). This may help to explain why he was given a first name that is enregistered in Israelite culture as a patrilineal corporate group. He is a Manassite that is living in Benjamin.

⁶² An example of an occupational stereotype is the Abiezer's clan specialization in viticulture (Judg. 8:2; Samaria ostraca 13:1–2; 28:1).

Rendsburg [2012], that is under Israelian Hebrew influence). As far as cultural stereotypes, the lexical use of vessels unique to Israelite ethnic identity such as a *kd* “jar” (Judg. 7:16, 19–20; Rendsburg 2003:26; 2012:349) and a *spl* “metal vessel” (Judg. 6:38; *HALOT*, 2:764) are in contrast with Judean identity.

The indexical meaning of the patronymic clan name Abiezer points to several aspects of Israelite identity not found when analyzing using a referential, static, and utilitarian view of language. The name Abiezer points to a specific sub-tribal kinship, political, and economic identity in Manasseh. Family members of the Abiezer clan form a collective identity through shared notions of common descent, political solidarity, religious rituals and economic pursuits. The replication of this name among clan members points to a social order in which the patronymic name functions metonymically for patrilineal corporate group alliance, political allegiance, social hierarchy, and hegemony. But more importantly, invoking this name involves a specific agency and subjective stance that pertains to reflecting and creating meaning aligned with the Abiezer family’s cultural norms, values, and sociolinguistic stereotypes. That is, when a person gives the name *ben Abiezer* to a son, they are indexing cultural norms and sociolinguistic stereotypes. These cultural properties come to be viewed as iconic representations of the Abiezer patrilineal clan both by the groups themselves and the scribes who edited the collections of tribal stories of Israelites found in the Hebrew Bible (on the Judean editing of Israelite traditions, see Schniedewind 2004).

A close study of onomastic indexicality allows us to understand Israelites in Judah as refugee writers/speakers using a writing system to resist a new Judean identity and aligning themselves with their pre-displacement past. The indexical features of migrant identity are found, for example, in the replicating of patrilineal group names, lexical forms in the names, the unique

spelling of a name, or the dialectal form of name (Pierce 1955; Sebba 2007).

Below I outline several facets of name indexicality that are relevant to understanding the semiotic nature of personal proper names in ancient Israelite families. In each case, political discourse is found in a tribal idiom; that is, personal and family names (and genealogies) are forms of political and ideological talk that reflect and construct meaning relative to social structure (forms of address that point to social hierarchies, economic and political stratification) as well as social order (patrilineal group membership, marriage patterns, and allegiance in society). This examination of naming indexicality is followed by an examination of identity alignment theory and its relationship to Israelite tribal naming patterns in Judean inscriptions.

3.5 Indexicality in Tribal Naming in Middle Eastern Ethnography and Ancient Israel

Tribal and patronymic naming idioms in ancient and modern Middle Eastern kinship based agro-pastoral societies is a symbolic form of discourse that indexes several social categories. Among the variety of categories being signaled and constructed are: a) genealogical relations (an essential organizing principle, whether or not a lineage is real or metaphorical); b) family history over space and time (as opposed to individual biography); c) sociological relationships and obligations (kinship, inheritance rites, and ownership status); d) social locality (from social rank and power status to heritable property, residential neighborhoods, and geographical origin); e) nationality (city-state, kingdom, etc.); f) religion (with reference to the theophoric element in a first or family name); and g) social structure (the family clan or either the kingdom/state is a power center).

In modern Arabic-speaking Middle Eastern societies, several Arabic terms are used to convey and construct kinship relations. In addition to the term for a given name (*ism*), the Arabic

words related kinship include: *kunya* (family name), *nasab* (agnate descent, pedigree, genealogy), *qaraba* (closeness), *musahara* (affinity), *‘asabiya* (group feeling or factionalism), and *nisba* (place of origin or occupation) (Antoun 1968; Geertz 1979: 128-113; Rosen 1984; Eickelman 1989: 24-25, 156 -161, 183-185; Schimmel 1989:8-10; Rosenthal 1993: 967-968; Shryock 1997:62-64; Conte 2003:15-19; Gregg 2007:36-42). Everyone in society must be placed in these categories. The centuries-old political debates among scholars over genealogy and development of descent as a science (*‘ilm al-nasab*) shows just how much it is valued in society. That is, genealogies were so important to Middle Eastern communities that it became a specific science. Therefore, rather than viewing names as static references to individuals, it’s more useful to examine the ways that names have power and do something.

Naming as social practice in both the ancient and modern Middle East is a form of symbolic discourse pointing to several meanings. Among kinship based agro-pastoral societies of both the ancient and modern Middle East, the address form of descent such as “X son of Y”, “son of X”, “the house of X”, or just the use of the patronymic, is a symbolic orientation towards the possession of a strong feeling of pedigree, propinquity, in-group bonding, and legitimacy that separates one member of a group from the other (Suleiman 2011). In speech in the present-day Middle East, family-patronymic names (son of X) are a form of address that can index strong feelings of identity. For example, if person A called person B ‘Abdul ibn Salam’ this can index not only genealogical pedigree but also closeness and prestige (especially in the case of a noble ancestry of patronym Salam) within the group he belongs to. Similarly, the address form “sons of X” often index an occupation name, hereditary guild or bureaucratic fraternal membership.

The following outline provides the multiple symbolic discursive indexes of naming as social practice and their relevance to ancient Israelite society. Each category is constructed by

speakers-performers in a variety of contexts. While space does not permit a complete analysis of all indexical categories signaled in the construction of social relations and its application to ancient Israel, our study will cover only a few of them.

3.5.1 The Naming Idiom as Indexical of Power Status

One index found in the use of personal and family names in ancient Israel was power status. Status and hierarchy were indexed in several ways by the use of personal and family names. In ancient Hebrew inscriptions and the Hebrew Bible, there are several ways to index power status and social hierarchy with male name choices:

Table 2. Names as an Index to Power Status

X son of Y [father] son of Z [grandfather] (noble ancestry index)
X son of Y [father] (form of respect index)
X son of Z [gentilic] (social location index)
X son of Z [clan or tribal patronymic] (political index)
X son of Z [city or residential area] (domestic index)
Son of Y [father] (form of respect index)
son of Z [tribe, clan, or city] (respect or political index) ⁶³

⁶³ Also PN + GN or gentilic (Jer. 29:27). Female naming practices function on the same level (Meyers 2014). On females in genealogies, see Löwisch 2011.

The different forms of address show the indexicality to social hierarchies, power status, and social relationships. The same man, X, may be addressed in ways that call upon his noble ancestry, his political grouping, or his social status. For example, a patronymic (X son of Y) can index elite status (a tribal chief, elder, noble, scholar, wealthy person) or the wider categories of a patrimonial household, clan, city or segmented group. Family names can be used to confer honor and refer to the implicated privileges based upon power relations. The power status of the speaker (wealth or rank) plays a role. What changes if Speaker A is above interlocutor B is a direct form of address without polite terms and communication on a first name basis, but what changes in terms of forms of address when A is below B is use of deferential terminology such as “your servant” or and the inclusion of the patronymic (Revel 1996). In any form of address, the addition of clan, city, or tribal name increases the level of formality.

Knowing tribal, clan, and family names (or who is from what tribe, where, and their status) was important in ancient Israelite society because high premium placed on honor. Epigraphic Hebrew lists, for accounting, tax and military purposes that are dated to the late 8th-6th century BCE, often display an interest in pedigree, genealogies, and clan affiliation (see, for example, the clan names, patronymics, and geographic designations in the Samaria ostraca [Ahituv 2008: 273-275] and in the ostraca from Khirbet Uza [Ahituv 2008:166-173]). When scribes wrote receipts, letters, or tax forms, their name choices often depended on the honor status of the recipient; that is, the bestowal of honorifics was based upon social hierarchy. A lower level or informal index can be the use of first name only (often a diminutive), or nickname.⁶⁴ A middle level and high level index (in a scale of formality and status) can involve

⁶⁴ For more nicknames in epigraphic Hebrew, see Albertz and Schmidt 2012: 604-609.

the inclusion of first name and father's name or just the patronymic (son of Y or Z). The higher or formal form of address always included a family name, which is a honorific title.⁶⁵

Often the form of address with or without patronymic is based upon social location. Silverstein (2004) demonstrates how language use and grammatical structures are altered upon entering a power center such as a courtroom, for example, where a judge is addressed as “your honor” rather than by ordinary honorifics such as Mr. or Ms.. In addition, grammatical structures of courtroom discourse are also changed, reflecting sensitivity to the courtroom as a center of power, one with formal norms and expectations (as opposed to slang). Social location dictates the types of language to be used relative to that space. Language is tied to and creates social space, and both reflect and position a person relative to the social space being occupied. In the ancient Hebrew ostraca, the majority of names found in inscriptions, seals, and bulla are not found in domestic spaces, but rather in centers of power: administrative buildings, fortifications, palaces, temples, city gates (courtrooms), and scribal chambers (Herzog 1997). As with naming elsewhere, naming patterns in Hebrew text-artifacts are dependent upon social space or location (official and administrative) and framing within that space. Seals are icons of bureaucratic documentation; that is, they serve the interest of those in power or the upper class, hence, it is expected that names found in seals conform to a standard official use. Ultimately, the use of the patronymic can be seen as an index of honor and marking of higher social status because of its use in these official contexts.

⁶⁵ A useful study on the designation of an individual in the Hebrew Bible is Revel (1996a; 1996b). However, his contention that the address form “son of Y” is always demeaning is problematic. Revel’s analysis is framed in terms of absolutes, but in fact West Semitic cultures vary on the use of this form of address. A better explanation is that the “son of Y [patronymic]” can index honor by elevating the status of ancestor or the acknowledgement of rank. For example, in the Arad inscriptions (Arad 49; Aḥituv 2008: 145-148), the priests are addressed as “sons of Y.” A parallel can be found in present-day Russia, where a diminutive form of a name is used informally (e.g., Volodya as a diminutive of Vladimir) while the use of first name + patronymic indexes respect and formality (e.g., Vladimir Mikhailovich).

Forms of address in ancient Israel indexed different placements within the framework of social relations. For example, the use of patronymics or family names usually indexed distance while the use of first names indexed closeness. The patronymic address form (as a honorific, social index, etc.) was customary on official Israelite personal seals and bureaucratic-governmental text-artifacts, as it indexed the formal relationship that existed between city officials or scribes and the general populace. The first-name address form appears with frequency in letters between officials and also in ration lists of locals in a village where relationships were more intimate. This variation, and the sensitivity to status, solidarity, document purpose, and social and physical locations, shows that naming patterns do not simply denote people as a straightforward reference, but also construct and reflect social relations.

3.6 The Patronymic System of Naming

Patronymic systems of naming—i.e. last names based on the name of the father (or grandfather)—are significant in terms of identity construction and ideologies in several ways. Patronymics are social texts; they are other people's language. That is, they temporally precede the name of the bearer. They are conferred upon an individual as a way to socially form the person; a social formation that in turn forms the name bearer. Inherited patronymics shape identity, even though they do not represent a voluntary naming choice for either parents or for individuals given their patronymics. Generally, a person's patronymic is less likely to change than that person's first name. However, patronymic name changes do in fact occur due to marriage alliances, tribal disputes, or political changes (Bardis 1972; Bulliet 1978; Gardner 1994). Patronymics locate a person geographically, ethnically, tribally, and socially. They index a person's identity as it relates to family, politics, social status, and ideology. They give agnates

rights to property and offices. But patronymics do not always imply kinship through blood ties.

A patronymic is an idiom of kinship that can be claimed or adopted metaphorically through marriage, adoption, employment guild, subsistence practices, or a mutual political alliance.

3.4.1 The Patronymic as a Signifier of Domination and Order

A patronymic is a paternal metaphor, evincing concepts of domination, order, and law. In terms of domination both Lacan and Butler note that patronymics are part of larger power strategies. They function on the symbolic level of discourse.

The French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan's (1977) presented the law of 'Name-of-the Father' as a classifying and controlling object. Lacan's concept of Name-of-the Father draws on the symbolic function of the patronymic in the anthropology of Levi-Strauss. First, the patronymic controls and organizes space, creating symbolic order. It bestows upon people one kind of identity (through lineage ties) and a place within a symbolic order. Second, the patronymic signifies the symbolic father as ruler or one who lays down the law. Lacan points out that, "the Father may be regarded as the original representative of this authority of the Law" (1977: 299); a child is forced to accept the law of the Name-of-the-Father along with the regulative principles of the culture's system of signification. The child comes to bear the father's name, and, by recognizing this designation, is located within the biological, social-political and linguistic world. In the everyday life of a family, a patronym creates a metaphorical image of a symbolic whole—the signifying lived experience. It creates a one-dimensional image – the 'we' – whether or not the alignment is biological ("real") or putative.

For Lacan, the patronymic is also tied to its object, or establishes a social pact with it.⁶⁶

As Lacan asserts, “the name is the time of the object” (169). That is, the name secures one’s identity through time. He suggests that,

[t]he power of naming objects structures the perception itself. The perception of man can only be sustained within a zone of nomination. It is through nomination that man makes objects subsist with a certain conscience The object, at one instant constituted as a semblance of the human subject, a double of himself, nonetheless has a certain permanence of appearance over time . . . This appearance which lasts a certain length of time is strictly only recognizable through the intermediary of the name. The name is the time of the object. Naming constitutes a pact, by which two subjects simultaneously come to an agreement to recognize the same object (Lacan 1988: 169).

Hence, patronymics play a symbolic role in society. There is an alliance or agreement between two subjects (father, son/daughter) on the naming subject (patronymic). Through the conferral of a patronymic name by the father upon the son or daughter, the aggregate entities symbolically function to stabilize the human subject in society.

According to Judith Butler, a post-structuralist feminist philosopher, this agreement to recognize the same object, that is, the patronymic, is an effort to stabilize this identification in the community. For Butler, the patronymic is “a social system of signs” that “confers on it a social durability and legitimacy” or “the name is said to secure the permanence of that which it names” (1993: 152-153). Butler elaborates on Lacan’s concept of a name/patronymic, suggesting that it is,

a social agreement that invests the name with its power to confer durability and recognizability on that which it names . . . based on the Law of the Father, a patrilineal organization that implies that it is *patronymic* names that endure over time, as nominal zones of phallic control. Enduring and viable identity is thus purchased through

⁶⁶ On names links to certain objects, the Slovenian philosopher Slavoj Žižek, for example, points out that from a name like Peter “we cannot infer any of his effective properties - the name ‘Peter’ refers to him simply because he was baptized ‘Peter’” (1989: 99). Naming, as a form of baptism, brings an object from prehistory into being (1989: 99-100).

subjection to and subjectivation by the patronym . . . the name is never permanent, and that the identity secured through the name is always dependent on the social exigencies of paternity and marriage (Butler 1993: 153).⁶⁷

The law-of-the-father becomes tangible and achieves its status through verbal explication. Butler observes,

Once the proper name is elaborated as a patronym, then it can be read as an abbreviation for a social pact or symbolic order that structures the subjects named through their position in a patrilineal social structure. The durability of the subject named is not, then, a function of the proper name, but a function of a patronym, the abbreviated instance of a hierarchical kinship regime. The name as patronym does not only bear the law, but institutes the law. Insofar as the name secures and structures the subject named, it appears to wield the power of subjectivation: producing a subject on the basis of a prohibition (1993:153-4).

Here, Butler calls attention to the semiotic properties of the patronym (via discourse) in initiating the named person in to a patrilineal social order. Naturally, this was not always the case for all women in ancient Israel and Judah, as many held positions of power (such as Athaliah who reigned in Judah [2 Kgs. 11:3]), owned property, and challenged patrilineal authority (Heltzer 1996; 2003; Marsman 2003: 643-658; Hieke 2011; Löwisch 2011; Meyers 2013; 2014). Nevertheless, the vast majority of Israelite and Judean communities practiced a patrilineal line of authority (Schloen 2001; Stager 2003). According Butler's understanding of the social workings

⁶⁷ In her feminist critique of patronymic ideology, Butler points out that the patronymic ideology presents "nominal zones of phallic control" in requiring of women "a certain shifting of patronymic alliance and, hence, a change in name" (1993:153). She notes the rigidity of patronymic's operation that "secures its inflexibility and perpetuity precisely by requiring that women, in their roles as wives and daughters, relinquish their name and secure perpetuity and rigidity for some other patronym, and daughters-in-law are imported to secure the eternity of this patronym. The exchange of women is thus a prerequisite for the rigid designation of the patronym" (1993: 216). But we notice that this is not always the case. In the Hebrew Bible and in some other societies, women do not always change their name, and, in fact, men have been known to take on women's names (see the narrative regarding the daughters of the Zelophehad in Num 26:33; 27:1 and Meyers 2014). Nevertheless her observation on the symbolic role of patronymic is insightful: "the proper name can be conceived as referential and *not* descriptive only to the extent that the social pact which confers legitimacy on the name remains uninterrogated for its masculinism and heterosexual privilege" (1993: 153-4).

of patronymics, the “person named . . .”initiates” the object into the patronymic lineage of authority. Fixing thus never takes place without the paternal authority to fix, which means that the referent remains secure only to the extent that the patrilineal line of authority is there to secure it” (Butler 1993: 215). In applying this concept to Israelite and Judean society in the Iron II period, what is realized in the performative aspect of patronymic naming— in text-artifacts and the Hebrew Bible— is the initiation and transformation of the named individual into a patrilineal structure by the patrilineal persons in power (father, grandfather, chief, elders, etc.).

In sum, Lacan and Butler’s insights shed light on patronymics as symbolic forms of domination. However, patronymics are also part of a community’s heritage and embody a cultural story and relationships (father/son/daughter) and social bodies. In a tribal setting of Iron Age II Israel, patronymics not only embody the authority and domination of male structuration, but also its creation, subversion, and transformation (by those subjected to it).⁶⁸

3.6.2 Patronymic Idiom As Indexical of Multiple Social Structures

Patronymics also index various types of social structures in a given community. In Hildred Geertz’ ethnography of the Nas Adlun (“the Adlun people”) tribe in Sefrou Morocco,

⁶⁸ On the question of domination and subversion of patronymic associations in ancient Israel, one may inquire why certain tribal names—like the ‘House of Joseph’ that metonymically refer to the tribes of Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin— come to reign supreme and out compete other notions and use of tribal group naming. One wonders if there was some kind of erasure, suppression of inter-cultural diversity within tribal groups. On the question of erasure, one may ask, for example, why in Mephibosheth’s discourse with David in 2 Samuel 19:21 the tribe of Benjamin is submerged under the title ‘House of Joseph,’ but other times it is called the ‘House of Benjamin’ (2 Samuel 3:19)? What did Mephibosheth attempt to suppress in his dialog with David? Why was it politically important for Mephibosheth to invoke the ‘House of Joseph’ as opposed to the ‘House of Benjamin’? Was he avoiding an alignment with the tribe of Benjamin because the House of Saul was an enemy of King David? It may have been politically expedient for Mephibosheth to suppress his Benjamite identity under the greater umbrella of the House of Joseph (Ephraim and Manasseh) who was both larger and more powerful than Benjamin or Judah. But these are the type of questions raised in a language ideology of naming in social interaction: the multiplicity and contention in language use.

patronymics came to signify a range of social ideologies. Here, patronyms were “classificatory devices” that indexed group membership (1979: 342). Every member of tribal society bore a number of names: personal names, nicknames, occupational terms, and locality tags; and each name varied in use based on context (1979:343). Among the Nas Adlun, the patronym can indicate “a locality of origin, a tribe, a title that some particular ancestor has achieved in his lifetime such as . . . sheikh, and even a nickname some ancestor once had” (1979:346).

Geertz identifies two naming conventions that help identify a person in Nas Adlun society: the patrifiliative name chain and the patronymic association. The patrifiliative name chain indicates a pedigree of male ascendants that imparts to the descendant a sense of honor that can index a “kind of condensed pedigree, a marker indicating a claim to noble descent” (1979:346). The patronymic association, a term originating in Cohen’s (1970) analysis of Arab naming, is the “entire aggregation of persons who can be called by the same patronym” (1979:343). Under this grouping, members may or may not have genuine or indisputable social connections. The patronymic association name serves mainly as a membership label or connection in a social network of non-agnates.

Middle Eastern ethnographies have shown that patronymics can index shifts in social structure; that is, their use can indicate the periods of strength or weaknesses of the clan group. Scholars of the Middle East have observed that both the genealogical and patronymic naming systems index power relations. The genealogical naming system is based in a rural-nomadic element of Middle Eastern society in which the detailed genealogical information of the clan is necessary (defining place, rank, class, and inheritance). The patronymic naming system is more land-tied and is based upon inheriting the clan name by marriage or for economic, political, and other domestic purposes. Barfield, in an ethnographic study of Arabs of Afghanistan, observes,

“[d]uring the course of the retreat of the genealogical principle before the patronymic principle, the political rule has been taken over by outside forces With the new rule many functions of the society have fallen away, among them the pasturage distribution, the administration of native justice, the clan leadership, and the genealogical process of reckoning degrees of agnate relationship in the society” (1981:60-61, 69),. In other words, warfare and colonial hegemony by outside forces weaken the genealogical principle in the social system. “In societies based upon the patronymic principle the past itself loses - or changes - its relevance. Time is not counted, the patronymic principle is synchronic, it is cyclically recreated with every generation; its ties to the past are not detailed and tend to be vague,” asserts Barfield (1981: 61). This suggests that in contrast to nomadic cultures, societies tied to land do not rely heavily on genealogical trees for everyday life. While Barfield’s point does not apply to all ancient Levantine societies, where some societies under foreign rule maintain detailed ties to the past, Barfield’s analysis demonstrates is that naming is fundamentally indexical of social structure.

Cohen, an anthropologist who conducted an ethnography study on Arab villages in Israel, provides perhaps the best summary of how patronymics are indexical of a variety of social structures and stratification in the Middle East. Cohen abandons terms like clan or lineage in favor of “patronymic associations” (1970).⁶⁹ Cohen coined the term patronymic associations to describe the multiplicity and at times confusing aspects of agnate relationships in villages to outsiders. He notes:

[the] form and function of these patronymic associations vary widely from society to society, and from time to time within the same society, in relation to major economic and political variables. In some areas, the patronymic associations of a village are landholding

⁶⁹ Cohen’s fieldwork for his book *Arab Border Villages in Israel* was done in Palestine. After these Arab villages were integrated into Israel after 1948, they reverted back to the traditional Ottoman period form of political organization of patrilineal clans (*hamulas*) that had been in decline.

units and in others they are not. In still other areas, members of the patronymic association hold some land collectively, in addition to plots of land, which are owned separately by individual members.

There are also wide variations in the political roles of these associations, depending largely on the degree of effectiveness of the central government institutions (like police and courts) in the maintenance of law and order in the villages. Where government control is weak, the patronymic association assumes fundamental political functions, under the principle of collective responsibility. Where the governmental control is strong, the patronymic association is of little political significance. Thus in some areas the patronymic association is mainly political, in other areas mainly economic, while in others it is both (1970:197-198).

After describing how the patronymic associations vary according to stratification levels within a village,⁷⁰ he concludes, “In all these cases, the patronymic association is given form and a measure of internal structure by the myth of patrilineal descent, as expressed in the idiom of a genealogy the depth and shape of which depends on various organizational circumstances” (1970:198).⁷¹ Hence, in one given community, patronyms can index multiple social structures, stratification levels, and associations.

Cohen’s emphasis on the importance of patronymic associations lays the groundwork for analyzing the politics of patronymics in ancient Israel. According to Cohen’s model, emphasis is

⁷⁰ Cohen (1970:178) points out, “There are villages which tend to be egalitarian but many others which are sharply stratified. In some of the stratified villages, class boundaries coincide with pastor-associational boundaries, so that the different patronymic associations are at the same time status groups which are ranked differently on the scales of wealth, power, and prestige. In other stratified villages class lines cut across pastor-associational boundaries so that within every patronymic association there is differentiation in terms of wealth, power, and prestige. In yet other areas, the patronymic association has ceased to have any major political or economic function but has persisted in the form of a number of households, which are intimately interrelated by patrilineal, matrilineal, and affinal relations, most of which were created by a large proportion of marriages which were contracted in the past, within the patronymic association, and which have not yet run their full courses. These households often continue to live in the same quarter in the village, so that neighborly sentiments and co-operation reinforce other relations. Such a group of households continues to be known by the old name of the association. In some such cases new interests may weld the group together again under new conditions, and thus make use of the various domestic and moral relations which exist between them for new social purposes.”

⁷¹ Cohen insight was taken up by Eickelman in his ethnographic study of Morocco (Eickelman 1989:151-78)

placed not on the blood relationship of the clan or lineage, but on the pragmatic use based upon perceived kinship associations of closeness, politics, and the socio-economy. First, patronymic associational “meaning” varies based upon language ideologies tied to economy, political prestige or domestic use. Patronymic associations (i.e. nuclear households) index strong and weak power relations within different villages and in different periods of time. Secondly, genealogies play a greater role, with less outside control coupled with more local clan power. Weak government control means more clan power and genealogies are of fundamental political importance. By contrast, the patronymic naming ideologies (tied to nuclear household) take center stage when the clan has less power. More government control means less clan power, which in turn implies that the patronymic or nuclear family has more power and political importance. In Cohen’s model, the genealogical principle functions most powerfully with less state control, but the patronymic principle functions more powerfully when the state has more control. When the clan system is weak, then clan names are left out the record and what is preferred are first names. While this ethnographic insight has been applied in the study of Arabic personal names (Borg and Kessler 1995; 2001), it has yet to be applied to ancient Israel.⁷² The ethnographic insight into patronymic naming ideologies underscores how language indexes social structure, identity and power relations.⁷³

⁷² I will be applying Cohen’s insight into patronymic associations indexing strong and weak power relations that merit application to epigraphic Hebrew onomastic data in a separate publication. In this study, comparisons between first and family names in epigraphic Hebrew texts dated to the late 8th century BCE and those dated to the late 7th-6th century BCE show to what extent the genealogical principle was practiced and if there was a steady increase in the patronymic principle as one progresses closer to the exilic period in Judah. I will seek to determine how these principles complement Halpern’s (1991, 1996) studies of kinship relationships in the late Iron Age Judah.

⁷³ The genealogical principle versus the patronymic principle likely varied among forced Israelite migrants based upon the different sociological structures, economic situations, and power relations in the host communities of Judah and Mesopotamia. In Judah, under kings Hezekiah and Manasseh, Israelites may have found a more suitable host community to find work, purchase land and houses. If Israelites, that

Modern Middle East anthropologist ethnographies suggest that analogous ancient Near East family social ties were based upon notions of cooperation, patron-client relationships, and friendships. As noted by Cohen, Eickelman, and others, the patronymic association relates to the relationships and ties *of association*. Gene (2005:70) puts it this way, “In patronymic associations, ties of kinship, friendship, and patron-clientage thoroughly intermingle and merge . . . the social ties of friendship and patronage intergrade with family, and many of the same norms apply to any of them.” Modern Middle Eastern ethnographic insights into kinship and family as based on ideas of cooperation, association, and patron-client relationships provide the best analogies of kinship ideologies in the ancient Near East. In fact, some scholars have argued for similar patterns within ancient Israel (McNutt 1999; Schloen 2001).

Cohen’s insight leads to several facets of patronymic naming ideologies that can be applied to ancient Israel; however, here I want to highlight in particular their importance for understanding agnate ties. The system of twelve tribes in ancient Israel was likely based on ties of associations that were not necessarily linked to blood. A case in point is 2 Sam. 4:2, wherein the Beerothite tribes, who peacefully coexisted with Benjamite tribesmen within the same territory, were “reckoned” or “counted” genealogically and politically as Benjaminites though they were not related by blood, which is largely a European construct (Conte 2003).⁷⁴ In this

began migrating since 732 BCE, remained in Judah for over a century (as implicated in texts such as 2 Chr. 30:25; 31:1; 34:9; 35:18; Jer. 31:5,6, 9, 18; 41:5), such stability would stimulate or foster the genealogical principle among migrant landowners. Cases in Mesopotamia were different. From what one gathers from personal name choices in Mesopotamia, many Israelites maintained a distinct identity as evident in their alignment with their ancestral personal and family names (Zadok 1988, 2002a, 2002b). But they were living in these communities as exiles. A recent publication of cuneiform tablets shows that Jewish exiles in Babylon lived in their own district called Al-Yahuda (Pearce and Wunsch 2014). Perhaps living in one’s own district could foster the strengthening of the patronymic principle.

⁷⁴ The exact location of site of Beeroth in Benjamin is still disputed (*HALOT*, 1:107; either near Gibeon or south of Bethel). There is a site named *b ʾr* “watering place” possibly in Ephraim (Judg. 9:21; gentilic

text, the Hebrew *hšb*, which also means, “to invent,” has the root meaning “to weave” (*HALOT*, 1:360). From this text, one sees that ancient Israelite notions of kinship associations were based upon cooperation and association; surely this is not the only example of local tribes ‘woven’ into Israelite tribal territories. One can expect that the kinship ties among the twelve tribes of Israel in the Iron Age II period were a mix of agnate, cognatic, and non-agnate associations based upon mutual political, economic, and ideological interests and alliances. The diachronic reality is that genonymic and patronymic identities were constantly negotiated and realigned based on social conditions.⁷⁵ Lastly, Cohen’s insight leads to another importance aspect of patronymic naming associations: they index multiple social structures tied to diverse political, socio-economic, and ideological practices.

3.6.3 Patronymic Idiom as Indexical of Domestic Space or Residential Quarters

Patronymics were also indexical of urban and rural space in ancient Israel. In ancient Israel, patronyms indexed property rights and claims to land. They served as important indexical markers in Israelite society, as claims to land in ancient Israel were based on inheritance through lineage (for example, Naboth’s dispute with King Ahab [1 Kgs. 21:3] and Hanamel the son of Shallum’s inheritance in Anathoth [Jer. 32:7]). At this time, Israel’s economic system was also

Hosea 1:1) but the precise location of this site is also uncertain (*HALOT*, 1:106). On the possible reconstruction of the PN *b ʾry* in a Gezer ostrakon, see Isaac and Lemaire 2015.

⁷⁵ The terms I use in describing kinship relationships of ancient Israel and Middle East can be defined as follows: patronymy refers to a child/adult named after their paternal father (agnate) or metaphorical father through mutual association; papponymy refers to a person named after named after their lineal grandfather or one of economic/political association; oikonymic refers to naming a child/adult after the household member; genonymic refers to a person named after named after a subtribal clan member; phulonymic- refers to a person named after named after their tribal ancestor either real or metaphorical. In each unit, an individual does not necessarily be tied by agnate or lineal relationship.

based on family relationships. Land was apportioned according to clans (see the clan list in Josh. 13-17) and territorial units of subsistence were named after clans. Therefore, a man's location was indicated by the inclusion of his clan name and clan names served as a geographical marker. For instance, the clan Shemer-Shomron of the tribe of Issachar bestowed its name to the hill of Samaria, which is identified with Shamir of Mt. Ephraim (Judgs. 10:1; 1 Chr. 7:1; 1 Kgs. 16:24; Stager 1990).

In present-day Middle Eastern cultures, patronyms have served as social markers of clans living in residential quarters of towns and villages (Cohen 1970:178). Clifford Geertz's study of Arabic *nisba* names in Sefrou, Morocco shows that is a construction that attaches a person to place and setting (1979). In Geertz's ethnography of the Nas Adlun tribe, reference is made to a neighborhood in Sefrou that bears the name Der Adlun, that is the name of the family of Adluni (1979: 318). Here, the clan/patronymic name (in our case from text-artifacts) can serve as an indexical marker of a residential quarter or an inhabited region in a village or city.

Turning to ancient Israel, most illustrative of the notion that patronyms are social markers of residential space in ancient Israel is the social use of the gentilic Ephrathah. The name Ephrathah is mentioned as a geographical location in Judah (Gen. 35:19) as well as the name of a clan (Ruth 1:2). However, the designation of David as "the son of an Ephrathite of Bethlehem in Judah" (I Sam 17:12) appears to index Ephratha as the name of a village in Bethlehem where the clan resided. Gottwald has proposed that the *mšphh* of Ephratha was a village close to Bethlehem and also the name of a clan that inhabited a sub-section of larger Bethlehem (1979:269-270):

Ephrathah was not simply an alternate name for Bethlehem, comparable to Laish-Dan or Bethel-Luz. Ephrathah appears as a place in its own right, near to Bethlehem, and encompassable within Bethlehem conceived as the city and its

environs. All these features are satisfied by the supposition that Ephrathah was a village or rural neighborhood adjacent to Bethlehem, possibly lying to the south in the direction of Tekoa (I Chron. 2:24). Furthermore, it seems a reasonable assumption that the region known as Ephrathah was inhabited by a single *mishpāḥāh*. . . The conclusion is that in larger settlements there was more than one *mishpāḥāh*. We have no population information on Bethlehem that would permit further calculations. The concomitant of this suggestion is that probably many smaller settlements were joined in a single *mishpāḥāh*. The situation would vary depending on the size of settlements, population growth and decline, natural terrain, and the seriousness of the communal crises which would tend to strengthen the protective family associations by repeated calls upon their service.

Interestingly, the clan Ephrathah is used in parallelism with the Hebrew term *ʿlp* ‘clan’ in a late 8th century BCE discourse of the prophet Micah (Mic. 5:2). The relevance of Micah 5:2 is: a) a clan name was more than a way to refer to a person’s family, but it carried the symbolic meaning of a clan’s residence; and b) this dual indexical meaning was still a habitual practice in the late 8th century BCE.

Recently, Schloen has proposed that patronyms and matronyms were used as identity markers that served sociological functions in larger towns of Judah (2001: 160-161):

[T]he larger Iron Age walled towns like Shechem (Tell Balatah), as well as Tirzah (Tell el-Farah North), Mizpah (Tell en-Nasbeh), and Tell Beit Mirsim ... were probably inhabited by several *mishpahot*, each occupying a residential quarter consisting of a patronymic (or sometimes a matronymic) association of neighboring households-like David’s Ephrathite clan which lived in Bethlehem... [t]he reference in Micah 5:1 to Ephrathah as a clan of Bethlehem suggests that familiarity with the clan organization of ancient Israelite towns was not confined to the premonarchic period or the early monarchy, but survived until the end of the monarchy.

The suggestion that patronymic labels indexed the residential quarters of clans that inhabited villages and towns settlements permits us to reanalyze the function of patronyms in Hebrew epigraphy. A clearer delineation between patronyms that served as geographical markers and neighborhoods would need to be distinguished from patronyms that index lineage groups, agricultural unit, and heritable territory, which is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Nevertheless, if Gottwald and Schloen’s approach is correct, we can conclude that among the

numerous patronymic names attested in Hebrew ostraca, some were iconic representations of residential zones (households) in the city or village.

This indexical aspect of patronymic names correlates with the findings from the Samaria ostraca. The clan names discovered on the text-artifacts from Samaria were patronymics (based on the genealogies in the Hebrew Bible) that designated residential areas in the regions surrounding the capital of the Northern Kingdom of Israel. The clan names were placed at the beginning of the ostraca. For example, Samaria Ostraca 18 mentions, “In the tenth year from Haṣerot to Gaddiyaw, a jar of fine oil.” Haṣerot is the clan name from which the shipments of oil were sent and where the clan resided.⁷⁶

As we will see in Chapter 5, Israelite immigrants in Judah retained their Israelite patronymic names. The reproduction of Israelian Hebrew patronymics served two major semiotic functions. First, the retention of Israelian Hebrew patronymics in Judean inscriptions served as a social label indexical of political and ideological stances tied to the refugees’ pre-displacement heritage. That is, these names alluded to either residences or territorial areas that the refugees had been displaced from and hoped one day to return to. Second, some patronymic names may have served as indexical markers of new domestic areas inhabited by Israelite immigrants in Judah during the late eighth-seventh century BCE.⁷⁷ When Israelite refugees and migrants moved en masse to a new Judean village, town, or unwalled settlement and used their patronymics that

⁷⁶ Sometimes a secondary person is mentioned with a patronym/village/gentilic in the ostraca. Several theories have been proposed such as arguing they were identifying the place of origin of the oil (Aharoni 1979: 366-367). Schloen argues that second person mentioned at the end of the delivery note was to indicate when the deliveryman’s hometown, which was different from the place of origin of the shipment (either from another clan in Manasseh or foreigner land) (2001: 164).

⁷⁷ A fruitful avenue of study would be the socio-economics of labor-migration through the examination of wages of those with IH names, with particular attention to its impact upon family and community life in Judah.

alluded to the old places, their immigrant patronymics served a secondary purpose: these patronymics also marked their new residences or neighborhoods.⁷⁸

3.7 Names as Indexical of Bureaucratic Ideologies

In ancient Israel, the materials symbolic of tribal statehood included text-artifacts such as papyrus, potsherds (also called ostraca, when pottery fragments were used as writing surfaces), and personal seals. Inscribed names on material objects are literary events that tell their own story through their performance of form, spelling, and script.⁷⁹ We attempt to recreate their voice and identity through translation and situating them in context.⁸⁰

Ancient epigraphic Hebrew inscriptions of the Iron Age period are bureaucratic artifacts that mediated relationships among people, places, and things. Here I follow Keane's (2003) description of texts as "semiotic ideologies" and Hull's (2003, 2012a, 2012b) description of the bureaucratic "graphic ideologies" that shape society. These graphic artifacts encompassed the material infrastructure and institutional power in the Israelite Iron Age period. From kings and officials, priest and prophets, to land owners and villagers, inscribed artifacts played a large role in tribal bureaucracies. They provide insight into urban bureaucratic literate ideologies.

The role of individual agency, defined by Ahearn (2001:112, 118) as the "socioculturally mediated capacity to act," is important here. There are two forms of agency: agency of power

⁷⁸ Chatty (2010) provides modern-day examples names marking immigrant neighborhoods in the Middle East.

⁷⁹ In recent times, literacy studies have described writing as a socio-cultural event. See Barton (2007) and Barton and Pappen (2010).

⁸⁰ Voice refers to multiple viewpoints that emerge from a discourse or text and draws upon Bakhtin's (1981) theory of heteroglossia; meaning the coexistence of multiple voices in a discourse based in part upon the historical sociocultural relationship between language structure, genre, and community cultural ideologies of personhood.

and agency of projects (Ortner 2006). Therefore, personal names are not neutral. They can take the form of reproduction, assimilation or resistance. Ancient writers/scribes made spelling choices about a referent's identity. It is a challenge to recover the agency of cultural resistance of imperialism in these text-artifacts. Either we are met with the voices of hegemony or we are met with oppositional agency, which places emphasis upon the establishment of cultural resistance through use of names and spelling. For example, among the official *lmlk* Judean stamp impressions from the late 8th century BCE, there are owners of two or three seals who spell their names three ways and use the Israelite Yahwistic theophoric *yw* in one seal and the Judean theophoric *yhw* or final *aleph* in another one.⁸¹

Personal and family names on ordinary contracts of sale, lease, debt, credit, and loan in ancient Israel are administrative and legal documents that index a bureaucratic agency. They contained the biographical data of the individual from point of view of the state. Sometimes we find the inclusion of more detailed census information (e.g. Khirbet Uza ostrakon # 10 [Beit-Arieh 2007: 139]); likely used in the construction of tribal genealogies. Middle Eastern ethnographies have shown that inscribed onomastic identity on text-artifacts, along with oral testimony, were admissible in court (Messick 1993) and reflect bureaucratic ideologies (Hoffman 2000). Modern anthropological demographic studies have documented how a census is a political tool tied to identity formation at the national level (dealing with immigrant populations and assimilating them) (Kertzer and Arel 2004). Ancient Israel was no different.

The onomastic texts on Hebrew text-artifacts not only served legal and official purposes (i.e. legal witness list, census, etc.), but were also political instruments in the hands of the elite. The census lists and similar administrative documents convey official, contemporaneous

⁸¹ For example, *mnḥm ywbnh* → *mnḥm ybnh* → *mnḥm yhwbnh* (WSS 676-678) and *nr ʾ šbn yw* → *nr ʾ šbn ʾ* (WSS 686-688)

knowledge of categories of ethnicity, family kinship, and regional divisions. These were officially constructed categories, reinforced by officials of the cities and districts in power. For example, the relative fluidity in Israelite genealogies and territorial boundaries in the books of Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Kings (de Vaux 1978; Aharoni 1979; Kallai 1986) reflects the official construction and reinforcement of social ideologies that changed over time and space based upon who was in power. While the multiple dimensions of the social categories constructed in these text-artifacts can only be partially understood from this temporal distance, they are critical to tracking the shifts over time of naming practices and identities based upon social changes and values.

The onomastic data in these inscriptions reflect dominant institutional forms of language ideology; in particular, the lexical and spelling choices of names reflect the scribal community of the Israelite tribal state. Because the names were being written in legal documents, the scribes were constrained in their ability to manipulate names or use surnames, popular names, nicknames, or be creative in spelling. The lineages inscribed therein reflect the scribal institutional ideologies of reproduction and maintenance. The circulation of inscribed identities on bureaucratic artifacts link together producers, readers/ reporters into one dominant form of institutionalized language ideologies.⁸² In contrast, naming practices on personal seals (and bullae) showed a different type of agency, often displaying more freedom in terms of spelling

⁸² Curiously, there are few administrative ostraca that mention first name along with clan and /or town names in late Iron II period in Judah despite the fact that gentilics were commonly used as identity markers during this period (see Revel 1996a). This may be due to genre (because the inclusion of family names are more common in seals and bullae.). However, a more likely scenario is that it was due to the disintegration of tribal structure in the urban centers after the Neo-Assyrian military campaigns in Judah (note that pre-Assyrian Samaria ostraca are mostly L (belonging to) + X (son of) Y but those from Assyrian Judah names are constructed as either L+ First Name or L+ (son of) Family Name). As more moved into the city and its suburbs, the more city workers were away from the tribal or ancestral homes and familiar faces. They were likely known on first name basis or well known in the city.

and clearly indexing the economic status of the owner (from artistically careful seals to seals with vulgar scripts, poor materials, and styles). Despite the fact that bullae (seal impressions) were used as notaries in the creation of legal documents (ensuring the safe keeping of the sealed text), they were, nevertheless, unique loci for the display of a greater degree of agency and ethnic self-identification. In the context of King Hezekiah's nation building in the late 8th century BCE, patronymic use is a particularly interesting expression of ethnic identity, division, and differentiation.

In ancient Hebrew official documents, ethnic categories are marked in different ways. Sometimes gentilics on names (final *yod*) are used to mark ethnic-national division (e.g. on seals and bullae Zadok 1988:4; Avigad and Sass 1997: 472-473). Other times, spelling and lexical forms are important official constructions embedded in political, social, and cultural life (e.g. Israelian Hebrew *št* and *yn* in contrast with Judean Hebrew *šnh* and *yyn*). Israelite ethnic and national markers are also found in official Assyrian-Babylonian cuneiform documents from Mesopotamia (Zadok 1977; 2002; Becking 1992; 2002; Fales 1993; Oded 1995; 2000; 2010; Cogan 2013; Pearce and Wunsch 2014). Hence, language and naming are important ethnic categories in the detection of immigrant group identity.

3.8 Court Ideologies Indexed in Israelite Genealogies

Official naming practices in text-artifacts reflect the stance of those in power or court ideologies (Eickelman 1989; Hoffman 2001). It is possible to trace court scribes' language ideologies through their construction of genealogies, either in archival inscriptions or in literature. Scribes, as social agents of institutions of power, bore the role of verifying the authenticity of lineage and descent. Thus they had an awareness of the relations between self and

the power structures they were under (Giddens 1979: 56; Kroskrity 2000). They could confer legitimacy to certain lineages and disqualify others.

When scribes used names (as a form of address and reference) that were not local, but aligned with clan foreign groups, then this was a form of language ideologies of the court. Ethnographies of administering identities in Middle East show that name changes are due to social changes and name selection in administrative records have political implications (such as dissolving local kinship ties as documented in Hoffman 2000).⁸³ In the case of ancient Israel, when migrants adopted a new name due to intermarriage or social change, the choice to include their new name in administrative records signifies the erasure of past linkages and the strengthening of kinship ties between immigrants and their new host community (especially if this is done during times of conflict). On the other hand, if scribes chose to inscribe non-Judean identities in administrative registries— even if they may have assumed new family identities— this also has semiotic salience. Thus, both the retention of names aligned with migrants' pre-displacement past in inscriptions and the conferral of new names in genealogies can reflect institutional ideologies.

In both the present-day and Iron Age Middle East, people and places names are intimately linked to clan units, and political factions often invoke symbolic kinship ties to bolster size, prestige, and influence of their tribal communities (see study of the Sinai Bedouin by Borg and Kessler 1995; 2001). In ancient Israel, migrant groups could invoke symbolic kinship ties with other clans by adopting a new clan name. But scribes, in their role of verifying the authenticity of lineage and descent, had a choice to either invent new linkages or to retain pre-existing ones. While the focus of this study is not so much the agency of scribes as it is the

⁸³ On the politics of adopting new names in the Middle East, see Bulliet 1979 and Gardner 1994.

agency of the identities represented in the artifacts that scribes left behind, both forms of agency can play on each other in serving court ideologies.

One of the best examples of Judean court ideologies (as well as the agency of clan groups on local kinship level) comes from the Chronicler's genealogies of the tribe of Asher. In this post-exilic source, the changing or adopting new names in genealogical records has semiotic value. The Chronicler's list of Asherite personal and geographical names (PN/GN) does not lie as far as the coast and north Galilee but rather further south in the mountains of Ephraim. It is likely that a southern Asherite enclave migrated to the Hill Country of Ephraim and adopted Mt. Ephraim toponyms as personal names within their genealogies, or that the Chronicler's court ideology was constructed in alignment with these territories.⁸⁴ For example: the PN Beriah⁸⁵ (1 Chron. 7. 31) stands for the town Birzaith which is Khirbet Bir Zeit⁸⁶; the PN Japhelt (1 Chron. 7. 32) is clan name of the Japhletites who lived in the area between Benjamin and Ephraim (Josh. 16:3; 17:3); the PN Beriah (1 Chr. 7: 30-31) is genealogically aligned with the clans of Ephraim (1 Chr. 7:23) and Benjamin (1 Chr. 8:13); the PN Shual (1 Chr. 7:36) for the Ephraimite land of Shaul (1 Sam. 13:17); the PN Shilshah (1 Chr. 7:36) for the Ephraimite territory of Shalisha (1 Sam. 9:4).⁸⁷ The Ephraimite names in Asherite genealogies mean that an

⁸⁴ See Malamat 1962: 145-146 ; de Vaux 1978: 788-789; Aharoni 1979: 244; Edelman 1988: 13-23; Levin and Faust 1998: 225-31; Levin 2000. On Amorite and Assyrian genealogies lists that bore geographic toponyms or tribal names, see Chavalas 1994:122. The genealogical lists of Abraham contain a similar feature, see *ibid.*, n. 131.

⁸⁵ Note that West Semitic noun “*bn*” represents different semantic categories in the Near East: a son, offspring, an adopted son, a grandfather; a tribe, clan, family or a locality (*DNSWI* 171); employed in the service of or belonging to the guild.

⁸⁶ see Finkelstein, Lederman and Bunimovitz 1997: 417.

⁸⁷ Note that many Asherites visited Jerusalem for the Passover of King Hezekiah (2 Chron. 30:11). If some even migrated to Judah, then the attestation of Asherite names in our corpus of text-artifacts would not be surprising.

Asherite male had patronymic A and then got married to an Ephraimite and then had patronymic B that is aligned with the tribe of Ephraim.

The renaming of Asherites adheres to the old Israelite practice of preserving a clan's inalienable possessions when males marry outside of their clan. Here we find that husbands must have taken on their wives' patronymics, clan names, or town names, and not the patronymics, clan names or town names associated with their own fathers, as was usually the case.⁸⁸ The husbands from tribe of Asher who married into the Ephraimite and Benjaminite clans forfeited their own patronymics based on houses of their fathers (see Anderson 1969: 36). This example is most illustrative of how genealogies serve to underscore living relationships to the neglect of historical relationships (as is often noted in anthropological studies on genealogies). This is not to say, however, that genealogies serve no historical purpose, as genealogies are also tied to history (as demonstrated in Middle Eastern ethnographies, e.g. Irvine 1978; Layne 1994; Shyrock 1997).

Renaming contributes to the erasure and disassociation of Asherites from their previous connections grounded in geographical locations and tribal histories. The Chronicler's court ideology was to align the tribe of Asher not with their pre-displaced locations in Galilee (in the early Iron II period), but rather with the tribal allegiances they established between Ephraim and Benjamin immediately prior (or after) the Judean exile of 586 BCE.

It must be noted, however, that renaming in the construction of new identities was not a standard practice for all migrants in ancient Israel. As we will see below, sometimes first or second-generation immigrants, displaced persons, and refugees retained heritage names for their

⁸⁸ The importance of matrilineal descent is seen David's claim to the throne of Israel via Michal, Saul's daughter (1 Sam. 18:20-27) for literature on this topic, see Chavalas 1994: 125 note 152).

children. In other cases, we find Judean sons whose fathers are Israelite but bear a Judean name. This would be a case of hybrid identity due to intermarriages between Israelite and Judeans (for example, King Manasseh, son of Hezekiah of Judah, whose mother was from Galilee. See discussion in Chapter 5).

More common than hybridity in naming practices, showing a simultaneous identification with a Judean present and an Israelite past, were naming practices that constructed oppositional identities or served as resistance discourses among Israelites and Judeans, especially when they were exiles in Mesopotamia.⁸⁹ There are dozens of documented cases in which deported and exiled Israelites in Mesopotamia retained their Israelite identity through the retention of ancestral names. Here we find the construction of oppositional agency by retaining Yahwistic theophoric or clan names tied to the pre-displacement past. Israelite identity maintenance of both first name and patronymics (and toponyms) is attested in 8th-6th century BCE alphabetic and cuneiform sources in Syro-Mesopotamia (Zadok 1988, 2002; Oded 1995, 2000; Pearce 2011; Pearce and Wunsch 2014).⁹⁰ In contrast to the Asherite clan discussed above, these Israelites used their names as cultural resource to signal the separate identity of their group. Furthermore, based on cultural analogies from the present-day Middle East, these names indicate the geographic origin of their families. In the performances of identity alignment in exile, they also point to a discourse of nostalgia – the hope of national restoration and the longing to return to their homeland.

The cultural practice of carrying ancestor family names of tribes that had migrated or disappeared (to indicate their geographic origin) is also attested elsewhere in the Levant. For

⁸⁹ The Mesopotamian cases are easier to track statistically.

⁹⁰ We also know this from the Jewish colony of Elephantine in Egypt, where very interesting names like Shabbatai ('of the Sabbath') emerge as a form of oppositional agency against non-Sabbath keepers in Egypt (A2 1:10; B3 9:10; B4 4:21; C3A 15:40; 28:73, 86, 100–101; D1 7:3; D7 56:2; D8 3:6; 5:3; 9:11–12; D11 26:2; D18 18:1).

example, a Philistine ostrakon IDAM 84-208 from Tell Jemmeh contains a list of personal names in which those names in first position are Semitic and those in the second position (patronymic and clan ancestors) are Indo-European. Kempinski (1987) argues that first-generation immigrants kept their non-Semitic personal names whereas second-generation adopted local Semitic personal names. He states “[i]t seems that we might have here a phenomenon which is common in an emigrant society: the clan’s name is preserved in its original form, while the ‘first’ name usually conforms to current fashions or cultural influence. In late eighth century Philistia, the first name is Canaanite or Hebrew, like Natan, Rekah or Tobi on one hand, or Phoenician like Ba‘alšam, B‘ala’ and Šalum on the other . . . The clan names which have been identified point towards Anatolia as their place of origin.” (1987:23). Kempinski uses the analogy of the Cilician king Azitiwatas, a Luwian name, who used the House of Mopsos as a patronymic, a patronymic whose origin is Western Anatolian. What Kempinski demonstrates is that the Philistine patronymics were iconic of a pre-displacement past while first names were indexical of cultural influence by Judah-Phoenicia. This suggests that emigrants may have the desire to retain ancestor and clan names of their pre-displacement past.⁹¹

3.8.1 Hezekiah’s Administrative-Court Ideology in Forging and Dissolving Tribal Allegiances During the Struggle for Political independence

Sometimes the state administrative ideology will dissolve tribal allegiances among the local population when those tribal influences are seen as unduly influential and powerful.

Katherine Hoffman’s (2000) ethnographic study of national identity cards in the Anti-Atlas

⁹¹ A modern analogy is attested among the Sinai Bedouin, among whom patronyms indicate their geographic origin (see Arensburg et. al. 1979:366). On the other hand, first names can also be iconic of pre-displaced past. Slyomovics (1998:202) shows how modern Palestinian children are named after towns and villages that their parents are unable to return to in Israel.

among the Moroccan Berber tribes underscores this point. New place names, administrative boundaries, and new group organizations were drawn up by the government for the Tashelhit speakers of the Souss region in Morocco in order to challenge indigenous links between people and places. Analogously, it is plausible that names without patronymic or gentilic in bureaucratic archives in Judah were state attempts to challenge the links tribes (and sometimes between migrants and locals).

As noted above, residential patterns and references in the Hebrew indicate that patrimony, land, and labor were closely linked concepts in Judah (see 1 Kgs. 21:3). If refugees adopted a new Judean patronymic, then this is not traceable in the epigraphic record. Aligning the names of refugees and migrants away from the newly adopted local Judean *mšpḥh* ‘clans’ (which was the basic socioeconomic unit) or the joint family or “house of the father” (Heb. *byt* ‘b) can be viewed as scribal/Judean court’s attempt to dissuade the enlarging of local tribal confederacies and units within the villages and cities (i.e. retaining clan differences was a way to control the process of assimilation). Population growth within a *mšpḥh* could come to be viewed as intimidating or threatening to the central authority (as an increase in population might endanger local stability).

However, outside threats to tribal groups, such as a foreign military invasion, have sociopolitical consequences affecting kinship ties, clan relationships, and genealogical alignments. One consequence of military threats to tribal societies is the alliance of rural, urban, and disparate tribal groups. Ethnographers have long noted that politics of kinship bonds and confederations ties are usually loose. But sometimes tribes “knit themselves into a closer unity . . . for purposes of defense” (Smith 1885: 228-229). Regarding genealogies and warfare, Borg and Kressel note that “[u]ltimately, retaining detailed genealogical trees (and naming tribes after

their eponyms), is closely linked to the internal logic of feuding and warring, since feuds and tribal warfare in general arise out of competition between groups bent on reshuffling hierarchical positions - primacy being determined by the number of fighting agnates that can be mustered for the showdown” (2001:39-40). Hence, tribal alliances and genealogical mergers are a social consequence of military conflict (against a common enemy) and this fact has implications for Israelite refugees in Judah.

The military conflict between King Hezekiah of Judah and Assyria affected the politics of naming and the reshuffling of genealogical agnate ties, as Hezekiah forged alliances to enlarge his army during his run towards political independence (704-701 BCE). It is my contention that Sennacherib’s invasion of Palestine in 701 BCE resulted in the forging of alliances between feuding Israelite and Judean tribal segments. Prior to his uprising, Hezekiah made overtures to Israelites in an attempt to expand back into territorial boundaries once held during the Solomonic golden age (2 Chr. 30:1, 10, 18; 31:1; Schniedewind 2004: 69). After this failed attempt, Sennacherib records Hezekiah’s loss of “the Urbi, his elite troops” as one of the many consequent settlements for his rebellion. While the exact meaning of Assyrian word LU.Urbi is still debated, it likely refers to auxiliary forces, irregular troops, or battalion of mercenaries that were either resident, brought in, or hired to assist Hezekiah in his uprising (Tadmor 2012: 341-346; Gallagher 1999; Na’aman 2000). In all other late 8th-7th century social contexts, the Akkadian term refers to a military alliance among tribal groups involved in anti-Assyrian resistance (Fales 2014:243).

I contend that, in the context of Hezekiah’s revolt, the Akkadian term designates fighting agnates from Israel that were incorporated into Hezekiah army to bolster the size and strength of

Judean uprising against Assyria.⁹² These were Israelite clan units who lived in the Assyrian provinces and were persuaded to form a tribal allegiance with Hezekiah. These troops may have been from Israelite families living in the regions where Judean *lmlk* jar handle impressions were discovered: Khirbet Sharta (Kefar-Ata) in Asher, Nahal Tut in Manasseh, Jezreel in Issachar, and Bethel and Gezer in Ephraim. An indexical reading of names of the officials on private *lmlk* jar handles from southern Judah (discussed in the section below), in the context of Hezekiah's administrative ideology leading up to his revolt, signals the movement of "foreign" ethnic identities across Israelite territorial borders into Judah before 701 BCE.

Hezekiah's uprising against Assyria was tied to the politics of building a newly independent Judean state (704-701 BCE) and the process of accounting for people through the process of registering them was political. Hebrew inscriptions display a small sample of a population that lived within and nearby cities and villages (Renz and Roellig 1995; Davies 2004; Dobbs-Allsopp et. al. 2004; Ahituv 2008). The official naming practices of PN + patronymic/clan/geographical name were more than just simple labels, naming practices that seem to have shifted meaning over time. As anthropological studies have shown, names on text-artifacts were indexical of power relations between people, family, and institutions (Hanks 1990; 2000; 2010; Keane 2003; Hull 2003; 2012a; 2012b). Beneath written recording of identities lies a world of political struggle linked to classification and control.

Hezekiah's policies are reflected in the scribal practices under his administration and personal names in official documents are sites where conclusions can be drawn about the discursive awareness of power relations and administration ideology. As will be shown below, provenanced text-artifacts from Judean cities dated to the late 8th-7th century BCE contain

⁹² To my knowledge, Na'aman is the first one to make a similar argument to this one in a brief footnote, but he does not explore the larger implications of this hypothesis (2007: 38 n. 16).

numerous non-Judean names. Precision in demarcating non-Judean from local Judean household identities in archival lists (economic receipts, census documents, and military lists) not only signifies the historical awareness of foreignness in Judah but may have been a way of neutralizing local family associations and kinship bonds within a community (as indicated in Hoffman's 2000 ethnographic study of Morocco).

Disassociating migrant identity from local identity was a textual strategy intent on creating boundaries and reducing kinship alignments within villages and towns that could pose a threat to local power. The agency of foreignness as enregistered by the inclusion of non-indigenous Judean agnates (legitimately descended from a common male ancestor through the male line) and cognate (blood ties) garners allegiance to the tribal state. The lack of erasure of differentiation and the inclusion of variation served hegemonic goals. Moreover, the retention of non-Judean names indexes the lack of negative stigmatization of foreigners under Hezekiah—signifying Judah as a friendly host community. Under Hezekiah's administrative ideology, a migrant could change residence but not alter his or her identity as an agnate of the group, for this served Hezekiah's political and military interests.⁹³

In the struggle over power to assert local allegiances in Judah's newly independent state, scribes dissolved immigrant connections to the land by constructing patronymic boundaries corresponding to state objectives rather than individuals' identities. This ideology served Hezekiah's purpose to align migrants away from the local names and towards pre-displacement affiliations. It provides a window as to how fragmented the power and control of kingship was

⁹³ The same practice existed for Neo-Assyrian cuneiform scribes who recorded West Semitic PN and gentilics in administrative documents. For example, Samarian identity is socially marked in Assyrian cuneiform documents about Sargon's II cavalry (Dalley 1985). I am unsure this theory applies to every written administrative genre. Another difficulty in drawing further conclusion is the nature of the sources. There is an inadequacy of text-artifacts from various genres and most inscriptions are very fragmentary.

during this era. By constructing immigrant identity through the use of foreign patronyms that hold no currency in Judean circles (for they were not tied to local land or property) the state worked to disconnect immigrant identity from newly aligned local tribal identities. Sometimes official registries and accounts use only the personal name that has been stripped of names linking the person to either a place or a tribe (e.g. absence of patronymic or gentilic markers in administrative documents in Jerusalem [*HITBP*: 220-225, 231] as opposed to their presence in artifacts at Khirbet Uza [*HITBP*: 518-538]). The classification appears designed to persuade people to imagine themselves and others as individuals whose sole allegiance is to the king.⁹⁴

Written names on ostraca can be conceived of as performative and discursive events. As such, the discursive interaction invokes sociocultural conceptualizations that pertain to family, history, and state ideologies (see Silverstein 2004). The Judean state institution influenced discursive events by conferring value on the inclusion of non-indigenous patronyms in the late eighth century BCE. Naming alignments attested in Hebrew text-artifacts from this period disclose much about how ancient Israelites and Judeans thought about and played their role in society.

We can reach conclusions in terms of naming and power. First, the use of patronyms can index the unfamiliar or power status of the speaker. Second, names inscribed on seals and ostraca reflect the agency of power, because speakers dictated what form of their name to inscribe and, thereby, could determine how they wanted to be identified in the epigraphic record. Third, although some texts were not found in an urban domestic setting (for example, three ostraca from Bet Shemesh were discovered in a cave [Milevski and Naveh 2005]) they are still

⁹⁴ Other factors could have arisen that explain the lists of personal names without patronym or place names. For example, the person may have been well known in the city or village and therefore there was no need to document information on the person's background.

connected with the local cities and are products of the local administrative scribal institution.

Fourth, as an exercise in hegemony, the tribal state can try to create distance and dissolve kinship ties or tribal allegiances by dropping patronymics in the administrative record. Lastly, patronymics are tied to the land and can index residential neighborhoods.

3.9 Iconization of Tribal and Clan Names in Ancient Israel

The theory of iconization derives from one of Peircian's three semiotic categories of signs: icon, index, and symbol. Irvine and Gal (2007) incorporate Peircian semiotics in explaining the process whereby language differences come to index cultural images of social groups. They argue, "As part of everyday behavior, the use of a linguistic form can become a pointer to (index of) the social identities and the typical activities of speakers. But speakers (and hearers) often notice, rationalize, and justify linguistic indices, thereby creating linguistic ideologies that purport to explain the source and meaning of linguistic differences" (2000:37). Irvine and Gal identify iconization as one of three semiotic processes (the others are erasure and fractal recursivity) involved in rationalization of linguistic difference that work to produce language ideologies. According Irvine and Gal, iconization "involves a transformation of the sign relationship between linguistic features (or varieties) and the social images with which they are linked. Linguistic features that index social groups or activities appear to be iconic representations of them, as if a linguistic feature somehow depicted or displayed a social group's inherent nature or essence. This process entails the attribution of cause and immediate necessity to a connection (between linguistic features and social groups) that may be only historical,

contingent, or conventional” (Irvine and Gal 2000: 37).⁹⁵ The ideological representation of iconization involves the shared relationship between the linguistic image, social image of a population, and territory (Irvine and Gal 2000: 55).⁹⁶

Applying the semiotic tool of iconization to the study of ancient Israel refugee migrations to Judah first involves the identification of cultural elements of differentiation within ancient Israelite society. This will help us understand the ways in which linguistic difference was understood and represented ideologically.

There were several levels of social organization relating to differentiation in Iron Age Israel. First is the category of the clan (Hebrew *mšpḥh*). The clan, which was composed of several households, was not a static term that applied always to one level of social organization. At different times and under various social circumstances, the semantic range of the clan included a) the extended family (lineage), b) a subsistence-economic unit, and c) maximally a tribal unit with a right to hereditary property (Num 27:4-11).⁹⁷ The clan was a source of patronage and alliance. Similarly, a city (Hebrew *‘yr*) could index a heritable property for the clan or household unit that built and colonized it, as well their family tomb (Josh. 19: 50; 2 Sam. 18:23; Johnstone 1969: 316-317). The tribe provided organizational support to the patrimony of the clan and father’s house (Bendor 1996). But, according to ancient Israelite

⁹⁵ Note that Irvine and Gal have recently renamed the feature they call *iconization* as *rhematization* to highlight the Peircian semiotic relationship between the sign and its interpretant (Gal 2005). I thank Paul Kroskrity for directing my attention to this point.

⁹⁶ Irvine and Gal (2000) evaluate nineteenth-century European colonial description of Senegalese languages, click sounds in Nguni languages, and conflicts over Macedonian speech varieties in light of the semiotic processes of iconization, erasure, and fractal recursivity.

⁹⁷ Andersen 1969: 35-36; Johnstone 1969: 314; Hopkins 1985: 258. See also the dual index of clan names in the Samaria ostraca and Gibeon jar handles as an organization unit of kinship as well as a settlement/economic/agricultural unit (*HITBP*: 157-180, 423-498).

literature, the highest level of social organization was the tribe and its genealogical association (Num. 36:9; Josh. 13-19; Judg. 21:6; 1 Kgs. 11: 13, 31-35; 12:20–21; 18:31; Hos. 5:12; Is. 7:17; 9:21; Jer. 7:15; 31:9).⁹⁸ Irrespective of the size, complexity, or strength of Israelite kingship and monarchy, the state-level government was heavily dependent on local clans/tribes for social, military and economic support (their independence is clearly evident in the Samaria ostraca, for example, by the use of clan names such as Shemida as separate administrative districts, see Num. 26:32; Josh 17:2; 1 Chr. 7:19; Samaria Ostraca 3:2; 29:1; 1; Schloen 2001; Niemann 2008; also the discussion in Chapter 4).

In the absence of social disruption brought on by feuding and ecological crises, clan-tribal differentiation was coeval with a growing populace living in the coastal, lowland, and highland regions of Central Palestine. Judah was hilly and more arid than the central highlands of Ephraim and Manasseh. The latter received more fertile, receiving more rainfall to sustain grain crops and fruit-trees. Moreover, we find regional variations of pottery between the coastal region, Galilee, central highlands of Ephraim and Manasseh in the Iron II B-C period, especially in comparison with the Judean Highlands, Shephelah, and Negev (Amiran 1969: 62-89; Kletter 1999; Whincop 2009; 2010; Ben-Tor and Zarzecki-Peleg 2015; Gilboa 2015; Herzog and Singer-Avitz 2015; Tappy 2015).⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Gottwald notes that supra-regional tribes functioned on a military level (1979). Hopkins (1985) interprets the function of the tribe in terms of subsistence practices and labor amidst the different ecological demands in the highlands that forced clans to maintain supra-regional level (tribal) ties. He contends that it was important, “for continued settled existence in the Highlands that one community or *“mišpāḥah”* be able to call upon another differently situated *“mišpāḥah”* for relief in times of crisis and that some social links be maintained for this eventuality. Given the less tangible nature of tribal social linkages, there appears to be more justification for viewing the tribe, in distinction to the *“mišpāḥah,”* as a crisis management context rather than one marked by regular reciprocities” (1985:260).

⁹⁹ Differentiation and variation is also evident in ceramic assemblages between territories east and west of Jordan and north and south Israel. Joffe notes that, “Regional division become far more apparent from the

Regional archaeological data indicate that Israel reached its zenith in settlement number, size, and population density from the 10th century BCE until the eve of Tiglath-Pileser III's invasion in 732 BCE and Judah during the 7th-6th century BCE (Broshi and Finkelstein 1992; Finkelstein 1993; Ofer 1993a, 1993b, 1997, 2001; Dagan 2000, 2004, 2010, 2011; Faust 2013). Brosh and Finkelstein estimate, based upon the number of Iron II sites, size, total built-up area, and coefficient density of 200- 250 persons per hectare, that the kingdom of Israel reached a population density of 350,000 people and Judah 110,000 people in the 8th century BCE (1992: 54). Certainly, population calculations based upon settlement and size count are problematic (Shiloh 1980; Zorn 1984; London 1992; Faust and Safrai 2005; Zevit 2006, 2007; Faust 2008; Palmisano 2013), and these estimates do not include tent dwellers whose main source of revenue depended on grazing land for their domestic animals. But compared to the Iron I period, there is no question that a rapid population growth ensued throughout Israel and culminated in the 8th century BCE. The consequential effect of population growth across ecological niches and geographical zones is the rise of language habits unique to specific speech communities (besides inequalities and competition for power). Most illustrative of how one speech community was different from another in ancient Israel is the word for "year" in epigraphic Hebrew from Samaria (Hebrew *šr*) in comparison with Judah (Hebrew *šnh*) (Garr 1985). These language habits included unique toponyms and naming patterns whose meaning was community and context-dependent.

9th century onward. West of the Jordan, the ceramic evidence indicates the bifurcation of north and south, in historical terms, Israel and Judah . . . From the 9th century onward ceramic assemblages in these regions varied considerably, as did the assemblages on the other side of the Jordan River. . . and is the best indication of social groups with very limited economic and social interaction" (Joffe 2002: 447)

The power of naming as a symbol of differentiation (that leads to iconization) is especially evident in the use of toponyms. Settlement zones and landscapes were often given their own unique dialectal terms to distinguish one tribal place from another (see below). In addition to serving as a symbolic representation of spatial relationships and navigational points to coordinate travel, toponyms inscribe local cultural ideologies. That is, they tell a story, evoke images of the past, create a sense of place (penetrating all aspects of society), but also function to differentiate one clan group from another.

One role that place names had in ancient Israel was character building and local identity. Often, a story accompanied the introduction of a toponym in Israelite literature followed by the phrase: “X called the name of that place Y” (Gen 22:14; 28:19; 32:2; Num 11:34; Josh 5:9; Josh 7:26; Judg 2:5; 2 Sam 5:20) or X person called “the name of the place Y” (Gen 32:30; 33:17; 35:15; Ex 17:7; Num 11:3; 21:3; Josh 5:9; 2 Sam 6:8). As time progressed, toponyms became the culmination of past experiences or that “which we have heard and known, and our fathers have told us” (Psa. 78:3).

Toponyms served as symbolic representations of iconization in ancient Israel in two ways. The first is in the renaming of ancient sites, or inventing new ones, by Israelites who entered Canaan in the Iron I period. These new toponymic names appear after the Israelites entered central Palestine and index local attempts to inscribe a new spatial ideology to early Israelite settlements. For instance, the toponymic terms Ramah/ Ramoth, Ramathaim, Merom, Mizpah/ Mizpeh, Geba/Gibeah, and Baal are not found among Canaanite toponyms of the Late Bronze Age, but are abundant in the Iron Age period (Isserlin 1957: 140-144; Rainey 1978:3-4, 6; some Israelite toponyms tend to replace names ending final *-at* with *-ah*, see Rainey 1978: 4).

The second manner of iconization is found in the use of different topographical terms between tribal groups who live in different geographical regions. For example, Cisjordanian Israelite tribes created distinct toponymic terms such as *gb ḥ* (Gibeah), *gb ʿwn* (Gibeon), and *gb ʿ* (Geba), thus linguistically differentiate themselves from Transjordanian Israelite tribes, who used *hr* (Har), *rmh* (Ramah) (Isserlin 1957: 141-143; Kutscher 1982: 54-55). Similarly, the Hebrew word *katef* (meaning “shoulder”) is used topographically in the description of boundaries exclusive to the tribe of Benjamin and in the blessing of Benjamin in Deuteronomy 33:12 (Elitzur 1999-2000). The compartmentalized use of the term *katef* among Benjamite tribesmen was an iconic representation of group identity and demarcation of their political boundaries.

Additionally, iconization is evident in the association of land with a certain clan or founding ancestor. According to Numbers 26:53, heritable land was divided according to the “number of names.” Thus, a name indexed a social segment with inheritance rights, privileges, and obligations. Moreover, when place names derive from personal names, they can commemorate a founding ancestor and tell a story. Local districts could be symbolically labeled after a founding ancestor as an iconic representation of the group in narratives, tribal genealogies and historical lists. For example, the word “land,” meaning territorial unit, is used with several eponymous founder of a clan: land of Shalisha, land of Shaalim, and land of Zuph (2 Sam. 9:4; Rainey 1978: 5). Certain geographical names with patronymics have the prefix Ben “son” or Beth “house”—Bene-berak and Beth-Hanan—while others are patterned after sentence names—Jabneel, Ibleam, and Jokneam (Rainey and Notley 2006:17). Other toponyms named after eponymous ancestors include Anathoth, Alemeth, Azmaveth, and Mozah in Benjamin (Rainey 1978: 5; also see the patterns identified by Elitzur 2004; 2013). These eponymous-town names

were symbolic representations of tribal political boundaries. Equally important is the fact that among Benjamite tribesmen there is a correlation between the Baal theophoric element in personal names: Baal (1 Chron. 8:30; Meribbaal (1 Chron. 8:34), Baaliah (Bealiah 1 Chron. 12:5), and Eshbaal (Gen. 46:21), and toponyms in the land of their inheritance: Baal Hazor (2 Sam. 13: 23), and Baal Tamar (Judg. 20:33)(de Moor 1997: 28, 37; Zevit 2001: 591, 594). The same applies for the deity Mot in Benjamite personal names: Jeremoth (1 Chr 7:8; 8:14), Alemeth (1 Chr. 7:8), and Azmaveth (2 Sam. 23:31, and toponyms such as Azmaveth (Neh 12:29) (de Moor 1997: 28, 37; Zevit 2001: 591, 594). The cultural influence of Baal and Mot among early Benjamite clans may be connected to Israelite traditions that place the birth of this tribe in Canaan and mention their coexistence with local Canaanite and Gibeon clans.

Boundary differences between tribes and clans can be mapped onto linguistic differences, as for language may be used to index both ethnic group differentiation and social power. On a sociolinguistic level, the dual indexicality of town and tribe is exemplified in the narrative of 2 Samuel 15:2: when a person was asked, “What town are you from?” the response was not a city location but, “Your servant is from such and such a tribe in Israel.” The relationship between tribe and town in Israel and Judah was ideological and included municipal and cultic activities (de Geus 1993: 74*). Children were socialized into becoming different kinds of social beings through specific uses of language from their village of origin, and their acquisition of language was crucial to becoming a competent member of society. Ideological representation of linguistic difference between tribes was the outgrowth of different sociolinguistic practices and values (and the metadiscursive awareness of them) within each heritable region (i.e. Abiezer clan sociolinguistic indexicals mentioned earlier in this chapter). This cultural practice is patently indicated by the Shibboleth incident between the tribes of Gilead and Manasseh/Ephraim (Judg.

12:6; Kutscher 1982: 14-15; see the older observations of Mendenhall 1973: 179-182). This Shibboleth story shows that sometimes Israelite kinship groups within a bounded territory selected and rationalized maximal differences between each other to be distinct. These distinctions became icons of the social group. This observation by no means implies that tribal iconizations were static and inflexible; on the contrary, they fluctuated according to changing social circumstances and needs (as indicated, for example, by the Asherites adopting Ephraim names). As Layne (1994) and Shryock's (1997) analysis of tribal personhood and identity in Jordan affirm, tribes carried multiple identities and political affiliations and used them as needed.

With the discovery of over hundreds of inscribed artifacts and archaeological material culture of ancient Israel over the last five decades, new data allows us to consider a number of theories regarding group differentiation during the Iron Age II period. We can infer, based upon archaeological discoveries, that Israelites as an aggregate group were culturally different from the kinship groups in the land of Judah, so that if the former were to migrate to the latter they would be recognizable in the material culture. From the 10th century to the 8th century BCE, the tribes of Israel and Judah had segmented into separate monarchic national identities.¹⁰⁰ As

¹⁰⁰ The question of whether or not ancient Israel represented a version of pre-modern nationalism will not be addressed, as this topic is not within the scope of this chapter. I may add, however, that Ernest Gellner (1983: xlviii), who is often said to deny nationalism before the rise of print capitalism (with the likes of Benedict Anderson), admits in his preface that Ancient Israel was a pre-modern nation. Others have had similar ideas, including Smith (1986; 2008), Grosby (2002) and Roshwald (2006). Smith and Grosby find indicators of pre-modern national collective identities above the level of the clan in Israelite, Phoenician, and Aramean societies of the Iron Age. Roshwald has challenged the idea that nationalism is a uniquely modern phenomenon and has hypothesized that ancient Israel represented a pre-modern form of nationalism. In making this argument, Roshwald states that "pre-modern nationalisms resemble the modern variations in that both share national creation stories, multi-dimensional constructs of historical time, historical narratives of violation, a sense of chosenness and mission, ideas of national self-determination, and a concrete sense of territoriality" (2006:89). Routledge nuances Smith and Grosby's analysis (and his point is valid as well for Roshwald) by point out that Biblical Israel's pre-modern nationalism was *not* a "universal tendency, but rather the cumulative effect of the intentioned transformation of established cultural resources in a particular historical context" (2003:224); therefore, pre-modern national identities were dynamic and not "mirrors of the present" (2003: 213-4, 239).

nationalism and identity were in confluence, they intertwined in a complex process. Israelite and Judean differentiation fell along the levels of language, writing system, speech community practices, seal iconography wealth, group values, regional religious differences (i.e. “Yahweh of Samaria,” “Yahweh of Teiman,” and “El of Jerusalem,” in the Kuntillet Ajrud and Khribet Beit Lei inscriptions [Ahituv 2008: 315-322, 235]), calendar-reckoning, population composition, ecological zones, town planning, urbanism, and political structure.¹⁰¹ Ideologies could be constructed from one of many cultural categories distinguishing Israelite national identity practices and norms from Judah, so that if one aggregate group were to migrate to the other’s territory they would be recognized as such.

Knowing who is from where, when, what family, and what status were critical in the negotiation and construction of social relations. Within each kin group, there was a microscopic awareness of cultural things known in only certain neighborhoods. Local knowledge of differentiation between villages, towns, clans, and families (especially among elders, leaders, chiefs, officials, scribes) fell along the level of name-descent awareness (“House of X”, “sons of Y”). Generally, one could tell where a person came from - as is evident in abundant *nisbe* or gentilic forms in ancient Hebrew (Revel 1996a) – based on cultural knowledge only available to locals in each individual tribal community.¹⁰² Within each kinship-territorial unit (*mšphh*), names served as symbolic markers of collective entities to construct community identity, create

¹⁰¹ These differences are documented in the following studies: Talmon 1958; Sarfatti 1982, 1992; Briquel-Chatonnet 1992a, 1993; Israel 1989, 2000; Mazar 1990: 463-526; Hutton 2010; Herzog 2010; Köckert 2010; Faust 2012:115-116 176-177, 196-207; 250-254, 262-267.

¹⁰² Note the hundreds of gentilic markers attached to names in the Hebrew Bible that index an ethnic group, village, town, tribe, sub-tribe, clan, and family identity; especially in honor conferring rituals as in the form of address in David’s warrior list (2 Sam. 23; 1 Chron. 11) and in the titles of prophets (1 Kgs. 17:1; Mic. 1:1; Nah. 1:1; which can also be used for insults [Jer. 29:27]).

boundaries, and mark membership. Certain names were iconicized as a symbol of prestige (such as the patronymic Gera and Nimshi discussed in Chapter 5). This insider knowledge was important in establishing political alliances for support or rebellion in one's own community (as illustrated in several narratives in the Hebrew Bible: 2 Sam. 3:1, 6; 16:5; 1 Kgs. 2:7; 12:20; 2 Kgs. 15:25; Isa. 7:2).

It is likely that Israelite tribal society of this period engaged in what Shyrock calls “genealogical nationalism,” that is, debates about reconstructed pedigrees. Legitimate tribal identity was linked to “name, place, and descent” (Shyrock 1997: 59). Names and genealogical history were also political history, especially after the split between the northern and southern tribes of Israel. Questions concerning who was excluded, foreign, insignificant or inauthentic centered on naming practices that were aligned with pedigree. Your name and descent could invalidate you as part of a tribal identity or make you an enemy.¹⁰³ More importantly, in these agro-pastoral societies, honor was interwoven with social order of rank and patrimonial household membership (Mundi 1995:39). Therefore, micro-level insider local knowledge of naming difference and their indexical associations were critical in social mobility and constructing authenticity in one's own community.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ The politics of patronymic households in the Hebrew Bible is illustrated the battle between royal houses of David and Saul—2 Sam. 3:1 “Now there was long war between the house of Saul and the house of David”—and priestly houses of Eli and Aaron—1 Kgs. 2:27 “So Solomon thrust out Abiathar from being priest to Yahweh, that he might fulfill the word of Yahweh, which he spoke concerning the house of Eli in Shiloh.”

¹⁰⁴ We cannot suppose that during the late 8th century after the fall of the Northern kingdom, Northern traditions were just simply brought and accepted into the cultural canon of Judah without first explaining the sociocultural rational and processes (Schniedewind 2004; Finkelstein 2006; Fleming 2012; Finkelstein 2013). That is, what was the social legitimacy for this action to have taken place? One answer, perhaps, that what would allow Northern traditions to be attractive and accepted in Judah would be if those who brought migrated there were of noble descent and intermarried with the royal family or if they were prominent warriors and the fighting agnates contributed to Hezekiah's military uprising. These factors are likely social rationales for merging of Judahite and Israelite traditions.

Iconization is an important semiotic tool in determining migrant identity in Judah, because names selected in Judean inscriptions were from historically grounded iconic ancestral associations of Israelite clans and families (see Chapter 5). It is important to problematize the false assumption in the comparative philological interpretive scheme that implies that names in ancient Hebrew lack local cultural encoding because they are found in other communities that span the Bronze Age to Hellenistic periods.¹⁰⁵ On the contrary, what matters most in the linguistic ideological establishment of kinship group iconization and alignment is not the macro-level analysis of whether or not an Israelite name is referentially attested in the wider corpus of West Semitic names in cuneiform (Ebla, Mari, Amarna, Ugarit, Emar, Ekalt, Assyria, Babylonia), Egyptian, or alphabetic writing systems (Hebrew, Aramaic, Phoenician-Punic, Old South Arabian, etc.), but the micro-level iconic associations of that name embedded in one's native local cultural community. As Duranti points out, "proper names, which used to be characterized as the most arbitrary type of linguistic sign, have been shown to have indexical relations to place, people, events, to be mini-narratives about the past or the future" (1997:334). To put it another way, names are circulated discourses that function to locate a community's shared world experiences.

¹⁰⁵ At the macro level, Ancient Hebrew first and family names examined in this dissertation are often familiar in other Levantine communities. It is estimated that approximately 2,500 names alone are found in the corpus of West Semitic texts from Ugarit (spanning 200 years or less) in contrast to the 1,426 names in the Hebrew Bible, 675 names in epigraphic Hebrew of the Iron Age period (majority unprovenanced and many are possibly forgeries), 500 Canaanite names in the *KAI* corpus of Northwest Semitic inscriptions of the first millennium (O'Connor 2006: 273-274; Alberty and Schmitt 2012: 249). Recent calculations also suggest that over 2,500 personal name types exist in Old and Imperial Aramaic inscriptional communities dated from the 10th- 3rd centuries BCE (Schwiderski 2008: 977-982; many unprovenanced). Therefore, it is not surprising to find that the majority of Israelite (non-theophoric) names are also referentially attested in Bronze Age Ugarit or Aramaic (due to the sheer size of their corpus). But the comparative philological approach typically divorces names from their locally encoded indexical significance to their own peril (Noth 1928; Schultz 1967; Stamm 1980; Tigay 1986; Zadok 1988; Fowler 1988; Layton 1990; Richter 1996; Rechenmacher 2002; 2011; 2012; Alberty and Schmitt 2012).

Factors in the semiotic process of iconization in which naming differences become ideologies of othering (both across and *within* ethnic groups) are as follows. Names, as linguistic signs of things or objects of associational differences were displayed (orally and artifactually) in communities in Israel. Within each community, names were arbitrary signs that were context-sensitive. They were attached to families and groups and were noticed, interpreted, and rationalized as ideological representations of reality. Names tied to ancestry became naturalized, valorized (especially for elite and powerful families) and anchored, on both an individual and community level, as iconically defining families, clans, or tribal members in the face of ‘the other.’ After the semiotic process of iconization - the language, name-ancestry, people, or territory- whatever was not iconized was erased as not legitimate (see Chapter 5). Outsiders and insiders viewed the perpetuation of name and genealogy as establishing group differentiation. More importantly, however, for the purpose of this study, is the fact that once these social actors migrated outside of their homeland to places like Judah and perpetuated names iconic of Israelite lineage, the modern observer can interpret them analytically as acts of identity alignment.

In the late 8th century BCE, there was a rise in the inscribing of personal identity on durable material (or a rise in sense of personal identity ontologically in text-artifacts) in both Israel and Judah (Schniedewind 2004, 2013; Sanders 2009). First names and patronymics etched on seals (and on legal documents, personal property, objects, etc.) indexed their way of laying claims to authenticity and legitimacy of identity (or even resistance). An example of how first names and patronymics on seals express a concern about social location and descent is by virtue of the fact that prior to the 8th century BCE all seals were iconographic; that is, there was an absence of inscribed personal identities on seals in Judah from 10th-9th century BCE. By the late 8th century BCE, this trend changed tremendously. These patterns express wish and desire, and a

growing concern over social location and descent in times of rapid demographic and economic change and uncertainty under the imperial shadow and colonial presence of Assyria (733-612 BCE). The performance of identity alignment was just one example of these escalating concerns.

3.10 Identity Alignment in Personal and Family Names

Another language ideology of naming is identity alignment. As discussed Chapter 2, identity alignment theory derives from Erving Goffman's studies on footing and stigmatized identity in interaction. Identity alignment is a theory that explains how the replication of a personal name within multigenerational families was an intentional form of identity construction. Bronze and Iron Age social structures in the Levant were based on forms of tribalism, patrimonialism and segmentary tribal organization (LaBianca and Younker 1995, Schloen 2001; Routledge 2004). Several text-artifacts from the Syria-Palestine and Mesopotamia show inner tribal naming patterns, and demonstrate that male children were named after both living (ex. cross-cousin naming) and deceased ancestors and descendants (see discussion in Chapter 5).

Identity alignment is relevant to the study of refugees because migration induces personal contact with a different community than one's original community. In Ancient Israel and Judah, as today, families and larger social groups migrated because of war, employment issues, or economic opportunities. In a new location, a displaced individual's language and name could be marked and stigmatized because they would be seen as iconic of the new out-group. Displaced persons negotiate their identities differently: some adopt new names as they negotiate new claims in a new environment, but others continue to retain names iconic of ancestral heritage. The retention and replication of a name that is iconic of a tribal-family group different from the local community can be characterized as an act of identity alignment.

Related to identity alignment is the voicing of a discourse of nostalgia. Hill (1985) uses the notion of “voice” to investigate the relationship between Spanish and Mexicano and the language and consciousness in the everyday speech of indigenous peasants in the Malinche Volcano region of central Mexico. She documents the ways in which locals lay claim to different identities within a contestable environment over broader issues of power. In the struggle for dominance between Spanish and Mexicano, local males have called for purism, based in part upon limited level of awareness that is mostly restricted to lexical items. Spanish grammar is only tolerated in particular situations. Hill suggests that this purism is related to nostalgia. In a subsequent article, Hill (1998) characterizes the Mexicano “discourse of nostalgia” as consisting of formulaic declarations about a time in the Mexicano community in Malinche Volcano region when there was respect, traditional Mexicano values, better economy and way of life, and the use of Mexicano language instead of Spanish. The manifestation of this discursive system is evident through Mexicano linguistic purism and a rejection of Spanish language mixing. She provides examples of the ways that purist discourses among Mexicanos who work in factories outside the community. The discourse of nostalgia is particularly reflected in the speech of older, successful males who decry the abandoning of traditional cultural Mexicano values and adoption of modern ones (more children are educated but their Mexicano is full of errors and they are rude and disrespectful). Hence, the local men made calls for a return to a supposedly preferable past through language purism (as an indexical link between language and reality). Hill goes through the complexity of verbs involved linguistic purism and notes the awareness of purism is limited to lexical items (the sounds and the nouns). Men privilege the linguistic purity of Mexicano and the social order of the past while disparaging language mixing and the current social order. But Hill points out that mostly woman (and some poor and elderly men) produce a counter-discourse

in opposition to men's calls for return to the past, contending that the modern days are better.

I draw upon Hill's notion of voice and the discourse of nostalgia in examining how traditional naming practices versus modernization attempts were idealized within Israelite immigrant communities in Judah. The discourse of nostalgia provides a model of how historical narratives can be constructed through particular language ideologies to tell wholly different accounts of the past. This discursive system, one that is fundamentally conservative in nature, takes on the form of linguistic purism through the selection of traditional clan and family names of Israelite tribes as opposed to Judean ones. An emphasis on nostalgia and respect is evident through the rejection of language mixing in the area of grammatical and theophoric elements in a name (see discussion in Chapter 5). Some manifestations of nostalgia in naming practices can be characterized as a call for an ethnic-tribal revival or the hope for the national restoration of the Northern kingdom of Israel. However, some refugees exhibit a counter-discourse to nostalgia in their naming practices, for example, in selecting grammatical changes to an iconic Israelite name to remove social stigma, and affixing the Judean theophoric *yhw* to a traditional ancestral name as a modernization attempt or expression of fidelity to Yahwism (see Chapter 5). Moreover, these projections can be characterized as expressions of compromise and contentment in their new situation and location. Ultimately, nostalgia discourses and counter-discourses fall on the level of name awareness.

3.11 Replicating Tribal-Clan Names as Indexical of Identity Alignment in Middle Eastern Ethnographies

An important indexical aspect of naming is the reproducing of names of affine and consangual household, clan, and tribal members. Why is a child given the name of an ancestor?

As will be discussed below, reproducing names within multigenerational families and tribes was a way to meaningfully construct their existence. Understanding the logic behind this social practice derives, in my estimation, from ethnographic analogues for the way the world was put together by ancient Middle Eastern society. This is where modern Middle Eastern ethnographies of kinship based tribal societies plays an important role, as they provide notions of kinship-based language ideologies transferable to ancient Israel. The process of replicated names communicates ideas of power, solidarity, iconicity, and identity alignment.

Modern Middle Eastern ethnographies have shown that in tribal kinship-based societies, names can be interpreted as biographical history (Antoun 1968; Eickelman 2001). That is, names tell a personal story (Slyomovics 1998). The naming of a male child is very important in the modern Middle East, and a ritual name ceremony accompanies the naming of a male child (this is the Arabic *tismaya* ritual). (See Eickelman 1989 for naming practices for children named on certain days). This ritual is transformative in nature. Through ceremonial naming, the child becomes transformed or initiated into local tribal membership. The naming ceremony aligns the newborn with local clan-tribal group identity and has legal, social, and political implications. Sometimes the names chosen during this ritual are archaic (Schimmel 1991), in which case they align the newly named child with a tribal ancestor. Besides naming a child after ancestors, sometimes households conferred a name based on particular social circumstances.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ While one name equaling one identity is largely a Western colonial construct, however, in pre-modern times in the Near East, a person took on multiple names throughout his/her lifetime. The name chosen for legal contracts and administrative documents (government/ control/unification ideology) sometimes differed from oral and local non-administrative use and depended linguistic ideologies of colonial powers.

Admittedly, naming ideologies vary in the Middle East,¹⁰⁷ but useful examples of the indexical aspect of present-day naming can be drawn from two areas: the Maghreb and the Negev of Israel. Personal naming in Morocco has particularly generated interest among anthropologists. For example, Hart has examined the reoccurrence of tribal names in the Moroccan Rif (Hart 1976; 1984; 2000: 131-155). Another finding, as a general naming ideology in the Maghreb, is the reproducing of the name Idris in Morocco, after the founder of first Islamic dynasty in Morocco. This act shows the importance of this name as indexical of Moroccan identity. The complexity of Western and Middle Eastern understandings of naming also comes into to play with the French government's enforcement of ID cards in Morocco and Algeria (Hoffman 2000; Slyomovics 2005: 102 ff.). In the 19th century, the French colonial government initiated a census and began to fix names (with other information including address, religion, profession, the names of children and parents) to control the population. In the 1860s they would call those who resisted the census by surnames— which were quite random— and these surnames were invented to track individuals. In many cases people chose to change their name. However, the French government assigned people to residential areas and designated which tribal and rural area belonged to respective tribes and thus naming and identity were inflexible.

Borg and Kressel's ethnographies of naming patterns among the Negev Bedouin show that names fall along the Whorfian model of language as being tied to world-view. Borg and Kressel's ethnography of Bedouin genealogies and naming practices of the Negev and Sinai region (a marginal and conservative area of the Arab-speaking world), identified three distinct naming ideologies: 1) among the Northern Nejd, names were based on pre-Islamic ideologies

¹⁰⁷ Naming ideologies in the Middle East vary from village to village as well between urban and rural-desert areas and finally between countries such as Egypt and Palestine (see Granqvist 1950; Schimmel 1989; Suleiman 2011).

such as signs from the outside world (animals, herbs, wells, nature) with the view that a unique name would lead to a unique person; 2) Islamic names would be passed over in favor of wild animal names (or those from the local inventory) without theophoric (Allah) or servant of the prophet Muḥammad (indexing a rural Bedouin ideology of humility);¹⁰⁸ and 3) inner tribal-clan naming ideologies in which names are replicated either by using the same name components/root morphemes or use a restricted set of personal names replicated from local clans.

Of the three distinct naming ideologies mentioned in Borg and Kressel's ethnography, the third is most relevant here. Borg and Kressel argue that the Negev Bedouin did not confer personal names randomly, but typically from a local register, "comprising the personal names of clan members, living, and dead" (2001:40). Moreover, personal names, "do not only reflect parental aspirations, but also define and symbolize their bearers' social identities . . . this accounts for the fact... that Bedouin names tend to be mostly of tribal provenance" (2001:42). The language ideology behind the naming an offspring after a local clan member was, among other things, political; the hope of reinforcing clan solidarity and loyalty (1995; 2001).

Borg and Kessler describe the socio-political circumstances behind the Bedouin avoidance of popular Islamic names and preference for the inner-tribal naming system (which extends to pre-Islamic times), led to the break from that tradition and new alignment with Islamic names. Regarding the politics of naming, they observe that, "where social cohesion is at a minimum, religious power is at a maximum" (2001:62). When tribal cohesion dissolves, the desire to adopt non-tribal names and popular religious ones emerges. "At the beginning of Islam, bearers of pagan names tended to replace them by religious ones, and whole tribes are said to have changed their names in this way . . . Among the present-day Bedouin in the Negev, the

¹⁰⁸ 19th century ethnographers such as Burckhardt (1831: 97) and Musil (1928: 8–9) observed this feature among Bedouins.

most frequent ‘conversions’ to standard Islam occur typically among families and individuals whose status within the clan system is, for one reason or another, marginal. . . As Bedouin life in the Negev becomes more and more a thing of the past and tribal cohesion disintegrates, this group’s ongoing sedentarization in the Beer-Sheva district can be expected to increase their receptivity to the religious and secular symbols of Arab sedentaries in the region” (2001:62).

Borg and Kressel outline several details involved in the name-change process, especially the social strategies of marginal members of a clan. They observe that marginal Bedouins: a) will assert their identity by converting to standard Islamic names; b) will begin to have closer ties to the sedentary urban region as they experience social disintegration and marginality in the clan, thereby increasing the use of standard Muslim personal names; and c) increases their use of standard Muslim names as part of intermarriage with inter-city families. However, if the clan system is cohesive (or at maximum strength), then members will invoke traditional pre-Islamic names, as well as recycle local clan names (2001:62-63).

Accordingly, the reproducing of local pre-Islamic clan names is intimately tied to the socio-political structure of the clan. As social disintegration of the clan emerges, and the dependence on outside city-state and government institutions grows, as well as when clan members migrate and move to a city, the breakdown of clan system occurs and naming patterns reflect this social change (Borg and Kressel 2001: 63). Social fragmentation and disintegration within the clan, as well as outside threats, forces members to align with the urban Arab population and adopt Muslim religious names. Moreover, as Arab national ideologies increase, there is pressure among Bedouin tribes to adopt Muslim names. Clan members seeking to stem this tide, or conversion to popular Islamic names, will perform resistance strategies such as replicating local

clan names. Hence, replicating names reflect an ideological strategy to reinforce local clan identity and fidelity against the tide of non-Bedouin cultural traditions infiltrating their society.

Borg and Kessler's ethnography on the politics of naming and alignment in the Middle East has strong implications for the study of names and identity in ancient Israel. It is true that a comparison between the modern and ancient period is challenging because it is not directly analogous: Israel was not a Bedouin society in the Iron II B-C. However, one must not forget that Bedouin societies interact and share kinship ties with sedentary village societies. Ancient Israel during the Iron Age II period was a polymorphic society in which the urban sector of farmers also maintained ties with their pastoralist, semi-nomadic, and camel herders members. For example, there were several semi-nomadic groups that lived in the arid regions of the Negev highlands (1 Chr. 4:41; 2 Chr. 26:7; Ephal 1982:77,101; Bienkowski and van der Steen 2001). Therefore, Borg and Kessler's findings can be seen as an analogue to the politics of naming and alignment in ancient Israel, especially among refugees who experience social fragmentation. As Israelites were forced to migrate and their clan ties were dissolved, retaining old lineage naming ideologies may have come to the fore as a strategy to maintain Israelite identity. It is expected that, as minorities in a host community, some refugees negotiate their identity by adopting a new name as to avoid discrimination or the power of their clan wanes in the face of new social circumstances. In spite of that, Borg and Kressel's ethnographic observation that replicating names are indexical of an ideological strategy to reinforce local identity and solidarity especially in the face outside threats is persuasive.

As will be discussed in Chapter 5, there are several cases of the replication of iconic names in ancient Near East, and it is my contention that kinship groups gave names that were clan appropriate. With Borg and Kressel, this form of lineage ideology was to reinforce and

promote agnatic solidarity as a cultural strategy. In Chapter 5, I present several examples of replicating names from regions as far as Emar and Ugarit in Syria and among the Lea clans of the Israelite tribes. While it is true that different Israelite tribes practiced their own unique set of naming ideologies, those that appear to recycle names, such as the Lea clans (tribes of Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin), appear to exhibit this trait of agnatic solidarity. We must also keep in mind that we do not have evidence that every family-clan in ancient Israel and Judah practiced replicating names (we find that many times names do not reoccur but with the limitation of ancient textual data nothing more can be deduced). Be that as it may, both naming ideologies (unique name vs. replicated name) are attested among tribes/clans of the ancient Levant. The replication of iconic personal and family names can be seen as indexical of cultural conceptions that reinforced agnate genealogical identity, tribal cohesiveness, and the perpetuation of ancestral heritage.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ One intriguing question is how patronymic groups, with patronymic as indexical of “group association,” fits with the theory of replicating of names when members are not tied by blood. If Israelite clans and tribes were not tied by blood lineage then how are naming patterns affected by patronymic associations model? How can we align a name to tribe if they were loosely tied together? Or how can names be of local provenance if they were not tied by lineage? The fact that genonymic/patronymic are “associations” sometimes unrelated by blood but tied by other obligations appears to have no negative implications for naming patterns. As argued earlier, we know that genonymic/patronymic groups replicated names within the patronymic associations regardless if they were tied by blood; which implies that it is possible that names were indexical of identity negotiations or a way to reinforce kinship or group ties. That is, aligning members to the clan by bestowing a replicated name could have been a negotiation strategy to reinforce ties within, for example, cross-cousin marriages, or non-Father Brother Daughter marriages; or even individuals working in close relationship and cooperation with local clan or patronymic household chose to adopt a new patronymic “association” and common names within the clan.

CHAPTER 4

THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF TRIBES AND GENEALOGIES, AND THE SEMIOTICS OF A SEGMENTARY TRIBAL STATE

This chapter highlights the importance of the tribe as a social category, one coexisting with both Israelite and Judean segmentary tribal states, which is critical to identifying collective identity alignment in Judah during the 8th and 7th centuries BCE. The cultural meaning of the tribe will be defined and kinship will be examined as an enduring and coexisting social structure of the Israelite and Judean monarchies of the Iron II period. Theoretical models from present-day socio-cultural anthropology of the Middle East will be investigated as possibly analogous to tribalism in the ancient Levant. The novel concept of Israel and Judah as polymorphic segmentary tribal states in the Iron IIB-C period will be presented, along with the importance of semiotic structures for tribal genealogies as political discourse in ancient Israel. The notion of tribalism is key to understanding the politics of naming and genealogy in ancient Israel and the way these politics and naming practices were applied as part of Israelite refugee identity in Judah.

4.1 What is a Tribe in relationship to the ‘State’? Middle Eastern Kinship Based Analogies to Ancient Israel

Anthropologists of the Middle East have long recognized that the concept of the tribe is fluid. The English word *tribe* came by way of translation of the Greek word *phyle*, which in turn was equated with the Latin *tribus*, and scholars concede that the concept is vaguely understood and its social organization unknown (Rogerson 1978:87). Anthropological study suggests that the concept of the tribe is vague and in some respects underspecified, and must therefore be problematized within a particular society. A study of the tribe is also a study of kinship; kinship

studies generally acknowledge the inadequacy of the term “tribe” and its theoretical ambivalence (Abu-Lughod 1989; Holy 1996; Parkin 1997; Parkinson 2002). Tribalism, as a sub-topic of kinship, is not universally defined, but is manifested in vastly different contexts and embodied in different ways. Therefore, in order to better understand the tribalism of Iron Age period southern Levantine society, modern agro-pastoral kinship based societies of the Middle East are the best-suited to serve as a basis for comparison. The present-day practices and meanings associated with the Arabic term *qibla* “tribe,” are also useful for an understanding of tribalism in the Middle East. Middle Eastern tribal society is, of course, not to be understood as a unified monolithic entity, and its complexities should not be oversimplified. On the contrary, it must be stated unequivocally that over the last half century, tribalism has emerged as a complex notion that means different things to different Muslim nation-states, is used differently by social agents in different situations, and is more important in some nation-states (Jordan, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Yemen, Oman, Iraq, Iran) than in others (Egypt, Syria, Lebanon). Tribalism as a cultural practice is constantly adapting but also contradicting existing and pre-existing attitudes, ideologies, organizations, and relations (Hart 2001: 1-5).

Early “ethnographic” studies of Middle Eastern tribes came from European travelers from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Classic works by Niebuhr (1799), Burckhardt (1822; 1831), Doughty (1837), Lane (1836), Robinson (1856), and later Musil (1928) represent early elaborations of the Bedouin and tribal communities in Arabia, Egypt, and Sinai, Syria, Jordan, and Palestine. However, in order to truly understand kinship ties in the Middle East, one must begin with W. R. Smith’s *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, published in 1885. This work was particularly influential upon later anthropologists, such as Evans-Prichard. Smith, and sought to find the origins of Arab tribes of the Middle East. In his search for “origins”

and “beginnings,” he observed the contradiction of descent among Bedouin Arabs who were claiming loose kinship ties as “brothers” (1885: 14). On tribes and genealogical relationships, he states,

the fact that the two sections are called brothers is no proof that before its division they formed two patriarchal clans or sub-tribes tracing descent from two brothers germane; for in the language of the Arabs all the members of a tribe are brethren...It appears therefore that the zeal of the genealogists has pressed the word brother far beyond what it can bear (1885: 15).

To Smith, tribes were a “very loosely organized state of society” (1885: 36). On the tribe as primarily a political entity, as opposed to a collective based on blood-ties, Smith labels their organization as “unstable aggregates of fractions of different stock-groups” (1885: 41). That is, according to Smith, Arab tribes were loosely organized into aggregate factions. Smith also remarks that in the Middle East, “aggregations among desert tribes were still more loosely knit together and always ready to break up again into their component kindred groups” (1885: 40). Yet these loose bonds could become more tightly knit together for purposes of defense against outside threats (1885: 228-229). Smith’s study was one of the earliest to point out the tribe as a unit and tribal systems as a very complex, loose, aggregates of fractions. Since Smith’s contribution, anthropologists have grappled with the idea of tribes and tribal systems, with little consensus.

One of the greatest misconceptions and ambiguities of interpretation among 19th century Orientalists like Smith involved the metaphor of blood as the basis of Arab social kinship bonds. Arab kinship terms such as tribe (*qabila*), genealogy (*nasab*), and solidarities (*‘asabiyat*) were more flexible and map differently than Western conceptions of genealogical descent as strictly tied to the literal sharing of blood. Smith writes that “the Arabs throughout the peninsula formed a multitude of local groups, held together not by any elaborate political organization but by a

traditional sentiment of unity, which they believed or feigned to be a unity of blood” (1885: 1). But as Conte points out, “When used uncritically, this seemingly ‘natural’ choice of words lead to confusion as to the idea of kinship and the root meaning of the term ‘consanguinity’. In English, of course, this assimilation might appear self-evident, a mere reflection of elementary biological truths: indeed, the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* defines kinship as ‘blood relationship’ while, conversely, equating blood with ‘race, descent, parentage’ . . . early anthropologists predicated the theory of kinship upon the ancient Roman dichotomy opposing *consanguinitas* and *affinitas*.” (2003:16). For Arabs, however, the conception of agnate identity was different from the European nobility, whose conceptions of kinship were based on the transmission and sharing of the same substance (Conte 2003:17). In the Arab Middle East, blood was primarily seen either a source of pollution or as the life-giving forces tied to the female body. On its own, blood was,

either the medium of sacrifice, or a stain on the collective honour of its (necessarily male) protectors. In contrast, blood flowing in the veins is considered the seat of individuality, of soul, as signified in idioms referring to marks of character and personality . . . The killer of a kinsman ‘cuts the blood’ . . . and thereby ‘cuts [the bond of] the womb’. . . By contrast, the adopted son, elective brother ‘enters into the blood’ (*yadkhulu fi al-dam*) of an agnatic group into which he was not born (Conte 2003:17).

Hence, the unique understanding and ideology of blood in relation to kinship identity and tribal membership was lost site of in early ethnographies of tribalism in the Middle East.

Nevertheless, Smith’s concepts of the tribe would influence later structural anthropologists such as Evans Prichard, who developed his segmentary lineage model from Durkheim. Prichard’s ethnographic publication of the Nuer in Africa (1940) popularized segmentary lineage among anthropologists. Prichard’s segmentary model defined descent by blood and that tribes were organized into balanced segments (in an egalitarian way) without a

king or ruler. This model was advocated because it helped explain how it was possible to “have an ordered society such as that of the Bedouin, with a code of law and conventions of conduct but yet have no written codes of law and no formal ‘legislation’” (Eickelman 1989:32).

Furthermore, this model helped explain how genealogy or the myth of ancestry related to social organization or structure.

At the same time, there were developments in the field, which was grappling with the idea of tribal kinship ties. After the French occupation of parts of the Maghreb, and Morocco in particular, a significant amount of ethnographic research by Europeans take place, resulting in popular anthropological models. As early as the 12th century A.D., Ibn Khaldun developed concepts of *‘asabiya* (solidarity) and *nasab* (origin). The term *nasab* was linked not only to a common male ancestor but to the corporate solidarity, differentiation, variability, competition, and power (Bonte 2003).

In 1904, the French Protectorates in Morocco established the *Mission Scientifique* to gather sociological information on tribal life and map their geographical locations in anticipation of a military occupation (Shoup 2006:129). French military officers, trained in local languages and culture of the day, were installed to supervise tribal courts. One officer in particular, Jacques Berque, who would eventually become a professor in France, would make a huge impact on the ethnographic information on tribalism (Whidden 2010: 24-25).¹¹⁰ In 1953, Berque published his a critical essay “Qu’est-ce qu’une tribu nord-africaine ?” (‘What is a North African “Tribe”?’), which was followed by his 1955 publication of the tribal organization of Morocco, *Structures Sociales du Haut-Atlas* (1978). In these studies, Berque showed that the historical antecedents to

¹¹⁰ Morocco has been recognized for its own form of Islam, and scholars have labeled Morocco as an “Ethnographic State” that was invented by French colonists to reinvent Morocco into modern society (Burke 2014).

the three major tribal groups—the Masmuda, Sinhaja, and Zanata—were very complex and that even any reliance on Ibn Khaldun was suspect, as the latter was removed both in space and time from North African ethnohistory. It became such a challenge to govern tribal groups to the point that the French government could not depend on the tribe as a base for colonial rule (see Whidden 2010: 27). Berque's contribution centered on his understanding that tribal lineages and connections to ancestors were often metaphorical, and that tribal bonds were groups created for specific purposes. The historical onomastic connection between Arabs and Berbers in North Africa were forged by tribal links under specific historical circumstances.

Although Prichard's lineage model was popular in anthropology, ethnographers pointed out several limitations of his segmentation linear theory. Elmer Peters¹¹¹ in the 1960's and Geertz in the 1970's presented several limitations of segmentary concept as a descent system. They observed that genealogy was not always invoked in conflict, lineal descent was often fuzzy, and levels of segmentation were not always even (or orderly).¹¹² Lineage alignments were not necessarily based on bloodlines; as such, bloodlines needed to be separate from lineage (Dresch 1986, 1988, 1989). Ernest Gellner popularized a revised form of Prichard's structuralist model in

¹¹¹ Eickelman (2002:124) points out, "Peters's goal is essentially the negative one of showing that, as a sociological model of "actual" social relations, segmentary lineage theory is inadequate. Thus his article demonstrates that segmentary groups among the Cyrenaican bedouin were not in a "balanced opposition" to one another in terms of numbers or resources in lands and herds. Nor did groups combine as dictated by segmentary lineage theory. Power was unevenly distributed among groups; the genealogical "equality" of groups claiming descent from a common ancestor could mask a considerable disparity of political strength, and tribal leadership did not always occur along the lines indicated by segmentation theory. Finally, significant political and economic links were created through marriage ties and other ties through women, a point already made in the earlier discussion of the Rwala. Yet . . . the various shortcomings and sociological contradictions enumerated by Peters do not directly detract from the importance of segmentation as a culturally maintained principle informing social action in many Middle Eastern tribal contexts..."

¹¹² For a general critique of the segmentary lineage theory, see Kupper 1982; Mundy 1995; Holy 1996; Parkin 1997; Kraus 1998; Shryock 1997.

his ethnographic study of Morocco (1969). However, Geertz's critiqued Gellner's model of a fixed form of tribalism. Both Gellner and Geertz continue to debate this topic for more than two decades.

Other scholars have also grappled with the idea of the tribe. Some have suggested abandoning the term "tribe" all together (see Fried 1975). Usually the notions of the tribe in relation to the state that are forefronted are the dichotomies between structural vs. historical relations, rural vs. urban, or parochial vs. cosmopolitan; these dichotomies tend to rely on oral sources that are unhistorical (Shryock 1997:20). Yet anthropological ethnographic data have debunked these theories (Shryock 1997; Layne 1994). And still other definitions of the term "tribe" in anthropological literature can be found. Because the focus of study for this dissertation is the Middle East, we find ethnographies of the Middle East are most helpful in delineating the notion of the tribe.

More recent studies have abandoned the "lineage" aspect of segmentation and focused more on the "segmentary system" as a whole (Eickelman 1989). This theory describes kinship as an organizational principle of the tribe in terms of shared principles of identity, responsibility, and honor. Based upon observations of what tribal people meant by the "tribe," ethnographers observed that patrilineal descent was not emphasized, though it served as a metaphor for of social organization (Eickelman 1989:127). In ethnographies of the Moroccan tribe Bni Bataw, the concept of *qariba* ('closeness'), "does not necessarily imply real or assumed kinship, even for tribesmen. Closeness flows along a number of lines. It can develop through cooperation with nearby households, mutual herding arrangements, kinship and patronage relations, and other bonds of mutual interest" (Eickelman 1989: 128).¹¹³ Moreover, ethnographers noted that tribes-

¹¹³ One finds this principle illustrated among Beeroth tribes living among the Benjamites. In 2 Samuel 4:2

people did not demand an accurate presentation of lineage ties for “[w]hat counts is who acts together in a sustained way on ritual and political occasions” (Eickelman 1989: 129).

The segmentation principle extends to other practical associations as well. Some have argued that kinship ties are related to access to land and water resources (Marx 1977), shared notions of honor (Dresch 1989), or established through negotiation (Eickelman 1989: 29-53). The idea is that kinship is conceived of “relationships among themselves on the basis of shared common descent and are related situationally to one another” (Eickelman 1989:87). Within the lineage system are hierarchical levels of opposition. Philip Carl Salzman advanced the concept of a “balanced opposition” (2008) in describing the tribal system of the present-day Middle East. Each person falls into segments, because a person belongs to a “row or column.” What was important is not so much the lineage ancestor but who belonged to a person’s group in battle (Eickelman 1989). Regarding the Rawla Bedouin as a segmentary organization, Eickelman notes,

any “segment” of society—small, cooperating groups of close patrilineal relations, tribal sections, and tribes—in ascending order of inclusion, sees itself as an independent unit in relation to another segment of the same section. . . In the cases at hand, this definition of groups by mutual contradistinction is apparent in notions of shared honor . . . not in arbitrary patterns of cooperation and support. “Balanced opposition” implies a moral equilibrium, not one of opposed “social masses” of tribal groups of equal strength. In situations of conflict, it is difficult to determine in advance which names or “levels” of segmentation will be invoked. The principle of segmentation remains fixed but can be applied in a variety of accepted ways. (Eickelman 2002:74)

The segmentary concept as presented by Eickelman is a useful theoretical model for explaining

“The son of Saul had two company commanders, one named Baanah and the other Rechab, sons of Rimmon the Beerothite — Benjaminites, since Beeroth too was considered part of Benjamin.” The cultural principle of “closeness” is important in the study of Israelite tribal ideology because, as evident in this text, many kinship groups could be incorporated into “Israel” because of political and economic cooperation, shared rituals, and other mutual interests.

how the ideology of genealogy and kinship adds meaning to social structure. At various levels of hierarchy, the tribes may split up and tribal ethnic and genealogical re-alignment may occur due to social-historical circumstances such as survival, subsistence strategies, and feuding and external threats. Segments within a tribe may align despite extending from a different ancestor. Consequently, tribal ethnic and genealogical identities can come to be loosely defined (Eickelman 1989; 2001).¹¹⁴

Several scholars, such as Sahlins (1961), Fortes (1979), and Dresch (1989) consider the concept ‘segmentary’ to be more widely applicable in describing what tribes do than the segmentary lineage theory. As Eickelman points out, the two areas in which segmentary lineage theory falls short are 1) its over-dependency on what is observed on various levels of kinship relations, and 2) its conception of relationships exclusively in terms of lineal descent to the point that the cultural principles of honor and political alignments are ignored (2002: 122-123).¹¹⁵

However, some view the segmentary theory as portraying collective identity in essentialist terms. In Linda Layne’s ethnographic study of tribal genealogy and history in a Jordanian village, she points out the problems with pigeon-holing interpretive models into reality of society (such as a segmentary tribal model), which distorts reality (1994: 6- 8, 32). Layne views the definition of social identity of a “tribe” as more fluid, and based on ongoing dialogue

¹¹⁴ It appears that some scholars have not applied this distinction in anthropology between a segmentary system and a segmentary lineage system (for example, some studies on Israelite genealogies by Wilson 1977; 1991; Aufrecht 1988; and Levin 2004). There is no question that ancient Israel was not a segmentary lineage society. There is a difference between segmentary system and segmentary lineage system in that the latter is based exclusively on lineage but the former on relationships. So Israel and Judah were segmentary organizations or balanced oppositional groups in which didn’t align along lines of lineage and descent.

¹¹⁵ In fact, in Eickelman’s introduction to Middle Eastern anthropology the discussion of the tribe falls under the chapter “Meaning and Society” underscores the importance of beginning with the topic of ideology when discussing tribes.

between tribespeople and rulers. In her understanding, tribespeople construct their own cultural identity through dialogue between nationalist sentiments and local urban tribal ideas. Rather than view Middle East tribal organizations as corporate entities, she sees tribal kinship ties based on interpersonal relations.

The consensus among ethnographic studies of Middle Eastern societies is that the tribe is a varied organizational category with different functional, compositional, and political levels (Gellner 1969; Hart 1976, 1981, 1984; Geertz, Geertz, and Rosen 1979; Dresch 1989; Khoury and Kostiner 1991; Joffe and Pennell 1991; Holy 1996; Hart 2000; Bates and Rassam 2001; Eickelman 2002; Parkinson 2002; Abdul-Jabar and Dawod 2003; Salzman 2004; Fabietti and Salzman 2006).¹¹⁶ Ethnographies have shown that tribes contain various levels of hierarchy and symbolism and are activated based upon need. Below I provide several important features of the tribe that relate to how one can conceive of tribes in the ancient Levant.

A tribe can be a cultural and linguistic unit with kinship ties that are real or metaphorical and at the same time be a political unit controlling territories and resources without sharing languages or rituals (Fried 1975). All social and political relationships are conceived in genealogical terms, but allegiances can cut across kinship loyalties (Lancaster 1981).

Tribal identity is not fixed from birth. For example, tribesmen can switch their tribal allegiance for a variety of reasons. Layne draws attention to this problem in her critique of the segmentary model— as if one’s birth, “defines one’s identity permanently as a member of a clearly bounded, easily identifiable group”(1994:6). Thus, an individual can join a tribe through

¹¹⁶ It is acknowledged the scholars listed above have strong disagree amongst themselves. An old anthropological view of the tribe, in the study of ancient Israel, can be found in Gottwald (1979: 798 note 635) statement that a tribe is “ a social-organizational arrangement lacking ranking and stratification.” For the critique of the older socio-scientific perspective of the tribe in 1960s-1980s as an egalitarian society lacking institutional structure with little centralization and an evolutionary step toward statehood, see Porter (2012:9-10).

marriage or adoption or switch an allegiance for reasons that the individual feels is advantageous. Dresch points out that when tribesmen are involved in a dispute or are at odds with each other, they can switch their tribal identity: a tribesmen “who feels himself wronged but is denied support by his tribe may leave and take refuge with the neighboring tribe. His fellows are supposed to retrieve him and make amends. Sometimes, however, he will become permanently part of the set he joins, the moral redefinition being made by the slaughter of bulls” (1990: 255).

A tribe can also function on various levels of subsistence. Marx contends that a tribe is a subsistence unit in a territory (1967; 1977) that is involved in various subsistence strategies (such as agriculture, pastoralism, and nomadism). For example, van der Steen (2013) has documented how Bedouin tribes in Transjordan in the 19th century under the Ottoman Empire were involved in cultivating fields, trade, and herding sheep and goats in the spring and summer, but retreated to the desert during the winter months.

Tribes and states are not mutually exclusive social institutions. In Middle Eastern societies, tribalism is not a secondary step to statehood or in contradiction to the state but is often coeval and coexistent with the state (Eickelman 1989; Khoury and Kostiner 1991; Layne 1994; Shryock; van der Steen 2013). Moreover, tribes and urban populations are not a dichotomous aggregate. Tribal alliances extend to the city populations as well (Mundy 1989). This is an important observation, since many Biblical scholars adhere to the evolutionary model of Israel developing from a band to tribe to chiefdom to a state. Moreover, tribes can be more centralized to constitute a kingdom or state under one leader.

The tribe as a unit of coexisting land-tied and range-tied social structure extends further back in time to the Bronze Age.¹¹⁷ A case in point is the Awin clan of Rabbean tribe, a West Semitic tribe mentioned in the Mari archives from Syria in the Bronze Age. In one legal document concerning the ownership of agricultural land, the extended family of the house of Awin are represented by thirteen “sons of Awin” who are clan leaders. These thirteen Awin clan leaders, however, are divided into “five sons of Awin dwelling in (the city of) Appan” (lines 9–10), who are attached to urban settlement; the remaining eight are nomadic or semi-nomadic leaders of the clan “encampment” of the steppe (Malamat 1962:145-146; Fleming 2004:95-96). Both analogies from the Middle East show the tribe as engaged in various forms of subsistence.

The Hebrew Bible provides some evidence of tribalism that parallels some of the modern Middle Eastern ethnographic data. For example, the Simeonite clans are described as engaged in various subsistence strategies that were more range-tied than land-tied in the 8th century BCE (1Chr 4:38-39).¹¹⁸ The same point extends to references to Israelites living in tents (2 Kgs. 13:5; Jer. 35:6 -7). These examples listed above provide points of contact between tribalism in the Bronze Age, Israel in the Iron II period, and in the Middle East in the 19th -20th century.

Another aspect of tribalism from the Mari is that a tribe may or may not be united by territory. The West Semitic Amorite tribe of the Yaminites under King Zimri-Lim occupied

¹¹⁷ For more recent application of the anthropological insight of the tribe in Iron Age Transjordan, Israel, and Judah see: Martin 1989, LaBianca 1999, McNutt 1999; Routledge 2004; Fleming 2004; van der Steen 2004; 2013; van der Steen and Smelik 2007; Ristvet 2012; Porter 2013. This is not to say that there is general agreement on the concept. Different ideas about the tribe remain in the field of Near Eastern studies.

¹¹⁸ Admittedly, some scholars view this as an idealized account of Simeon (which had long disappeared) by the post-exilic Chronicler (McKenzie 2004: 84.). However, Klein argues that this narrative indicates “that some settlers who claimed Simeonite lineage lived in these sites in the Chronicler’s age and/or that the expansion, connected in one case with Hezekiah, one of the most stellar kings according to the Chronicler, might portend future geographic and population growth by the community” (2006: 154).

several geographic areas, and many times kinship ties were not blood-based but metaphorical (Malamat 1962; Fleming 2004).

4.2 Was Ancient Israel a Tribal Society During the Monarchy in the Iron IIB-C Period?

Understanding tribalism in the monarchic period is an important prelude to mapping Israelite tribal identity in Judah. So the question remains: did the tribal structure continue in the monarchic period and coexist with the centralized government in Israel and Judah during the Iron IIB period? If the tribal/clan social structure endured as a sociocultural practice in Israel during this period, then tribal genealogies and affiliation form an important aspect of identity and can be used to index to tribal identity in the epigraphic record. Space does not permit a full exploration of every scholar who has argued against the coexistence of the tribe with the state. A brief sample will suffice.

Generally, the consensus among scholars is that ancient Israel and Judah in the Iron Age I (1250-1050 BCE) period was an egalitarian tribal society.¹¹⁹ Archaeologists point to the material cultural of the Iron I highlands of Cisjordan as an egalitarian society (for examples of the house styles and the absence of elite burials, see Faust 2013). As the Merenptah Stele suggests, Egyptians conceived of a collective group they called “Israel” as a tribal people (Faust 2006a: 163-165). Under Israelite tribal control, new agricultural highland village settlements emerged in central highlands in the Iron I period. In time, powerful leaders invoking tribal affiliation took on

¹¹⁹ Scholars have debated the structure of Israel as a tribal society in this period. Gottwald’s (1979) ‘peasant revolt model’ viewed Israel social structure as autonomous egalitarian segment lineage society of tribes, families, and households with specific narrow functions based upon analogies from African societies of the 19th and 20th centuries. Yet scholars such as Mendenhall (1983), Lemche, (1985), Rogerson (1986), Fiensy (1987), Martin (1989) have critiqued this model for its narrow categories, failure to properly delineate social levels of Israel, and limited evidence.

monarchic aspirations and, eventually, Israel and Judah became a centralized kingdom. The important question left unanswered, however, is did state centralization and urbanism in Iron II Israel lead to detribalization?

However, several scholars have proposed that the Israelite monarchy displaced and dissolved the traditional tribal kinship networks of the Iron I period. Many view the Solomonic period as the time when Israel tribal structure was broken by a new administrative structure mentioned in 1 Kings 4:7-19. Alt (1913) and Wright (1967) argued that Solomon's system dissolved the tribal system. Albright conceived of an evolutionary model from the stone age with a disjunction between what he calls primitive tribes and civilized nations (1940:84). Nevertheless, Albright (1925:29) argued that David and Solomon organized their "fiscal system on a tribal basis." De Vaux argued that kinship authority and structure of the 'house of the father' was completely transformed in Israel and Judah by the 8th century BCE (de Vaux 1961:23). Reviv posits several consequences of the new monarchic regime that included the break-up the tribal framework, the consolidation of new strata in the kingdom, and strengthening of the urban population (1979: 136-142). Hopkins seems to consider the monarchy as bringing "a disjuncture in the agricultural life of households, villages, and tribes that owes its existence to the different set of agricultural challenges that stemmed from the creation and maintenance of a royal institution" (1985:274). Jamieson-Drake (1991:144) argued for an evolutionary model in which the transition from chiefdom to statehood was based upon ecological factors and the fact that Judah did not achieve full statehood until the eighth century BCE. Frick (1987), Hopkins (1981) and Flanagan (1981) view chiefdom as one of many evolutionary phases of development. Benjamin and Matthews see the evolution of Israel from "villages into Israel as a state" in 925 BCE (Benjamin and Matthews 1993:158). Blenkinsopp (1997:87-88) views the

erosion of Israelite family kinship structure as taking place under the monarchy.¹²⁰ Hence, these scholars contend that the monarchy dissolved the traditional tribal kinship ties in Israel and Judah.

In contrast, several studies indicate that tribes continued to coexist under the monarchy.¹²¹ Stager (1985:24; 1998:149-150; 2003; 63; also King and Stager 2001) along with two of his students (Schloen 2001 and Masters 2001) has argued that neither the royal administrative districts system (1 Kgs. 4: 7- 19) nor urbanization ended Israel's tribal system. As Stager notes, "the territorial entities with boundaries and rights established in part by the nature of their tribalism" (1998:149) inhibited the breakdown of tribalism. The ties that bind kinship groups were not solely based on blood, which is essential to "to secure property rights . . . and to organize food production" (1998:150). Accordingly, Israel was conceived as one whole "family" (*mšpħh* Amos 3:1) and a people (Heb. *'m*) of Yahweh (Stager 1998: 123-176). Other scholars hold similar views concerning the tribe during the monarchy. Halpern suggests that the pre-monarchical tribal and sub-tribal boundaries and institutions continued to function in the monarchy (1991: 11–107; 1996: 291–338). Joffe (2002: 454) sees the continuation of tribal lineages from the 12th century to the monarchic period, because "kinship as an organizing concept...provided an escape route in the event of social collapse." Hence, in contrast to an evolutionary linear development from tribe to chieftain to the monarchy, these scholars consider

¹²⁰ I do not disagree that some form of "depoliticalization" (LaBianca and Yunker 1995:405) took place in ancient Israel as government officials and bureaucrats replaced and sometimes became more powerful than tribal leaders. To be sure, the urban organizational structures that controlled the production, registration, army, and building projects weakened to some degree the power of the local clan leaders, but this has more to do with the wealth and size of clans than the dissolution of tribe as a social category. As Middle Eastern ethnographies have shown, as opposed to some other regions studied by anthropologists, stronger and wealthier tribal groups tend to maintain power within the state.

¹²¹ De Geus does not see an evolution from nomadism to urbanism; but rather saw nomadism as offshoot of settled population (1968: 98)

the tribe as coexisting with monarchy.

4.3 What kind of Tribal Society existed in ancient Israel in the Iron II period: Tribal Kingdom, Patrimonial Kingdom, Patronage State, or Segmentary State?

No consensus has been achieved among scholars who consider ancient Israel to have been a tribal society in the Iron II period. Among the theoretical models that have been proposed, one finds terms such as: *segmentary society* (Wilson 1975; 1977, 18-20, 38-40; 1991; Gottwald 1979; 2001; Coote 2006);¹²² *dimorphic society* (Rowton 1976a; 1976b; 1977; 1981); *tribal kingdom* (LaBianca and Younger 1995; LaBianca 1999; Younger 1997, 1999; Bienkowski and van der Steen 2001; van der Steen and Smelik 2007; Bienkowski 2009); *patrimonial kingdom* (Stager 1985; 1998: 150, 172; King and Stager 2001: 36-40; Schloen 2001; Master 2001); *patronage state* (Lemche 1985; Simpkins 2001; 2004; Pfoh 2009); *secondary state* (Price 1978; Joffe 2002); *segmentary state system* (Stager 1985:24); and *segmentary state* in neo-Gramscian terms (Routledge 2000; 2004).¹²³

Each model has its limitations both analytically and descriptively. Although a full treatment of the debate of tribalism is beyond the scope of this chapter, we must further problematize the notion of kinship relations among the Levantine societies in the Iron Age. Lemche (1985), Simpkins (2001; 2004), and Pfoh (2009) based tribalism in the Iron II period on patron–client relations. Lemche argues that one should substitute the label ‘tribe’ for lineage. Based upon his view of Middle Eastern lineages, the role of patronage is as follows. First,

¹²² Some scholars retain old discounted theories. Kamp and Yoffee (1980:88-89) argue the term “tribe” (based on Mari studies), “seems to connote an egalitarian society (without institutional units of political control or economic specialization), segmentally organized (in which the basic residential units are like each other), with pantribal sodalities (clans, ceremonial societies maintained on a non-local basis), and with a familial mode of production (in which there is no incentive to produce a surplus).”

¹²³

“[t]ribal society is but a metaphor for a society that is not organized as a state” (2013: 238). He elaborates,

the governing structure in traditional Middle Eastern societies not yet totally embraced by a centralized state is not the tribe but the lineage, defined as a patrilinear descent group of some extent. The lineage survives political change (e.g. a shift from statehood to chiefdom and vice versa) and it is dominant on all levels of society. An ideology of belonging to a certain lineage dominates. Reality shows things to be different in that only the well-to-do lineages are politically important. The rest have to adjust their allegiance to a major lineage. This is the basis of the patronage system, according to which members of unimportant lineages look for richer –more influential, mightier – lineages for personal protection (Lemche 2013: 239).

Lemche goes on to outline his model of a patronage state as follows:

By ‘patronage state’, I mean a state organized as a personal possession around a ruling family. It does not have an extended bureaucracy, except to regulate relations between the ruling family –the patrons– and their clients, the ordinary population. That kind of state dominated the area during the Late Bronze Age, and survived as a typical form of political organization well into the Iron Age. . . including personalized forms of relationship between ruler and the ruled, regulated by contracts, treaties or covenants, with a distribution of local law that was neither written nor codified. Patrons were autonomous and such political formations did not need an extended bureaucracy (2013: 307-08).

One problem with Lemche’s model is grounded in theory and narratives of the Hebrew Bible.

The characteristics of his model have not been identified in the archaeological material culture of Israel. Also, his model does not explain the role of lineage and agnate kinship relations and alliances. Lastly, the patron-client model over-emphasizes the effects of the monarchy upon the nuclear family and presents the latter in conflict with the extended family. For example,

Simpkins (2001; 2004), another advocate of the patronage model, argues the following:

The formation of patron-client relationships and the subsequent rise of the clientelistic mode of production in monarchic Judah stood in conflict with the earlier domestic mode of production, which it eventually subsumed under its own functioning. Although the primary productive unit in monarchic Judah continued to be the family, its social configuration was different in relation to each mode of production. Under the domestic mode of production the family in early Israel was configured along extended kinship lines – the *beth ab* and the *mishpahah*. . . With the formation of patron-client

relationships, the relations of production and distribution cut across kinship boundaries. . . The political superstructure of patronage – expressed most clearly, first through the establishment of kingship in Judah, and then through the growth and expansion of Jerusalem as the royal administrative centre of Judah . . . produced a new economic base and ideological superstructure in monarchic Judah by transforming the social relations of production and distribution. This ideological superstructure included a new understanding of the family, conceived primarily as a nuclear family (Simpkins 2004:6).

However, several archaeological studies continue to stress the magnitude of the extended family in both urban and rural areas of ancient Israel. Faust has documented the large rural houses in ancient Israel, which point to the importance of the extended family during the monarchy (1999; 2000; 2003; 2006b; 2011b; 2012). Faust also calls attention to the importance of the lineage economy in the production olive oil during the 8th century BCE in Israel and Judah (2011a, 68-71; 2011b: 255-270). The significance of the extended family is also documented for the site of Tel Halif (Hardin 2010; 2011) and Tell en Nasbeh (Brody 2011). Schloen (2001: 171–75, 181–83; 2015) regards the variation in houses in terms of political hierarchy, in that “patrilocal extended families progressed from the two-generation phase to three or four generations and back again” (2015: 448). Routledge acknowledges the importance of the extended family during the Iron II period, but interprets the size of family compounds as suggestive of more variability in the family lifecycle. He observes that, “[r]eal families and real households experience differential reproductive and economic success, are impacted by mortality and trauma to differing degrees, and vary in their ability to ameliorate internal strife and to successfully hold domestic groups together across multiple generations” (2013: 216).

LaBianca and Younker advance a tribal kingdom model to best explain Transjordanian polities of the Iron Age II period (LaBianca and Younker 1995; LaBianca 1999; Younker 1997, 1999). They define tribalism as “strong in-group loyalty based on variously fluid notions of

common unilineal descent” (LaBianca and Younker 1995: 403). These notions were an organizational mechanism that enabled groups living in the region to cope with supra-regional political powers (Moab, Ammon, Israel, Assyria, etc) and local-level socio-economic needs (1995: 404) extending over a period of three millennia. This view is a detour from the evolutionary model of tribalism common in histories of Israel and Transjordan. Admittedly, the tribal kingdom model is not to be confused as true ‘states’ because the former lacks specific complexities: “the role of kinship relations in such a society is diminished, religious and political authority are typically separate, the ruler usually maintains a standing army and a significant amount of the population is settled in urban centers which function within a pronounced settlement hierarchy . . . [and] a significant amount of ethnic plurality and social differentiation” (1995: 409).

Bienkowski also sees the term tribal kingdom as preferable to segmentary state, as the latter has too many nineteenth-century European connotations and baggage. He describes the tribal kingdom model, based on Transjordan in the Iron Age, as constituting, “kin-based, partially range-tied and nomadic and partially land-tied and settled, with a mixed economy of pastoralism, agriculture, trade, protection and copper-mining, the balance changing according to circumstances. They would have had core areas but moved around, and negotiated movement across areas controlled by other tribes. They had relations with towns, nominal ‘central’ governments, and with imperial powers, but in practice they were independent - although clearly their ability to act ‘independently’ was constrained - and their primary affiliation (‘identity’) was with kin groups within the tribe, not to a ‘king’ or a ‘kingdom’” (2009: 9). Bienkowski bases his model on what he observes of Edomite society in Transjordan during the late Iron Age II period.

Routledge has critiqued both tribal kingdom model (2000; 2003)¹²⁴ and patrimonial kingdom (2004), outlining several flaws and limitations in both the tribal and patrimonial models. He concedes that kin-based organization still existed within the “kingdom” or “state” of Israel and Judah and that in the tribal-state model “state formation becomes a question of changes in scale rather than kind “ (2003: 238). Nevertheless, he cautions that,

there is a rather significant danger in the emphasis on ‘tribal’ continuity in this literature, especially when it is supposedly grounded in environmental adaptation. In particular, “tribalism” is evoked as a static, ahistorical structure that continues because it fulfills a function (ecological adaptation). Yet, as is clear from any number of ethnographies that look seriously at genealogy, marriage alliance and tribal discourse in modern Middle Eastern communities . . . one cannot derive any such straightforward relationship. More importantly, issues of power, ideology and historical transformation, so central to literature on the formation of so-called ‘tribalstates’ in the modern Middle East . . . are lost in the focus on structural continuity in the Iron Age literature” (Routledge 2003: 238).

In its place, Routledge advances a segmentary state model based upon the “the selective transformation and rearticulation of local symbols, metaphors and practices,” which is accomplished by “the direct and daily work of producing and reproducing the symbolic and physical means of domination” (2003: 249). But Routledge’s model is flawed in that he outlines his notion of segmentation in a way that some scholars, such as Bienkowski (2009), contend cannot be indicated archaeologically and is essentialist in describing group identity. It is important to note that the model Routledge advances is based upon his observations of Moabite culture in Transjordan during the Iron II period.

Schloen has drawn similarities and differences between the segmentary state and patrimonial kingdom models (2001: 72-73), but there are a few discrepancies in patrimonial

¹²⁴ Benjamin Porter (2012) also critiques LaBianca and Younker tribal kingdom model.

kingdom model. In the patriarchal house model, all Levantine social structures are understood as functioning under the symbolism of the ‘house of the father’ (Schloen 2001). Accordingly, the *mšphh* was the central power. However, there are contradictions between what this model represents and what was practiced in reality by ancient Levantines. The patriarchal house model is overly static, inflexible, and fails to consider the multiplicity of semiotic relationships among groups. While Schloen highlights the importance of agency in his book on patrimonial households (2001: 16-17, 32-33), his model actually denies agency. I turn to text-artifacts, as these are the only discursive forms left behind by inhabitants of the ancient Near Eastern society, and ethnographic analogies to support my case. First, text-artifacts from the city of Emar in North Syria, an agricultural and kinship-based West Semitic society show that they conceived themselves as governed not by one patriarchal “house” but by a collective kinship group called the “brothers of Emar” (see Fleming 2002). While the patrimonial model works well for many aspects of West Semitic society at Ugarit, it does not for the city of Emar and the agency of Emar society in his theoretical paradigm. Secondly, the patrimonial house model is static and fixed and fails to incorporate the multiple ideological and pragmatic ways female-matriarchal agency were important in Israelite cultural practices (Meyers 1997; 2003; 2013). According to the Hebrew Bible, ancient Israelites did not always conceive of relationships along “patriarchal” lines—many times matriarchal alliances were invoked in marriage and kinship structures (Meyers 2014).

Israelite tribes were segmented according to matriarchal associations (Gen. 29:32-35; 30:1-24; 35:23-36). Matriarchal-inherited land was iconically meaningful in Hebrew inscriptions (i.e. the Samaria ostraca where Zelophehad daughters [Num. 26:33; Josh. 17:3] Holgah [Samar 45:1; 47:1; 66:1] Noah [Samaria 50:1]; note that there are references to widows owning land in an unprovenanced Hebrew ostrakon from the Moussaieff collection [*HITBP*: 570-572] as well as

in 1 Kgs. 17; 2 Kgs. 4, and a reference to Ruth as a land owner in [Ru. 4:3]). Matrilineal pedigrees of Rachel and Leah are invoked in political discourses (Ru. 4:11; Jer. 31:15). Matriarchal ties were critical in expanding political and economic interests among the kings of Israel and Judah (Niemann 2006). The expression “house of the mother” (*bet ‘am*) indexes this concept (Gen 24:28; Ruth 1:8; Meyers 2014). The Hebrew inscriptional record shows that woman owned dozens of seals, which underscores their higher status, wealth, and power in public assemblies in Israelite and Judean households in the Iron Age (Prov. 31:16; Heltzer 1996, 2003; Marsman 2003: 643-658).

The tribal kingdom model of LaBianca and Younker model has its merits as a flexible system. LaBianca and Younker (1995; based on Marx 1973) argue that the tribe is a flexible system of local political organization and not necessarily one involving blood ties (see Eickelman 1989). Through unilineal descent, tribes are able to maintain and acquire habitation areas, land, herds, and water sources. When faced with environmental uncertainties, they revert to a range-tied structure of tribalism in addition to invoking a loose and flexible lineage system of descent (1995: 404). According to LaBianca and Younker, then, two forms of tribalism existed in Iron Age polities: land- and range-tied tribalism. By following food systems as an indicator of social levels of organization, they determined that tribes in Iron Age Israel and Transjordan practiced agricultural intensification when they were land-tied and abatement when they were range-tied (1995: 402). This type of tribal system of organization governed the Iron Age kingdoms of Israel, Judah, Aram, and Ammon, Moab, and Edom. Through unilineal descent, networks of cooperation and alignments were invoked to obtain pasture animals and land.

Most of LaBianca and Younker’s theory of tribalisms derive from Marx and Eickelman’s

ethnographic work. Marx argues that the tribe is mainly a “territorial ecological organization.”

For Marx,

[the] tribe or confederation is usually named after an ancestor, and this seems to imply unity and leadership. But then one realizes that often it has no acknowledged paramount chief and possesses no territorial center or locality in which the leaders of subunits could assemble. Unity exists primarily in the consciousness of its members to whom it is self-evident that their livelihood depends on their gaining free access to pastures, and whose networks of personal relationships often help them achieve this end. Whenever necessary, a number of leaders of the autonomous political groups-but rarely all of them-meet to discuss arrangements for grazing and coordinating exploitation of water sources. They often succeed in reaching agreement, but occasionally they also fail to agree, and then tribesmen rely only on their relationships” (Marx 1977: 348).

Marx states, “Bedouin and other pastoral societies define the tribal confederation as “a loose association of tribes . . . We know that even the historical traditions and genealogy of the tribe changed under the influence of their migration” (1977: 348-99). Accordingly, Marx views the tribe as a flexible association tied to ecology and water resources.

Van der Steen (2004; 2009; 2013), based upon 19th century ethnographic sources, provides several key denominators that define a tribe that are helpful to this study. First, she notes that tribes means something different at different times and places, including Rome, North America, Africa, and the Middle East. They can be primitive or highly centralized. They can be herders or farmers, hostile or peaceful. According Van der Steen, a tribe is a:

segmentary social structure based on an accepted patrilineal lineage system, consisting of families and clans bonded by a system of sodalities or social networks that crosscut the clan system . . . A strong and formalized sense of group responsibility and group loyalty: individual actions reflect on the whole group, and the group is responsible for the welfare of the individual. . . Leadership of the tribe is maintained through a combination of ascribed and achieved qualities . . . Social interaction within and between tribes is strongly determined by the concept of ‘honor’ . . . individual is responsible for maintaining the honor of the group and vice versa (van der Steen 2009: 105-106).

Van der Steen suggests that the aspects that define a tribe include kinship relation and

segmentation, equality, honor, and personal reputation (2009; 2013). The concrete elements that bond tribesmen into segments are sodalities, raiding, rituals, and placing the tribe first above personal interests (2013). Van der Steen's definition of the tribe will be one guide in my analysis of tribalism in Israel and Judah. In the next section, I highlight the ideological concept of honor in the relationship to naming that will be central to my argument below.

4.4 The “Tribe” as an Ideological Category

Having described what a tribe does in the Middle East, it is also important to understand what a tribe means. Eickelman's anthropological study, based on fieldwork on tribalism in Morocco, outlines four principles of tribal identity in the modern Middle East: “(1) the elaboration and use of explicit “native” ethnopolitical ideologies by the people themselves to explain their sociopolitical organization, (2) concepts used by state authorities for administrative purposes, (3) implicit *practical* notions held by people which are not elaborated into formal ideologies, and (4) anthropological concepts” (1989: 127). In applying Eickelman's principles to idea of the tribe in ancient Israel, we note that within each category, the notions of the tribe will vary and the principles do not always overlap. Native ideologies of the tribe fall along political lines of patrilineal descent and segmentation. Therefore, it is recognized that a tribal idiom of kinship is a way of understanding political discourse. Often social position (e.g., those in power) determines how these ideologies are elaborated (because social elites dominate or have a monopoly on what gets to be practiced). The second category of the tribe, from state authorities, is often based upon colonial administrative efforts to subvert nationalistic trends as state organizations seek to dissolve tribal ties in an effort to maintain power and control (for example, this would have been of interest for the Assyrian empire when engaging in colonial rule

in ancient Israel). Thirdly, practical notions of the tribe are based upon domestic relationships within the local group, relationships that center on land rights, water, marriage, and subsistence. Lastly, anthropological concepts, derived by people who are not social participants, are based upon what the ethnographer observes. These concepts will vary among anthropologists as training, theories, and methodologies evolve and anthropological ideas come into conflict with native ideologies (Eickelman 1989: 128-130). In sum, Eickelman's four principles are useful for scholars attempting to understand ancient Israelite or Levantine tribal identity.

Applying Eickelman's anthropological paradigm, Coote (2006) has a most instructive articulation of twelve generalizations of tribalism in ancient Israel and Judah. Coote correctly notes that Israelite tribal identity was embedded in a state setting, and that biblical ideas of the tribe reflect a court ideology (2006: 38; although Israel was not always under state or colonial rule).¹²⁵ Coote's first generalization is that "tribal structures and identities are fluid" (2006:40). Tribes often moved and realigned within Israelite genealogies; thereby causing what scholars recognize as a "genealogical clash" (see Zevit 2001: 622-624). His second is that kinship levels tend to be elastic (2006: 41). Often the term for tribe (*šbt* and *mšpḥh*) overlaps with ideas of clan sector, people, household, and land. Coote's third generalization is that "the ambiguity of kinship levels relates directly to the blurring of the boundaries of kinship functions" (2006: 41). That is, we find that the Hebrew term *mšpḥh* is more central to tribal ideologies, economic function, and practical life than are any other terms for the level of the tribe. Fourth, territories are "not intrinsic to kinship as a political metaphor" (2006: 42). In ancient Israel, tribal territories are not fixed to tribal identity and attempts to do so mainly reflect court interests. Fifth, "tribal

¹²⁵ Some scholars contend that a variety of the laws of the Pentateuch originated in the pre-monarchic period when Israel was a tribal league (Noth 1960; Milgrom 1979; Lambert 1994). Lambert argues that tribal laws and ideologies continued among the prophets.

organization and identity tend to be more sharply defined in the higher levels of organization” (2006: 43). That is, those in power (or above) shape tribal identity and boundaries more sharply than those under hegemonic control (i.e. those below). Sixth, “tribal organization took shape not only in relation to other tribes, but also, and especially, in relation to regional powers or states (2006: 43). Here, Coote acknowledges the coexistence of the tribe and state. Sometimes tribal organizations are formed in reaction to or the result of state power. Seventh, “[t]ribal designations and relations took shape in the interface of tribe and monarchic court” (2006: 45). Eighth, “ethnicity does not automatically relate to tribalism in the modern period and there is no reason to think it did in antiquity”(2006: 45). Because ethnicity is socially constructed and constantly negotiated, the search for ancient Israel “ethnic” identity is fluid and more embedded in tribal ideology than categories of language, religion, or ceramic data. Coote’s ninth generalization is that “[p]olitics explain descent sooner than descent politics” (2006: 46). Patrilineal descent explains political organization more so than lineage. Tenth, “tribalism has no necessary connection with pastoralism or pastoral nomadism” (2006: 47). As discussed above, tribes were land-tied and range-tied. Eleven, “evolutionary views of social development have no place in the description of social change in Palestine from the thirteenth to the fifth centuries BCE” (2006: 47). And finally, “to adopt an instrumentalist approach to Israelite tribalism is not to deny the social reality of tribes” (2006: 47). Coote’s theoretical model gives us a broad sketch of a model of tribalism for ancient Israel and Judah that is generally useful in that it highlights the role of ideology in understanding the representation of the tribe in the Hebrew Bible.

However, there is one area of the segmentation tribal system model adopted by Coote and others that is deficient. Scholars who adhere to or advance an anthropological view of ancient Israel often state that the kinship structure of ancient Israel and Judah was flexible (Patai

1959: 253; Meyers 1997: 13; McNutt 1999: 82-87; Schloen 2001:1, 258, 316 ; 2015; Coote 2006: 40-42; Boer 2015: 82-104). Yet they do not demonstrate the ways in which the structure was flexible (especially archaeologically), merely listing points, gathered from anthropological textbooks, and seeming to form conclusions without providing sufficient details and examples. Admittedly, archaeologists must interpret data based upon ethnographic analogies. They form conclusions, for example, on what constitutes an extended family compound. But what is unclear is how the social agents used kinship ties to their advantage (socially, economically, or politically), thereby making it flexible and changing based upon need and circumstance.

Routledge, in a review piece on household archaeology, aptly describes the problems encountered in a “flexible” concept of Levantine society: “On one hand, it might allow us to recognize that families, houses, and domestic labor tend to be interrelated without dictating this relationship in advance. On the other hand, this same flexibility leaves us without a guide. For example, how do we know a “home” when we see one, and what difference would it make to our analysis?” (2013: 213). Hence, it is insufficient to simply use the label ‘flexible’ as a taxonomy of tribal and household social structure in Israel and Judah.

While archaeological residential structures in ancient Israel are open to debate and interpretation, a more sure foundation to identifying tribalism is the discursive and semiotic aspects of language and naming. Language is critical component of social reconstruction, as it is the closest way to retrieve what ancient social actors were thinking, talking about, and doing. Text-artifacts (i.e. a linguistic resources) are one of the best ways to explain the messy and flexible ways that segmentation was practiced.

4.5 Toward a New Proposed Semiotic Model of Israelite Tribalism

I propose that ancient Israel during the Iron II period was a polymorphic symbolic kinship-based segmentary tribal state. This proposal stems from the fact that there is not “one” form of ancient Israelite society that defines all semiotic social structures and metaphorical relationships.¹²⁶ That is, there is not one organizational model and, therefore, the focus should not be placed on segmentary or political groupings, but rather on the symbolic dimensions of individual agency.¹²⁷ Agents in ancient Israel under the monarchy participated in many forms of kinship allegiance (household, local clan), subsistence (agriculture, pastoralism), forms of patronage, and occupations (artisans, scribes). They could align themselves under the semiotic metaphor of patriarch, matriarch, household, patron, or any other mutual cooperative powers that benefited the person at a particular time in their life. Tribal members manipulated the semiotic kinship structures when it suited their need (for example, the tribal structure could be summoned for sociological or political reasons). Hence, I wish to draw attention to the symbolic dimension of community and political relationships in ancient Israel and Judah and how individual agents used semiotic signs—such as naming—to communicate these (flexible and often contradictory) relationships. For example, changes in individual or group names due to patronage, adoption, or political alliance are signs that communicate flexibility in segmentation and shifts in peripheral group structure.

By kinship, I mean that ancient Israelites under the state conceived of their relationships by the linguistic signs of descent such as: Hebrew *bn* “son of”, *bt* “daughter of”, or *byt* “house of”. That is, the segmentary tribal state was conceived in genealogical terms. Sometimes, in this

¹²⁶Yoffee (1993: 69- 71) opposes interpretive models that categorize Levantine tribal society into a single category.

¹²⁷Preucel (2006) has developed a theory on the semiotics of archaeological material culture based upon aspects of linguistic anthropology.

semiotic relationship, the genetic relation is ostensibly linked to the lineage progenitor. A person can be bestowed lineage membership through mutual cooperation for political and economic benefit to the person (i.e. the Beerothite clans of 2 Samuel 4:2). Ostensibly, the clan joined Israel in its military pursuits and shared economic endeavor.

By the term “tribal,” I mean that human agents in ancient Israelite society defined their lineal, economic, political, territorial, and ideological relationships using the clan or tribe as a symbolic structure. Terms such as “brother” can index non-agnate affiliations based upon patronage and mutual interests. Genealogical ties to the twelve tribal progenitors of Israel were constructed to index a multiplicity of obligations and relationships that allowed an individual to at any time use them to his or her benefit. Again, the ties could or could not be based upon blood ties (the latter being largely a European construct, see Conte 2003).

How tribal structure related to the Israelite tribal kingdom or state is complex. By the term state, what is *not* meant is a monolithic entity that exercises unilateral control and order over territory and people. Aidan Southall first introduced the segmentary state model in his description of the social organization of the Alur of Uganda and the Congo (1956). Alur society was different from other African political systems in that it did not possess the typical characteristics of a primitive or egalitarian society in that a central ruler was in place and yet it was not a ‘state’ in the modern sense of the word. Southall (1956: 248-249) provides six salient characteristics of the segmentary state: 1) territorial sovereignty is acknowledged but limited and central authority functions on a continuum from strong to weak as one ventures further away from to centre to the periphery; 2) there are numerous centers of power and the central government is limited in its control and administration of the periphery (by local chiefs or elites); 3) specialized administrative staff serve at the centre, but it recurs on a reduced scale in

the peripheral administration; 4) the royal center claims a monopoly on the use of force and the peripheral administration retain this right on a smaller scale; 5) there are several levels of subordinates who are organized pyramidally in relation to the royal center, but with decreasing range; 6) subordinate authorities in the periphery are more likely to switch allegiances from one power pyramid or central authority to another. Hence, segmentary states are constantly in flux in size, boundaries, and allegiances. Southall's model has been adopted by other anthropologists and historians, and more recently Southall himself has modified his definition to include ritualized kingship or suzerainty, but still within the kingship mode of production (1988; 1991; 1999). Southall's paradigm (especially ritualized [symbolic] authority and the pyramid structure of independent units or elites in the periphery on a reduced scale) is broad enough to be applied cross-culturally.

Drawing upon other anthropologists of the Middle East (Crone 1993: 353-376), the segmentary "state" in ancient Israel and Judah was a stratified centralized entity collectively governed by a king in cooperation with local kinship/clan groups whose economy was based upon family ties, patronage, and redistribution. The king or central authority had to cooperate with the tribal groups, along with their elders and chiefs, of the regions and territories that he ruled over. Control over distant territories (such as Gilead and Northern Transjordan [Na'aman 1995a; Galil 2000; Ottosson 2001; Hafthorsson 2006; Lipinski 2006]) was difficult without the consent and support of the peripheral districts (chiefs, sheiks, or elites). Bureaucratic control was more evident in the core area (Samaria and Jerusalem) than in the periphery (peripheral clan districts). The segmentary state did not have strict borders, but rather frontiers zones (hence, the fuzzy borders and shifting tribal town lists in Josh. 11-23 and 1 Chr. 3-9). Hegemony was not always achieved by violence; rather consent and persuasion were more common practices. It was

critical for the king to be skilled in the verbal arts in order to persuade and gain the consent of tribal and clan leaders in political assemblies (as evident in narratives concerning Rehoboam's failure to persuade Jeroboam and the tribal leaders of Israel in 1 Kgs. 12: 3-16).

I propose a semiotic model of tribal segmentation, which can be understood as a flexible semiotic structure that follows on a continuum of cooperation/consent/persuasion with local clan (or periphery) on one end and the royal center on the other. The structure fluctuates according to the degree that a tribe is persuaded or consents to either full political independence (on one extreme) or full cooperation (on the other). Each extreme is still representative of tribalism, but is more along the lines of degree and scale of tribalism than presence or absence of it. Tribalism, though flexible, is understood to be semiotic in that it has specific social meaning in specific contexts with groups or individuals. Self-identification with a tribe can be ideological – cultural beliefs have a stronger influence than social life. For example, as Chatty (2010) points out, Bedouins in Syria claim to self-identify as Bedouin, even though they live in cities and only periodically travel with their herds. Chatty also highlights diverse meaning making and ideology for the concept of tribe. For example, Lebanese clans (in describing the symbols of *qaribu* 'closeness'), prefer the title 'Arab' but in Syria, they prefer to self identify with the label 'Bedouin' and not 'Arab.' Hence, social agents recruit different terms, labels, and names as symbolic of their tribal community.

4.6 Semiotics of a Segmentary State: Tribal Names, Genealogies, and Patronage

Segmentation is a symbiotic vehicle used to construct various relationships. Earlier in this chapter, it was established that segmentation falls along genealogical divisions and patronage sometimes cuts across genealogical lines and clan alliances. Language plays a critical role in

segmentation, as it is the vehicle by which persuasion and consent is achieved amongst tribesmen and employed in acts of communication as a cultural sign.

The basis of my model of segmentation in Iron Age Israel and Judah stems from Caton's idea of the symbolic force of the segmentation in the Middle East. Caton (1987; 1990) reviews segmentary debates and suggests a different type of social order: a semiotic one built on persuasion. What Caton discovers is that segmentation lineage theory falls short when describing of all of a tribe's cultural relationships and behaviors. Segmentation is an idealized construct that scholars have grounded in specific (neat) social practices such as lineage, marriage, subsistence, territory, politics and rituals, but they have left out other criteria such as language. Caton (1987; 1990) contends that among Middle Eastern tribes, persuasion is more important than segmentation lineage or division. According to Caton, when one looks into the ethnographic record of what tribesmen are doing politically, they are achieving hegemony by consent and persuasion rather than violence or alignment by division into lineage or sections (1987). Tribes maintain order and balance not necessarily through physical coercion, but through symbolic power in discourse concerning honor. Thus, on the primary level a segmentary system is a symbolic structure governed by concepts of honor, and tribal members fulfill their symbolic goals rather than segmentary ones. That is, tribesmen do not necessarily use corporate grouping because of its practical value (economic-political) but because of its symbolic significance.¹²⁸ The ultimate goal of segmentation is honor, and by extension, honoring the name (Caton 1990).

¹²⁸ This is not to deny the importance of pragmatic needs. In post-collapse societies like Libya, for example, people revert to tribalism to survive. Thus, tribalism is not static form but an ideology that is not in opposition to state but an ideology of practical necessity. Cherstich states, "many Lybians resort to tribal connections . . . because in the current political climate making use of tribal means is the only way to conduct a functional life. In some areas tribal identity is becoming stronger because . . . the Libyan government still is struggling to secure social protection for its citizens" (2014:4).

A secondary level of the importance of naming is its relationship to the concept of honor. Caton observes, based upon Jamous's study of Berbers, that honor is an external sign, one found on levels such as "possession and control over certain social domains," including land and property (1987:90). Caton asserts,

An honorable person among the Berber Iqar'iyyen is one who, for example, possesses land that, if he is to retain his honor, he must resolutely defend against any encroachment by enemies. The segmentary system, therefore, is understood in relation to the honor that is attached to the possession and protection of land: a tribe identifies its honor by ownership and defense of a territory against the encroachment of other tribes; a section of a tribe is endowed with honor insofar as it jealously guards against the possible takeover by rival sections; and so forth, down to the patrilineage and the individual household, each with its identification with plots of land. Thus, it is not simple economic self-interest that motivates the Berber tribesman to guard his territory; what he is protecting is above all its *symbolic value*" (Caton 1987:90-91).

Thus, among the Berber tribes, honor is a symbolic form that is externally signified by protecting one's name and its semiotic attachment to land. Forms of social action that are symbolically meaningful point to the need to move away from utilitarian and Marxist forms of analysis (i.e. its not always about a "mode of production") and focus on other forms of discourse connected to "creation and maintenance of power" (1987:90). In this regard, defending one's property is part of how a tribesman might project honor. By extension, protecting one's land also means retaining the honor of one's name (which is symbolically attached to the land). The correlation between naming and honor is one of the semiotic objectives in my definition of tribalism and provides a possible ethnographic analogy to the importance of clan names in the Samaria ostraca (discussed below) and in ancient Israel in general.

Caton's (1987; 1990) insights on linguistic persuasion and the sub-category of language such as naming help us better understand segmentation and forging tribal bounds (both replicating and renaming). Tribal group naming is an important symbolic form of self-

representation that gives members a sense of belonging and territorially based identity and offers reduced economic risk, military defense, and the governing of external and local affairs. Tribal naming can be indexical of groups that have control and access to pasturage and water sources and, as such, replicating a name is a way to keep control of these resources within a family. On a pragmatic level, a family could decide to be renamed or adopt the name of a power tribe for practical purposes of survival and protection.

It is important to see what tribesmen do with names as they navigate through life's experiences. Names are invoked to assert connections that help people endure life's challenges. Hence, language, and in particular, naming practices, while generally neglected by segmentary models, needs to be incorporated. Filling this theoretical gap is one of the goals of this dissertation. The other criteria of segmentation noted above are certainly important, but language needs to be placed on a more equal footing.

Caton's semiotic model can be applied to ancient Israel and Judah. While scholars often observe that tribalism was flexible, they never seem to identify ways in which this was the case. What does it mean that ancient Israel and Judah was a segmentary tribal state? In what ways was the kinship family household flexible, and what do we know the flexibility of tribalism? What evidence do we have in the material culture that indicates that communal dwellings or larger villages were flexible? Straightforward archeological findings alone can't tell us how people aligned themselves or used a tribe for their benefit, especially in political situations. This is where the ability to analyze the use of language in segmentary politics is important. As Caton has observed, persuasion can be more important in certain contexts than segmentation; unfortunately, we cannot quantify levels of persuasion, because we do not have access to ancient discourses. But we do have access to language or text artifacts with names and administrative

syntax. These forms of discourse are the only available symbolic forms of segmentation, persuasion, domination, and alliance.

Naming functions on a hegemonic and consent level; the naming agent has been given power, and the naming recipient is under obligation or has consented to receive the name. This case is particularly acute with French colonial power in Algeria and Morocco, as noted by Susan Slyomovics (1998) and Hoffmann (2000). The French colonial list required an ID card to be possessed by every Algerian. They found that differentiating between tribal names that were replicated was challenging, so they sought to rename individuals in order to simplify the registration process. By doing so, the naming agent, the French colonials, were the ones in power and able to rename individuals under their hegemony.

The continuity of same-name patterns is tied to honor, hegemony, and consent. Applied to text-artifacts from ancient Israel, the continued use of a clan name as a form of a territorial-based identity (like the Samaria ostraca) indexes a kinship group in power as the naming agent. When we turn to the Samaria inscriptions, we find the clans that shipped the wine and oil collectively owned the land and sent them to their clan representatives who resided in the city capital of Samaria (*HITBP*: 423-497). Furthermore, there is a pattern of name replicating with the clans and their representative segments. In other words, we find that the replicated names in the Samarian Ostraca were clan-appropriate. The fact that seven or eight clans are identified or marked – as opposed to the whole area being identified as under one regional power, with one clan name – points to the principle of segmentary polity at work. Each clan name is one separate segment that is to be reckoned with in regional politics of the Samaria region. Other scholars have failed to emphasize the role of names in constructing closeness, patronage, and alliances in

a household or village community.¹²⁹ In this way, we can see that segmentary politics was a viable semiotic system in ancient Israel. For instance, a semiotic form of segmentation is evident in the Samaria ostraca 13, “In the tenth year, from Abiezer. To Shemaryaw, a jar of old wine. To As[hur] from Tawil” (*HITBP*: 441), and Samaria ostraca Samaria 30, “In the fifteenth year, from Shemida. To Heletz Gaddiyaw. Gera Hanna” (*HITBP*: 456). The Samaria ostraca are text artifacts that recorded the deliveries of shipments of wine and oil from rural clans to Samaria, the capital city of the Northern Kingdom. The emphasis in these text-artifacts is on the names of the clans from where the shipments were delivered to the capital in Samaria (i.e. the clan names Abiezer and Shemida are placed in the first position after the year) and not the recipients of the wine or oil (placed last in the hierarchical position of the receipt register). The deliveries originated not from personal property but communal clan property (the clans of Abiezer and Shemida). Such practices points to the power of segmentary factions, authority, economic order, and rule. In the Samaria ostraca, many of the clan names are identified as the daughters of Zelophehad of the clans of Manasseh (Num. 26:31-33; Josh. 17:2-3). The Manassite clan names in the ostraca indexed a segment or subdivision of power within the political structure of Samaria. To be precise, each clan name in the Samaria ostraca is a political and territorial unit

¹²⁹ Boer’s recent publication of the *Sacred Economy of Ancient Israel* (2015) argues that kinship in ancient Israel was grounded in agricultural production and patronage as a matter of survival. Boer is correct to say that the household was not the basic socio-economic unit when it did not exist by itself, but was dependent upon wider social frameworks (2015: 98). Boer insightfully points out the focus on the family as a discrete unit is a relatively recent interest beginning in the 17th century in Europe, so we may be guilty of exaggerating its importance in light of modern a priori assumptions. He argues that kinship-households were flexible in ancient Israel. He also acknowledges that patronage could cause tension between kinship groups and social hierarchies (king, elders, etc.) who were exploiting their power (2015:108-109). While the kinship and households were flexible, they were also stable at times. Boer misses the semiotic relationships between kinship-houses and role that naming (replication of names as honor) played in stabilizing and indexing (as acts of communication) clan, household, and patron relationships.

that encompasses a district that made up the tribe Manasseh. Dominance is found in the form of naming and individuals used the cultural sign of the clan name as an act of communication. Each shipment ‘from Y clan’ or recipient ‘X from Y clan’ were indexical of the dominant language ideology from institutions of power (i.e. the clan leadership, which was fronted in the order of importance in the ostraca) found in each of the named clan segments or patronymic associations during the 8th century BCE.¹³⁰

A clan ‘name’ indexed a segmentary social unit with a territorial claim, legal rights, inheritance, obligations and power. As discussed earlier this chapter in terms of the case of the agro-pastoral society of ancient Emar, naming was tied to inheritance rights. Ancient Israelite and Judean territorially based identities find expression in Num. 26:53: “Among these shall the land be apportioned as shares, according to the listed names.” The ‘name’ is a segmentary unit that plays a dominant role in exerting political, economic, religious, and marital control. Genealogical alignment (a semiotic practice) and patrilineal descent reinforce this control. The segmentary group provides opportunity for an organization and cooperation to settle disputes, prevent internal conflict, and manage military force. The Samaria Ostraca clan names indexed the divisions, loyalties, and aggregates that were unified at times or were in conflict with each other—each elected a leader based upon their own respective patriarchal tradition. These units played a role in persuading groups in tribal assemblies into settling claims and blood feuds. Thus, each clan name in the Samaria Ostraca indexed a symbol cultural order and, at the same time, was a language-oriented form of dominance.

While debates over Gellner’s structuralism and Geertz’s pragmatic meaning of tribalism

¹³⁰ We find similar cultural orders of power in the patronymic associations that are attested in the Arad ostraca (Arad 49:1–4: Sons of Betzal, Sons of Korah, Son of Gilgal, Sons of Koniah [*HITBP*: 78-79]).

continue, what is important for the questions at hand is determining how naming functions as semiotic system of corporate group structure and individual relationships. I am interested only in the semiotic ties between a name and a tribal identity, irrespective of the social mechanism that binds them— be it agnate, marriage, adoption, or patronage. That is, what is important is not whether or not a person’s blood lineage is “authentic” or fictional, but instead the pragmatic patronymic association of kin and non-kin patrons, and their use of the name to construct their alliances and identity (Gregg 2005; 2007). Ultimately, what matters is not truth (i.e. if a genealogy or relationship is fact or fiction), but categories (i.e. what an individual in society does to construct social relations).¹³¹

A semiotic model of kinship ties views kinship community as symbolic-based upon shared values, beliefs, and ideologies in situated contexts. As signs are arbitrary and must be interpreted in context, semiotic kinship ties present a variety of social relationships as multiple, contentious, and flexible. Agents have the capacity to act in ways that they feel are close to their ideologies and values; describing the web of these relationships under the monarchy can be messy. Outside of violence, power networks were not conceived nor attained through election but by lineage, genealogy, and kinship, (and at times other associations).

In summary, Eickelman and Caton’s anthropological observations of Middle Eastern tribalism provide a model to understand tribalism in ancient Israel. While we cannot expect a one-to-one equation between tribal societies in the Middle East in the Iron Age and the 19th and 20th centuries, the latter have been observable by modern scholars trained in anthropological

¹³¹ For example, this dissertation also does not focus on the fluidity of generational lines (descendants) within a tribe. For example, Ex. 6: 14-26 lists four generations between Jacob and Moses but 1 Chr. 7: 23-27 lists approximately 10 generations between them. Both lists served different sociological functions and interests and these interests do not concern us—many of which are illusive to the modern interpreter.

traditions, and provide the cultural and ideological analogies for a range of possible practices that relate to the ancient Levant. For example, though the ideology of a “tribe” is defined loosely in modern-day studies, names still play a central role as indexes of tribal in-grouping and social relationships. Whether or not an individual is a direct descendent of an ancestor is inconsequential if they bear the ancestor’s name and form kinship bonds through mutuality of being. The roles of names and kinship bonds in the construction of a collective tribal identity are pertinent to understanding Israelite naming, genealogy, and social identity, especially under the monarchy.

How does a semiotic model of tribalism relate to Israelite refugee identity in Judah? First, it means that the tribe was an idiom of political discourse in the 8th and 7th century BCE. Terms of descent—such as “son of X” or “House of X”—were cultural signs of communication; they indexed membership to a political segment or symbolic community. Israelites conceived themselves as belonging to a tribe, a clan, and a household, and when they migrated, many maintained their tribal identity. The genealogical lists as found in the Hebrew Bible are therefore an important ethnographic source for reconstructing Israelite genealogical and tribal identity alignment. This also means that the migration of elite and powerful tribal leaders into Judah can be found in the archaeological record left behind by the upper class society, in particular, in inscriptions in cities where they lived and worked in cooperation the king and local tribal leaders. Below I provide several examples that elucidate this approach.

The next section presents evidence for tribalism as social practice in textual and archaeological sources of the southern Levant. Tribalism and tribal identity were dynamic ideologies, transforming and being transformed based upon the practical necessities of tribesmen. Ultimately, based on the political context, tribalism was the only means of survival in

that the economy, protection, and support was based on the clan. An alignment for or against a tribal state (or centralized power) was informed by an ideology of survival that was based upon both political circumstances and economic stability. During times of political unrest and civil war in the Iron II period, tribal allegiances became paramount, as Israelite and Judean families sought protection, provisions, and peace.

4.7 Textual Sources for Tribalism in ancient Israel during the Iron II Period

Support for the continued existence of the tribe under the monarchy, as an organizational structure and symbol of group identity, economy, and legal recourse in conflict situations, is clearly evident in the Hebrew Bible.¹³² A tribal king would maintain his patrimonial identity while assuming administrative and military control over his subjects. At the same time, his subjects did not relinquish their tribal affiliation to the monarch, but on the contrary, maintain it.

Several explicit references substantiating the claim that the tribe coexisted with the kingdom/state written were written by those in power during various periods of Israel's history. Tribal identity markers are evident in the Hebrew Bible in the recognition of one tribal group living in another one's inheritable land, thus demonstrating the continued importance of the tribe as a social concept (Judg. 10:1; Josh. 16:9, 17:11; Bendor 1996:90). The narrative concerning the illegal royal seizure of Naboth's heritable vineyard by Israel's King Ahab reinforces the traditional legal right of tribally inherited land to remain within one's own kinship group (1 Kgs.

¹³² There are both unambiguous and tacit references substantiating the coexistence of tribes with political empires in the wider ancient Near East during the Iron Age II period. For secondary literature on Aramaean and Chaldean tribes in the Levant and Mesopotamia, see Brinkman 1968; Pitard 1987; Dion 1995, 1997; Lipiniski 2000; Berlejung and Streck 2013; Niehr 2014. On Arab tribes involved with the Assyrian empire, see Eph'al 1984 and Byrne 2003. On tribalism in Transjordan during the Iron II period, see Bienkowski and van der Steen 2001; van der Steen 2004; Routledge 2004; Bienkowski 2009; and Porter 2013.

21: 1-16; for parallels with Emar, see Russell 2014).

The continuation and coexistence of tribal sheiks, chiefs, and collective governance within the political social structure of Iron II Israel is also evident. In the Hebrew Bible, there are references to the assembly of “the elders of Israel, and all the heads (*r ʾš*) of the tribes (*mṯh*), the princes (*nśʾ*) of the fathers’ houses of the children of Israel” before the king (1Kgs 8:1). With regard to political assemblies, we find several references to the “people of the land” as a group of collective governance based upon kinship-lineage ties (2 Kgs. 11:14- 20; 21:24; 23:30). The Chronicler described the pre-exilic period as a time when tribal sheiks (Hebrew *nśʾ* *HALOT*, 2:727), tribal chiefs (*r ʾš* *HALOT*, 3:1166), and clan chiefs (*mšpḥh* 1 Chr. 5:7; 5:15; 7:3) coexisted with the state (1 Chr. 4:38; 7:40). The Chronicler also refers to the pre-exilic period as a time that the southern tribe of Simeon (1 Chr. 4:38-39) and the Transjordanian tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh (1 Chr. 5:18-21) were still involved in raids and peripatetically seeking pastureland for their flocks against non-Israelite semi-nomadic groups (see Johnson 1969:62; Williamson 1977:79). Reference is also made to the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser III capturing a tribal chief from Reuben (1 Chr. 5:6). In addition, the Rechabites, a pastoralist clan that lived in tents before the Judean exile, sought refuge in the urban areas of Jerusalem before the Babylonian invasion (Jer. 35:6–11). In the end, the Hebrew Bible, as a textual source, unequivocally points to the fact that transition from tribal agro-pastoralist society to tribal kingdom was more a change of scale than of kind.

4.7.1 Terms for the Tribe under the Israelite Monarchy

Other textual references in the Hebrew Bible frame the discussion of the tribe as a primary social-territorial-organizational building block. Israel and Judah, in the Iron II period,

was primarily conceived as divided into several subdivisions of kinship under the tribe. The tribe consisted of the subtribal units of the clan (*mšpḥh*) and the household (*byt ʾb*) (Josh. 7:18; I Sam. 10: 20).

The Hebrew word *šbt*, whose referential value encompasses “tribe” or “clan” in Iron II Israel, also designated a territorial area (Deut. 34:1; Judg. 21:5,8; 2 Sam. 20:14; Rogerson 1978; Kallai 1986). When an Israelite would asked, “Of what city are you?” the response included a reference to a tribe, “Your servant is of one of the tribes of Israel” (2 Sam. 15:2; Bendor 1996:88-89). Hence, in pre-exilic times, the indexical of value of “city” as a settlement within a “tribally” designated area was deeply embedded in ancient Israelite cultural perceptions.¹³³

The tribe often appears connected with the phrase “twelve tribes of Israel” (Gen. 49:28; Ex. 24:4; 28:21; 39:14; Ezek. 47:13). The twelve tribes are descended from the four matriarchs (Leah, Rachel, Bilhah and Zilpah) (Gen. 29-30). The Israelite tribes are divided into twelve tribal boundaries (Josh. 15:20; 16:8; 19:8, 23, 31, 39, 48), or administrative districts (1 Kgs. 4:7-19). There are references to the twelve tribes in covenant ceremonies (Deut. 27:12–13), poetic compositions (Gen. 49; Deut. 33; Judg. 5, see de Moor 1993; 2000; Kallai 1997, De Hoop 1999), and eschatological visions (Ezek. 47-48).¹³⁴ It appears that the twelve tribes remained part of Israel’s collective consciousness from the monarchy to the exile (Weiseman 1985; Oded 2007).

Most importantly for our study, the tribe was also a kinship entity that one could trace via descent during the Iron II period. The notion of the tribe played a large role in Israelite self-

¹³³ Others like Mendenhall (1976: 135-136) see the term ‘tribe’ as an administrative-residential unit under a *naši* who is sacrosanct (Ex. 22: 18).

¹³⁴ Based upon the tribal saying list of Deut. 33, Sparks (1998: 270-271) argues that by the 8th century BCE Israelite identity was already shaped into an association by genealogy and geography of common territory and progeny of an eponymous ancestor.

understanding, and numerous texts tracing tribal descent in the Hebrew Bible underscore the importance of tribes during the monarchic period (Gen. 46; Num. 26; 1 Chr. 2-9 from the tribe to the clan to the household). Although ancient Israel was conceived as one whole “family” (*mšpḥh* Amos 3:1), on a broader level, genealogical kinship ties were also symbols of political alliances. Genealogies expressed not only blood ties but also social networking ties. Regardless of the complex literary and historical development of Israelite genealogies, or even when these lineages were fictive (Bendor 1996:89; McNutt 1999:166) the tribe was socially relevant and meaningful in constructing one’s identity.

Bendor makes five claims about the tribe during the period of the Israelite and Judean monarchy (1996:92). First, the tribe was the term by which a territory and administrative was designated; second, the tribal name served to identify a population living in the area; third, the population living in the tribal area held common affinities such as notions of common genealogical descent and even distinguishing features of language (Judg. 12:6); fourth, rituals were maintained at the tribal level by the population living in the territory; and fifth, the tribe supplied support for the *mšpḥh* and a structure for its *byt ʾb*. Therefore, the tribe served as a type of superstructure for the patrimony of the lineage and household. All the examples listed above reinforce the idea that the tribe had more than simply a territorial relevance under monarchy, and in fact impacted wider cultural, social, and ideological practices.

4.7.2 The Clan and Father’s House Under the Monarchy

One important segment (or secondary section) of the tribe under the monarchy was the clan. The clan, Hebrew *mšpḥh*, played a more central role in Israelite life than the tribe (Bendor 1996: 31, 91-92; Halpern 1991; 1996; Levine 2003). The clan was basis of all social, economic,

and political action and was more significant in daily life than the super-tribal structure.

In the clan section, land was kept within the clan group, and endogamous marriages took place. An example of clan-based property rights or inheritance is evident in the Book of Jeremiah, when in the 7th century BCE, Jeremiah fulfilled his duty to redeem his uncle's land in Anathoth. Though Jeremiah was an urban priest, he was still obligated to redeem his family's rural estate (Jer. 32; see Levine 2003: 452).

The clan was the source of judicial, cultic, and military activity. There are several examples in the Hebrew Bible in which the clan had a judiciary, and not the tribe (Bendor 1996). Moreover, the clan, and not the tribe, had an annual sacrifice (1Sam. 20:6; van der Toorn 1996:204; Halpern 1996:297). The military census was based upon male descendants by clan genealogy in their villages (1 Chr. 7:5, 7, 9, 40; 9:22). Tribal identity in this time period came to primarily refer to areas where the clans were living in those territories in Israel and Judah. Therefore, when reference is made to tribal genealogical identity by ancient Israelites of that time, the reference was actually to the subtribal units of clan and household.

4.7.3 Archaeological Indicators of Clan Social Structure in the Iron II Period

From an archaeological perspective, the tribal social structure (clan and extended family) continual existence in the Iron II period is evident. For example, domestic residential patterns demonstrate that both tribe and clan were enduring social structures. Household archaeological studies have generated considerable interest in understanding the social dynamics of kinship structures (Yasur-Landau, Ebeling, and Mazow 2011). The residential patterns of rural villages of the Iron II period in ancient Israel show evidence of extended families or clans (Faust 1999; 2000; 2003; 2006b; 2011b; 2012). Generally, scholars differentiate between nuclear families and

extended families with multiple family units. The former were smaller than the latter (Bendor 1996: 31–46; van der Toorn 1996: 197; Perdue 1997: 175–76; Albertz and Schmidt 2012: 21–23). But Schloen (2001: 141; 2015) argues, and correctly so, that there was no urban-rural dichotomy; joint family households resided in both urban and rural sectors of society. Lastly, Faust (2000: 29–30; 2012) distinguishes two types of “families”: larger subtribal units living in several parts of a village, and smaller families, who lived together in smaller units.

Dever estimates that larger village or rural settlements with a size of circa 925 to 1,300 square feet “translates into a family size of nine to thirteen, or a multiple-generation extended family” (2012:154). Dever goes on to say,

Such larger families would have been better suited to an agricultural lifestyle. The smaller houses average about 485–865 square feet, giving us a typical “nuclear family” of from five to nine, typical or slightly larger than estimates based on ethnographic data (above). These smaller houses may reflect less cohesive families, where people had probably migrated to the urban centers; we may also be dealing with restricted space for construction within the town walls” (Dever 2012:155).

However, one must exercise caution in correlating the size of domestic residences with the size of families and clans (Routledge 2009; 2013; Schloen 2015).

In ancient Israel and Judah, there were three- and four-room pillared buildings; this subtype likely housed extended families. Stager (1985:18–23), Halpern (1996:299–300), and Holliday (1995) have shown the Israelite four-room or pillared domestic houses from Iron I period to the 6th century BCE as residential quarters of the extended family. On the one hand, Faust argues that the difference in size between residential patterns in urban versus rural areas indicates a difference family structure: nuclear vs. extended family (Faust 1999:233–52; 2000:17–39; and more recently Faust 2012:111, 163). However, Schloen (2001: 51, 167–168), Routledge (2008), and Brody (2011) view the difference in domestic residential patterns as

having more to do with the wealth and status of patronymic groups than extended vs. nuclear family. Vanderhooft's (2009) analysis of the kinship term *mšpḥh* shows that clans can vary in size. Irrespective of the disagreements among scholars regarding the size of families in urban and rural areas, the major point is that patronymic clan associations were still practiced, and tribal ideology pervaded both urban and rural sectors. The impact on our study of Israelite naming is this: the residential patterns show that tribal clan and patronymic lineage groups were an important idiom of identity during the Iron II B period.

Another indication of tribalism during the Iron II period is evidence of clan-based feasting. In the early Iron II phases of Tel Dan Area T Stratum III, Greer discovered a less-regulated, clan-based feasting in the courtyard where the central altar was located (2013: 121). The courtyard was spacious, and held communal gatherings and feasting. The variety in the form, quality, and style of cooking and eating vessels in the courtyard indicated for him "a less regulated atmosphere" in which clans brought "what they had in their pantry at home, rather than receiving standardized vessels from a centralized power. The relative absence of large serving vessels, too, fits with such a reconstruction: family groups gathered around their cooking pots and served their stewed sacrificial meat directly into individual bowls, rather than into vessels used for mass distribution in a more regulated environment" (2013: 121-122). However, in the latter part of the Iron II period, cultic structural changes begin to emerge in the courtyard. For example, Davis notes that in stratum II, dated to the 8th century BCE, a temenos wall was erected to cord off and restrict access to the altar and priests, thereby indicating more spatial hierarchy (Davis 2013: 91-93, 95). "Thus, the evidence of communal feasts and increasing regulation may suggest that traditional, clan-based features, perhaps hold-overs from premonarchic local shrine practices, persisted alongside of more regulated Yahwistic features in the Iron II," asserts Greer

(2013: 123).¹³⁵ Hence, at Tel Dan, clan-based feasting continued as a cultural practice in the Iron II period.

Some scholars view the extended family or patriarchal joint household as the basic unit occupying the houses in both rural and urban settings in the Iron Age Periods in the ancient Near East (Schloen 2001: 135, 167-168). The extended family was affected by the “household life cycle,” such as marriage, fertility rates, mortality, etc. (Schloen 2001: 135–136). Generally, extended family settlements are identified in large villages, such as Deir el-Mir and Kh. Banat Barr in western Samaria (Faust 2006). In these larger settlements, the economic organization was under four or five extended family lineages (Faust 2011: 265). Turning to the urban sector, Brody has recently found evidence for the extended family units in an urban context at Tell en-Naşbeh (Biblical Mizpah). According to his findings, three nuclear families shared urban household compounds in this city (2011:254). Even Faust acknowledges that large urban houses were where the wealth lived and “housed extended families during the Iron Age” (2011: 257).¹³⁶

Evidence of extended family compounds in Israel, dated to the 8th century BCE, has been discovered in western Samaria. According to Dar, a walled rural settlement with communal wine, an olive press, and a wine cellar was discovered in the foothills of western Samaria (Dar 1986:13–73; 1992). Other farmsteads and rural dwellings have been discovered and analyzed by Faust; they date from the 8th century BCE to the Hellenistic period (2006). If the rural communal dwellings dated to the 8th century BCE were inhabited Israelites (Finkelstein 1978; 1981; Magen 2004), then they point to importance of clan segmentation as a sociocultural order that extended

¹³⁵ Some have advanced the idea of three levels of religious life in ancient Israel during the Iron II period: state, family, and local (see Albertz and Schmidt 2012). Others single out the levels of the father’s house, the clan, the tribe, and the people (Zevit 2003: 231).

¹³⁶ Faust (2011) identifies three economies in ancient Israel and Judah: urban household (lineage), state, and royal economy.

before and after the fall of Samaria. They also shed light on the role of the lineage economy in the production of olive oil during this period (2011b: 255-270).

At the same time, household shrines have been identified with extended family traditions. Meyers enumerated household shrines Tel Masos, Tel Fara'ah North, Beersheba, and Tel Halif (2010: 118-34). Dever (2005: 11-125) identifies shrines at Megiddo (room 2081), Ai (Room 65), Tel Rehov, Samaria, Lachish, (Room 49), and Tell Beit Mirsim. At the 8th century BCE site of Tel Halif, a small household shrine was discovered with dressed stone offering stands and a pillar-base figurine (Hardin 2010; 2011).

The multi-chambered tombs in the Iron II B period are another indicator of clan lineage ideologies (Fantalkin 2008; Faust and Bunimovitz 2008; Osborne 2011:51-54; Faust 2012: 32, 71-72; Yezereski 1999, 2013). At Tel Halif, twelve houses were discovered, as well as twelve tombs around the site. According to Borowski, every family had a bench tomb, and he believes that there were more than 20 families in town (2007; 2013). In describing the amount of internments per tomb in Judah during the Iron II period, Halpern suggests that some tombs might contain over 200 interments, underscoring the idea that the clan section shared the tomb (Halpern 1996:297; but he does not specify what generation). It is evident from textual sources that a father's house could be prolonged to the fourth regeneration (Ex. 20:5; 34:7; Num. 14:18; Deut. 5:9; 2 Kgs. 10:30; 15:12); therefore, tombs were multigenerational. Hence, during the monarchic period, a tomb was shared by the clan section and was symbolic of ancestral and generational continuity, permanence and clan identity (Faust and Bunimowitz 2008: 158).

4.7.4 Tribalism in Hebrew Inscriptions on Artifacts from the Iron II Period

Segmentation under the tribe, clan, and extended family, as a social classification system under the monarchy, is discursively represented in Hebrew inscriptions. The writers of the Samaria Ostraca, as text-artifacts written from an Israelite perspective, used forms of address such as classificatory and descriptive kin names that index notions of insider and outsider boundaries (Dobbs-Allsopp et. al. 2005: 471-472). For example, in Samaria ostraca 27 an individual named Baala is addressed by the label “the Baalmoeconite” (line 3), linking him to a city located in Transjordan (Dobbs-Allsopp et. al. 2005:454; Ahituv 2008:286).¹³⁷ Similarly, in Samaria Ostraca 51 line 3 an individual by the name of Aha is addressed as *hyhd* [y] “the Judahi[te].” Although the ostrakon breaks off after the *daled* (and the final [y] is missing), the fact that the name “Judah” is prefixed by the definite article and suffix *yod* indexes this person as: (a) an outsider to the local Samaritan community; (b) belonging to the tribal kin group of Judah; and, (c) aligned with a nation/tribal kingdom outside the political territory of Israel.¹³⁸ By contrast, in Judean Hebrew inscriptions, the name “Judah” is used without the social classificatory system of a definite article /h-/ or the gentilic suffix /-y/. In Judean inscriptions, the name “Judah” is an index for the leading tribe of the southern kingdom in the late seventh

¹³⁷ It must be noted, however, that there is not a general consensus among scholars of the location of Baal Meon in the Samaria ostrakon (Schloen 2001:164; Niemann 2008:262). If Baal Meon is the city belonging to the tribe of Reuben, it came under Moabite tribal control from the 9th century BCE onward (see KAI 180:9; Jer. 48:23). One could argue the clans living either in the city or in its vicinity are synonymous with the city. But this does not answer the question of why a Moabite from such a far away location would be entrusted to deliver a shipment to the Samaria capital when a local person, loyal to the clan, could have done so (even if he was a merchant passing by the area). It is likely possible that Baal Meon was a local Manassite city in Helek (Niemann 2008:262).

¹³⁸ There is no consensus on the location of *yhd*[?]. There was a city named *yhd* allotted to the tribe of Dan (Josh. 19:45). Yadin suggested that *yhd* refers to a village of Samaria identified as Khirbet Yahuda (see Dobbs-Allsopp et. al. 2005: 471-472; Ahituv 2008:304). For *hyhwdym* as indexical of a member of a national political community *in* contrast with Aram and Chaldea, see 2 Kgs. 16:6; 25:25. On gentilics in ancient Israel in general, see Revel (1996).

century BCE (Arad 40:13) and as a tribal geographical territory (Khirbet Beit Lei 5:2).¹³⁹

Hence, is evident that the same name, presented differently with and without the gentilic marker, helps us see boundary marking, and in-group or out-group status for the referent.

Another example of the discursive indexes of the continued coexistence of the tribe-clans within the Israelite monarchy is the use of clan names in the Samaria ostraca (mentioned above). Seven families in the genealogies of Manasseh appear as place names in the ostraca (Josh. 17:2-3; Num. 26:30-33). The clan names on 68 ostraca correlate well with the Manasseh genealogies in Joshua 17: Abiezer, Helek, Asriel, Shechem, Shemida, Noah, Hoglah, and Tirzah.

One semiotic point that often gets overlooked is that tribal clan names in the Samaria ostraca that pertain to ownership of vineyards and land tenure index a particular social structure. Why do the tribal clan names Abiezer, Helek, Asriel, Shemida, Noah and Hoglah (from Hephher), as opposed to personal or royal name markers, appear in the scribal registers of Samaria in specific contexts describing the origin of the wine and oil shipments? One answer lies in the fact that the tribal clan was the basic unit of agricultural subsistence. Another answer stems from the fact that land, as an aggregate, was collectively owned. There were no estates mentioned in the Samaria ostraca that were individually owned.¹⁴⁰ Land tenure was held in communally held tribal estates (much like at Mari and at Emar). In each ostrakon concerned with wine or oil shipment from estates, the clan names were corporate lineages: the rights and obligations to the land were held in common or collectively. Here, names are symbolic indexes

¹³⁹ The nomenclature for clan 'houses' is evident in royal titles such as "house of X" in Aramaic and other Northwest Semitic languages (Rendsburg 1995). In eyes of Assyrians, Israelites, and Arameans, the tribal system was still a category of political affiliation (Arameans tribes labeled Bit Agusi, Bit Adini Syria, Bit Hazael and in North Palestine by the titles Bit Humri and Bit David).

¹⁴⁰ I take the reference to the "vineyard of Yehaweli" in Ostraca 55 and 60 to be a clan name even though it is not attested in the Hebrew Bible.

of tribal clan social structure in the Israel.¹⁴¹ That is, we not only learn that clans were the referent for land ownership but they were also the basis of oil and wine economic networks.

The Samaria Ostraca provides a vista into the social relevance of the subtribal unit and the power of local clan elites within the Israelite monarchy (Niemann 2008). The clan names mentioned in the ostraca indicate that the traditional pre-state tribal boundary system was preserved under the structure of the monarchy (de Geus 1976: 138-9; Lemaire 1977: 55-65; Aharoni 1979: 356-68; Stager 1985: 24; Dearman 1988: 122; Rainey 1988: 71; Borowski 2003: 82). According to Aharoni, the Samaria ostraca provide “illuminating evidence for the existence of the ancient clan divisions that had maintained their integrity even late in the Monarchial period ... the agrarian social structure had continued to prevail” (1979:367). The reference to rural clans in the ostraca indexed the way urban and rural Israelites under the monarchy conceived of links between the linguistic forms (old clan names) and the lineage identities in tribal territories and social structure. These text-artifacts index how the Israelite state imagined the perceived iconic and symbolic relationship between social groups living in the village periphery of Samaria and their ancestral clan affiliation.

Additional inscriptional support for the continued coexistence of sub-tribal units in the Judean monarchy is evident in the Gibeon jar handles. The city of Gibeon is located 9 km north of Jerusalem and was a major center of wine production. Over 62 incised inscriptions on storage jar handles (discovered in the water shaft) refer to containers of wine installations in Gibeon. The poor writing execution on the handles seem to indicate that professional scribes did not write

¹⁴¹ While Genesis 46:8-26 lists segments of Manasseh as “sons,” Numbers 26 identifies these segments as “clans.” Why the difference in terminology? Gottwald (1979:267-269) argues that this confusion points to the fact that subunits and subdivisions of the tribe were variable. Another factor may be that the latter appears to be concerned with land inheritance but the former is not. Since the land was communally owned, it makes sense in this context to use the term “clan”.

them. Most scholars date the jar handle inscriptions to the late 8th-7th century BCE (*HITBP*: 167-168). Some jar handles contain inscriptions of the destination (Gibeon), the clan name Gedor, which belongs to the tribe of Benjamin (1 Chr. 8:31; 9:37), and the names of owners, managers, or officials (*HITBP*: 169-172; Ahituv 2008:218). For example, Gibeon jar handle 1 reads: “Gibeon. Gedor. Azariah” (*HITBP*: 169-170). The identity of wine installations in Gibeon by the Benjamite clan name Gedor (and Demsky [1971:22-23] also considers Nira’ as a clan name) accentuates not only the importance of the clan unit as a form of economic organization under the monarchy but also the sub-tribal name hierarchy mapping onto social hierarchy (i.e. the components: city → clan name → manger/owner maps a social hierarchy of the collective clan as first in the symbolic order of importance).

Sub-tribal kinship idioms are also used in Judean Hebrew Inscriptions when referring to military units. Inscriptions from the military fort of Khirbet Uza use the Hebrew term *mṯh* ‘sub-tribe’ or ‘clan’ as a habitual practice in describing the social category of military ranks: PN *qṣyn mṯh gdl* “PN, leader of a tribe, a Giddelite”¹⁴² (nos. 23:3, 24:2; *HITBP*: 530-534; Beit-Arieh 2007: 161: “Leader of the sub-tribe (clan) Gadli”). In the context of military and tribal administrative registers in the Hebrew Bible, the Hebrew word *mṯh* means “tribe” or “sub-tribe” (*HITBP*: 529-530; Beit-Arieh 2007: 162) and is used in the expression “heads of the tribes (*mṯh*), the princes of the fathers’ *houses* of the children” (1 Kgs. 8:1; *HALOT* 2:573). The word *qṣyn* is part of the political lexicon that describes military or civil tribal leaders (Judg. 11:6, 11, Mic. 3:1) and leaders of military units (Josh. 10:24). The taxonomy of segmentation (linking semiotic form and contextualized meaning) in this military register from Khirbet Uza is: PN +

¹⁴² Both Hebrew words *qṣyn* and *mṯh* are attested at Khirbet Uza for the first time outside of the Hebrew Bible, as well as appearing together for the first time. The name *gdl* is possibly connected to the “sons of Giddel” family mentioned among the returnees from the Babylonian exile (Ezra 2:47, 56; Neh 7:49, 58).

Title –Tribe + Clan Name (with gentilic marker). Hence, images of the social order of military hierarchy and rank in Judah are classified in terms of tribal and clan origin.

The fact that the term *mṯh* is used in a Hebrew ostrakon from the 7th century BCE underscores the tribe as a relevant social category within the Judean monarchy during the Iron IIC period. Local understandings of tribalism were constantly shifting and, at times, contradictory, as new terms overlapped with old terms, which were dying out. The complexity of assigning terms to social categories can be seen when comparing the West Semitic term “people” in the Mari archives of the Bronze Age written in Akkadian to the Hebrew term *gwy* of the Iron Age, meaning “nation” (Malamat 1962).¹⁴³ But this is not the case with the term *mṯh* in the Khirbet Uza ostrakon: there appears to be a distinction between *mṯh* and *šbt*, the two words for ‘tribe’ that frequently appear in the Hebrew Bible. One theory is that in the Hebrew Bible the term *šbt* refers to the supra-tribal unit in the monarchic period—such as the tribes of Benjamin and Judah— and *mṯh* (Num 30:1) refers to a smaller segmentary group that maintained a cultural order of kinship and lineage (Beit-Arieh 2007: 167).¹⁴⁴ Another theory, advanced by Johnstone (1969: 312), is that the term *mṯh* in the Book of Joshua (i.e. the military conquest of the Settlement Period) “describes a tribe in the actual act of settling down. For it is *maṭteh* that is the

¹⁴³ While the West Semitic term *goy* is available in both Amorite and ancient Israelite cultures, the codability is different in each culture. This difference underscores how important it is to recognize that distinctions existed in ancient Levantine cultures between words of the same root that were available in both cultures, but had a different codability. David Hart (2001) has recognized that in the modern Middle East tribalism constantly evolves: from place to place, social structure to social structure, and nation-state to nation-state. Hence, the idea of tribalism in different parts of the modern Middle East can only be understood by examining local uses in context. As noted in Chapter 1 in comparing the cultures of Syria and Lebanon, social agents in the tribal cultures of Syria view the concept of a tribe and ‘Bedouin’ from their particular circumstances and these ideas are at times contradictory to neighboring tribal cultures in Lebanon, which avoid Bedouin tribal categories and align with the term ‘Arab.’

¹⁴⁴ The terms *šbt* and *mṯh* have root meanings that are associated with “staff, scepter” (which expands to “tribe”) and develops to mean “the scepter of authority” in tribal communities (*HALOT*, 4:1388).

term used to refer to the tribes when their allotments and the boundaries of their settled territories are described,” but *šbt*, “is the preferred term for use in reference to tribal movement and migration.” Accordingly, notions—with specific social meanings in the military context—that lie behind the term *šbt* are migration and displacement and for *mth* it is the idea of settlement. Based on this theory, the use of term *mth* in the Khirbet Uza ostraca is appropriate since the Gadli clan of Judah was not displaced, but settled in their territory during the 7th century BCE. The use of a tribal kinship idiom to index military organization in the ostraca from Khirbet Uza underscores the perduring tribal structure of Judah during this period as well as the social role of clans as a military unit that could be mobilized into segments during conflict. In other places in the Hebrew Bible, the *’lp* ‘clan’ is the sector of military recruitment during wartime (Num 10:4, 9; Judg. 6:15; Amos 5:3; Mic. 5:2), but in the Khirbet Uza ostraca it is the *mth* ‘tribe’ that functions in this capacity.¹⁴⁵ Listing military officers according to tribe and clan name (as semiotic forms of group membership) shows that the segmentary tribal system was still in place in the late 7th century BCE.

The stylistic feature of including three and four generations of one’s genealogy on seal legends and in narratives— a practice that individuals performed as members of the Judean court during the late 7th-6th century BCE— underscores the importance of clan genealogy in the late Judean monarchy. On several epigraphic Hebrew seal legends and in the book of Jeremiah, the name of an extended family member’s genealogical reference is included. For example, a seal from Arad (Stratum VII late 7th- 6th cent. BCE) reads: *brkyhw bn [.y]hw bn šlmyhw* “Belonging

¹⁴⁵ Cross (*apud* Nadelman 1989: 129) hypothetically reconstructs, among one of many possible readings, the following on a late 7th-6th century BCE engraved inscription on the shoulder of a pithos from Jerusalem: *šr h ’lp*. If *’lp* means military unit of a clan/tribe (*HALOT*, 1:60), then the inscription could be read: “Chief of the Clan.” If this reading is taken seriously, which is highly uncertain, then the *’lp* functioned also as a sector of recruitment for the military in the late Judean monarchy.

to Berekiah, son of [xxxya]hu, son of Shelemyahu” (WSS 111:1–3). A late 7th century BCE bullae discovered in an administrative building from the City of David reads: *yhwkl bn šlmyhw bn šby* “Yehukal ben Shelemyahu ben Shobai” (Mazar and Ben-Arie 2015: 311 no. B9). Another bullae from the City of David included the second-generation patronym, but the names cannot be deciphered. The theophoric suffix *-yhw* appears on all three names: [. . .]yhw b[n . . .]yhw b[n . . . y]hw (Mazar and Ben-Arie 2015: 327 no. B37).¹⁴⁶ In the book of Jeremiah, a Judean prophet from the late 7th -6th century BCE, the inclusion of the second-generation patronym as a discursive practice occurs six times.¹⁴⁷ One person is identified with by four generations: Jehudi, the son of Nethaniah, the son of Shelemiah, the son of Cushi (Jer. 36:14). The stylistic feature of including four generations of one’s genealogy on seal legends is attested on two unprovenanced bulla: *hwšʿ ʿkbr ʾlšm ʿhwšʿ* “Hoshea, (son of) Akbor, (son of) Elishama, (son of) Hoshea (Deutsch 2003: 161-162); *gll bn ḥbʾ bn ʾlkn bn yhwḥ[]* “Galal, son of Ḥubba, son of Elizakar, son of Yehoḥ[]” (Deutsch 2011: 126). Accordingly, these references include information such as the name of grandfather and the great-grandfather, or the name of a clan patriarch and an extended family member. It is unclear if the references on these seal legends invoke linear genealogy (for example, linking to a grandfather) or segmentary genealogy (linking to an uncle, granduncle, or an ancestor other than the grandfather). More important than the precise genealogy invoked is the fact that an extended family member is now part of personal reference on seals and in Judean narratives found in the book of Jeremiah.

¹⁴⁶ An unprovenanced bulla has the stylistic feature of the second-generation patronym (WSS 454).

¹⁴⁷ The second-generation patronymic occurs as follows: Baruch the son of Neriah, the son of Mahseiah (Jer. 32:12); Irijah the son of Shelemiah, the son of Hananiah (37: 13); Gedaliah the son of Ahikam, the son of Shaphan (Jer. 39:14; 40:5; 41:2); Jaazaniah the son of Jeremiah, the son of Habazziniah (Jer. 35:3); Micaiah the son of Gemariah, the son of Shaphan (Jer. 36:11); and Seraiah the son of Neriah, the son of Mahseiah, (Jer. 51:59).

The significance of including extended family genealogies on Hebrew seal legends is as follows. First, referencing the name of a grandfather, great grandfather, noble clan member, or tribal ancestor indexed an attachment to the extended family village or inheritance rights. The three and four generations are symbolic of collective landholdings or individual. Second, this stylistic feature may be a prestige marker that referred to a person's genealogical pedigree as a form of honor and legitimacy. From a tribal social structural perspective, the discursive practice of including the names of two or three generations in a royal court setting underscores the role of family and kinship ties in power relations and the battle over legitimacy. Third, it could mean that ancestry was contested, perhaps due to similar names caused by the sudden demographic increase in Judah during the 7th century BCE. Archaeologists have noted an overall increase in settlement in Jerusalem and the Highlands of Judah in the 7th century BCE after the devastation of the Shephelah (Ofer 1993a; 1993b; 1997; 2001; Patrich 1994; Kloner 2000; 2001; 2003; Weiss, Zissu, and Solimany 2004). With the demographic increase came disputes over land ownership. Since the majority of text-artifacts are concentrated in the area of Jerusalem, the area of peak settlement, then this form of address on seals may have facilitated markings differences in genealogical and residential inheritance. A genealogical reference to an extended family member on seals (e.g., grandfather, great-grandfather, or clan patriarch) was an important authoritative index to differentiate one individual's descent and inheritance from another and thus differentiate their property. In Cohen's (1970) anthropological model of patronymic associations, the genealogical principle or naming ideology (tied to collective landownership) is more operative when clans are strong and the centralized government is weak in contrast to the patronymic principle (tied to nuclear households and individual ownership of land). The Hebrew Bible underscores the importance of clan power in the late 7th -6th century BCE under the

symbolic term the “people of the land” and their role in removing kings from their leadership position (2 Kgs. 21:24; 23:30; 25: 19; Jer. 1:18; 34:19; 37:2; 44:21). The genealogical references on Hebrew seal legends are symbolic signs of communication that point to the power and political importance of the clan in the 7th century BCE.

Thus far in this section, several examples have been given from the Hebrew Bible for the continuation of the tribe as a recognized social group under the monarchy. Israelite society of the time was still based upon on father’s house, clan, and tribe. In the Hebrew Bible, Israelites conceived of themselves, either by blood or metaphorically, as belonging to a tribe (*šbt* or *mth*, 1Kgs. 2:8; 11:26, 31-35), clan (*mšphh* or *’lp*, Mic. 5:2), and a household (*bet av*). Tribalism was a symbolic way that Israelites thought about selfhood and statehood (ex. people are identified according to tribe such as a ‘Benjamite’: Judg. 3:15; 1 Sam. 9:1, 21; 2 Sam. 16:11; 19:16; 20:1; 1 Kgs. 2:8; or ‘Ephraimite’: Judg. 12:5; 1 Sam. 1:1; 1 Kgs. 11:26; Reubenite: 1 Chr. 11:42). There are even Biblical examples where Israelites place family/tribal ties before all other political allegiances. For example, in the phrase “to your tents, O Israel!” (1 Kgs. 12:16), the word “tent” indexes semi-nomadic tribal identity. Jeroboam I, who rebelled against the House of David, used a phrase that was pregnant with indexical associations of Israel’s past in the wilderness and the current alignment with the pastoralist sector of Israel’s society in the 10th century BCE.

4.7.5 The Tribal Idiom as Political Discourse

The tribal idiom also takes on the form of political discourse in the Iron II period (i.e. personal identity is transmitted and categorized in terms of clan origins and ‘house’ membership). In 9th century BCE Aramaic and Moabite inscriptions, the Judean kingdom is

called *byt dwl* “House of David” (*KAI* 310 1:9; *bt [d]wl* *KAI* 181 1:31).¹⁴⁸ In the Hebrew Bible, Judah’s political identity is cast in terms of the tribal idiom of the “House of David” (2 Sam. 3:1, 6; 1 Kgs. 12:19; Is 7:2, 13; 22:22; Jer. 21:12). The reference to “House of X” (where X marks the personal or family name) points to a symbolic community, political group, or a hereditary monarchy based upon consanguinity and kinship. Using the names of founding ancestors who were attached to patrimonial hierarchy and political power was a language-oriented way of referencing tribal domination. The genealogical idiom of “houses” indexed the political hierarchies and the rationalization of unequal power, wealthy, and socioeconomic status.

These naming practices sometimes involve a complexity of political and symbolic structures that cannot be explained; several such examples can be found in the Hebrew Bible. With reference to the “Houses of X” and kingdoms, we find the terms: House of Hazael (Amos 1:4–5); House of Judah (1 Kgs. 12:21); and House of David (2 Sam. 3:6; 1 Kgs. 12:19; Is 7:2, 13; 22:22; Jer. 21:12). References to “Houses of X” and tribal groups include: House of Joseph (Josh. 17:17; 18:5; Judg. 1:22–23, 35; 2 Sam. 19:20; 1 Kgs. 11:28; Amos 5:6); House of Ephraim (Judg. 10:9); and House of Issachar (1 Kgs. 15:27). Finally, the phrase “Houses of X” includes references to individuals: the House of Eli (1 Sam. 3:14; 1 Kgs. 2:27); House of Saul (2 Sam. 3:1, 6, 10; 9:1; 1 Chron. 12:30); House of Ahab (2 Kgs. 8:18, 27; 9:7–9; 10:10–11, 17,

¹⁴⁸ The notion of tribal kinship ties as political idioms that continued to play a part in other Iron II kingdoms is evident in several Northwest Semitic inscriptions. For example, several Neo-Assyrian inscriptions refer to the polities of the Levant by the “House of X” or “Sons of X” (see Lemaire 1994: 17–19; Rendsburg 1995: 22–23; Routledge 2003; 2004: 124–127). The Aramaic Sefire inscription mentions the House of Mattiel (*KAI* 222 A3:7). In Phoenician inscriptions, Azitawadda claims descent from the “House of Mupsh” (*KAI* 26 AI:16, which ruled over the Danunite tribe [*KAI* 26 AI:2–6, 17–18, 21; AII:8, 16]); Kilamuwa ruled over the tribes of the Danunites, MSKBM and B’RRM (*KAI* 24 1:14–15). From the 9th century BCE Transjordan, some argue that when Mesha, King of Moab, identified himself as a “Dibonite” (*KAI* 181 1:2), the name Dibon refers to a tribe (van der Steen and Smelik 2007). Mesha proceeded to annex the city Jahaz for the tribe of Dibon as opposed to the state of Moab (Routledge 2004:145).

30); House of Jeroboam (2 Kgs. 9:9); and House of Baasha son of Ahijah (1 Kgs. 21:22).

Unfortunately, there is insufficient data to determine how these tribal “Houses” were socially organized (e.g. lineage, economy, or patronage) and their similarities or differences from a national identity.

The descriptions of Israel’s social organization into political idioms of a founding dynasty or ancestor such as the “House of X” are difficult to explain. One could belong to the house of Joseph, Omri, and Israel at the same time; however, we don’t have access to a nuanced understanding of the various symbolic meanings of belonging to these different categories. Members of the political organizations indexed by the term “house” were not always linked by genealogy or lineage; they could, however, forge alliances based upon patronage or mutual economic and military interests. Moreover, the idioms of tribal organization often overlap with each other and are not always consistent (i.e. terms for tribes sometimes are used for clans, terms for houses are sometimes used to describe clans, and vice versa; cf. Andersen 1969; Bendor 1996). Halpern notes, “the phrase ‘the House of Joseph’, for example, can refer to the house in which Joseph lives, the housing compound of which Joseph’s residence is one part, or to any kinship unit up to and including a tribe or, group of tribes” (1996:296).

Most illustrative of the ambivalence of narrowing down a local versus a broader social affiliation between local Israelite tribes and the segmentary state is found in the Moabite representation of the tribe of Gad. In a 9th century BCE Moabite inscription, King Mesha uses the tribal idiom as a form of political discourse in describing his Israelite foes as: $\text{ʾš } gd$ “men of Gad” (*KAI* 181 1:10). Mesha describes the Israelite tribe of Gad and their alliances with the kingdom of Israel in this way: “Now, the men of Gad lived in the land of Ataroth from ancient times, and the king of Israel built for himself Ataroth. And I made war against the city, and I

captured it. And I killed all the peo[ple of] while the city was for Chemosh and for Moab” (*KAI* 181 1:10–12). Wazana (2005: 232) observes, “It is noteworthy that Mesha’s inscription does not depict Israelites or Moabites as dwelling in the land ‘since time immemorial’. This may be seen as indirect evidence that Mesha did not attribute native origins to Moab, or for that matter to Israel.” Arguably, Wazana’s observation is a stretch – as this comment could ideologically serve to bolster Mesha’s achievement and standing before his Moabite audience. However, if we focus on what is explicitly articulated, then we find that the Gadites were historically organized around a symbolic community and a larger kinship network (indexed by the term “men of”) under the discursive sign (name) of the founding ancestor Gad “from ancient times.” Sometime later in the 9th century BCE, the Gadites formed a tribal alliance (we are not told if it was by lineage or patron-client relation) with Omri and his son, the Cisjordanian kings of Israel, and they together are associated with the city Ataroth (*KAI* 181 1:4–5).¹⁴⁹ The Moabites then faced this tribal coalition in battle and defeated “Israel” (*KAI* 181 1:7) (i.e. possibly the patron of the relationship). Hence, what we gather from this inscription is this: whatever the misgivings were concerning the social origins and complexity of the Gadites, the Moabite conceived of them as organized and embedded around two identities and large social networks: an ancient local Gadite segment that was superimposed by a more recent larger Israelite segment. Hence, one could hold membership in two symbolic communities and political groupings at one time.

In sum, in ancient Israel, tribalism was expressed in genealogical terms, and the tribal household and genealogical idiom was a form of political discourse.¹⁵⁰ Israelites and Judeans of

¹⁴⁹ In this inscription, Ahab is simply called “his son” and remains nameless. The fact that he is unnamed in the inscription could be Mesha’s way of indexing dishonor. Mesha boasts that he humbled Omri, Ahab, and his house (*KAI* 181 1:7).

¹⁵⁰ On the flexibility of the notion of “tribe,” Weeden (2008) points out that “[c]ategories of tribal

the Iron Age period conceived of a linkage between the names of houses, clans, and tribes and sociopolitical phenomena. Under the monarchy in the Iron II period, Israelite and Judean collective identity and symbolic community was in part constructed from genealogical idioms of houses, lineages, and tribes. Forms of address that invoked tribal patronymic grouping were a way to index political affiliation.

Looming large behind the coexistence of the tribal system under the monarchy in the Iron Age II period (and the tribal idiom as a form of political discourse) is the problem of the reliability of the Israelite genealogies in the Hebrew Bible.

4.8 Using Israelite Tribal Genealogies in Reconstructing Israelite Identity in Judah

Having established the importance of the tribe as polymorphic organization and symbolic form of political discourse in ancient Israel, it is important to understand how this affects the use of Israelite tribal genealogies— especially in the search for refugee identity in Judah by way of naming patterns. There are two areas that will be addressed: the historical reliability of written genealogies and, secondly, their pragmatic meaning and use. Several contributions to the study

affiliation often refer to an organizational mechanism for political mobilization” and during conflict “networks indexed by the category “tribe” have been activated both on behalf of [a] regime” and for other groups (2008:171). Weeden goes on to describe the tribe as a multi-variational category in the Middle East. “Tribes often designate relationships centered on some form of legal jurisdiction and political obligation . . . ‘Tribal’ in this sense of the term is often used as an occupational caste distinction and/or as a regional designation,” asserts Weeden, and they appeal to tribesmen for aid (2008:173). Tribes in other areas like “smallholding peasants, sharecroppers, landowners, and long distance traders” in certain areas “do not identify as tribal, although, mirroring certain practices attributed to tribes, they do have important extended family relationships, carry arms, and settle disputes out of court” (2008:173). She goes on to say that “[i]n these areas, where the leftist guerrilla movement was particularly strong, ‘tribal’ often has pejorative connotations, designating lawlessness or backwardness, a hindrance to modernization. Sometimes as well “tribal” is used to mean thinking instrumentally. In this view, tribesmen are driven by monetary concerns rather than by moral or political imperatives” (2008:173). The point here is that “tribal” meanings vary often in relationship to a person’s political leanings.

of Israel's tribal genealogies have addressed their historical reliability. As my purpose is not to give an exhaustive review of the debate over their reliability, a brief outline will suffice.

In the 19th century, the Israelite genealogies found in the Pentateuch and in the Chronicler's history were dismissed as not "historical." Some scholars like Wellhausen viewed the Israelite genealogies as fiction, while others argued that they were the result of independent traditions coming together for political purposes in the time of David (see discussion in Graham 1990; Sparks 2008).

By the 20th century, the genealogies were interpreted quite differently. A common approach during this period was to search for historical and archaeological antecedents in the genealogies. Scholars such as Albright (1950), Noth (1987), Rudolph (1955), Johnson (1969), Japhet (1985), Demsky (1971; 1986; 2000), Rendsburg (1990), and Edelman (1988, 1991) used this method. Other scholars were more pessimistic about the conclusions that could be drawn from such comparisons (Zadok 1988).

Other 20th century scholarship focused on the socio-political aspects of Israelite genealogies, incorporating some aspects of anthropology (Malamat 1968; 1973). The main contributor to a social understanding of Israelite genealogies was Robert Wilson (1975; 1977; 1991) who, based upon Prichard's segmentary lineage theory, argued that the Israelite genealogies functioned in domestic, politico-legal, and religious settings. According to Wilson, Biblical genealogies were not created or preserved "only for *historiographic* purposes. Rather . . . oral genealogies usually have some sociological function in the life of the society that uses them." (Wilson 1977: 54). Wilson revealed the fluidity of written genealogies in the Ancient Near Eastern (Sumerian, Assyrian, and Babylonian) king lists. Names appearing at the top and bottom of the genealogical tree served the last individual mentioned in fulfilling his/her identity

construction of honor, status, and pedigree in social relations. Flanagan (1981), Aufrecht (1988), and Levin (2001, 2003, 2004) engaged in similar approaches to Israel's genealogies, arguing that names were removed and added based on current sociological and political use.

Ethnographers of present-day Middle Eastern kinship-based societies have noted in non-literate societies, genealogies can extend back six or more generations. Studies among Bedouin societies of the Middle East have long documented an extensive knowledge of genealogies (South Arabian sources are often cited by scholars of the Hebrew Bible, such as Albright 1940:40; Johnson 1969: 61ff; Wilson 1977; Williamson 1977: 77-79). However, when the literary record is checked to determine the accuracy of Bedouin genealogies, contradictions have often been found. In societies with more developed literary records, there are more "accurate" genealogical lists. But recent studies on genealogical memory in Middle Eastern societies such as Jordan (Shryock 1997) have shown that even in oral societies, genealogies and memories of literary works can be accurate. In addition, we must be cautious in how we discuss Israelite genealogies based upon anthropological studies of the Middle East, for tribes of the present-day Middle Eastern are not monolithic, nor one static inflexible society. It is in fact not possible to make sweeping generalizations about the accuracy of genealogies in Bedouin or oral tribal societies of the Middle East: the function, ideology, and accuracy of genealogies fluctuate within Middle Eastern kinship-based tribal communities.

On a pragmatic level, if in Iron Age II Israel and Judah, people moved in and out of organizations and relation were often symbolic rather than blood-tied, then how can genealogies be an "accurate" reflection of the past, especially in a post-exilic period? I contend that keeping a restricted inventory of names within the family or clan was a persuasion technique ("we can or can't do this or that because we are so-and so from this clan") and gesture of honor in ancient

Israel (i.e. retaining or reproducing an ancestor's name in the clan shows honor by keeping their name and memory alive from generation to generation). The relationship between naming and persuading social behavior is found in the story of the Rechabites (Jer. 35: 1-19). In this story, Jonadab, son of the eponymous ancestor Rechab, set a new commandment regarding abstinence from wine; his descendants maintained fidelity to his practice for centuries. Those named after this tribe had to embody this practice or lose their identity (for what would the name Rechab mean name without fidelity to or honoring what the son of the founding ancestor laid down as the law?). As a result of the descendants' fidelity, they received a divine oracle: "therefore thus says Yahweh of Hosts, the God of Israel: Jonadab the son of Rechab shall not want a man to stand before me forever" (Jer. 35:19). In another way, the importance of reproducing a name as a show of honor is evident in levirate marriage legislation, thereby explaining why cross-cousin naming practices existed in ancient Israel: Deut. 25:6, "It shall be, that the firstborn whom she bears shall succeed in the name of his brother who is dead, that his name not be blotted out of Israel." This concern for ensuring that a person's name is not blotted out, forgotten, or erased from Israel recurs in several other places in the Hebrew Bible (Ex. 32:32-33; Deut. 9:14; 25:19; 29:20; 2 Kgs. 14:27). Having one's name blotted out was a common curse (Psa. 109:13 "Let his posterity be cut off. In the generation following let their name be blotted out"). Thus on a pragmatic level, preserving one's name in a genealogy was sign of honor and respect.

With regard to genealogies in Israelite narratives providing respect, the case of Moses' and Aaron's Levite heritage is prime example. It is generally agreed upon by scholars that the Moses genealogy in the non-P and P narratives of Exodus 2, Exodus 6, and Numbers 26 is meant to legitimate Moses as a rightful Levite (Dozeman 2009) worthy of lineage and noble ancestry. I would also add that the group spirit of 'we are these Levites' is also at play. The tension over

Moses' kinship ties to Aaron his "brother" in Exodus 4:14 still exists in the narrative.

Irrespective of this issue, cross-cousin naming reinforces Moses and Aaron's bond. Thus, the two sons of Amran the Levite, Moses and Aaron, elected to name one of their sons from a restricted name inventory: Moses' son is named *ʾly ʿzr* "Eliezer" and Aaron's son name is *ʾl ʿzr* "Eleazar" (both names are based upon the compounds forms *ʾl* 'God' and *ʿzr* 'help'). Cross-cousin naming indexed their kinship connection and metaphorically closed whatever gap of distance existed (if there was one).

4.9 The Chronicler's Genealogy in Reconstructing Israelite Identity

Contextualizing the Chronicler's genealogy facilitates my reconstruction of Israelite tribal identity in Judah. First, the study of the Chronicler's genealogies often can not be separated from a scholar's ideologies of the Chronicler's date, rationale, and historicity. As a result, the type, aim, and function of the genealogies are still a matter of debate, as noted in the previous section (Japhet 1993, Knoppers 2004, Klein 2006, Sparks 2008). Admittedly, the Chronicler's genealogy has a complex history (Kartveit 1989), but many scholars interpret the Chronicler's work as utopian (i.e. an invented fictional genealogy or commentary, cf. Schweitzer 2007: 50-52; 2011; 2013) or a commentary in its own right (Willi 1972; 2009).

Second, the Chronicler's genealogies are viewed as serving the Chronicler's purpose in the Persian (the early Persian period for Schniedewind 1995, 1999) or late Persian period (Knoppers 2003:101-117). Scholars often seek to find correlations between the genealogies, history, and archaeology, but in fact, they often reach directly opposed conclusions. Cross (1975:18) argues that the genealogies were added to the Chronicler's work in the late 5th century BCE. Wright (1999), in a narratological approach to Chronicles, observes that the Chronicler's

genealogies extend up to Zerubbabel and returnees of Ezra-Nehemiah, which could have implications for a date in the Persian period. Wright (2006) contends that the Chronicler's genealogies present Yehud as an ethnos with real and fictive kinship ties—based upon family and patronage— and the genealogies are merged with geographical frontiers (not borders) to express the territorial claims of Judeans in the Persian period. Most recently, Finkelstein examined the historical reality behind Chronicler's genealogy, and he argues,

rather than being nostalgic and/or utopian, the genealogical lists represent a given settlement reality in the history of Judah/Yehud/Judea. This is true even if the author of the genealogies used different (chronologically layered?) materials, because he referred to settlements that still existed in his own day. In other words, the distribution of the places mentioned in the core area covered by the lists should represent the extent of the Jerusalem territorial entity at a given period of time (Finkelstein 2012:73).

Although majority of the archaeological sites mentioned in the Chronicler's genealogy correlate well with the late Iron II period, Finkelstein opts for a date of Hasmonean rule in the second half of the 2nd century BCE.

Most scholars hold two assumptions in their analysis of the Chronicler's work. First, the Chronicler has constructed the genealogical material as propaganda for the state of affairs in his own time. Secondly, any information that seems to work against this view (e.g., preserving what seems to be pre-exilic data without adaptation and describing northern tribes long-since lost) is included out of a sense of "thoroughness," "conservatism," or "antiquarianism" on his part and does not authentically reflect his own views, but merely demonstrates the Chronicler's respect for his sources—which he maintains unaltered in these cases. Levin (2001; 2003; 2004) claims in particular that the genealogies of the central tribes are so complex, segmented, deep, and fluid, that they could not come from an archival source as many of the other genealogies, but were actual 'living' tribal traditions at the time they were written down by the Chronicler in the late

Persian period. Löwisch's (2011) study of the matriarchal system in a predominately patrilineal society argued that the Chronicler's genealogies legitimate present patriarchal social structure – although she fails to make any social connection between her findings and Yehud in the Persian period (Aufrecht 1988: 205-35; Brett 1996).

My working hypothesis is that the genealogies in 1 Chronicles 4-9 were based upon historical data available to the Chronicler and that they reflect the Chronicler's attempt to legitimize Israelite and Judean land claims in the Persian period.¹⁵¹ The Israelite and Judean exile caused a loss of land in political and national terms (i.e. the defeat to the Assyrians and Babylonians resulted in the loss of Israel and Judah's sovereign territory). After the exiles returned from Mesopotamia, they sought to reclaim their heritable property that had been owned by their ancestors in the Iron Age period. Japhet points out that the Chronicler tried to establish Israel's relation to the land as a matter of continuity (Japhet 2009: 363). In order to lay claim to property legally, they had to demonstrate their heritage bureaucratically.¹⁵² Thus, the Chronicler used pre-existing archives along with oral sources to verify family origins and status, and legitimize the division of the land according to tribal allotment (1 Chr. 3-9).

The use of both written and oral sources may help to explain apparent contractions and differences in inheritance rights by the same tribe. Certainly, there were changes in ownership between clans between the Iron Age and Persian periods. This helps to explain, for example, the difference in territorial boundaries between the book of Joshua and Chronicles; Chronicles reflects the latter's attempt, under changing circumstances, to legitimize the borders of Yehud.

¹⁵¹ For the acceptance of the unity, reliability, and integrity of Chronicles genealogy, see Japhet; Rendsburg 1990; Oeming 1990; de Moor 1997: 10-33; Levin 2004; Knoppers 2004; Klein 2006; Sparks 2008.

¹⁵² On the larger issues of land claims in the Persian period, see Stavrakopoulou 2010. On the materiality of documentation and bureaucracy as an ideology of practice, see Hull 2003, 2012a, 2012b.

For instance, some of the sites that the Chronicler assigns to Benjamin belong to other tribes like Dan and Ephraim in the book of Joshua, such as Ayalon, Ono, and Lod (1 Chr. 8:12–13).

Lipschits describes the expansion of Benjamin into these territories as occurring after the Iron Age period (1999; see also Knoppers 2004: 491). Thus, the Chronicler's account points to a change in the tribe of Benjamin's territorial claims, which had expanded exponentially.

But the Chronicler does consistently refer to families and clans who “registered by genealogy” in the pre-exilic period, thus pointing to the archiving of heritable property before the Persian period (1 Chr. 5:7; 7:5, 7, 9, 40; 9:22; 2 Chr. 31:16–19). Schniedewind, for example asks,

[i]s this an invention of fictional authorities, or does the text have some written tradition in mind? Although we do not know the exact nature of these sources, we should presume that the writer had recourse to these sources in some form. The alternative is to believe that the writer intentionally tries to deceive the audience – a rather jaundiced position . . . Naturally, the use of traditions does not necessarily mean that the account is completely accurate historically, but it does give some insight into the compositional process. In sum, we must suppose a written text (Schniedewind 2004: 22).

Hence, it seems more likely than not that the Chronicler relied on some form of archival material for his genealogies.

Another clue to the compositional process comes from taking a closer look at the metadiscursive indicators of having clans “registered by genealogy” and determining how this phrase points to the date and function of the Chronicler's genealogies. In the phrase “registered by genealogy” (1 Chr. 5:7 ff), the Chronicler uses the Hebrew verb *yḥš* ‘to register.’ This verb is used exclusively in, or compartmentalized to, the Late Biblical Hebrew of the Second Temple Period. It is not used in the First Temple period. The verb is attested in Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, and later in Rabbinic and Aramaic texts (Hurvitz 2013: 108-109). This demonstrates that the Chronicler did not borrow from an inventory of pre-exilic terminology in compiling the

genealogies – terminology that was available in the Biblical sources. Perhaps this is because he was not socialized into the pre-exilic norms of scribal archiving from the centers of power of his day. It would seem that the Late Biblical Hebrew verb *yḥš* was the only term that was part of his discursive consciousness for a territorial-based genealogical inheritance. Moreover, because the Chronicler was not fabricating or inventing a fictional genealogical list, it was important to use the appropriate bureaucratic terms for genealogical archiving to a public familiar with this parlance in the Second Temple period.¹⁵³ The fact that the scribal parlance for registering families by genealogy in the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua are absent in the Chronicler's genealogy underscores not only the difference in the date of the two compositions but also the purpose of the latter in legitimating one's inheritance in the post-exilic community.

Another indication that the Chronicler's genealogy was based upon written sources is his isolation of the 8th century BCE as the period enacting a royal census—a time when literacy was more abundant in Israel and Judah. The Chronicler identifies three kings, Jeroboam II, King of Israel, and Jotham and Hezekiah, Kings of Judah, as the ones responsible for carrying out a census in the late 8th century BCE (1 Chr. 4:41; 5:17; 9:1). This is significant because, archaeologically speaking, the 8th century BCE was a time when literacy was more pervasive in Israel and Judah than in previous periods (and to a certain extent subsequent periods as well) (Schniedewind 2004; 2012; Sanders 2009).¹⁵⁴ Recently, the first provenanced seal of a Judean

¹⁵³ For sociological consequences of recording genealogies and clan names on identity cards in Buryat genealogies, see Humphrey (1979). For bureaucratic ideology of the Chronicler, see Chalcraft 2011.

¹⁵⁴ A cursory exploration of the inscriptional list in Renz (1995) –which does not include seals, seal impressions, bullae, and unprovenanced epigraphs—indicates that there are approximately 148 Hebrew inscriptions dated to the 8th century BCE and 100 inscriptions dated to the 7th century BCE. However, this list does not include the scores of inscriptions published since the early 1990s (Dobbs-Allsopp et. al. 2005; Aḥituv 2008). Secondly, if one factors into the equation the over 700 Hebrew seals, seal

king was discovered and that it belonged to Hezekiah came as no surprise – in that it confirmed expectations of the authenticity of the same seal held in a private collection, and serves as a reminder of the importance of literacy during his era (Mazar 2015). Hebrew inscriptions from the 8th-7th centuries BCE attest to the practice of record keeping of in Israel (eg., Samaria and Tel Rehov ostraca) and Judah (ostraca from Jerusalem, Lachish, Arad, Tel Ira, Horvat Uza). Moreover, one Judean ostrakon dated to the 7th century BCE explicitly uses the term for official record keeping. Tel Ira ostraca 1 begins with the technical Hebrew term *mpqd* “census.”¹⁵⁵ This is the earliest attestation to the use of the technical term for census in epigraphic Hebrew. The verbal form means to “number or appoint,” as found in genealogical census list of the Levites (Num 3:15, 40). The nominal form could mean a roster of individuals’ “appointment” for service (for ex. for priestly service 2Chr. 31:13) or a “census” document of people (2 Sam. 24:9; 1 Chr. 21:5; (*HALOT* 2:618). This term provides example of an administrative use of a census from an Iron Age period in which genealogical lists could be created. Another Hebrew ostraca, Horvat Uza 10, is a military census list of individuals that include a patronymic and geographical origin (Beit-Arieh 2007:139). Other military censuses from the Iron Age include only first names and patronymics (Horvat Uza 3, 4, Lachish 1).

As the survey of Hebrew inscriptions indicates, there are a variety of factors that help

impressions, and bullae in the corpus of Avigad and Sass (1997) and Renz and Röllig (2003)–and the ones that Mazar and Ben-Arie [2015] discuss that are forthcoming – then the number of 8th century BCE artifacts increases exponentially. Lastly, there were hundreds of unprovenanced ostraca, seals, seal impressions, and bullae held in private collections that were published since Renz (1995)–whose authenticity cannot be verified– and they mostly date to the late 8th-7th century BCE based upon paleography (Deutsch and Heltzer 1995; 1997; 1999; Deutsch 1999; Deutsch and Lemaire 2000; Deutsch 2003a; 2003b; Deutsch and Lemaire 2003; Deutsch 2011; 2015). Overall, the statistical distribution is clear: the 8th century BCE was a watershed moment in terms of literacy and royal scribal production and the Chronicler’s history coincides with this fact.

¹⁵⁵ I translate this word as “census” (pace Beit-Arieh 1999:402-405; Ahituv 2008:179; contra Demsky 2007).

determine the reliability of the Chronicler's genealogies. The hundreds of epigraphic Hebrew inscriptions from the late Iron Age period permit speculation that the fixing or textualizing of tribal genealogies had already begun in Israel by the 8th century BCE. It is possible that some lists from the Iron Age period were at the Chronicler's disposal for constructing his genealogies. Hundreds of personal names in the Chronicler's genealogy parallel names in pre-exilic Hebrew inscriptions.

Some scholars have argued that the Chronicler's genealogy was created to establish group identity based upon bureaucratic records. Braun (1997) argued that Chronicler used written pre-exilic sources in the composition of the genealogies. Johnson (1998:94) notes that the Chronicler, writing in 1 Chronicles 2-8, "eclectically lists from a great variety of historical periods, as if they were all on the same time-plane, in order to complete his muster of the people of Israel" (1998: 113). Recently, Chalcraft (2011) correctly pointed out that the Chronicler's bureaucratic ideology of recording genealogical records legitimized the organizational life of society of his day wherein security was obtained through records (contra Schweitzer 2007, who contended that Chronicles genealogies were utopian).

If the Chronicler relied on these written sources, this eliminates problems identified by anthropologists such as the "conceptual break." According to Lancaster (1981: 25), a "conceptual break" occurs when discrepancies occur in genealogical trees between the top part of genealogy (ancestors) and the bottom parts (living informants); this break is common in oral Bedouin genealogies that rely on memory and not textual records. Be that as it may, more recent anthropological studies on oral genealogies in modern Arab tribal societies confirm the reliability of the oral sources (Layne 1994) (discussed below). Therefore, even in the present day Middle East, the conceptual break may not really be a thing of concern and it is not far fetched to apply

the same rationale to the Chronicler's genealogies.

That is not to say that all of the Chronicler's sources were written texts or that adjustments of genealogical trees for political or ideological reasons did not occur. The Benjamite genealogies, along with other Israelite tribes, have names in certain lineages that are not attested in the genealogies of the Pentateuch or Joshua; sometimes, names are omitted (see Knoppers 2004; Klein 2006). There are several cases when the link between the fixed bottom segment (the living) and the eponymous ancestor on the top (deceased) is fuzzy (such as the inclusion of Samuel from Levi or the ancestors in the genealogies of Manasseh, see Levin 2004). Yet these adjustments do carry several linguistic ideological implications. They are indexical of the political stances and debates during the Chronicler's time period as those on the lower part of the genealogical tree negotiate their standing and political relationships in society through the adjustment of names on the top part the genealogy.¹⁵⁶

Adding to the credibility of the Chronicler's sources is the central place that famous warrior ancestors have in recounting the genealogies of the Israelite tribes. In Persian period Yehud, kinship continued to remain a most important factor in Israelite (and Levantine) society.

¹⁵⁶ The point is that fuzziness between top and bottom of genealogies does revolve around questions of fact vs. fiction but rather of function and pragmatics. Admittedly, there are individuals in Chronicler's genealogy who are sometimes linked to unrelated ancestors (with no blood ties) based upon their genealogies in other places in the Bible (for example, linking Samuel and Obed-Edom to the tribe of Levites). But I disagree with the notion that genealogies that contradict one another are fiction (Wilson 1977: 27-35; more recently Hutton 2011:54). Basing historical facts of genealogies upon the consensus of living informants in power (such as the elder's) is not intentional fabrication. I would argue that some of Chronicler data was based on written and oral sources, but this does not tell the whole story. Even with written records, living informants in power during the Chronicler's day could choose to highlight genealogical links between ancestors with no blood ties for reasons of political negotiation and resolving disputes. That is, Israelite society genealogies are not fictional vs. factual but living oral and written documents that can be adjusted for ideological reasons; as Shyrock points out in the case of modern Jordan in the Middle East (1997). Western society looks at genealogical trees as fact or fiction, but in Middle Eastern kinship-based societies, they view them according to use and function. It's just a different way of understanding the role of genealogies in tribal society versus Western society.

It is noteworthy that in the Chronicler's genealogy lists, famous warrior ancestors for both the Israelite and Judean tribes are mentioned. Perhaps it was necessary to establish some kind of link to warriors of noble ancestry from Israel and Judah because of disputes over land (the same can be said for lists in the books of Exodus and Numbers). Anthropological ethnographies have often noted that tribal genealogies are tied to infighting and warfare – in particular, highlighting who can claim land and legitimacy through pedigree and can thus muster as many male agnates as possible in a tribal conflict and win. Borg and Kessler (1999) note that when tribes are isolated or small, they neither create nor debate elaborate genealogies. But when they do, it is due to conflict.

There is another reason for the Chronicler's claim of Israelite ancestral lineage of warriors: ideology of social order. The anthropologist Martha Mundy, an anthropological expert on Middle Eastern culture, provides some helpful insight. Mundy asserts that in Middle Eastern societies, especially in urban society, there is a "vision of social order as a hierarchy of ranks" and that "the vision of social order takes the form of a tripartite division: men of religion, men of the sword and the plough, and men of service" (1995:39). More precisely, kinship-based society is preoccupied with who is related to the priest, warrior, or scholar, as this is part of their view of social order. Mundy also claims that "[i]mages of rank are cast in terms of origins. Houses (*bait*) possess origins; men are known and ranked as members of houses" (1995:39). If Israelites returned from exile to form part of the new Yehud, their ancestral achievements would merit inclusion into the new collective identity of Israel. Finally, Mundy offers this point, "[h]onour is essentially a question of occupation and alliance." (1995:40). That is to say, the cultural principle of "honor" is what lies behind the genealogies that highlight the achievements of Israelite warriors as well as align clans to forge a common identity called "Israel." Only noble

warriors and their patronymic houses from both Israel and Judah are recalled, because genealogies have more to do with the conferral of honor status than anything else. What is clear from present-day ethnographic data from the Middle East is that genealogies are inseparable from questions and disputes over power, territory, honor, and privilege. The Chronicler pieced together multivalent strands of genealogical histories into one masterwork (sometimes based upon written sources), and at the same time these genealogical narratives involved questions and disputes over prestige and honor. As conflict between various groups in the Persian period ensued, so did the reshuffling of hierarchical positions in the genealogies as well.

Other aspects of the Chronicler's work lend credibility to the idea that the genealogies were based upon on reliable sources. First, the genealogies and geographies correlate with sites that existed in the Iron II B-C period (Finkelstein 2012). Therefore, the genealogies reflect late Iron Age realities in some respect and this could be achieved by relying on written sources. Secondly, the genealogies of tribes of Dan and Zebulun are absent in the Chronicler's work, which reflects the social reality of post-exilic period. If the Chronicler desired to invent or fabric a genealogy then the tribes of Dan and Zebulun would have been the best candidates—but no genealogy was invented for these tribes.

I conclude with one point that strengthens the notion of the Chronicler's reliance of written sources: the social structure of his day was different from the pre-exilic period (see Vanderhoft 2009; and Faust 2012). Weinberg (1992: 61) argued that the Chronicler's use of the term *bt 'bwt* 'house of the fathers' described "an agnatic band which came into existence in the peculiar situation of the exile and repatriation, and which unified a number of families that were related (either genuinely or fictionally)." Vanderhoft (2009: 490) argues that during the monarchic era the *mšpḥh* "was defined by the territory it occupied and the economic activity and

familial rites associated with that territory,” but this use is virtually absent in the post-exilic Chronicler. Thus, in the post-exilic period, Israel’s kinship organization had changed. Faust makes this observation as well:

[The] alteration of the use of the term *mišpaḥah* in Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah suggest that in the post-exilic period it lost its concrete associations with the spatial dimension of Israel’s earlier kinship organization. It is likely that the political disruptions of the sixth century, which upset the territorial distribution of the kinship groups that had prevailed through the end of the Judahite monarchy, helped to undermine the older geographical associations of the *mišpaḥah*, and that this process accelerated with the territorial and demographic diminution of the Persian province of Yehud. . . The social changes that were expressed in language (the meaning of *mišpaḥah* and the *bet av*) are parallel to the changes observed archaeologically and architecturally. The four-room house and the Judahite tomb, which were both connected to the traditional extended family, ceased to exist because the entire social world and kinship structure to which they belonged collapsed . . . The changes observed by biblical scholars simply mirror the same processes, and they were reflected in the text and in the language (Faust 2012: 108).

Lastly, Hurvitz (2013) argues for the lateness of three technical expressions in the Chronicler’s genealogy. Hurvitz’s study shows that the Chronicler’s language for expressing genealogical records is Late Biblical Hebrew as opposed to Standard Biblical Hebrew.

These observations support the notion that the Chronicler did not try to borrow a pre-exilic reality—as would be expected in composing a utopian literary work, as found in the Second Temple literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls—but was grounded in the parlance of official legal documentation of his day as a way to validate the authenticity of his work.

Ultimately, it does not matter if the Chronicler’s genealogy of northern tribes of Israel is real or fictive, as pejorative as the latter term may be. On the contrary, what is important for our study is how personal identities in the written sources, along with informants of his day, used the tribal model and claims of descent to their advantage and according to their needs. What matters

most is not the truth-value of their claim but the categories, as descendants from Israel, which they used to make their claim. Nevertheless, there are examples of the onomasticon of inscriptions corresponding to the name-tribe-geographical typologies in the Chronicler's genealogies. There is at least one Transjordanian reference to Manassite families with the names *ḥnn* and *prš* that pre-dates the Persian period. The name *ḥnn br prš* is attested on an 8th century BCE rock inscription from Wādi al-Melṭāt in Transjordan (Ababneh 2012); both names are familiar to Maacah's descendants in Gilead (1 Chr. 7:16; 11:43). Curiously, many of the names found in the Chronicler's list correspond to the epigraphic data from the late Judean monarchy (and not so much the Persian period). So is this confirmation that Israelite families migrated to Judah and lived there before the Babylon exile? Or, is it just the opposite, that the Chronicler invented a genealogy of based upon onomastic profile of inhabitants in the late Iron Age Judah? First, it would make little sense for the Chronicler to have invented an Israelite genealogy in post-exilic period by using a Judean onomastic profile, rather than an Israelite one, as his basis or template. Samaria existed in the Persian-Hellenistic period, and several names have been discovered on papyri and inscriptions from this area and Mt. Gerizim (Eshel 1997; Zsengellér 1996, 1998: 140-147; Magen et. al. 2004; Cross 2006; Dušek 2007, 2012). A comparison of the names aligns well with pre-exilic Israelite onomasticon, particularly from Samaria in the Iron II period.¹⁵⁷ The Chronicler could have easily reconstructed his genealogy based upon that

¹⁵⁷ Several names in the Samaria papyri, dated by some to the Persian period, align with pre-exilic Israelite identities: *dlyw* (Hazor 8:1), and *dlh* Samaria ostrakon 38:3 → *dlyh* (the patronymic of two buyers of slaves in the Samaria papyri *WDSP* 3 1:2,10; *WDSP* 10 1R:10; *WDSP* 15 1:2, 6; also a son of Sanballat governor of Samaria in the Elephantine papyri A4 7:29; 8:28); *ʾryw* (Samar 50:2; 110:4) → *ʾry* (*WDSP* 3 1:2 first name with *dlyh* patronymic). It is interesting to note that there were several dedicatory inscriptions written in a Neo-Hebrew script at Mt. Gerizim (Magen et. al 2004: 34). Some include the names of two priests: Phineas and Eleazar. The name Phineas is aligned with the Shilonite priesthood identity (1 Sam. 1:3; 2:34; 4:4, 11, 17, 19; 14:3). Evidently, the priestly class at Mt. Gerizim in the Persian period wanted to establish a lineage alignment with the Ephraimite priesthood.

typology and not Judah. What is evident, based in part on ethnographic data, is that tribal genealogy and segment lineages are in fact fuzzy, shifting, contradictory, fragmentary, and elastic. The Chronicler genealogies of the tribes of Israel bear this out. One finds in the Benjamin genealogies expansions, mixing, contradictions, and substitutions to the Pentateuch and historical books (see Knoppers 2004; Klein 2006). This shows that an individual's claim and real descent is very complex. Those who claimed descent experienced real life changes, contradictions, confusion, and compromises. While modern scholars are seeking to establish the truth or falseness of a connection to an ancestor, the ancient individual had different priorities. Establishing a pedigree or kinship connection could be the difference between life and death; and indeed establishing a pedigree could ensure continuation of life and lineage. In reality, life is full of these complexities. Family history changes and is not stagnant. People move, marry, mix together, and manufacture relationships in order to thrive.

The Chronicler's informants' abiding attachment and feelings of belonging to Israelite tribal lineages (1 Chr. 4-6), many of which could only be traced to the Assyrian exile, reveals the fulcrum of a people struggling to thrive in the post-exilic period.

4.10 Kinship-Based Middle Eastern Ethnographic Analogies to Israelite Genealogies

Our modern scholarly difficulties in assessing the Chronicler's genealogies and sources (and Israelite genealogies in general) appear to stem from a misunderstanding of the Chronicler's enormous task of constructing a unified "Israelite" genealogical nationalism for the elite/elders of his day. For elite groups, genealogies have special place, providing a link of legitimacy to the past and a justification of the present social order. The powerful tribal leaders in the Chronicler's day had the heroic stories of their ancestors to retell and their major poems

were enshrined in national memory. These collections of heroic agnate descent form a boundary around those in power and exclude those who are not.

The Chronicler's borrowing, additions, omissions, and duplications and expansion from previous genealogical records in the Pentateuch, Samuel, and Kings are all the "the consequences when radically different images of community, each based on a unique historicity, are forced to occupy the same political space" (Shryock 1997: 326) where both national and local genealogical images of the community are on display. The conflict in assessing the Chronicler's work stems what modern Biblical scholars expect the masterwork of post-exilic narrative of Israelite history should look like vs. the expectations that Israelites were socialized into in ancient times.

A key analogy to Israelite genealogies is in Shryock's ethnographic study of the tribal histories of Jordan and the struggle to combine them into a single narrative. He points out, in an interview with a Jordanian historian about the writing of modern Palestinian history, that there "are many different kinds of Palestinian experience, which cannot all be assembled into one. One would therefore have to write parallel histories of the communities in Lebanon, the occupied territories, and so on. That is the central problem. It is almost impossible to imagine a single narrative." (1997: 315). Shryock then notes that "[t]ribal historians in Jordan, too, have found it hard to imagine a single narrative that tells the story of their communities" (1997: 315). His attempts to document Balga tribal history ended with a, "sort of crazy, multistranded narrative" (1997: 315).

Shryock's experience is the sort of challenge ancient Israelite genealogists faced in their time: imagining a single narrative amid the multiplicity of (often conflicting) narratives. The Chronicler was only a scribe or a conservator whose task it was to preserve the right traditions

and genealogies and to oppose rival genealogical national versions. Tribal leaders who were subordinate in his day or had no heroic stories were often left out. Shryock points structural patterns that occur when oral national genealogies are put into writing. These patterns involve genealogy mixed with a story and a poetic conclusion (1997). In modern Palestinian society, this tradition stemmed from 18th century ways of elder's talk, but could in fact be older than that. Perhaps this style of storytelling was quite ancient, and what Shryock was documenting was a vestige of it in some form. Shryock's struggle to piece together a unified tribal history through genealogical storytelling bears a similarity to Biblical genealogical narratives and the Chronicler's work; piecing together multivalent strands of genealogical histories into one masterwork and at the same time discounting rival genealogical narratives.

All in all, there is a collective purpose in the Chronicler's genealogies that stems from a desire for authenticity, and ethnographic analogies may help to determine authenticity.¹⁵⁸ Working with present-day Jordanians, Shryock observes that certain common themes are evident in the discourse of urban songwriters who claim descent from famous singers of the past (i.e. fabricated genealogies):

(1) they bespeak a desire to interweave identity, authenticity, and authority in persuasive ways and, at the same time, to keep specific others from doing likewise; (2) they are concerned directly with matters of performance and social representation; and (3) they make one's position within structures of intellectual (and biological) inheritance central to the differentiation of true and false performances. These agendas, which are often inseparable in practice, help explain the prominence such themes as "lying," "honor," and "opposition" have acquired in the ethnography of Middle Eastern societies. The ethnographic encounter is itself congested with performances and representations— some made by "us," others by "them"— which strive, oftentimes against one another, for authenticity and authority (Shryock1997:314).

Based on Shryock's work, one does not get the sense that Chronicler's genealogies share the

¹⁵⁸ One cannot determine if the stories connected to the genealogies are fabrications.

same theme as those who fabricate a genealogy. One specific lack of parallels with fabricated genealogies that make one think that it's different in Chronicles is that is more of an inclusive ethos in the Chronicler's genealogies in that the genealogies of the tribes of Israel are accounted for— but the same cannot be said for the narrative portions of the book which excludes the history of Israel all together. Hence, the Chronicler does not discredit or exclude the genealogies of tribes that were historical rivals (such as Ephraim vs. Judah).

4.11 The Social, Ideological and Political Function of Israelite Genealogies

More recent anthropological studies have shown that genealogies are tied to history and do not necessarily reflect current circumstantial manipulation or connect to segmentary theory. For example, Judith Irvine (1978: 651-652) examines the construction and use of tribal genealogies by the Wolof of Senegal and notes that accuracy in oral genealogies vary and there are certain social conditions embedded Wolof culture (such as the caste system) that cause genealogies to represent a close approximation of the past than in other cultures. Genealogies are more historically accurate in Wolof society because in the social organization of the caste system (named status groups with occupational specializations such as nobles, religious leaders, soldiers, slaves, smiths, leatherworkers, musicians, etc.) importance is placed on birth, rank, and family associations (and genealogical reminders are a constant in Wolof discourse). Moreover, Shryock (1997: 161) examined the Balga Bedouin in Jordan and documents the ability of the 'Adwani tribesmen to recall their history and genealogy with accuracy. Shryock critiques the segmentary genealogy theory portrayed by Evans-Prichard, Peters, and Meeker as biased against historical genealogy (1997:20-23). He demonstrates that local notions of historical genealogy impact the present in tribal Jordan. In sum, both Shryock and Layne's ethnographies substantiate

the notion that history is involved in genealogy and vice-versa (contra Wilson 1977; Aufrecht 1988; Levin 2001; 2003; 2004 who only see genealogy as pertinent to “present” circumstances and not history).

4.12 The Correlation of Rigid Genealogies to Urban Land-Tied Societies

The genealogical data from the Hebrew Bible derive from the urban class of society who practiced a more rigid lineage tied to land rights. As LaBianca and Younker argue concerning the present-day Middle East, when clans are more land-tied they hold heightened sentiments of group loyalty which lead to less genealogical fluidity. LaBianca and Younker assert that “[t]he reason why sedentarization normally leads to development of more rigid lineage, is that as kin-groups begin to expend labor on clearing, terracing, ploughing, planting, watering and guarding particular plots of ploughland, their sense of ownership and investment - along with feelings of in-group loyalty and obligation – are heightened. Such sentiments make it harder for ‘outsiders’ to be incorporated - hence the tendency towards more rigid lineages as people become more settled and land-tied” (1995:404). Resultantly, genealogies tied to the ancestral land are less fluid.

Yet the situation is more complex than how LaBianca and Younker portray it to be, especially when ethnographic comparisons are considered. First, there are several consequences to writing down genealogies in a society. As seen in present-day Jordan, when oral genealogical tradition based on memory comes into contact with a writing tradition, it often leads to genealogical disputes and clash, with tribesmen caught between “speaking history one way and writing it” (Shryock 1997:17). Finding exact genealogical trees and alignments is always tricky. Generally, tribesmen of the Middle East are thought to construct “myths of ancestry,” which are

full of contradictions and lacking chronological facts (ibid. 21). These genealogies may be invented in order to legitimate present social conditions.

In societies outside the Middle East, lineage ideologies among agricultural sedentary groups vary. Humphrey's study of the consequential effects of writing genealogies among the Mongolians of Buryat is insightful. Humphrey observes that written genealogies during the 19th century were used to consolidate the power of the leaders (1979:253). She notes,

During the nineteenth century more and more genealogies were written down, usually by scribes or lamas working for the princely families, but with the aim of recording not only chiefly lines but all the members of the clan. The writing down of genealogies among the Khori coincided with the expansion of population and pastoral production and the dispersion and intermingling of kin groups. Written genealogies were added to and kept up to date, and could be used as legal documents (1979: 254).

Furthermore, "the writing-down of genealogies had certain consequences. It can be assumed that, at the initial point of writing-down, when the accounts of knowledgeable old men were compared and the most common version recorded, 'structural amnesia' must have been operating, as in oral genealogies; we can see this because, although the Khori population did greatly increase during the 18th and 19th centuries" (1979: 254-255). However, among Khori sedentaries structural amnesia came to an end when the genealogies were written down (Humphrey 1979: 255). She concludes, "Unilineal genealogies become internally inconsistent when they are required simultaneously to fulfill two functions: legitimizing claims to property by virtue of descent from the original holder, and defending the interests of junior lineage segments against the claims of senior groups declaring themselves to be more directly related to the first ancestor" (1979:258).

Regarding genealogies in the present-day Middle East, the separation between nomadic and sedentary has more to do with division of labor stemming from ecological conditions than an

ideology of lineage (Fabietti 1982:189). Genealogies serve to guide means of production within a tribe, even if they gain more access and control of resources. The textualization of a genealogy (i.e. text-artifacts) creates stability and consistency of the family tree.

This insight into the stability of genealogies from present-day analyses allows us to shift our focus away from looking for tribal genealogies only from a nomadic-pastoralist perspective. Most studies on Israelite genealogies (Malamat 1973; Wilson 1977; Aufrecht 1998; Levin 2001, 2003, 2004) draw insights from the fluidity of oral genealogies as a living tradition in African and Middle Eastern societies (although Wilson 1977 documents fluidity in Akkadian royal genealogies). These studies tend to overlook the inflexibility of lineages among the sedentary population under tribal kingdoms. Genealogical alignment proves important in urban societies in which the property stayed within a tribe (Josh. 11:23) or ancestral house (Josh. 24:28; Judg. 2:6; 1 Kgs. 21:3) through generations.

Mundy's (1995) ethnography on tribal societies in Yemen provides several keys to understanding genealogies in urban societies. She states that in Middle Eastern tribal societies, "[g]enealogy is a written art," in particular among urban elites. It is the centered religious leaders and scholars who construct honor by cultivating elaborate genealogies and biographies of distinguished individuals (Mundy 1995: 40). Similar cultural principles of honor appear to be at work in ancient Israel. The elaborate genealogies in the Pentateuch, Historical books, and Chronicles construct honor and status; i.e. who is a priest, warrior, or scholar.

Mundy points out that constructing honor through elaborate genealogies is not found in the rural sector but in the urban one. She argues that among "the majority of men, the '*arab* of the towns or the *qabuis* of the countryside, no such elaborate genealogies are cultivated. Rather a person traces his origin back to a particular place where his patronymic house is known for its

relation to the land, its honorable occupations and its marriage alliances” (1995:40). In addition, “[o]rdinary farmers do not attempt to relate individual family histories to such written lore. Origins are discussed not so much to validate a person’s positive claim to status as to discredit the pretensions of someone else, usually the rich” (1995:40). Mundy’s observation has two implications for the written genealogies in the Hebrew Bible: a) farmers in ancient Israel were not interested writing about noble descent, as their legitimacy was not contested; b) the claim of status by noble genealogy is chiefly at issue among urbanites of Judah and Israel not the rural countryside.¹⁵⁹ Therefore, pre-exilic Israelite genealogies, based upon written sources, are more rigid and tied to issue of status, pedigree, and honor. One might correlate the discovery of three and four generations on Hebrew seal legends from Jerusalem, Arad, and private collections as indicating the importance of fixed genealogies and claims to territory, positions, legitimacy, and power in the late Judean monarchy.

4.13 Summary on the use of the Chronicler and other Israelite Genealogies

Whether or not Israelite genealogies were true or false, fixed or fluid (due to migration or political realignments), they reflect the names and persons of what writers in ancient times considered to be ancestors. The analysis presented here does not attempt explain who they were, what were their kinship ties, or how they were tied to land they claimed to live in, as this information is generally unavailable. What Biblical genealogies provide, for the purposes of this research project, is a cultural supply of what Israelite and Judean tribesmen valued in terms of

¹⁵⁹ She goes on to say “Some families know well that their name has been bound to an area for generations, others, whose patronym occurs in early histories, for centuries. Families may proudly mention that their forefathers were sheikhs. Most can give a place of origin, although many have moved several times before coming into the community where they now reside” (1995: 40).

names of their ancestors, lineages, and associates.

As I will discuss at length in Chapter 5, the sources of Israelite names in the Hebrew Bible reflect local Israelite clan ideologies. In Palestine during the Iron Age II period, there was a diversity of local family naming practices in each Israelite tribal region. Israelite kinship ideology was expressed through the genealogical alignment of ten tribes (1 Kgs. 11:31, 35). First names and clan names came to index specific social membership to a tribe as well as their cultural belief system. Names were given based upon clan ideologies within that territory. Over time, first names and clan names came to be stereotypical for particular regions.¹⁶⁰

As ancient Israelite migrants faced a variety of social issues, family naming can be seen as a key site of response to such forces. If whole clans migrated from Israel to Judah, then we can trace where they are from based upon tribal genealogy, that is, the naming patterns of persons from certain clans living within Northern territory. If a refugee from Israel was of higher class (e.g., sheik or chief, wealthy elite, administrative official, military official, religious class), there was less pressure to change their family or clan name. They were not forced to join a new clan or forge a new alliance with a local village, unlike migrants with a status of peasants or resident aliens. More likely than not, wealthy tribal leaders and tribal elite classes, with technological skills situated in urban setting, were accepted without assimilation into their new homeland. But one must not discount the possibility that poorer Israelite refugees from Northern tribes who were removed from their homeland contemplated some hope of returning to it and viewed their stay in Judah as a temporary one. Retaining family and clan names attached their estates in Israel would not only be critical to reclaiming their former lands, but also would tell

¹⁶⁰ I want to emphasize that it does not matter whether a tribal genealogy is genuine (Rendsburg 1990) or fictive (van der Toorn 1996: 204; Zadok 1998b). Rather than debating what they are (fiction or non-fiction) we can turn our attention to what they do (negotiate identity and political alignments for or against certain groups).

their story and keep alive a vivid memory of their homeland. (For parallel cases of Palestinian refugees who give their children the names of destroyed villages, see Slyomovics 1998: 3, 23-24, 201-205).

Several studies have shown that tribal groups often maintain their identity after migration to towns. Some scholars, such as Rowton (1976), support the notion that urbanization and migration lead to detribalization. But other studies on tribalism in towns have shown that urbanization and migration do not necessarily lead to detribalization. Kamp and Yoffee (1980:83) point out that “ethnic identity is often maintained...and may actually increase within cities...to structure relationships within a strange community... Perhaps because of a general tendency of urban migrants to rely on kin for aid when they first arrive in town...Ethnic ties may be utilized both to establish initial residence in a city and to maintain ties with the home village.” Based upon this evidence, I argue that genealogical alignment is something that be can observed as a practice that is local to Israel because: a) Israel was land-tied in the 8th century BCE, b) there was a rigid lineage system among clans who owned land, c) tribes coexisted with the monarchies, d) both tribal kingdoms performed genealogical registers of the urban population, thus making it possible to trace refugee-type names.

Several conclusions can be made regarding a semiotic approach to tribal naming and identity alignment. A semiotic approach to naming reveals how language is tied to social structure. One of Bienkowski’s (2009) main critiques of the segmentary state model is that it cannot be traced archaeologically (especially in Edom and Moab). However, naming helps outline patterns of larger segmentary organizations and symbolic communities in the Levant during the Iron II B-C period. The clan names in the Samaria ostraca and Gibeon jar handles, along with polities labeled “House of David” and “House of Omri” (or “men of Gad”) are key to

finding the hidden layers of the traditional modes of a semiotic segmentary structure that undergird the Israelite monarchy of the Iron II period. Tribalism was not a static and timeless entity in the Iron Age II period (although the patrimony of hereditary land can be seen as an exception). On the contrary, naming was just one of the many possible reflexive (and at times messy) signs of political order and symbolic organization that are traceable archaeologically. Tribal naming patterns give us the capacity to track the complex flows of tribal and clan displacement from one place to another due to military conflict.¹⁶¹

In this chapter, I have established the importance of the ways that Israelite kinship, genealogies, and tribal naming ideologies were understood and experienced, as evidenced by text-artifacts in ancient Israel during the Iron Age II period. Individuals in Israel and Judah used the idiom of the tribe to describe the symbolic dimensions of their ancestry (lineage origins or metaphorical descent) and social relationships (political, economic, and religious membership, and claims to territory and inheritance). Segmentary tribal relations, as an ideological category, were not inflexible but fluid based upon the needs of the individual and at times cut across family alliances. Tribalism, as social and ideological category, continued in Israel and Judean under the two monarchies. The segmentary tribal state of Israel and Judah was another idiom that was super-imposed upon existing symbolic relationships. Hence, the segmentary tribal state was polymorphic symbolic community consisting of multiple forms of subsistence, organization, structure, groupings, and alignments. In the next chapter, I will identify Israelite tribal naming patterns in provenanced Judean artifacts dated to the late 8th- 7th century BCE and show that Israelite collective and individual tribal identity was culturally encoded in their naming styles

¹⁶¹ Chatty (2010) and Van der Steen's book (2013) shows the value of naming in tracking displaced tribes of the 19th and 20th centuries.

and the replication of these names served to forge a symbolic tribal community in the colonized community of Judah.

CHAPTER 5

REPLICATED ISRAELITE TRIBAL NAMES IN JUDEAN INSCRIPTIONS AS INDEXICAL OF IDENTITY ALIGNMENT AND COMMUNITY COHESION

This chapter explores the replication and enregisterment of Israelite names in Judean text-artifacts. I locate and construct the identity of Israelite refugees – those who left their homeland and crossed borders – in Judean space in the late 8th-7th century BCE. Replicated iconic names tell a story of resilience and recovery for Israelites, even as they were deterritorialized, and stateless. The refugees from Israel formed their own community in Judah, largely around Israelite cultural practices, and retained their own cultural *habitus* as a strategy for survival within Judah's larger system.

5.1 Replication, Enregisterment, and Iconization of Names

It is important to differentiate the social act of replicating a name from the enregisterment and iconization of that name within multigenerational kinship groups. The simple repetition of a name is an example of replication. Reproducing of names within a family or clan focuses on the parallel reoccurrence of names utilized by speakers over time. But enregisterment goes beyond the referential and statistical occurrences of name duplication. It takes into consideration aspects of identity and agency in the performance of a semiotic register of a given society.¹⁶²

Naming practices, as part of a cultural system among members within a tribe, clan, or kinship group, form a self-contained semiotic register. A semiotic register of naming is an

¹⁶² A linguistic semiotic register is an inventory of features (such as stereotypic verbal cues, special lexicon, parallelism, repetition, and poetic devices) that are utilized in different social circumstances and occasions, and that project social positional identities (Agha 2004: 36; 2007: 80,168). A semiotic register is to be differentiated from the general use the term 'register' in linguistics, as the latter is a collection of linguistic features that are used for a particular purpose that set it apart.

inventory of features (such as stereotypic names or the use of a special lexicon for name choices) that are utilized in different social circumstances and occasions and that project social positional identities (Agha 2007: 80, 168). Children and adults are socialized into becoming competent members of society through language use; a community uses a register of names from its linguistic inventory, and these names and semiotic register impart particular attributes or qualities to community members.

Enregisterment of names, as an expansion of a semiotic register, is the manner by which the continuing use and reproducing of name styles in appropriate contexts become standardized, distributed, naturalized, and valorized with special meaning. Ultimately, the name becomes ideologically linked with situations, places, and people. The employment of name styles can reflect and also create contextual cultural meaning tied to identity.

Essential to evaluating enregisterment among Israelite refugees in Judah is the frequency of a name occurring in a particular Israelite tribe-clan-household. When a name or lexical item is both highly attested and restricted to a tribe-clan-household, we have evidence of enregisterment. In this chapter, particular emphasis is placed on the statistical constellation of indexical forms used in the creation of identities over time and space rather than purely grammatical and referential occurrences. The construction of identity through the reproducing of names within a clan in ancient Israel was a lineage ideology that indexed alignment of the member with their clan, household, and ancestors.

Iconization is a secondary process that takes place after reproducing and enregisterment. Once a name has become iconicized, it can be used to align social agents' identity across space and time. The reproduction of iconic names in a lineage ideology in ancient Israel demonstrated sociopolitical goals: it restated tribe-clan-household allegiance amidst outside threats brought on

by migration and urbanization under Assyrian colonialism.

5.2 Limitations of the Model

It should be noted that there are several limitations to the claim that the reproducing of iconic names is indexical of inner tribal identity alignment in ancient Israel. First, the textual evidence of genealogies from the ancient Near East is generally scant, and we do not have a full census of Israelite households in the Iron Age II period. Second, textual evidence about naming, tribes, and genealogies (be it inscriptional Hebrew or from the Hebrew Bible) derives from state or royal archives and reflects the viewpoints of the institutions of power. This weakness is especially acute considering that some scholars contend that the Twelve-tribe system in ancient Israel did not exist in the pre-exilic period, but was a myth invented by Davidic or Josiah state scribes (Gottwald 1979: 298-300; Coote and Coote 1990: 29; Coote 2006; for more on this issue, cf. Weiseman 1985; de Moor 1993; 2000; Kallai 1997, De Hoop 1999; Macchi 1999). Whatever the origins of the idea of the twelve tribal system, I contend that by the time of Hezekiah (i.e. the period under examination in this dissertation) this ideology was embedded in the consciousness of ancient Israelites and members were socialized into certain naming practices that conformed to household-extended family-clan units within select eponymous-territorial areas of Israel (see the analysis below of the Nemesh [nmš] clan in the tribal area of Manasseh).¹⁶³ Be that as it may, the available documentary evidence from the ancient Near East reveals a pattern of reproducing iconic names with families-houses-clans. This can be observed through the examination of genealogies in Mesopotamia, Anatolia, and Syria-Palestine (specifically the

¹⁶³ Sparks (1998: 270-271) views certain Israelite poems, like Deuteronomy 33 that mention the tribes of Israel, as underscoring an association of genealogy, common territory, and progeny under an eponymous ancestor by the 8th century BCE.

Mesopotamian *kispu* ritual, West Semitic funerary rituals from Ugarit, official genealogical records from Emar, and Israelite tribal genealogies).

A third challenge to the theory of tribal identity alignment in the Iron Age period is the fact that tribes/clans were not static: they could migrate, form alliances, and eventually join local clans/tribes that they were previous unrelated to – and thereby affect naming patterns. In the Iron Age period, Israelite families and clans migrated to various parts of the land of Israel and Judah (Aharoni 1979: 242-246; Zevit 2001: 621-624). Migration could have initiated social contact, intermarriage, and the forging of new lineage alliances. Consequently, new kinship patterns could, to a certain degree, have affected naming patterns. For example, a weaker migrating clan may have decided to change their clan or household loyalty and, as a result, their patronymic name(s) in order to avoid stigma. A name change would index the forging of a new community alliance (and we would never know because of the old name disappears). This type of social change could affect how one interprets the distribution of naming patterns in the epigraphic and Biblical record. If, as this line of asserts, tribal members could form alliances, intermarriages, and new allegiances at whim, then names may not always index agnate ties or clan affiliation.

Another challenge is the fact that similar or the same names may have been chosen simply due to their popularity. If a clan or family relocated to a foreign village under the hegemony of a city-state or an elite clan and this family adopted the said-name of the city/elite clan as part of their tribal identity, then the duplication of the said-name would be due to its popularity and prestige.

With these limitations and weaknesses that constrain this study, the question remains as to how it can be legitimately claimed that the repetition of names indexed tribal identity alignment.

5.3 Strengths of the Model

In addition to the limitations discussed above, there are also several strengths to the model of tribal identity alignment; in addition, some of the weakness mentioned in the previous section can be resolved. First, with respect to genealogies (where a name is referentially available in text-artifacts), it is often the case that only one or two names are reused. It is possible that certain names were simply popular, but the problem with this notion is that it derives from scant textual evidence (as genealogical genres are absent from the ancient Near East) and fails to take into consideration the indexical salience of names imbedded in local communities. For example, to reconstruct a family genealogy from a text-artifact assigned to the genre of a funerary cult, it must be kept in mind that this document is not a genealogical census: they only list dead members, not living ones. Furthermore, kinsmen do not list the name of every living and dead family member. As will be seen under the section on replicated and enregistered names in Syria-Palestine, the naming of ancestors is eclectic. A full genealogical list or census from a person's local tribal community might show that naming patterns were not particularly based on popularity. The same can be said for wills. For example, at Emar we find only a small amount of genealogical information in the cuneiform tablets. Sometimes, a testator mentions his father and grandfather (Undheim 2001: 126-127), and his children do not correspond to any of the patrilineal descendants. But if we were to have the names of all of his brothers and uncles, we might find some type of naming patterns that create an identity alignment. In my view, if a more full genealogy were available it would show more patrilineal and cognatic aligned naming patterns. But in the interim, as will be demonstrated in the remainder of this chapter, the extant documents do validate my theory of inner tribal naming alignment.

It was not always the case that tribal coalitions caused a name change or that migration led to the loss of identity. The Hebrew Bible provides scores of examples of tribal alliances, and in many cases we find that the less powerful tribe/clan retained their corporate group name and heritage identity (indicated by the *nisbe* or gentilic marker /y/ in Hebrew). According to 1 Kings 12:16, Jeroboam split from the united monarchy established under the House of David and formed an independent segmentary state with the remaining tribes of Israel. There are examples of whole tribes moving from one region to another— such as the Danites moving into the larger inheritance of Naphtali and Machir migrating to Transjordan—and retaining their identity (Rainey and Notley 2006: 142, 151-152). There are also examples of smaller clans shifting from one tribe to another and retaining their identity. For example, in 2 Samuel 4:2 there is a reference to Rechab the son of Rimmon the Beerothite (gentilic marker with /y/) who was chief (*šr*) of a band of troops under King Ish-bosheth, Saul’s son of the tribe of Benjamin. The Beerothites did not have any agnate affiliation with the Benjamites but they were “considered Benjamites” by patronage. After the collapse of Ish-bosheth’s regime, the Beerothite severed all segmentary ties with the Benjamites and were refugee foreigners (*grym*) in Gittaim (2Sam. 4:3)— a city near Ramleh or Ras Abu Ḥamid of the Danite territory (Rainey and Notley 2006:145). What is observed in this ethnohistorical account is this: despite the fluidity of social structure, organization and coalition, the smaller Beerothite clans did not adopt a Benjamite name, but retained their tribal identity as ‘Beerothites.’ Ultimately, there is no fixed social structure, but rather small companies (loosely defined) of non-agnate associations that ally together and then fragment again.

With respect to smaller families shifting to another tribal region and retaining their identity, a few examples will suffice. A judge named Tola who maintained his alignment with

Issachar despite the fact that he lived in Shamir in the hill-country of Ephraim (Judg. 10:1; the Tola clan Gen 46:13; Num 26:23; 1 Chr 7:1). Then there is the example of a local Canaanite man Shitrai—who was over the herds of David—and his is non-Israelite clan identity is indicated by the gentilic marker ‘the Sharonite’ (1Chr. 27:29). Thus, as Alford observes in his comprehensive cross-cultural survey of modern-day personal naming practices, one can conclude that “perhaps more than anything else personal names emphasize family unity and continuity” (1988:55).

Sometimes displaced persons and exiles took a stance of alignment with their homeland. There are several cases in the cuneiform record of the Iron Age period where migrants did not adopt new names. As noted above, from the eighth to sixth centuries BCE, Israelite and Judean exiles living in Mesopotamia retained and reproduced iconic ancestral first and family names (Zadok 1977; 2002; Becking 1992; Oded 2010; Cogan 2013).¹⁶⁴ This naming pattern indexes the resistance to forces pushing to change one’s identity and culture. Moreover, as noted above, the retention of patronyms from a pre-displaced past is attested among other ethnic groups in the Levant, like the Philistines from Tell Jemmeh who retained their Indo-European patronyms. Similarly, Azitiwatas, who is Luwian, claims heritage from the House of Mopsos, which is Western Anatolian (Hawkins 2000).

Even name changes support my contention that names index tribal alignment. The adoption of a new first name or the mixing of family names indexes social change, intermarriages, migration, and political allegiances. A case in point is the Gibeonite and Edomite names in genealogies of the House of Saul, which index political alliances and intermarriage (Blenkinsopp 1972). Or the shared Reubite clan names in Benjamite and Judean genealogies,

¹⁶⁴ Heltzer (2005) documents the use of seals among Israelites exiles in Assyria and Babylonia, but these are based largely on unprovenanced artifacts.

which index the mergers, migrations, and intermarriages between these tribes (Rainey and Notley 2006: 152).

Finally, it must also be stated from the outset that the data for the reusing of Israelite names into Judah is weakened by our lack of knowledge of how the names were vocalized in the Iron Age period. Heteronymic (same spelling but different pronunciation) and homographic (same spelling but different meaning/etymology) naming practices existed within Israelite culture; this fact poses a difficult challenge. Heteronyms in the writing systems of IH (Israelian Hebrew) and JH (Judean Hebrew) existed both between tribal states and within each state (as the Shibboleth incident between the Ephraimites and Gileadites indicates).¹⁶⁵ Homographs are more complex, and the dozens of studies devoted to Israelite personal names illustrate the challenges facing attempts to reconstruct the etymological roots of names.¹⁶⁶ Consider Kogan's (2006) re-analysis of the etymological roots of over 55 Israelite names (based upon Arabic and Sabaic). His essay not only demonstrates the potential of fresh insights from cognates in other Semitic languages, but also this sobering reality: war, migration, deportation, and contact throughout the Iron Age period brought on social changes and language shift, which in turn meant the loss of the cultural meaning of names. At the same time, similarly-spelled names do seem to index identity maintenance, especially in the context of Judah in the late eighth to seventh centuries BCE, when migration and urbanization brought the need for identity

¹⁶⁵ For example, the PN *qrḥ* in Hebrew inscriptions (*Arad* 49.2; *Lachish* 31:4) is a heteronym that could have been vocalized as *qoṣrahā* (a pre-exilic Levite, in Gen. 36:5) or *qaṣreṣahā* (the patronymic of a military commander in the late Judean monarchy, in 2 Kgs 25:23 and Jer 40:8).

¹⁶⁶ See Noth 1928; Schult 1967; Stamm 1980; Fowler 1988; Zadok 1988; Layton 1990; Renz 1995; Dobbs-Allsopp et. al. 2004; Krašovec 2010; Albertz and Schmidt 2012; Rechenmacher 2012. For example, the etymology of the lexical element *ʾm* in PNs is usually interpreted as “mother,” but other possibilities include “people” or “nation” (Gen. 25:16; Num. 25:15), or, based upon Arabic, “to rule” or “to lead” (Fowler 1988:85).

construction amidst multilingualism, Neo-Assyrian colonialism, and a heterogeneous population in the southern Levant.

In light of these observations, the analysis of tribal identity alignment presented here will be based upon the naming patterns (the social practice of using a special in-group lexicon or a restricted name inventory) in the Hebrew writing system. I will also provide a few examples of the reuse of iconic names as a language ideology in the ancient Near East. While it lies beyond the scope of this study to comprehensively examine and evaluate repeated and reused names in families in Mesopotamia and Syria-Palestine, this brief survey highlights the importance of naming patterns as indexical of changed social structures, continuity, and cultural ideologies of kinship.

5.4 Replicated and Enregistered Names as Indexical of Identity in Syria-Palestine

Replicating names from one's lineage and kinship household is a cultural practice evident in the funerary rituals from the Ancient Near East. Three ritual texts form the basis of this analysis: Mesopotamian *kispum* (Tsukimoto 1985; Schmidt 1996: 46-133), the West Semitic *zakāru šumma* "invoking the name" (Fleming 2008; van der Toorn 2008), and an Ugaritic royal funerary text (Pardee 2002). In these funerary rituals, the eldest male offspring often invoked the name(s) of deceased ancestor(s), and this act allowed the deceased family member's name to be kept alive. Moreover, animating ancestral names in funerary performances was a solidarity-based linguistic practice and a factor (or mechanism) in the reproduction of names despite social changes such as migration, retribalization, intermarriages, and clan mergers.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁷ Space does not permit a fuller treatment of funerary rituals in West Semitic culture, as we are only interested in isolating select examples of replicating tribal names in these rituals. Showing honor by invoking the name of deceased ancestors is evident in several text-artifacts from the Iron Age period. For

The first example of reduplicating clan names is attested in an Old Babylonian *kispum* prayer ritual for the ancestor cult. In this Mesopotamian *kispu*-prayer, Sin-naṣir lists his genealogical lineage, which extends to his father, his grandfather, and his great-grandfather Ishme-Ea, son of Shamash-nasir. As van der Toorn points out, “The ancestors included in the devotion of the living went back as far as the fourth generation, counting back from the oldest family member alive. A prayer to the moon-god enumerates the names of the dead addressed by the living” (2008: 28). Sin-naṣir’s prayer includes the patrilineal extended family of Ishme-Ea. The deceased that Sin-naṣir also named include: 1 cousin, 1 father, 10 uncles, 5 grandfathers, 1 great-grandfather, and 1 great-great-grandfather, in addition to several aunts and great-aunts. This ritual is a unique find that underscores the importance of genealogy, lineage, and identity in ancestor funerary rituals in the ancient Near East. Below I list only the male names in Sin-naṣir’s family:

Ishme-Ea → **Sin-našir** → Sin-iddinam
→ Ipqu-Aya → Ipqu-Annunitum → **Sin-našir**

Using the framework of language ideologies, the reusing of Sin-naşir, who was named after his great uncle Sin-naşir, son of Ishme-Ea, indexes identity of alignment. This genealogical list provides evidence for cross-cousin naming in endogamous marriages. Although Sin-naşir's name is the only one directly repeated within the clan, it may be that a full list of Sin-naşir's family tree would disclose more reused names within his family lineage.

example, in an eighth-century Aramaic Inscription, Panammua implores his descendants to keep invoking his name during a ritual for the dead. Furthermore, he proscribed an act of speech to be recited by his offspring during the ritual performance (*KAI* 214 1:15–17). Even ritual contexts for a kin to invoke the name of the deceased ancestors are attested. For example, in a recent inscription of KTMW in the Samalian dialect from Zincirli, the ancestor proscribed a ritual to be performed by his descendants before his stele (Pardee 2009: 53-54 lines 1-3, 6-13).

Several funerary texts in Akkadian and Ugaritic from the city of Ugarit show replicated iconic names within the royal house of the kings of Ugarit. Text RS 24.257 from Ugarit is a royal ritual artifact for the recently deceased King Niqmaddu III (Pardee 2002: 201ff). Several deceased ancestors of Niqmaddu III are listed followed by the word *ʾl*, which may not necessarily refer to “the god of X” but rather to the “ancestor” who is King X. Several names of the royal dynasty of Ugarit are duplicated in the alphabetic Ugaritic tablet: Niqmempa (4x), Ammittamru (2x), and Ibbmramnu (2x). In a syllabic Akkadian cuneiform royal funerary text-artifact from Ugarit (RS 94.2518), the following iconic names are replicated in the royal lineage of Niqmaddu III: Niqmempa (6x), Ibbmramnu (4x), Niqmaddu (3x), and Ammittamru (2x). The replicated iconic names in the royal line of Ugarit, as a form of identity alignment, are oikonymic (naming a child after a household member) and genonymic (naming a child after a clan member).

Identity alignment in the form of papponomy (naming a male child after his grandfather) is also attested a few times in these royal funerary texts. For example, in alphabetic text RS 24.257 lines 19-21: Niqmepa → Niqmaddu → Niqmepa. Again, papponomy occurs in Column II lines 21-23: Niqmepa → Ibiranu → Niqmepa.¹⁶⁸

Scholars have long noted that genealogies, whether putative or fictive, serve to legitimize the heir. For example, the so-called genealogy of Hammurapi served this purpose (Finkelstein 1966; Malamat 1968; Wilson 1977).¹⁶⁹ However, the royal genealogies in the funerary

¹⁶⁸ Ugaritic names have not been studied in light of identity alignment theory. It is estimated that Ugarit archives covered seven or eight generations and a population of around 150,000-300,000, yet only one example of papponomy of the name *ʾAddunu* has been noted (Hess 1999: 511).

¹⁶⁹ Hallo (1996: 209) points out, “The emergence of the *kispu* ritual in Old Babylonian times, and especially at Mari, may well have served in part to tie together the successive generations of each of the new Amorite dynasties, as well as to unite the separate dynasties under real or imaginary common

inscription from Ugarit derive from one patrimonial household (Schloen 2001). Hence, I contend that the reduplication of names among the royal house of Ugarit was to reinforce agnate ties among the ruling class. Royal families were socialized into naming use, but through family-clan funerary rituals they were able to create one Ugaritic “family community” wherein families of the royal house merged to be one people. That is, through religious funerary ritual speech, Ugaritic kings were able to create a sense of who they were and reinforce Ugaritic royal identity. Funerary rituals were moments when families/clans imagined themselves as unified.¹⁷⁰

5.4.1 Replicated and Enregistered Names as Indexical of Identity Alignment among Agro-Pastoral West Semites at Emar

Replicating iconic names as a form of identity alignment is attested in several Akkadian cuneiform tablets from the Late Bronze Age city of Emar, located in western Syro-Mesopotamia. Emar was a West Semitic-Amorite tribal society that was more agro-pastoral than Ugarit; the kinship pattern was patrilineal and the social structure was patriarchal (along with patrilocal residence patterns, cf. Arnaud 1980; Westenholz 2000: iv). Emar was an important marketplace for the sale of cereals, wool, and livestock. Prior to the Hittite hegemony, Emar’s kingship played a limited role (unlike the pyramid-like political structure of patrimonialism at Ugarit) and decision-making was based upon the collective governance of peers (so-called “brothers”) from

ancestors, thus serving the purposes of their genealogical orientation.”

¹⁷⁰ Regarding the practice of papponymy in the wider ancient Near East, Zadok argues that the practice is attested as early as the late second millennium among non-Semites (Zadok 1988:15). However, it must have been more pervasive than usually recognized and space does not permit further exploration. For example, in the Amorite West Semitic culture at Mari the royal family of Zimri-Lim reproduced the names of several ancestors (Sasson 2015: 320 n. 79). There are a few examples of papponymy as a solidarity-based language practice within the genealogies of the Neo-Hittite royal houses. For example, the house of Kuzi-Teshub of Malayta: Kuzi-Teshub → PUGNUS-mili(I) → *Arnuwantis(I) → PUGNUS-mili(II) → *Arnuwantis (II) (Hawkins 2000: 287).

households (Fleming 2002; 2004).

Several aspects of tribal naming at ancient Emar are important in terms of understanding naming practices in ancient Israel. Emar's social structure was similar to the social structure of some Levantine polities in the Iron Age period, including ancient Israel. Some of the important continuities between the agro-pastoral (even semi-nomadic) social structure and kinship patterns of ancient Emar and ancient Israel are in the concepts of family, identity, and the ancestral household. The household was the central economic network and the clan a prominent military and social unit. In the examples listed below, naming a family member after an ancestor was a form of respect and the reusing of names indexed honor, empowerment, solidarity, and strengthening agnate kinship ties. At Emar, land was to be kept in the patrilineage and was purchased, sold, and witnessed by members of the same patrilineal family (Westenholtz 2000: iv). Arguably, the few cases of replicating clan-household names were related to local agrarian language ideologies that interconnect inheritance, landholdings, and lineage.¹⁷¹

The following three features are found in the cultural system of naming among agro-pastoral West Semitic households and clans at Emar: papponymy (naming a male child after his paternal grandfather), genonymy (cross-cousin naming), and patronymy (naming a male child after his father).¹⁷² Each example represents a West Semitic-Amorite pattern of folk discursive

¹⁷¹ With respect to keeping land within one's family, one Syrian-type tablet includes the stipulation that a father gives regarding his daughter if she was to marry outside of her clan: "«If Pahetu» should go away after a man outside the clan, she must leave her garment and the wooden bucket. She may go where she desires. Let Pahetu, (my) daughter, the *qadistu* priestess, give her inheritance share which I gave to her to (anyone) among her brothers who is responsible for her (and) whom she loves. She may not give (it) to a man outside the clan" (*Hirayam* 23: 31-38; Undheim 2001: 104-105).

¹⁷² Retaining the divine name (DN) within the household, even down to the grandchildren, is another feature of Emar's cultural system of naming. For example, in Milki-Dagan's household, Dagan is replicated down to the grandchildren: Milki-Dagan → Dagan-Kabar and Ahi-Dagan (sons) → Ahi-Dagan

awareness and (implicit) rationalizations of reproducing iconic names.

The first cultural system of naming that will be analyzed is papponomy. There are two examples of the pattern of people naming their oldest son after their father at Emar: the will of Ištābu son of Zu-Aba (Fig.?) and Ba‘al-abu, son of Tuba (Fig. ?):

Fig. 2 Papponomy in Ištābu’s Genealogy

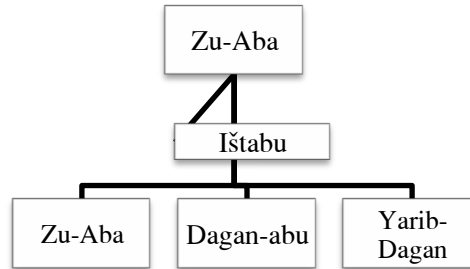
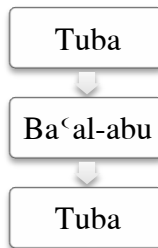


Fig. 3 Papponomy in Ba‘al-abu’s Genealogy



The first example is from the tablet of Ištābu son of Zu-Aba and it is one of the oldest wills at Emar (pre-Hittite period of the Syrian type). The will reads:

1) Ištābu, son of Zu-Aba, 2) in his lifetime 3) seated his “brothers” and 4-5) made a will pertaining to his house and his children. Thus he declared: 6) “Huḫa is not my son. 7) His staff is broken. 8) Zu-Aba, Dagan-Abu 9) and Yarib-Dagan are my sons. 10-14) In succeeding days Huḫa (may) not have a

and Milki-Dagan (grandsons) (Cohen 2007:336). Reproducing the DN Dagan was a form of religious alignment that indexed prestige and solidarity with the clan and town deity.

share 11) among the property, the debts 12) and the possessions 13) of Ištābu.
 15) In the future 16-17) in succeeding days nobody [against the proper]ty
 18) [...] [...] 19) he [h]^las sat^l, and in the presence of [his] fath[er] 20) he
 issued an insult. 21-22) Since he thus broke his staff, he (has) removed him from
 his status as son. 23-24) May a drainage opening and famine be his inheritance
 (*Hirayama* 28; Undheim 2001: 119).

Ištābu son of Zu-Aba, a non-elite person in Emar society, disinherits his son Ḫuḫa and wills his inheritance to his other three sons: Zu-Aba, Dagan-abu, and Yarib-Dagan. In this household, Zu-Aba is named after his grandfather.¹⁷³ Because Zu-Aba is listed first in the will, it is likely that he was Ištābu's oldest son. If so, conferring the name of the grandfather Zu-Aba on the oldest son is a form of respect that indexes his social role in the family hierarchy. In this case, papponymy would not only index social structure but also the social roles played by the person bearing the grandfather's name. Linguistic anthropological studies on language use in everyday life note that in certain situations the selection of address terms (including proper names, kinship terms, and nicknames) among siblings depends "on a particular aspect of the relationship that the speaker wants the addressee to attend to at the moment" (Schieffelin 1990: 116). Unlike his eldest son, the remainder of Ištābu's sons' names do not have similar replicated lexical components; they were given altogether different names, perhaps indexing differences of social role. This example of papponymy as social practice is illustrative of how replicated names functioned as a social status marker that indexed respect and honor among West Semitic speakers of Emar.

Papponymy is also attested in the will of Ba'al-abu, son of Tuba. In this will, the testator, Ba'al-abu, son of Tuba, mentions his biological son Tuba, but nevertheless adopts another son

¹⁷³ An example of papponymy among the elite is in Zu-Ba'la genealogy, a prominent family of diviners at Emar. Zuzu (a shortened form of Zu-Ba'la) is given the name of his great-grandfather: Zu-Ba'la → Ba'al-qarrad → Ba'al-malik → Zuzu (Cohen 2007: 336). This is also an example of replicating the divine name Ba'la among multigenerations. Fleming speculates that the frequency of Ba'la names was due to the "institutional power of the storm god and his temple" (2008: 48).

named Bubiū, son of Abbu, and gives him an inheritance, possibly because his biological son was too young.¹⁷⁴ Mentioning Baʿal-abu’s patronymic in the will reveals the fact that Baʿal-abu’s son was named after Baʿal-abu’s own father, thereby aligning his identity with his household.¹⁷⁵

The second cultural system of naming among agro-pastoral families at Emar is genonymy (cross-cousin naming). There are two examples of this feature, shown in Figure X and Figure Y below: the genealogy of the house of Milki-Dagan and Šadiya son of Ḫuzamu:

Fig. 4 The Genealogy of Milki-Dagan

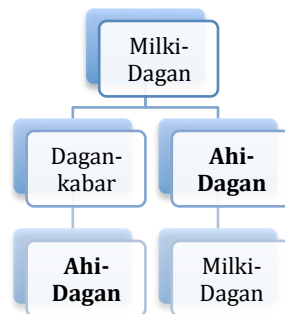
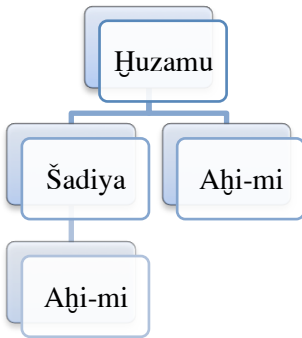


Fig. 5 The Genealogy of Šadiya

¹⁷⁴ We are not certain why Baʿal-abu adopted another son. On *RE* 28, Undheim (2001: 150) states “This contract is distinctive in that the testator adopts a son and gives him the responsibility of parental care when he apparently already has a natural son. He may have adopted because of a minor status of his biological son. However, Beckman does not think that this son was a minor.”

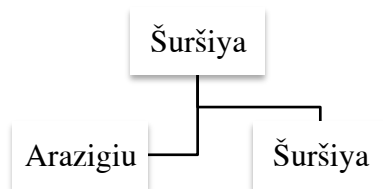
¹⁷⁵ Replicating names in a household as indexical of identity alignment is also practiced at Ekalte, a related West Semitic culture in close proximity to Emar. An example of papponomy is found in Mayer’s (2001:92) genealogies of Ekalte for the house of Addu-Baʿla, whose name is replicated twice (see also Torrecilla 2014).



In the first genealogy, Dagan-kabar named his son after his brother Ahi-Dagan (Cohen 2007: 336). Moreover, there is also a pattern of papponymy: Ahi-Dagan's son is named after his grandfather Milki-Dagan. In the second genealogy, from the will of Šadiya son of Huzamu, there is the rare instance in which the testator, Šadiya, includes the names of both his brother Aḥi-mi and his own son in his will (*Emar* V I 180, see Undheim 2001: 81-82). Consequently, it is revealed that Šadiya named his son after his brother Aḥi-mi.

A last feature of the cultural system of naming in the society of Emar is patronymy: replicating names aligned with one's father suggests a privileged relationship between father and son. Beckman's publication of a list of guards – an Emar tablet in Syro-Hittite style – includes an example of patronymy in Šuršiya's household (1996: 94; RE73). Patronymy occurs with the name Šuršiya, marking a different relationship between Šuršiya and his two sons, Šuršiya and his brother Arazigiu:

Fig. 6 The Genealogy of Šuršiya



The examples listed above from Ugarit and Syria provide a short sample of replicated names as indexical of identity alignment in West Semitic royal families and among agro-pastoral domestic families societies in the Late Bronze Age. In West Semitic urban and agro-pastoral societies, families were socialized into using local types of names. Rites invoking a deceased ancestor or family member's name (*šuma zakāru*) in a ritual "feast" (*mrzḥ*) had several indexically consequential meanings. First, they not only kept the genealogical memory and naming pattern alive in the family but also reinforced agnate ties. Secondly, animating deceased ancestors through funerary naming rituals was a temporary way to erase differences and to imagine oneself as belonging to a unified kinship group. Third, keeping one's family name alive through funerary rituals was a cultural semiotic sign of honor in the Levant. Reusing the name of a deceased ancestor was a way to communicate the power and solidarity of the household and clan. A disruption in the continuity of reusing names in the cultural system would indicate social changes in the society.¹⁷⁶

Close examination of names as they appear in the scores of wills from the Late Bronze Age city of Emar reveals a pattern of replication that appears to be interrelated to inheritance rights within the patrilineal family. At Emar, replicating a name was not only used for reference and social identification and placement in society, but was a way to index empowerment and rightful descent. The over-arching conclusion for this brief historical ethnography is this: the analytical categories of papponymy, genonymy, patronymy of names were discursive resources rooted in the social tradition and environment of the West Semitic culture of Emar.

¹⁷⁶ This fact is evident from the number of royal family names from Ugarit, such as Niqmaddu and Ammittamru, ceased to exist after the destruction of the city at the end of the Late Bronze Age transition.

5.4.2 Replicated and Enregistered Names within the Household and Clan in Israelite Genealogies

In reconstructing Israelite social identity, scholars have generally overlooked the potential contribution of naming patterns. They have critically examined the central role of the family in Israelite literature (Halpern 1991, 1996; Bendor 1996; Blenkinsopp 1997; Levine 2003; Lemos 2010; 2016) and archaeology (Stager 1985; Bodel and Olyan 2008; Dutcher-Walls 2009; Hardin 2010; Yasur-Landau, Ebeling, and Mazow 2011; Albertz and Schmitt 2012; Dever 2012; Faust 2012; Routledge 2013; Schloen 2001; 2016). But they have yet to explore the linguistic anthropology of reusing and enregisterment of iconic family-tribal names in ancient Israelite culture.¹⁷⁷

Names are cultural documents, as Cooper (1999) correctly points out, but one must problematize the many historically informed semiotic ways in which names are significant. Iron Age II Hebrew inscriptions provide demographic insights into infant mortality,¹⁷⁸ fertility, marriage practices, household organization, and family structures within different regions of ancient Israel. But it is important to try to understand how ancient social actors meaningfully constructed their world by attributing value and symbolic significance to names, and how these

¹⁷⁷ Recently, Heltzer (2007) documented the Galgūla family from the seventh century BCE to the Hellenistic period. But the general trend is to overlook the socio-political importance of the onomasticon in Israelite culture. Within studies of the wider ancient Near East, Langin-Hooper and Pearce's (2014) recent article on mammonymy in Hellenistic Uruk is a step in the right direction.

¹⁷⁸ For example, according to Rainer, a "large number and variety of substitute names reflect the shockingly high rate of infant mortality in preexilic Israelite societies. This group is the second-largest group of birth names, next to creation names, and it comprises one-quarter of all instances . . . no fewer than 20 different names, derived from 6 different roots, known from 219 occurrences. The apparent popularity of these names suggests that, confronted with a desire to express experiences related to birth by choosing a name, something like a quarter of all parents felt themselves still so attached to a previously deceased infant that they gave their newborn one of these substitute names" (2012: 294-295).

values, sometimes expressed through name reproduction, served their purpose in constructing their identity in certain situations.¹⁷⁹ This approach is especially important in demographic studies of migration.

One of the more common studies in the ancient Near Eastern onomasticon has been papponymy in Jewish society. Patronymy (naming a son after his father) and papponymy (naming a son after his grandfather), although rarely attested in epigraphic Hebrew of the Iron Age, are found in Israelite genealogies in the Hebrew Bible. However, since papponymy is popular among Jews from the Persian period onward in the Middle East, it has received more attention.¹⁸⁰ But this approach of paying little attention to papponymy in the pre-exilic period may require a rethinking in light of the burgeoning of epigraphic discoveries and a different research methodology, namely linguistic anthropology.

While space does not permit a full analysis of all the occurrences of replicated names in multigenerational families-households-clans in Israelite genealogies, a few examples should be

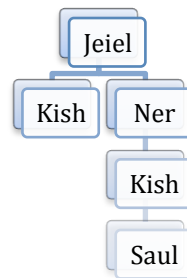
¹⁷⁹ How is the replication of names in ancient Israel related to ‘substitute names’ of deceased kin (*Ersatznamen*, which refers to the return or replacement of deceased ancestor)? Is there a correlation between the two? It is true that naming practices have much to do with circumstances of birth or infant mortality, and in the study of Hebrew onomasticon substitute names (of deceased kin) have received lots of attention since Stamm first assigned kinship names to this category (1980: 59-79); see most recently Rainer (2012, 2014), Rechenmacher (2012), but also van der Toorn’s critique (1996b). But this approach is more focused on the abstract grammatical meaning of a name confined to scholarly constructs of the circumstances of birth rather than the semiotics of name classifications informed by cultural ethnography. A linguistic anthropological approach provides a lens into how and why people interpret and reinterpret processes of name classifications, rather than “arm-chair” speculations based upon grammatical interpretation of their “fixed” meaning. In my estimation, recycling names has little or nothing to do with substitute names and is more concerned with tribal community and family survival, stability, and allegiance across social upheaval, shifting borders, and political regime change, however unstable and shifting their “meaning” may be across chronotopes (to use Bakhtin’s [1986] term).

¹⁸⁰ For Elephantine, see Gray (1914); Porten (1968: 235-237; 2001); Silverman (1985: 195). For the Murashu archive from Nipper during the fifth century, see Coogan (1976:121).

sufficient to demonstrate patterns and meanings.¹⁸¹ This section will feature the reusing and enregisterment of names as a cultural system in the families-households-clans of Benjamin and Ephraim. In each case, language and naming is a tool of persuasion to create and maintain power, where coercive force is not found on the tip of the spear but in speech.¹⁸²

Within the Israelite genealogies of the tribe of Benjamin, we find identity alignment by reusing names within multigenerational agro-pastoral families and clans. The first example is the personal name Kish, which is replicated in 1 Chr. 9:35–39 in King Saul’s genealogy as both the son and grandson of Jeiel. In the example below, Kish, son of Ner is named after his uncle (genonymy or cross-cousin naming):

Fig. 7 Kish in Saul’s Genealogy (1 Chr. 9:35–39)



A second example of the replication of names is the Benjamite name Palti. In Israelite genealogical name inventories, the name Palti is replicated twice (Num. 13:9; 2 Sam. 25:44)¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ I use the compound “families-households-clans” to note the strong semiotic connection between the three levels of social structure (immediate family, then larger house of the father, and finally the larger extended family alliance living in a certain territorial or geographically contiguous area [usually mobilized for purposes of defense]). Typically scholars view the “clan” and “tribe” as loose or weak unit (Gottwald 1979).

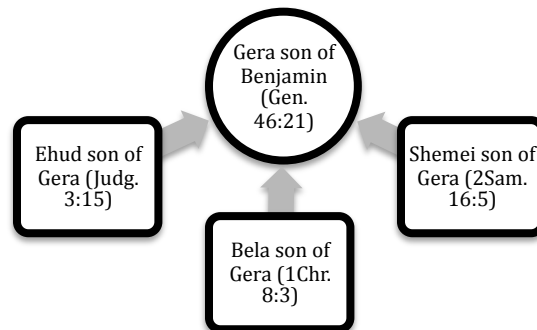
¹⁸² See Caton (1987) on hegemony as consent and verbal art as a tool of persuasion.

¹⁸³ In 1 Sam. 25:44, Saul’s son-in-law is named Palti, the son of Laish from Gallim. Gallim is located in the tribal territory of Benjamin near Anathoth (*HALOT*, 1:193) and Laish is the name of a Benjamite town (Judg. 18:7, 29; Is. 10:30). Palti’s patronymic is essentially a town-name.

and the etymological root component *plṭ* occurs frequently within the tribe of Benjamin (for example, *plṭ* in 1Chr. 12:3 as one of David’s Benjamite warriors; *’lplṭ* in 1Chr. 8:39, a descendant of Jonathan, son of Saul).

The name Gera also illustrates the politics of tribal naming in Benjamite genealogies. The name Gera is first mentioned as the son of Benjamin (Gen. 46:21) but it is replicated as a patronym of Benjamite identity. For example, Gera is the father of Ehud (a Benjamite champion) in Judges 3:15 and the father of Shimei (a member of Saul’s Benjamite clan) in 2 Samuel 16:5. But in 1Chronicles 8:3, Gera is the son of Bela, a Benjamite. Hence, the name Gera is a name-replica of original founding ancestor of the clan (Gen. 46:21). As the figure below indicates, Gera son of Benjamin’s name was reproduced within multigenerational families of the tribe of Benjamin spanning several centuries:

Fig. 8 Gera as an Iconic Name of Benjamite Tribal Identity



The name Gera does not simply distinguish a person in a village or town but rather has a symbolic purpose with sociopolitical meaning. Concerning the lineage of Ehud and Shimei, the patronymic Gera could refer to an ancestor who at one time was the father of Ehud and later of

Shemei. Taking a slightly different approach, the patronymic Gera could also be a clan name that was telescoped back to a founding ancestor, thereby obscuring Ehud and Shemei's direct consanguineal male predecessor. Ehud and Shemei's identity then would be aligned with a prominent ancestor, and founding patriarch of Benjamin, to ascribe to them honor and prestige.¹⁸⁴ Adding to this feature, the name Gera could also have functioned metonymically for the village where the Gera household lived. To non-clan members, the name Gera signaled the iconization of a people group located on a geographical map (a clan living in the territory of Benjamin, as opposed to another tribal area). In summary, it can be said that the name Gera indexed several aspects of sociocultural meaning: 1) a stereotypical name of the tribe of Benjamite; 2) location where Benjamites live; 3) the maintenance of Israelite family-group identity across time and space; 4) a prestige marker on Israel's ideological map.

Reproducing names within multigenerational agro-pastoral families is also attested in the genealogies of the Israelite tribe of Ephraim. For example, in the Chronicler's genealogy of Ephraim, the names¹⁸⁵ Shuthelah and Tahath are replicated twice (1 Chron. 7:20-21):¹⁸⁶

Fig. 9 Name Replication in the Chronicler's Genealogy of the Tribe of Ephraim

Ephraim → **Shuthelah** → Bered → **Tahath** → Eleadah → **Tahath** → Zabad → **Shuthelah**

¹⁸⁴ Other causes for telescoping or the disappearance of names in genealogy that were no longer significant include social factors such as death or lack of inheritance (Peters 1960:34).

¹⁸⁵ Additionally, the name Tahan is replicated in both Num. 26:35 and in 1Chr. 7:25.

¹⁸⁶ Scholars have debated the genealogy of Ephraim in this section of the book of Chronicles and in Numbers 26:35-36 (see Na'aman 1991: 105-109; Japhet 1993: 180-181; Knoppers 2004b: 465-466; Klein 2006: 231-235). While scholars see the reduplication of names in Chronicles and/or the omission of names in comparison with Numbers 26 as problematic, however, understanding language ideologies of names (patronymic associations, nicknames, and identity alignment) may solve some of the problems involved with the reduplication of names and the order of Ephraim's genealogy.

Papponymy is evident in Eleadah naming his son after his father Tahath (contra Zadok 1988: 15). This example is one of the earliest instances of papponymy in the Hebrew Bible, as this practice became more pervasive among Jews during the Persian period (Porten 1968; 2001).

5.4.3 Replicated and Enregistered Iconic Names in Hebrew Text-Artifacts from the Iron Age II period as Acts Indexical of Identity Alignment

Careful examinations of Hebrew inscriptions from Northern Israel provide one of the best cases that the cultural practice of reproducing enregistered and iconic names within multigenerational families is an ideological act of local group alignment and other semiotic projections.¹⁸⁷ They provide the researcher an emic (internal) view of ancient Israelite perceptions of their world.

Most illustrative of the enregisterment and iconization of clan names is the Manassite name *nmš* ‘Nemesh/Nimsh.’ The discursive intentionality of the name *nmš* as a distinct marker of clan identity, as opposed to the static and utilitarian perspective of names as reference, is

¹⁸⁷ There are other examples of reproducing tribal names in epigraphic Hebrew. The name *hnn* had iconic significance among kinship groups in the Shelphelah of Judah during the Iron Age period. This name is replicated and enregistered as a first or family name in a Beth Shemesh ostrakon from either the twelfth (Naveh 1997: 35) or the eleventh century BCE (cf. Lemaire 2012: 298; 2015: 17), a first name on two Hebrew inscriptions from Tel Batash/Timnah and Beth Shemesh dated to the tenth century BCE (Lemaire 2012: 300-301; 2015: 17; Ahituv and Mazar 2014: 56), and finally as the family-household name of an official over the Shelphelah under King Solomon (1 Kgs. 4:9). Another example of reproducing names, from the Negev of Judah during the late 7th century BCE, is an ostrakon from Khirbet Uza that lists a military unit under the Giddelite clan and the name *yʿznyhw* is reproduced twice in line 7 (*HITBP*: 533). Therefore, the name Jaazaniah was aligned with Giddelite clan identity. Lastly, there are other examples of names found in inscriptions that align with the habitual naming practices of the tribal groups mentioned in the Hebrew Bible. In Israel, a recently discovered seal from Tel Dothan in Manasseh bears the inscription *ʿbšr* “my father is a rock” (Miglio 2014). The noun *šr* “rock” is reproduced in a Manassite personal name in the Hebrew Bible (*pdhšr*: Num 1:10; 2:20; 7:54, 59; 10:23). Lastly, an inscribed bowl from the eastern slope of the City of David, Jerusalem, was reconstructed to read: [zk]ryhw *bn bnh* (Uziel, Eshel, and Szanton 2015). If the patronym is a short form of *bnymhw*, then it is a replicated form of the ninth-century figure Zechariah, son of Benaiah, mentioned in 2 Chronicles 20:14-15.

based upon the reusing of this name on five separate provenanced text-artifacts discovered within the tribal territory of Manasseh that span approximately three centuries and several generations. A prosopographic analysis reveals that this name is reproduced on text-artifacts from Khirbet Tannin, Tel Amal, Tel Rehov, and Samaria.¹⁸⁸

The earliest inscription, from the tiny village of Khirbet Tannin near Tel el-Farah (North), is dated to the late eleventh century BCE. Reading the inscription from left to right yields the name *nmš* (Lemaire 1985:14; 2004: 552-554).¹⁸⁹ The second inscription is from Tel ‘Amal, 3 km west of Beth Shean and only fifteen kilometers northeast of Khirbet Tannin. The PN (personal name) *nmš* is incised on the shoulder of a jar that was found in a tomb and is dated to the second half of the tenth century BCE (Lemaire 1973). Thirdly, the name *nmš* is incised on two separate “hippo” type storage jars from Tel Rehov. One storage jar is from Stratum V dated to between the late tenth and the early ninth centuries BCE (Mazar 2003:180-182; Aḥituv and Mazar 2014: 43 no. 5) and the other from Stratum IV dated ninth century BCE (Aḥituv and Mazar 2014: 44-45 no. 6). On the storage from Stratum IV, the name *nmš* is prefixed by the word *šqy* “the cupbearer,” a title for a high-ranking official indexing a high level of social stratification for the clan group (Aḥituv and Mazar 2014:45). Lastly, the name *nmš* is inscribed on a receipt for an unknown commodity from Samaria that is dated to the eighth century BCE (Samar 56). It is evident from this survey that the name-address form *nmš* circulated exclusively among agro-pastoral families of the tribe of Manasseh for approximately three centuries

¹⁸⁸ The name *nmš* is also attested on two unprovenanced seals and one bullae (WSS 266, 574; Lemaire 1999: 106). One seal belongs to an eighth-century BCE Israelite context, based upon the typology of the script style and iconography (Lemaire 1999: 106). Lastly, *nmš*-type names occur among Amorite identities at Ugarit (*DULAT*: 632–633; Gröndahl 1967: 28, 167).

¹⁸⁹ Another alternative is reading it from right-to-left, which yields the word *šmn* ‘oil’ (Lemaire 1985: 14).

(eleventh to eighth centuries BCE).¹⁹⁰

The circulation of this name among Manassite kinship groups in the Iron II period complements what is found in Israelite royal genealogical traditions in the books of Kings concerning the pre-exilic period. In the Israelite genealogies of the books of Kings, Nimshi is the patronym of the Israelite King Jehu during the ninth century BCE (1 Kgs. 19:16; 2 Kgs. 9:14, 20; 2 Chr. 22:7; and his grandfather's name as a form of telescoping in 2 Kgs 9:2). The name Nimshi is spelled with a final *yod* (a *nisbe* form meaning 'the Nimshite family/clan'; Ahituv and Mazar 2014:44). Coupled with the inscriptional survey, the writers of the genealogies of the books of Kings were aware of the naming practices of the clans of Manasseh before destruction of the Northern Kingdom in 732 BCE.

A few observations can be made from the perspective of language ideologies concerning the reuse of the name *nmš* as a performance indexical of several ideological categories relating to social structure and the voicing of group attitudes and beliefs. From the survey of Hebrew text-artifacts, it is apparent that Nemesh/Nimsh was the founding ancestor of a clan (*mishpahah*) group that endured throughout the monarchy, in both the urban and rural sector, and whose members were landowners, possibly even specializing in the apiary industry (Mazar and Panitz-

¹⁹⁰ The appearance of the first name *nmš* on a 6th century BCE Ammonite ostrakon from Tal Jalul is interesting (Gane 2008: 78). The name occurs with the patronymic *ʾmy*, a name that can be read as "tribes of DN" or "my mother is DN" (Gane 2008: 78-79). This patronymic contains a similar lexical *ʾm*-form (*ʾm*) with another Manassite seal discovered at Tel Rehov (Mazar and Ahituv 2011). Regarding the presence of Manassites in the south Transjordan area, Amos 1:13 mentions an Ammonite incursion into Manassite territories: it is possible that Manassite families were taken captive and brought south to Ammon to engage in forced labor. Another scenario involves the Judean military success and the exaction of tribute from Ammon under King Jotham in the eighth century BCE (2 Chron 27:5). Judean incursions into Ammon could have provided a brief weakening of control of the region and a Manassite expansion into Ammonite borders. Lastly, Zertal (2007: 47, 62, 88) points to the coexistence and mixing of Manassite-Ammonite identities in Transjordan as a byproduct of the Assyrian invasion and occupation in the region in the seventh and sixth centuries BCE. Hypothetical reconstruction notwithstanding, the central idea here is that the reproducing of the Manassite name *nmš* in Ammon during the Iron III period indexes the maintenance of the *nmš* collective clan identity, membership, and kinship ideology after the fall of the Northern Kingdom.

Cohen 2007). This name was reproduced and enregistered among putative and metaphorical lineal descent groups of several successive generations. The reproduction of this name as a first, patronymic, and clan name on text-artifacts within one geographically-bounded tribal area (Khirbet Tannin, Tel Amal, Tel Rehov, and Samaria) points to a collective self-consciousness among Manassites within a bounded heritable region, whether their lineage ties were consangual or metaphorical. This behavior constitutes an ideology of iconization in which the social attitude of the kinship groups within this bounded heritable territory included the selection and reproduction of this one name, from their general cultural repertoire of values, as a construction of their group ideology of a symbolic community and feelings of clannishness and closeness.

Naming is also a language oriented to ways of dominance. Segmentation falls on the symbolic level of language (through persuasion) and power is linked to language practices in face-to-face encounters; therefore, naming, as a symbolic extension of language, can be a tool for persuasion and consent (Caton 1987: 94-95). Applying this idea to ancient Israel, we derive from the onomastic reoccurrence of Nimshi that a cultural order of segmentary politics existed with the Nimshide clan at the top of the hierarchical order. Nimshides were one group of landowners in the valley that exercised patronymic authority and domination. In an honor society like ancient Israel, speakers cultivated a thorough understanding of names and genealogies in order to engage in honor in their segmentary political culture. The passing on of the same name, *nmš*, on public artifacts, while at the same time assuming that individuals and groups surrendered their own different family names, represents an important power dynamic in determining whose family and clan history would be recognized, commemorated, and memorialized with honor. That excluded groups were not memorialized in this region is a form of *symbolic domination* (to borrow Bourdieu's [1991] term); in that a name change or disappearance is indicative of the challenging

or loss of power, but the sameness of names signals the erasure of competing discourses and the maintenance of authority and power.

From an anthropological demography perspective,¹⁹¹ the enregisterment of the name *nmš* among multi-generational agro-pastoral families in Manasseh indexes the lack of demographic shifts, cultural transition, and socio-political upheaval from the eleventh to eighth centuries BCE; an observation complemented by the archaeological surveys of Manasseh that suggest settlement continuity and increased density during the Iron II period (Zertal 1997; 2001; 2004; 2008; Zertal and Mirkam 2016). The cultural reproduction of a traditional patronymic name like *nmš* in Hebrew text-artifacts from Manasseh indexes the persistence of Nimshide segmentary tribal identity, authority, social organization, and control of the area, as well as the absence of conflict that could lead to demographic shifts and force migration; households and clans continued to practice identity maintenance within their homeland. The *nmš* name-giving practices in Manasseh (as a first name and patronymic or clan name) reflect a trend of patriarchal-patrimonial group loyalty, endurance, and continuity in the area; that is, we do not find a new clan name replicated in text-artifacts from this period and region that indexes a clear change in socioeconomic structure and village life.

Another insight is the fact that the sociolinguistics of name usage reveals a progression towards higher levels of indexicality. As language is tied to political economy, ideologies are on display in institutional practices. According to Silverstein (2003), certain indexicals add stereotypical values associated with categorical differences of socio-economic class and geography and their political, religious, and ideological loading (such as upper class vs. lower class, or in the Middle East, the difference between Muslim, Christian, and Jewish names). Some

¹⁹¹ On anthropological demography, see below.

indexicals come to be iconic of an elite identity and privileged life style (discussed in Chapter 3). Applying this theory to the name *nmš*, it should be noted first that the tribe of Manasseh played a central role in Israel's early history (Finkelstein 1988). The geographical allotment of Manasseh was more favorable to settle and some of the oldest Israelite settlements of the Iron Age I period were discovered there (such as Mt. Ebal; see Mazar 1986: 25-49; Finkelstein 1988: 80, 87-91; Zertal 2004: 56). As such, the clan name *nmš*, based upon text-artifacts dated to the eleventh century BCE, represents one of the oldest clans in Manasseh. But sometime in the ninth century BCE, centuries after they organized themselves into a group under the founding ancestor, they grew in power and achieved a prestige status. For example, during this period a man named Nemesh bore the elite status marker of a high-ranking official (*šqy* "the cupbearer") and eventually a descendant of this clan named Jehu assumed the throne of Israel. As a consequence, upward social mobility was additionally indexed by this name as it progressed from being stereotyped as an ethnic-clan group identity marker to an upper class marker to an elite royal marker.¹⁹² In conclusion, the production and circulation of the name Nemesh/Nimshi among multigenerational families of Manasseh spanning three centuries served not only to index social group difference, continuity, loyalty, and alignment but also later elitism and political power.

A final example of the replication of names among agro-pastoral clans is found in text-artifacts from Beth Shean. Beth Shean was a city that belonged to the Israelite tribe of Manasseh

¹⁹² The name is found among elite circles in the Israelite royal court (1 Kgs. 19:16; 2 Kgs. 9:2, 14, 20; 2 Chr. 22:7). Recall that the ninth-century BCE inscription from Tel Rehov (no. 6) mentions *nmš* as a "cupbearer," which is a term for a high official.

(Mazar 2001). In one ostrakon, three individuals are identified as bearing the name Zema

(*zm ʾ*):¹⁹³

Beth Shean Ostrakon

1. <i>zm ʾ</i> 5	Zema 5
2. <i>ʾl ʾ zm ʾ</i> 2	Ela (son of) Zema 2
3. <i>zm ʾ</i> 1(?)	Zema 1(?)

It is important to first determine the tribal alignments of each name listed in the ostrakon. The PN Ela is attested in line 2 of this ostrakon (for this reading, see Mazar 2001: 302). The name Ela is replicated here at Beth Shean and also among the Shemida clans of Manasseh in the Samaria ostraca dated to the eighth century BCE (Num. 26:32; Josh. 17:2; Samar 38:3). The reoccurrence of the name Ela in two separate agnate sedentary tribal communities from Manasseh point to the name as iconic of Manassite identity. In the Hebrew Bible, the related form Elah [ʾlh] was the patronymic of an Israelite king from Manasseh (1 Kgs. 16:6),¹⁹⁴ providing further evidence that the name Ela is aligned with Manasseh.

The personal name *zm ʾ* (lines 1-3) is also aligned with the tribe of Manasseh. The name *zm ʾ*, spelled with final *aleph*, is not attested elsewhere in epigraphic Hebrew or in Israelite genealogies,¹⁹⁵ but the name *zmh* with final /h/ is found three times in Israelite genealogies (1 Chr. 6:5, 27; 2 Chr. 29:12). In all three instances, the name is aligned with the Levitical clan of

¹⁹³ Mazar (2001: 303) states, “The appearance of the name *zm ʾ* three times is curious. It is very rare that the same name appears several times in the same list.” The name *zm ʾ* is of uncertain etymology (*HITBP*: 141-142). The name may etymologically relate to *zmh* ‘evil intent’ or ‘infamy, shameful behavior’ (*HALOT*, 1:272).

¹⁹⁴ The form *ʾl ʾ* is also aligned with Benjamin (1 Kgs. 4:18) and *ʾlh* with Ephraim (2 Kgs. 15:30). One must also recall that the tribes of Manasseh, Ephraim, and Benjamin descend from the matriarch Rachel (Gen. 35:24). Thus, the reproduction of similar name components may be attributed to intermarriage between the clans of Rachel.

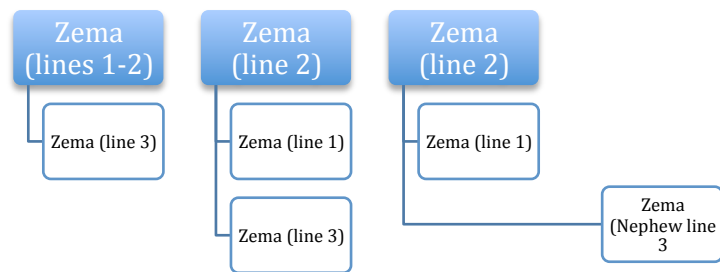
¹⁹⁵ The name *zm ʾ* is attested elsewhere in Amorite personal names (Gelb 1980: 651), in an Iron I period arrowhead from Lebanon (Cross 1996), and in Persian period Murashu archives (*PBS* 2/1, 40b).

Gershon. According to the book of Joshua (21: 6, 27), part of the Gershonite Levitical clans served in Manassite territories.

Three theories can be proffered in seeking to explain the reusing of the name Zema in lines 1-3 of this ostrakon. First, the Zema mentioned in line 1 could have been the father of Ela in line 2 (the Zema in line 1 received the largest payment all the individuals in the ostrakon), and the Zema in line 3 could have been the brother of Ela in line 2. This case suggests a naming ideology of patronymy: a child was named after his father (lines 2-3). The second option is to view the patronym Zema in line 2 as the father of both individuals named Zema in lines 1 and line 3 (so the Zema in line 2 has at least three sons, two of which are named Zema and one of which is named Ela). This naming practice would index an ideology of oikonymy (a special case of patronymy, in which several nuclear family members are named after the same individual, the father of the household). The last option would be that Ela's father (named Zema in line 2) named one of his sons after himself (in line 1) and his brother or cousin named his son after him as well (line 3). In this case, the naming ideology would be genonymy (naming a child after a local clan member, such as cross-cousin naming). This leads us to the following conclusion: the ostrakon from Beth Shean potentially indexes three different cultural naming practices: patronymy (naming a child after his father), oikonymy (naming a child after a member of his household), or genonymy (naming a child after a local clan member).¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁶ There is also the possibility that these three men Zema in a single document are not related and this is just a common or popular name. However, the lack of patronymic in lines 1 and 3 is semiotically significant. Based on ethnographic studies of proper names by Mertz (1983: 60-65) and Kuipers (1998: 97-102; 2009: 179-184), patronyms or kin names distinguishes a person from the other with similar first names and constructs distance and unfamiliarity (the need for more information of the person). But first names indexes closeness based on face-to-face interaction of shared community membership. Gellner (1969), in his ethnography of segmentary genealogies in Morocco, observed three types of naming elements that are pertinent to this analysis: 1) first name (usually used in local nuclear family context); 2) the family name (usually used in the local village); and 3) family + grandfather (tribal ancestor) +

Fig. 10 Three Interpretations of the Replicated Name Zema at Beth Shean



The reproduction of a restricted inventory of personal name choices within a local clan was an important cultural practice pregnant with semiotic and language ideological meaning. Modern-day ethnographies on Middle Eastern naming practices observe that the use of the same name component or root morpheme among clan/household members' names are instruments of socialization as well as symbols of group values, norms, and beliefs (Borg and Kressel 2001: 33). Selection of names from a restricted inventory, viewed on a discursive or practical level by speakers in the clan as standard forms, was a way to construct values associated with reinforcing agnate or cross-cousin relationships and to encourage clannish ideologies (Borg and Kressel 2001: 45). In the case of the Beth Shean ostrakon, the beliefs associated with the reproduction of Manassite names are linked to sociopolitical arrangements embedded in community members' beliefs and group values. This would be the earliest and only case of a provenanced epigraphic Hebrew text-artifact for patronymy, oikonymy, and genonymy naming based upon endogamous marriage practices.¹⁹⁷

geographical name, usually used when a individual is unknown. Based upon these ethnographic studies, one can conclude that the lack of patronyms with the name Zema in this ostrakon (lines 1, 3) underscores a local nuclear family context and the familiarity of shared community membership.

¹⁹⁷ There are two other examples of patronymy in epigraphic Hebrew: a bulla from the Ophel in Jerusalem

The reusing of *zm* ' spelled in the same way three times indexes another aspect of language ideologies: orthography as social practice. According to Kroskrity (1998; 2000), language awareness or discursive consciousness (what people say explicitly about some particular linguistic feature, including names) is the most diagnostic of language ideologies. Spelling is an area where contestation of the standard occurs (Jaffe 1999; 2000; 2012). Spelling names differently may belie the tension between identities chosen by the self and identities chosen by others. Therefore, a spelling variation of the same individual's name on an ostrakon would have semiotic significance, such as oppositional agency. But the fact that *zm* ' is spelled the same way three times in the ostrakon renders oppositional agency a moot point. As noted by Ahearn (2012: 279), "[o]ppositional agency is only one of many forms of agency" and in this ostrakon we do not find the agency of resistance but rather of continuity and maintenance. This household's agentive response is to conform to the sociosystemic pressures of naming. That is, the reusing of the same name that is spelled the same way underscores the importance of group identity maintenance within this patrimonial household.

In general, spelling is at the level of discursive awareness (Silverstein 1981), but so is vocalization. The name *zm* ' is spelled the same way three times, but each name could have been vocalized differently. Unfortunately, the graphemes *zm* ' are written without vowels in epigraphic Hebrew therefore we are uncertain if all three names were pronounced the same or differently. If the vowels were pronounced differently then any two of the three names of *zm* ' in line 1 and line

that is dated to the seventh century BCE and an unprovenanced ostrakon. According to Misgav, the Ophel bullae has been reconstructed as follows: [ʔ]hy(?)m ʿ [s] [bn ʔ]hm ʿs (Mazar and Ben-Arie 2015: 305 no. B1). The name ʔhm ʿz is replicated twice, even though the first name is spelled with the additional letter /y/. The other example of patronymy is from an unprovenanced ostrakon from the Moussaieff collection. The name that is replicated is ʔlkn bn ʔlkn (Deutsch and Heltzer 1995: no. 78; Hurowitz 1998). Finally, there is one other example of oikonymy or genonymy in epigraphic Hebrew and it is indicated in an unprovenanced bulla: hwš ʿ kbr ʔlsm ʿ hwš ʿ “Belonging to Hoshea, (son of) Akbor, (son of) Elishama, (son of) Hoshea (Deutsch 2003: 161-162)

3 could have been siblings with names that were spelled the same but pronounced differently. As Borg and Kressel point out in their ethnography of Middle Eastern naming practices among sedentary and nomadic societies of the Negev, “it is quite normal for members of the same nuclear family to receive personal names lexically derived from the same underlying root” (1995: 480). They term this phenomenon “metalinguistic games” around the consonant structure of personal names “on account of the lexical productivity of the root and infix constituent lexical structure” in the Semitic language family (2001: 46). They provide this rationale for reusing a name component: it is “calculated to reinforce the individual’s sentiments of loyalty to his tribe, thereby strengthening the *‘aṣabiyyah* (group spirit) within the clan and improving its chances of survival” (2001: 47). Here, speakers’ awareness of language (with its rejection of language mixing and internal variation of naming) is emphasized as a conscious form of agency to embody local clan loyalty. In sum, ancient Israelite names embodied something; they regulated one’s relationships, indexed one’s loyalties and allegiances, and constructed one’s place in society.¹⁹⁸

5.4.4 A Summary of Tribal Identity Alignment and the Enregisterment of Clan-Appropriate Names

The ideological order of tribal kinship in ancient Israel— religiously, economically, politically, and territorially rooted— is visible in ritual activities associated with naming practices. One way that kinship organization and segmentation can be observed archeologically is through the linguistic ideologies of names. This is an alternative method that can be used to track social structure and the ways in which tribalism, as an ideology, operated in ancient Israel. According

¹⁹⁸ Several other cases of reproducing names as indexical of identity alignment within the tribe of Judah include the PN *ḥmwl* “spare, compassion”(Gen 46:12; Num 26:21; 1 Chr 2:5).

to this approach, personal and family names are cultural sites that index the socioeconomic structure and language ideologies of a community. The reduplication of personal and family names within a clan/tribe can provide some insights into the way this ideological order of kinship functioned. Ideologies are indexed by the explicit reuse of names selected from a group's cultural repertoire as a form of iconic representation of corporate groups. The examples illustrated with the names *nmš* and *zm* ' in epigraphic Hebrew reflect a *pars-pro-toto* relationship of a wider cultural practice embedded in the social consciousness of ancient Israel. The constellation of a name in one geographical-heritable land points to the enregisterment of corporate group name. Ultimately, the enregisterment and iconization of the name indexes an ideology of group awareness, shared descent, organizational-economic unity, political loyalty, resistance toward change, and a positive social stereotype.

5.5 Locating Israelite Identity in Judean Texts from the Eighth to Seventh Centuries BCE

Text-artifacts, left behind by governing institutions that had oversight over individuals' activities indexed by names in archival genres, reveal vital sociolinguistic information about kinship, ethnic identity, migration, and the geographical origin of the name bearers. Historical sociolinguistic patterns of migration are more clearly signaled through the metapragmatics of names that invoke cultural meanings of ancestral associations. A link is established between: 1) names as a category of linguistic signs of everyday use; 2) the sign usage associated with diverse Israelite group identities (and the associated rationalization of linguistic difference); and 3) ancestral land. Fortuitously, the preservation of written artifacts was possible despite the high levels of destruction of 732 and 721 BCE in Israel and 701 and 605 BCE in Judah. This preservation captures and reveals the constructions and representations, whether implicit or

explicit, of power, values, and beliefs in everyday talk among subordinate groups and those in power.

Israelite refugee tribal and ethnic identity maintenance (along with opposition to Judah) is found on the level of language, including naming practices. As previously noted, a name is a semiotic linguistic sign of ethnicity, tribal nationalism, religion, politics, and culture. However, it is still being debated whether it is appropriate to apply the concepts of ethnicity and nationalism to ancient Israelite cultures (Grosby 2002; Faust 2006a).¹⁹⁹ According to Hutchinson and Smith (2003: 6), there are several components of ethnic identity: 1) common proper names; 2) a myth of common ancestry; 3) shared historical memories; 4) one or more elements of common culture; 5) a link with a homeland; and 6) a sense of solidarity. There is flexibility in the precedential framework and application of each of these categories. This section prioritizes language, particularly names, as an element of common culture in demarcating ethnic identity and group membership associations because it is the only verifiable element of Hutchinson and Smith's list of six at this temporal remove.²⁰⁰

Ethnic tribal identity is based upon distinction in self-identification between and within groups in a given society. Elements of group differentiation are constantly negotiated based upon social circumstances across space and time (Barth 1969; Jones 1997). Therefore, a description of each collective, self-conscious, and territorially bounded Israelite tribe is not meant to represent a monolithic, static ethnic entity. Nevertheless, because group ideologies are found in the cultural

¹⁹⁹ For a recent overview of ethnicity in the study of Israelite history, see Nestor 2010. For recent approaches in Levantine archaeology, see Herzog and Bar-Yosef 2002; Whiting 2007: 85-99; Whincop 2009: 81-2, 91-93; Steadman and Ross 2010.

²⁰⁰ On language and ethnicity, see Fishman 1977b; Giles and Johnson 1981; Giles and Johnson 1987; Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985; Woolard 1989; Fishman 2001; Fought 2006.

category of naming, the reproduction of names indexes individuals' awareness of and decision to maintain a certain cultural order. Oppositional indexical associations such as naming differences (and sometimes phonological differences) distinguished each kin group within a tribal region in ancient Israel. When the kin groups were forced to migrate, the indexical associations of names could be transformed and reproduced to construct other forms of community identity such as the resistance to assimilate into a dominant culture (as evident in the reoccurrence of iconic Israelite names in exilic communities of Mesopotamia as a form of oppositional agency).²⁰¹

In the case of Israelite refugee migration to Judah, the construction of oppositional agency (and the maintenance of ethnic identity difference) was expressed in different ways. Among Israelites, specific attitudes of shared social cognition were communicated by name use.²⁰² Spelling and the consonantal structure/lexicon of the name would be the basis for tribal alignment here rather than phonology, pronunciation, or vocalization (which have been lost over the centuries, but would have played a role at the time).²⁰³ We suppose that some Israelite

²⁰¹ There are modern-day parallels of immigrant non-assimilation in naming practices that give further credence to this argument and the literature is vast. E.g., Jews in the Maghreb maintain either Jewish first names or last names (Kohen, and Levi preceded by Hebrew *ben*) or sometimes both (Zafrani 2005: 33-43; Fenton and Littman 2016). This example is to stress that today's refugee/immigrant behavior is parallel to refugee/immigrant behavior in times past.

²⁰² How can one be certain that a reduplicated iconic name in southern Judah, that is fixed with cultural properties and symbolic meaning from its initial Israelite "baptized" use (Silverstein 2005; Agha 2005; 2007), constitutes an alignment with Israel? Couldn't an ethnic indigenous Judean reinterpret and reclassify an Israelite name in a Judean context for ideological purposes? What makes one so sure? I contend that naming (especially among elites) was a social institution and that Israelite names went through a process of display, interpretation, baptized entextualization, stereotypical rationalization, local codification, and formal regimentation by those in power (as illustrated by the Manassite clan name *nmš*). This social process loaded each local first or family name with semiotic value associated with iconization. When Israelite elites migrated to Judah, then maintained the iconic use of their names.

²⁰³ The Massoretic rules for the vocalization of Biblical names are far removed in space and time from when the Biblical texts were written (over a thousand years later). Being so far removed from the social milieu of the Iron Age period, the MT does not differentiate between the vocalization of Israelite and Judean names, either synchronically or diachronically. As stated above, phonology will not be a criterion

migrants assumed new identities through name change, but it is impossible to trace their immigrant identity in textual-artifacts. But other beliefs about immigrant language use can be inferred from naming practices. These will be the semiotic resources available for locating one's tribal identity in a foreign context.

In the following onomastic ethnotextual survey, a given name or name of self-reference is potentially aligned with Israelite tribal identity (IH) if it conforms to certain criteria. I have identified the following six criteria as determining with relative certainty that a person referenced in a provenanced Judean text-artifact claimed a pedigree alignment with Israel:

in differentiating between Israelite and Judean names here; only the consonantal structure and lexical forms will be included in our discussion. However, only one example is provided in the next section (a rare case) based upon the MT vocalization of *pdh*-names and their alignment with Israel. The challenge in differentiating phonological distinctions in names, both synchronically and diachronically between the two kingdoms in pre-exilic names, is illustrated in the confusion over the PN *šlm*. This name is vocalized "Shallum" for both Israelites (2 Kgs. 15:10–15) and Judeans (Jer. 32:7; 1 Chr. 2:40; 4:15; 6:12). Moreover, the same consonantal form *šlm* is used in the pronunciation of the PN "Shillem" of Naphtali (Gen. 46:24; Num. 26:49; *qittil* form denoting a 'loan' or 'He has paid'; Zadok 1988: 115). But notice that the Samaritan Pentateuch, which belongs to a Second Temple Ephraimite tradition, vocalizes this Naphtalite name as "Shillom" (*HALOT*, 4:1510), but the post-exilic Chronicler introduced the letter /w/, leading to the pronunciation of this same person's name as Shallum (1 Chr. 7:13). So not only is the Massoretic tradition unable to mark pronunciation differences between Israelite and Judean names but also, due to textual transmission, there are diachronic variations in spelling. Zadok (1988: 6-13) has enumerated a rationale for variations in name vocalization and spelling and his list will not be repeated here. On the challenge of differentiating identities on a synchronic level, Borg's (2001) ethnography of the Arab Bedouin of the Sinai and Negev region documents the enigma of *slm*-names. Among these Bedouin, classic Islamic or popular Muslim names were most excluded. *Slm*-names were the most commonly reproduced names in the anthroponymic lexicon of this tribal group throughout generations. Over twenty distinctions of this name were discovered. Imagine if you will, that one did not have the benefit of pronunciation/vocalization, but had to rely solely on the lexical form of the name. The lack of vocalization would pose a challenge in differentiating identities on a synchronic level within one community. This is the difficulty faced by scholars who are engaged in reconstructing Iron Age Israelite identities exclusively from onomastic lexemes and spelling. But the vocalization issue aside, it is important to point out that in this Arab tribal community, reproducing the same lexical/consonantal form had semiotic value. The language ideological reasons why *slm*-names were replicated throughout their generations were, among other things, to: iconically serve as an in-language marker, pacify the evil eye and make it difficult for a person to be singled out, and permit deceased lineage ancestors bearing this name to protect their offspring. Could this ethnographic observation shed light on the cultural meaning and beliefs that lie behind the reproducing of names in ancient Israelite tribal societies?

- 1) if the human agent shows an awareness of the relations between the self and the Israelite tribal lineage system of naming by selecting a name that is enregistered, stereotypical, and iconic in Israelite tribal genealogies;²⁰⁴
- 2) if the name that is selected is reproduced or enregistered in a provenanced text-artifact from Israelite tribal territories and/or contact zones as an ideological representation of iconization. The reproduction of said name(s) projects a language attitude of Israelite household affiliation, clannishness, and tribal group closeness;²⁰⁵
- 3) if the name aligns with both Israelite and Judean tribal genealogies yet the statistical concentration of the name is higher in Israelite genealogies of the pre-exilic period;²⁰⁶

²⁰⁴ This study is not interested in the positivist pursuit of whether or not the Israelite genealogies of the Israelite tribes were authentic (as found in the MT of the Pentateuch, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, etc.). Rather, my analytical focus centers on the social role names played in demarcating clan and tribal identity. Generally, scholars agree that Israelite genealogies had a complex history, having gone through a series of literary developments and textual changes, but there is little consensus on the extent of these changes. This is especially the case for the Chronicler's genealogies of the tribes of Asher (Edelman 1988: 13-23; Na'aman 1991; Demsky 1993; Japhet 1993: 185-187; Levin and Faust 1998: 225-31; Levin 2004: 618-619), Ephraim (Edelman 1988: 13-23; Japhet 1993: 179-187; Demsky 2000: 9-13; Sparks 2008: 197-207), and Manasseh (Demsky 1982; Edelman 1991; Japhet 1993: 174-179; Sparks 2008: 195-197). For the purposes of this study, we will utilize the final form of the MT. On the textual divergences of the Israelite genealogies of the Chronicler (including Benjamin) in the MT and the Septuagint version (LXX), see Knoppers 2004b: 375-492 and Klein 2006: 155-258.

²⁰⁵ I will not address the relationship between naming styles on the level of the individual (including nicknames) in relation to other kinship levels. An individual can be designated by first name, household name (patronymic), and clan or town name. It is a challenge to determine if a patronymic used in address in text-artifacts was a household, clan, or town name without a complete list of a person's genealogical history and ancestry. Moreover, Joshua 7 describes the four levels of kinship-lineage structural relationships in ancient Israel extending from the tribe through the clan, extended family, and household to the individual. Sometimes, the patronymic used in personal address can be a founding clan ancestor—in this case the name is telescoped—the grandfather, head of the clan, head of the household, or father. Due to the paucity of epigraphic and historical data on each level of a person's lineage structure, we cannot make any correlations between the names conferred on the individual level with any of the other levels listed above.

²⁰⁶ Priority is given to genealogies and narratives either from or about the Iron Age II B-C period. Two distinctions must be made in analyzing names that occur in post-seventh-century BCE contexts. First, the fact that a name recurs in provenanced inscriptions in the late seventh/early sixth century BCE does not mean that these individuals were Judeans. This view fails to take into consideration the role of human

- 4) if the spelling, grammatical structure, lexical form, or theophoric element of the name is non-Judean or a regional variation in the writing system. For example, if a name is spelled with the Israelite theophoric *yw* instead of the Judean theophoric *yhw* then this will be considered as a stance challenging dominant Judean language ideologies and laying claim to an Israelite ethno-nationalistic pedigree;
- 5) if the first or family name is aligned with the tribe of Benjamin, then it will be considered of hybrid Israelite-Judean identity;²⁰⁷

agency in the construction of self. In this study, agency allows one to view constructing identity as multi-faceted. An Israelite name likely belongs to an Israelite refugee: by the close of the Judean monarchy, Israelites had already migrated to Judah a century or so earlier. Sometimes Judean naming ideologies (or name-giving practices during this period) were a factor for naming patterns, and some were due to non-genealogical or non-agnate factors such as popularity, contact with Israelites, elite status, and intermarriage. There is no way to evaluate this point, to see if this indeed was the case. Hence, following that line of reasoning, without any fuller census data, is not analytically useful from an indexical perspective. Secondly, names occurring in Judah in the Persian and Hellenistic periods (Hebrew inscriptions, Ezra-Nehemiah, and the Judahite Levite genealogies of Chronicles) are not considered tribally salient in this corpus because social changes brought on by the Babylonian exile (which included both Israelites and Judeans together) dissolved traditional kinship ties (Weinberg 1992: 49-61). Moreover, families moved or formed new alliances under different social circumstances than that of the Iron Age period (many of which are unknown to us), thereby making the use of these names in demarcating Israelite and Southern Judean identities difficult. It is also evident that some of the Chronicler's genealogies were based upon sources from after the fall of Israel or the Babylonian exile. The Chronicler's genealogies often deviate or omit territorial or tribal information found in the Pentateuch or the book of Joshua. For instance, the Chronicler mentions that certain Benjamite families dwelled in Ono and Lod in Ephraim (1Chr. 8:12), which is attested nowhere else in Israelite sources. This move reflects a Persian period reality when those claiming lineage ties to the Benjamin area expanded their role and importance (Knoppers 2004b: 491-492; Klein 2006: 251).

²⁰⁷ Consideration of Benjamite names as indexical of hybrid identities is due to the fact that both Israel and Southern Judah shared and at times claimed the territory of Benjamin. There is clear evidence that after the Assyrian invasion, Israelite religious personnel that were exiled from Samaria were sent to Bethel (2 Kgs. 17:28). Bethel was a border city shared by Benjamin (Josh. 18:13, 22) and the Israelite tribe of Ephraim (Josh. 16:1-2), but by the eighth century BCE it was a cult site belonging to the Israelite king (2 Kgs. 10:29; Am. 7:13). Tribes living in Benjamin and Gilead (a region that was at one point Israelite in the Iron Age II period) were culturally, politically, and historically linked. Several examples of kinship and political ties between Benjamin and Gilead include: the intermarriage between these two tribes (Judg. 21: 10-14); political alliances such as Saul's daughter who married a man from Abel-Meholah (Ottosson 1969; Irvine 2006); and the military aid, alliance, and loyalty between the two groups (1 Sam. 11:1-10; 31:12-13; Edelman 1984). Lastly, the geographical proximity of both areas led to frequent social interaction (Aharoni 1979).

6) if the spelling/consonantal structure/lexical element of a given name aligns with an Israelite tribe but the Judean theophoric *yhw* is attached, then it will be considered as aligning with Israel. In this case, a migrant or refugee may have changed or respelled their name from *IH yw* to *JH yhw* or adopted the latter under socio-religious circumstances such as the centralization of the Judean cult.²⁰⁸ The sociolinguistic variation of adding the Judean theophoric *yhw* (as a prefix or suffix) to an Israelite name will be viewed as performing codemixing.

The classificatory categories listed above will have served to define identities in Judah and project a shared belief system in public discourses of the Israelite community in the post-Samaria

²⁰⁸ As indicated in the section below, some Israelite migrants/refugees retained the *yw* theophoric element in their name but others did not. An argument can be made that Israelite migrants adopted the Judean *yhw* theophoric spelling in the late eighth or seventh century BCE as an act of identity modernization, especially during the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah; thereby erasing a distinct stigma (perhaps *yw* represented Samaritan syncretism). That is not say that *yhw*-names were restricted to Hezekiah's or Josiah's time and the Deuteronomistic movement of 621 BCE (contra Norin 1979, 1980; see Millard 1980). But this spelling change makes the task of reconstructing their identity only possible by recourse to other transparent lexical forms. As ethnographies of the Middle East have noted (Borg and Kressel 2001: 62), marginal clan groups and members that have moved outside of their homeland to a different sedentary area will often adopt new religious names (even whole tribes). On another note, the occurrence of *yw* and *yhw* forms in Israelite genealogies and narratives in the Massoretic tradition (MT) is another matter altogether that needs clarification (see Norin 1986). Rarely, the *-yw* suffix in personal names is preserved (for example, it is possibly indicated in the transcriptions of the LXX and debatably in 1 Kgs. 17:2 as the name of the prophet Elijah [Briquel-Chatonnet 1992: 105]). But oddly enough, the MT preserves the *yw*- prefix even for Judean names; this is likely due to the *waw* functioning as an internal *mater lectionis* in the MT of the first millennium CE. Adding more confusion to the situation, sometimes the MT includes the *yhw* theophoric element in Israelite names. But according to the epigraphic data, Israelites did not ideologically construct their identity with the Judean *yhw* spelling before the early seventh century BCE; rather, as a stance of differentiation through spelling, they selected the form *yw* (even though the spellings *yhw* and *yhw*h for the divine name were used among Israelites at Kuntillet Ajrud, see Millard 2014: 120). Some Israelite refugees exhibited a different stance with the use of the *yhw* theophoric under Josiah. Nevertheless, the main point regarding the *yw* prefix is that in the Iron Age period the diphthong *yaw*- remained uncontracted and was characteristic of Israelite identity, not Judean (Gogel 1998: 62-63; unless of course, they are refugees in Judah!). Additionally, the *yw* theophoric prefix lost its political indexicality after the Iron Age period, therefore it was not recognized in the MT as an Israelite cultural trait.

period.²⁰⁹ Moreover, these names not only designate and categorize Israelites in Judah during this time period but also serve to determine and reflect the nature of social interaction.

Each tribal territory will be treated separately and each section will include a discussion on the anthropological demography of archaeological settlement patterns. Anthropological demography is a multidisciplinary field encompassing demography and socio-cultural anthropology. It seeks to show how demographic behavior in human populations across time and space (fertility, mortality, and migration) is driven by anthropological concerns such as meaning, culture, gender, kinship values, institutions, and political economy (Kertzer and Hogan 1989; Kertzer and Fricke 1997; Basu and Aaby 1998; Szreter, Sholkamy, and Dharmalingam 2004; Kertzer and Arel 2004).²¹⁰ It is a model that ties together demography, identity, and language. For example, Brettell (2003) presents an important anthropological demography case study of international migration in Portugal. Brettell shows how forced migration functions on three levels: individuals, households, and states. Each level has a specific role to play in the macro and micro level of analysis in building social networks and maintaining ethnic communities across separate geographical spaces.

Anthropological demography will be used in our study of forced migration within each tribal region in Israel and the concomitant population growth of urban centers in Judah in the late eighth century BCE. It is true that meaning can shift across space and time, but naming patterns, as cultural and ethnic symbols of meaning, will be key in the discussion of demographic transformations in Israel in the Iron Age II period. All in all, this integrated model will bring

²⁰⁹ As previously noted, in ancient Israel tribal members possessed multiple identities and political ties that were animated according to need and summoned for sociological reasons. Hence, some names will display multiple genealogical alignments (for example, tribe of Levi).

²¹⁰ For a recent general overview, see Kertzer (2006).

together demography (settlement patterns and the maintenance of familial-household kinship ties in ethnic communities across borders), identity, and language.²¹¹

Prior to going thru specific naming practices territory by territory, I will first discuss two broader cases of Israelite identity in Judah: the iconic Israelite theophoric marker *YW* and the indexicality of regional variation of names in the Judean writing system.

5.6 Asserting Religious Nationalism Through Orthographic Choices: The Iconic Israelite Theophoric *YW* in Personal Names in Judah

We first turn our attention to evaluating the politics of spelling of the Israelite theophoric *yw* and its onomastic recurrences in Judah after the fall of Samaria. We will keep in mind the relationship between language and signs: that is, the ways that spelling has semiotic and ideological social significance, especially the spelling of religious personal names. We will seek to ascertain how orthography in public display texts was ideologically motivated under the newly established Israelite state and continued among migrants to Judah after the collapse of Israel in 722 BCE.

The inception of an Israelite tribal state had a linguistic ideological impact on the Hebrew writing system. Orthographic choices and script differentiation from other regional polities such as Judah, Aram, and Phoenicia were ideologically motivated under the newly established Israelite segmentary state. In particular, this new tribal collective sought to differentiate itself

²¹¹ My analysis differs in several respects from Knauf (2006). Knauf's article, which is very limited in its discussion, makes the outrageous claim that "Israelite linguistic influence on Judean Hebrew cannot be traced prior to the sixth century" (2006: 294). This section serves to refute this assertion and demonstrates that Israelite linguistic influence is evident in Judah from the eighth or seventh century BCE (see most recently Rendsburg and Schniedewind 2010).

religiously from Judah, especially under the Omrides, and the invention of a new spelling of the divine name as *yw*, instead of *yhw*, was indexical of this ideology. Moreover, this ideology continued among Israelite refugees and migrants to Judah after the collapse of Israel in 722 BCE, as is evident in the surprising emergence of an Omride religious discourse in Judean texts like Micah 6:16, centuries after the Omride dynasty ceased to exist.

The Israelite tribal state emerged in the late tenth century BCE. In the second half of the tenth century BCE (925/927 BCE), the United Monarchy under Solomon was broken up into two divisions, Israel and Judah. The Northern Kingdom of Israel was comprised of the tribes of Ephraim, Manasseh, Issachar, Zebulun, Asher, Naphtali, Dan, and part of Benjamin in Cisjordan, and Half-Tribe of Manasseh, Gad, and Reuben in Transjordan. The geographical areas where the segmentary tribal state of Israel was centralized consisted of Samaria, Jezreel, Shechem, and Galilee. The southern tribes were Judah, Simeon, and part of Benjamin—occupying the Judean Highlands, Shephelah, Desert, and Negev—and they were centralized in Jerusalem (Aharoni 1979).

By the beginning of the ninth century BCE, the northern tribes developed their own political tribal state and assumed the label “Israel.” At this time, Judah assumed the label the “House of David” (for the eponymous ruler of Judah mentioned in ninth century BCE inscriptions of Tel Dan and Mesha from Dibon [Ahituv 2008: 392, 468]). The economic, social, religious, and political effect of this division between Israel and Judah is evident in the material culture, though the picture is not fully coherent. The northern tribes of Israel were the largest and most prosperous. When these northern tribes split with Judah in the latter part of the tenth century, they created a new nation; with that came efforts toward differentiation and

standardizing their new “nationalism.”²¹² The decision to do so was ultimately influenced by the political choices of their leaders.

Demographic changes in Israel begin to become evident in the tenth century BCE. Herr observes that the “emergence of a diversified class structure with a growing elite class is suggested by the presence of palaces and large houses as well as localized patterns of fine and not-so-fine pottery concentrations as well as other status markers noted at many sites” (1997: 124). The golden era in the Northern Kingdom emerges with the Omride dynasty and continues with Jehu’s dynasty (Miller and Hayes 2006: 284-323; Finkelstein 2013: 83-115). These dynasties left the greatest imprint on the Northern Kingdom. The archaeology of the capital cities of Jezreel and Samaria reveal a mature state organization with political, socio-economic, and royal monumental structures in the ninth century BCE. The wealth, power, and building operations in Israel were unprecedented, even for Judah (Mazar 1990: 496).

Finkelstein concludes that Israelite tribes reached this status of statehood “no later than the first half of the ninth century BCE” (1999: 40).²¹³ Finkelstein provides evidence for a full-blown state:

²¹² Arguably, the question of whether nationalism in Israel and Judah existed is a matter of debate (Grosby 2002). In the study of ancient Israelite nationalism (Morgenstern 2009:2), scholars rely on Benedict Anderson’s (1983) construction of an “imagined community,” a theory based upon print capitalism of a monolingual standard in the modern era. Admittedly, all nationalism is somewhat imagined and some aspects of modern nationalism may be projected backwards historically, but a model based upon the premise of print capitalism as the main impetus is unconvincing. Silverstein (2000) and Joseph (2004) have criticized this model of nationalism and the idea of a monoglot standard as its basis. Space does not permit a full critique of the application of Anderson’s views, but suffice it to say that literacy was not so wide-spread in ancient Israel during the Iron II period, or in the ancient Near East, to warrant the hypothesis of an imagined nationalism tied to the consumption of monolingual texts and literature.

²¹³ I use the term “tribal state” to mean an ideological order of kinship that is socially and politically rooted. The idea of a “state” is not dependant on strict geographical borders or the number and size of cities. Many cities in ancient Israel served as cultic and royal centers irrespective of their relative size – what mattered more was the city’s ideological function. Jerusalem, for example, experienced settlement

[A] full-blown state is characterized by a well-stratified society, one directed by a specialized public administration led by a ruling stratum which extends beyond the immediate kinship circles of the ruler. Writing systems are characteristic of full-blown states as are organized industrial production and the erection of monumental structures that serve both propaganda and legitimization goals as well as practical functions. (Finkelstein 1999: 39)

While writing is an important aspect of centralized government, it is not the most important sign of statecraft. As Sanders (2008) shows from Ancient Near Eastern cultures, writing does not necessarily point to a state, as it can be related to local private businessmen's or craftsmen's record-keeping; on the contrary, writing is recruited by the state to legitimize itself. By the eighth century BCE, Israel and Judah were well established as having the social complexity of a state (Finkelstein 1999; 2001), which coexisted with a tribal structure (Master 2001).

With the establishment of separate tribal states of Israel and Judah, the former sought to distinguish itself through language and writing. Robert LePage observes, regarding the interrelations between states and writing technologies, that "when new nations are created national languages and identities are often created" (1986: 21). Newly independent and nascent states often perform acts of identity, and one area where politics can distinguish themselves from others is the area of orthography. That is, revisions of writing systems sometimes index ongoing political conflicts of their users, for spelling practices reflect the ideologies of political systems (Fishman 1977; 1988). Writing even reflects hegemony in the Gramscian (1971: 12, 285, 299-300) sense of persuasion and consent, in which writers' agreement to use the agreed-upon standards of spelling and grammar reflects their consent to be part of the religio-political establishment.

expansion under Hezekiah's reign; it was not only a ritual-royal site where the temple and palace were located, but also a residential urban center (Uziel and Shai 2007).

Years ago, Heinz Kloss (1967) introduced the German term *abstand* ('distance') to explain the linguistic 'distance' between similar languages, as well as the term *ausbau* ('development') to express the development of writing a "high" language. Sebba, building on Kloss, points out that, "Because of its pervasiveness and high visibility, orthography is a useful level at which to establish *abstand*. By changing your orthographic conventions (or in extreme cases, the script) you can make your language look very different while leaving the structure unchanged" (2007: 116). Once orthographies have political backing, the next effort is to introduce them as part of the public discourse. Linguistic anthropologist Alexandra Jaffe notes that states and societies will use the medium of public display to give their language dominance and prestige. The numerous public display monuments and inscriptions from Israel attest to Israelite state efforts to legitimize their language, dominance, and an official orthography distinct from other regional states.

By the first half of the ninth century BCE, language planning began to make its imprint on linguistic structures in Israelian Hebrew (IH) and the newly established Israelite tribal state. Specifically, we see the use of variation from Judean linguistic forms as a marker of Israelite identity. It is unclear if during the periods preceding the establishment of an independent Israelite segmentary state from Judah, Israelian Hebrew was indistinguishable from Judean Hebrew (JH). But a case can be made that by the ninth century BCE, Hebrew orthography and script began to be differentiated in Israel, most likely in order to give the impression of a distinct state language. IH appears to have successfully created an *abstand* by means of orthography, such as the morphological difference of the ending *št* 'year,' the contraction of the diphthongs **ay* and **aw*, and script changes (Sarfatti 1983; Garr 1986; Israel 1989; Briquel-Chatonnet 1992b; 1993). The fragmentary ninth-to-eighth century BCE Hebrew inscriptions from the Israelite sites such as Tel

‘Amal, Tell el-Hammah, Tel Rehov, Kuntillet ‘Ajrud, Hazor, and Samaria attest to the dialect difference from Judah (Renz 1995: 40-66; Aḥituv 2008; Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel 2012; Aḥituv and Mazar 2014).²¹⁴

One area where segmentary tribal state and “national” ideologies are on display among the urban elite is in the category of religious personal names. Ethnographic studies of kinship-based societies of the Middle East note that religious names are more valued among urban settled communities tied to a monarchy and nationalistic tendencies than among pastoralists and nomads (Borg and Kressel 1995). The religious names preferred by urban elites are often selected from an inventory of classic Islamic epithets of Allah or the names of the prophet Mohammed and his family. Theophoric religious names would index the ideological order and social structure of urban communities with more social complexity, national interests, and bureaucratic ideology.²¹⁵

There were three different styles of personal names in Israel: short names, native full names (kinship/clan), and theophoric religious names. Short names contained a lexical form with the final orthographic marker *aleph* /ʔ/.²¹⁶ Full names were characterized by the spelling of the entire name (sometimes with a compound form). Both name styles were usually family,

²¹⁴ The form *št* “year” is enregistered over 60x in the Samaria ostraca (1:1 ff., which is shared with Phoenician orthography) as a discursive form in opposition to Judean Hebrew *šnh* (WSS 421:2; 422:2 [on two unprovenanced fiscal bullae]; and occurs over 700x as the standard form in the Hebrew Bible).

²¹⁵ Scholars have noted a growth in theophoric Yahwistic names in Judah, especially Jerusalem, in the period before the Judean exile (Callaway 1999; Zevit 2001: 586-609; Hess 2007: 308-310). This coincides with the shift of Jerusalem from ritual-royal center to residential urban center in the eighth century BCE. Moreover, the centralization of the cult in Jerusalem under Hezekiah, and especially under Josiah a century later, further bolstered the royal control of the Judean citizenry (2 Kgs. 18:4, 22; 21:3). The growth of Yahwistic theophoric names as opposed to non-Yahwistic names in urban centers of Judah and Jerusalem between the late eighth and late seventh century BCE are indexical of social structural shifts.

²¹⁶ This may be a dialectal form (see below). Israelite names with a final *aleph* are reproduced in bureaucratic artifacts from Kuntillet Ajrud (Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel 2012: 128), Hazor (Naveh 1989:346), Beth Shean (Mazar 2001: 302), Tel Rehov (Aḥituv and Mazar 2014: 41), and more than eight different individuals in the Samaria ostraca (Samar 1:7;1:5; 22:2; 32:3; 38:3; 45:2; 113:1; 115:1).

household, or clan names. The last style of names is constructed with a lexical form and a theophoric prefix or suffix such as *ʾl* (El), *bʾl* (Baʿal), and *yw* (Yaw). This last form of the divine name is unique to Israel, in that the /h/ is syncopated (Garbini 1982: 169-172; Israel 1989; 2000; Briquel-Chatonnet 1992b: 92-93; Jaruzelska 1996/1998). Thus, through the semiotic system of writing Israel differentiated itself from Judah in the spelling of the theophoric name as *YW* rather than *YHW*.

5.6.1 Who Invented the *Yw*-Form Religious Orthography in Israel?

Based upon current epigraphic evidence, a new religious orthography of the divine name Yahweh emerged in Israel during the ninth century BCE. But what was the social meaning behind its creation and what was the cultural process behind this action at the stage of writing? The creation of language has more to do with who controls language. Studies on language standardization have noted that it is the upper class and not the working classes that ideologically construct and create language standards (Joseph 2004: 121). To be precise, people in power get to dictate matters pertaining to official religious practices and also official language use. So the question remains: who was in control of the Israelian Hebrew language and what were the politics of orthography in using a non-standard Judean form?

With the establishment of a separate segmentary statehood in Israel by the first half of the ninth century BCE comes the invention of a new written religious standard: *yw* (Yaw) with the elision or syncopation of the consonant /h/, instead of the Judean form *yhw* (Yahu). The *yw* spelling is one of the most commonly adduced examples of the dialectal difference between Israel and Judah; a major spelling difference that is noticeable because it also affects the pronunciation of the national deity of Israel. In this way, writers trained under the new Israelite

regime used graphemic signs to communicate sociocultural meanings and anti-Judean standard orthography.²¹⁷ These meanings relate to political and religious social hierarchies.²¹⁸ The orthographic change of one letter /w/ in personal names served the purpose of creating boundaries and distance from Judah, embodying the nation, and changing the meaning of religious forms of Yahwism.²¹⁹

It is unclear under which Israelite king the yw-spelling of Yahweh was innovated. It would be easy to credit Jeroboam I with this innovation, since he was the first Israelite monarch and instituted a religious reform, specifically in building temples on the high places and selecting lay Israelites as priests, thereby disregarding the Levitical priesthood in some respects (1 Kgs. 12:31; 2 Chr. 13: 9; but see Halpern 1976). But it is also possible that it was under the Omride dynasty that spelling reform was introduced in ancient Israel.

What scholars often overlook is the fact that the first occurrences of the *Yaw* theophoric in epigraphic Hebrew personal names are found on three inscriptions from Kuntillet Ajrud in the Sinai. The site of Kuntillet Ajrud was an important crossroads for those who traveled to the Gulf of Aqaba. There are ten or eleven examples of the yw spelling at Kuntillet Ajrud and not a single case of *yhw* forms. Though this site is located in the geographical horizons of Judah, the

²¹⁷ On orthography as indexical of anti-establishment ideologies, see Jaffe 1996; 1999; Schieffelin and Doucet 1998; Sebba 1998; 2007; 2009; 2012; and Wertheim 2012. In his book *Spelling and Society*, Mark Sebba provides a succinct social approach to ideological aspects of orthography in personal name selection. He begins by taking note of two variant spellings of a name: Chris and Kris. The spelling Chris is a common name but “*Kris*, being a highly unconventional spelling, is much more striking than *Chris*. Both sets of letters represent the same sounds . . . nevertheless, these representations are not equivalent. There is some symbolism that attaches itself to *Kris* but not to *Chris*; the *K* is significant, it is ‘other’” (2007: 1-2). In other words, the symbolic significance of K is that it is sub-cultural or subversive.

²¹⁸ It is possible that a Northern vernacular already existed among the elites and the manifestation of this new spelling reflects preexisting regional differences with Judah.

²¹⁹ A complete list of *YW* names is provided below.

preponderance of the *yw*-spelling, among other observations, supports the view that these individuals were Israelites. The earliest inscribed artifacts with the *yw* orthography are date to the end of the ninth century BCE; based upon paleographic parallels with Gezer, Khirbet Raddana, and the Byblos Phoenician inscriptions, a date in the earlier part of the ninth century BCE is equally possible (Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel 2012: 75-77).²²⁰ This would place the invention of this spelling to sometime during the Omride dynasty (879-840 BCE), according to the chronology of Miller and Hayes (2006: 222). Thus we can credit them with the introduction of this licensed orthographic variation from Judean norms.²²¹

It is during the ninth century BCE that Yahwistic religious names emerge among the royal family of the Omride dynasty.²²² Religious beliefs are mediated through language of the

²²⁰ Finkelstein acknowledges that, “literacy and scribal activity during the time of the Omrides was weak at most” (2013: 115) because of the paucity of writing in the Israelite heartland – Samaria, Jezreel, Megiddo, Yokneam, and Taanach – during the ninth century BCE. Nevertheless, the lack of text-artifacts in the heartland is not a prerequisite for our reconstruction. The finds from Kuntillet Arjud provide ample data for our analysis.

²²¹ Sebba conceives of licensed and unlicensed variation in orthography as social practice and notes that, “where there is variation, there is in practice always social meaning . . . if orthography is to carry social meaning, then there must be scope for variation” (2007: 32).

²²² The earliest example of the Judean spelling *yhw* in a personal name among the royal family in the Hebrew Bible is the ninth-century king Jehoshaphat (1 Kgs. 15:24). The earliest example of the religious name *yhw* in the royal family in Northwest Semitic inscriptions is found in the ninth-century BCE Aramaic inscriptions from Tel Dan (*KAI* 310 1:8; [ʿhʒ]yhw; the Judean king Ahaziah, 2 Kgs. 8:24) and Tel Afis ([yhw] ; the latter is either the divine name or the personal name *yhw[rm]*, Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat, King of Judah in 2 Kgs. 1:17; see Younger 2007: 139). The appearance of the name Yahweh outside of personal name use is found in the ninth-century Mesha inscription (*KAI* 181 1:18; [ves]sels of Yahweh). Lastly, Judean *yhw*-style personal names in epigraphic Hebrew only emerged in the eighth century BCE and indexed Judean national religious identity (found in several official *lmlk* jar handle impressions and ostraca from Jerusalem, Ramat Raḥel, Lachish, Beth Shemesh, Arad, Beersheba, Tell ‘Ira, etc. Mastin 2004-2007: 109-110; Ahituv 2008). The northernmost site with the form *yhw* in personal names is an ostrakon from Tel Qasile near the Mediterranean coast (*HITBP*: 402). The ostrakon, dated on paleographic grounds to the eighth century BCE, was allegedly found on the surface of the mound before it was excavated. Avigad and Sass (1997: 457-8) contend that an unprovenanced seal that was also allegedly from this site was a forgery, and thus one must proceed with caution and investigate its authenticity. Admittedly, there are at least two peculiarities with the ostrakon: it is the only example of an

everyday “here and now,” contends Keane (1997: 58). The Omride dynasty’s expression of religious belief is manifested in the conferral of the Yahwistic religious names Ahaziah, Joram, and Athaliah upon royal household members; the first Israelite kings to do so (1 Kgs. 22: 40; 2 Kgs. 3:1 [*yhw*-prefix in the MT]; 2 Kgs. 8:16 [*yw*-prefix in the MT]; 2 Kgs. 8:26). In terms of pragmatically entering the social life of upper-class members in an official capacity, Yahweh took material form as a dynastic deity under the Omrides.²²³

The introduction of the unique spelling *yw* for the name Yahweh aligned with Northern Kingdom efforts towards creating religious boundaries and differentiation from Judah and standardizing their own religious cult in Israel. Religion and religious movements are tied to political economy, social stratification, and state formation processes (Bloch 2008). In the context of state formation, language, as a semiotic form, mediates in the material realm and a new spelling or sound form becomes a cultural construction in material practice (Keane 2003; 2008). The new religious spelling/sound form *yw*, as a construction in material practice, indexed the establishment of a different Yahwistic cult associated with the Northern Kingdom of Israel. By extension, one can infer that with the establishment of new cult, a new religious hierarchy – such as a priesthood – was also formed, along with a new sanctioned religious tradition (i.e. Omride-venerated deities and rituals). Members became socialized into the new norm of pronouncing the name as *Yaw*, in order to become competent participants in the community, and reproduced it as part of the linguistic repertoire and shared discourses of everyday life in the

incised Hebrew potsherd (usually storage and eating vessels are incised) and the only Hebrew ostrakon to use Phoenician rather than Egyptian numerals.

²²³ It is unlikely that avoiding a full spelling of the theophoric name has anything to do with taboo avoidance (as if equivalent to G-d in present-day English in terms of an orthographic convention among Jewish communities). The fact that the preponderance of the theophoric YW names are among the upper class (the “*L-men*” or official seals and ostraca prefixed by the preposition *L* – “belonging” followed by the name of the owner or recipient) underscores this phenomena as an elite practice in Israel.

Northern Kingdom. The materiality of this orthography on artifacts– and associated institutional practices and transcendent concepts–permeated people’s lives in farmsteads, villages, cities, workplaces, and temples. To outsiders, the *yw*-standard norm was a dialectal feature of boundaries that were non-Judean.

Unequivocally, language was an important vehicle in bringing Israelite religious ideologies into relief. As Keane observes, “Language is one medium by which the presence and activity of beings that are otherwise unavailable to the senses can be made presupposable, even compelling, in ways that are publically yet also subjectively available to people as members of social groups” (1997: 49). Moreover, in response to religious tension, debates, and language use, Keane makes this observation:

[D]ifferent religious practices seem to select from among the entire spectrum of linguistic possibilities . . . They suspend or alter certain aspects of everyday ways of speaking . . . in response to problems posed by their particular otherworlds and their assumptions about the everyday . . . religions face chronic dilemmas posed by the tensions between transcendence and the situated and concrete nature of verbal practices. So much depends on these assumptions and tensions that much religious debate dwells on linguistic forms. (Keane 1997:49)

With respect to the *yw* as a religious identifier/marker, it was iconically classified with Omride religious hybridity and pluralism, and over time users and non-users drew on a set of myths about their classification. Under the Omrides, the hybridity of Yahweh with his divine consort Asherah, and worship of the Sidonian Baal, became legitimate (Hadley 2000). Both Baal and Asherah were meaningful to Omride-Israelite urban identities associated with the cultural center of Samaria: Asherah is found at Kuntillet Ajrud (*KAjr* 14:2; 18:1; 19:7); Baal names are found at Samaria.²²⁴ For the first time in Israel’s history, the tribal state cult of Yahweh of Samaria and

²²⁴ See PNs *b l* (*Samar* 12:2); *b l*’ (*Samar* 1:7; 3:3; 27:3; 28:3; 31a: 3; 31b: 3); *b l*<’>*zkr* (*Samar* 37:3); *’bb l* (*Samar* 2:4); *mr b l* (*Samar* 2:7). There are references to Ahab making an Asherah in

his Asherah in the north rivaled the city-state cult of Yahweh of the south in Jerusalem. This act made the Judean manifestation of Yahwism peripheral and the Omride manifestation central.

Establishing a separate religious authority, or reforming an existing one in the process of state formation, involved the (re)building of cult centers. Omri built a new capital at Samaria and it is likely that Ahab built a temple to Yahweh there too, though direct evidence is lacking (Koeckert 2010: 365-366). The Kuntilet Ajrud text-artifacts provide an explicit discourse about “Yahweh of Samaria and His Asherah,” and it can be assumed that a cult site was built at Samaria for Yahweh (Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel 2012: 87, 130). The ninth century BCE Mesha stele accentuates the military prowess of the Omrides and their establishment of a Yahwistic cult center at Nebo (KAI 181 1:14–18). Some scholars have attributed the cult center of Khirbet Atarus to the Omrides as well (Finkelstein 2013: 115).²²⁵

Perhaps the clearest indication of a cult reform under the Omrides is the temple at Tel Dan, specifically Stratum III in Area T, which dates to the ninth century BCE. Massive podiums, ashlar monumental architecture, and a large courtyard were constructed, and the temple platform may have been renovated and the altar enlarged under the Omride dynasty (Davis 2013: 35, 54, 172; Greer 2013: 133; 2014: 117-128). These structural changes to the cult area index a shift in feasting activities at Tel Dan from cooperate tribal solidarity to a new form of social hierarchies and an elite class (Greer 2014: 126-128). “The complex and its feasts under the Omrides, then, may have represented a period of transition between the old and the new: the successful internal syncretism attributed to Jeroboam was maintained—the worship of Yahweh in a traditional

Samaria (1 Kgs. 16:33) and building an altar and temple to the Sidonian Baal in Samaria (1 Kgs. 16:31–32).

²²⁵ It is unclear how the reference to YHWH in the ninth-century Aramaic inscription from Tel Afis is related to the Omrides (Younger 2007).

mold—but royal aspects—the monumental architecture and a more regulated priesthood—were now present,” asserts Greer (2013: 133). What was the social motivation for these changes?

Davis suggests that

...the Omrides may have intended their construction of Area T to foster a sense of unity in their kingdom. It is well known that the population of the Northern Kingdom was quite heterogeneous during the Iron Age . . . In light of this heterogeneity, archaeologists have interpreted the monumental architecture at northern sites as attempts to unify the region’s mixed populations under the authority of the Omride dynasty. (Davis 2013: 54)

Hence, the cult reform under the Omrides was a unifying element in 9th century BCE. This fact has implications for language use under the Omrides and the theophoric element -yw.

The invention of yw-type religious names under the Omride dynasty indexed a certain social structure: a segmentary tribal state ushering in a new religious cultural order of Yahwism. As Jaffe acutely observes, “it is not only important to ‘have’ an orthography, but it is also critical for that orthography to have prescriptive power – to be standardized and authoritative, like the orthographies of dominant languages” (2000: 586). As previously noted, the Omrides were the most powerful dynasty of any of the Israel kings in history.²²⁶ Their building and rebuilding campaigns are evident at Samaria and Jezreel in Cisjordan and Jahaz (Khirbat al-Mudayna) and Ataroth in Moab (Finkelstein and Lipschits 2010: 29-42; Ussishkin 2011b: 74-88). If one adopts Finkelstein’s Low Chronology, then the cities of Megiddo, Hazor, and Gezer may be added to the list (Finkelstein 2000; but see Ussishkin 2007: 302-307). The new religious orthography of

²²⁶ Shalmaneser III singles out Ahab, son of Omri’s, military might in an Assyrian inscription concerning the Battle of Qarqar in 853 BCE (Yamada 2000). The Assyrians assign all subsequent reigning monarchs in the Israelite dynasty as belonging to the House of Omri. For example, the Black Obelisk refers to “Jehu son of Omri” even though he was a usurper (2 Kgs. 9:14ff). The Neo-Assyrians recognized the Israelite dynasty and territory as Bit-Humri “House of Omri” (*COS* 2:113C–E). Hence, Israel is iconically linked to the founder and eponymous ancestor of Samaria’s kingdom. It goes without saying that Omri left an indelible impression and legacy upon the minds of local and regional powers during the ninth and eighth centuries BCE.

the Omrides— and their massive (re)building programs— was a semiotic display of dominance that legitimized and validated their political power and economic growth. Moreover, a new religious orthography created the illusion of unification, stability, and standardization of the cult in the Northern Kingdom. The Omride dynasty exploited their ideological capital by extending beyond the socio-political structure to the religious-cultic structure. As Davis notes, concerning the rebuilding efforts at Tel Dan, “new religious architecture . . . would exalt the site’s cult and also reinforce the authority of the dynasty responsible for its renovation” (2013: 55). As with rebuilding, so with respelling: it was calculated to legitimize and embody their claims to power.

The iconization and enregisterment of the *yw* orthography in writing events, as a classification sign indexing inclusion with Israelite political self-identity and embodiment of the nation, is evident in several provenanced Hebrew text-artifacts²²⁷ from the Northern Kingdom that are dated to the ninth or eighth century BCE.²²⁸

²²⁷ I have not included in the corpus an eighth-century BCE Israelite seal that was discovered in a late Carthage tomb. The theophoric form is either a prefix or suffix: *yw ’b* or *’byw* (WSS 185; Sass 1993: 235). I have also excluded the dozens of unprovenanced seals and bullae with the Israelite theophoric *yw* dated to the mid 8th to late 8th century BCE (based upon paleography): WSS: nos. 27; 39; 46; 51; 56; 168; 186-191 (*yw* prefix); 192 (*yw* prefix dated to 7th cent. BCE); 310, 311; 313; 316; 343; 371; 372 (*yw* prefix); 1123; *AHI*: nos. 99.016; 100.912; 101.014; 101.172; 101.173; 101.174; 101.311; 101.348 (*yw* prefix); 101.361; 101.364 (prefix *yw*); Israel 1989: 58-63; Jaruzelska 1996/1998: 61-63; Lemaire 1999: nos. 2,3,4; Heltzer 1999: nos. 4, 7, 13, 15; Israel 2000: 1622-1630; Avigad, Heltzer, and Lemaire 2000; Lemaire 2007b: 11-12; Lubetski 2007; Deutsch 2015: no. 1. Others seals and bullae with this theophoric are of an uncertain date: *AHI*: nos. 101.065 (prefix *yw*); 101.098 (prefix *yw*); 101.104 (prefix *yw*); 101.233 (prefix *yw* with *yhw* suffix); 101.240 (prefix *yw* with *yhw* suffix). Two unprovenanced Aramaic seal, dated to the late 7th century BCE, bears a name with the Israelite theophoric *yw* (WSS 1074; *AHI*: no. 101.401). Another is dated to the late 6th cent. BCE (WSS 818). If these seals are authentic, then they indicate that Israelite functioned as scribes during the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian empires. Lastly, two unprovenanced Yehud jar stamps bear personal names with the theophoric *yw* suffix (*AHI*: nos. 106.022; 106.023).

²²⁸ There are variations in the “standard” spelling in Israelite scribal culture. Besides the theophoric element *yw* in religious names, we also have one example of the spelling *-yh* used in text-artifacts in Israel. A bowl rim from Samaria, dated to the eighth century BCE, has this theophoric suffix attached to a personal name that is unreadable: [*lyh* (*AHI*: no. 3.109; *HAE* I: 109-110). It is possible that a Judean personal identity and agency are being invoked here. Another example of variation in orthography is the

Kuntillet Ajrud (Ahituv, Eshel, Meshel 2012: 128; late ninth to eighth century BCE)

Yw prefix: yw šh

Yw suffix: ʾlyw; ʾmryw; ḥlyw; ʿbdyw; ʿzyw; r ʾy[w]; šknyw; šm ʿyw; šmryw;
yhl[yw]

Samaria (Renz 1995: 99, 139; Gogel 1998:62; *HITBP*: 423-497; Ahituv 2008: 258-312; 8th century BCE)

Yw prefix: ywyš ʿ (*Samar* 36:3; *Samar* 111:1); ywntn (*Samar* 45:3); yw[] (*Samar* 35:3); yw[] (*Samar* 57:1);

Yw suffix: ʾbyw (*Samar* 52:2); ʾdnyw (*Samar* 42:3);²²⁹ ʾryw (*Samar* 50:2; 110:4); bdyw (*Samar*. 58:1); gdyw (*Samar* 2:2; 4:2; 5:2; 6:2–3; 7:2; 16:2; 16b:2; 17a:2; 17b:2; 18:2; 30:2; 33:2; 34:2; 35:2; 42:3); ḥly[w] (*Samar* 116 [118]); yd ʾyw (*Samar* 1:8; 42:2; 48:1); mḥ[syw] (*Samar* 110:1); smk[yw] (*Samar* 110:3); ʿbdyw (*Samar*. 50:2); ʿglyw (*Samar* 41:1); qlyw (*Samar* 110:2); šmryw (*Samar* 1:1–2; 13:2; 14:2; 21:1–2; *WSS* 377)

Megiddo (*HAE* I: 281-282; *HITBP*: 353; eighth century BCE)²³⁰

Yw prefix: lyw

Hazor (eighth century BCE)

Yw suffix: dlyw (*Hazor* 8)

Nimrud (Becking 1992: 75; eighth century BCE))

Yw suffix: ʾhyw (*Nimrud* 4); mlkyw (*Nimrud* 5); smkyw (*Heltzer* 1978:31)

Bethsaida (eighth century BCE)

Yw suffix: zkryw (*WSS* 669)

Tel Dan (eighth century BCE)

short form of the divine name at Kuntillet Ajrud. On an inscribed stone basin (dated to 800 BCE with the yw religious name) and storage jar (dated to the eighth century BCE), the short form of the divine name *YHW* is attested instead of the full name *YHWH*, as found on the pithoi and wall plaster inscriptions (Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel 2012: 76-77, 98). This scribal practice may point to a time before the consonantal sign /h/ served as a vowel letter (Millard 2014: 120). Or this spelling can be interpreted differently. The signification of the morphological syncopation of the consonant /h/, both in the final position with the divine *YHW* (in non-personal name use) and in medial position in *YW* religious names use at Kuntillet Ajrud, was that it indexed a new religious system under the Omride dynasty. The *YHW* spelling was a type of ritual act or performance, and the manifestation of a variant spelling in ancient Israel centers on questions about religious diversity and legitimacy.

²²⁹ Some have suggested the reading *mrnyw* on Samaria Ostrakon 42 (see *HITBP*: 464).

²³⁰ This inscription is incised on shoulder of a jar from Megiddo (*AHI*: 28.001; *HAE* I: 281-282; dated on paleographic grounds to the late eighth to early seventh century BCE). Stratigraphically, this inscription can be dated from 800-600 B.C (*HITBP*: 353). For our purposes, we have included it our survey of the use of Israelian Hebrew yw spelling at Megiddo.

Yw suffix: *zkryw* (WSS 669); *‘mdyw* (WSS 692)

Dothan (eighth century BCE)

Yw suffix: *šmryw* (Barkay 2005: 171-172)

Jericho²³¹ (eighth century BCE)

Yw suffix: *ʔhyw* (WSS 1123; *HAE* 1: 46)

These individuals listed above were distinguishable and unique from other identities in ancient Israel in that they bore the *yw* names, as opposed to *ʔl* and *yhw*-type religious names or kinship and wild animal names. These social agents adopted the *yw*-form into their socio-onomasticon as a solidarity marker that embodies an allegiance to the Omride/Israelite regime in opposition to other styles, norms, and institutions. What is unclear from this ethnotextual survey is who had the right to have *yw*-type names and what this form further designated in society. But in the process of self-identity construction and its ongoing forms of negotiation, either these people reclassified themselves or were reclassified by those in power as part of the Israelite in-group as a political stance and mark of religious differentiation from other polities.

The invention of a religious orthography, along with new royal-cultic architecture, potentially indexed the presence of a new political-religious hierarchy (priests, prophets, officials, judges, scholars) that governed a diverse tribal population under the Omrides and subsequent Israelite royal houses. For instance, names like Obedyaw in the ninth-century Kuntillet Ajrud inscription indexed the emergence of a new Israelite religious hegemony and the standardized version of the Yahwistic cult of the Omride dynasty (with its priestly and prophetic class). From a language ideology perspective, the new spelling is not merely an orthographic

²³¹ This eighth- or seventh-century BCE seal, with an Aramaic-Hebrew script, was purchased in Jericho in 1896. Recently, Bordreuil (2014) formulated the criteria that seals purchased prior to the twentieth century CE were less likely forged (due to the paucity of epigraphic finds) and therefore they are authentic. Taking Bordreuil's criteria seriously, this seal is included in the corpus of evidence for the use of *yaw* in the Ephraimite town of Jericho.

matter, but part of the broader social struggle for asserting Israelite Yahwistic religio-political legitimacy and identity (attached to the religious syncretism of Yahweh, Asherah, Baal, and other deities). Moreover, the *yw* name was a hierarchical marker or a spelling norm for the upper-class members in Israel who used it, and thus delegitimized the Judean *yhw* form. The *yw* form was a standardized norm that continued for at least a century in the territory that the Neo-Assyrian Empire recognized as *Bit-Humri*, and indexed an attitude and tension existing between the divided tribal segmentary states of Israel and Judah. The *yw* marker in socio-onomastic practice performed at least two roles: 1) it indexed a new standardized religious form of Yahwism and its break with a Judahite norm; 2) it indexed a bureaucratic ideology attached to the royal/priestly/prophetic/official class that was established under the Omride dynasty. Respelling became part of the state cult precisely at the point when state formation of Israel took on a more dramatic course. Those who favored, sympathized with, or desired to forge political ties to the Israelite tribal state used this theophoric as an embodiment of this ideology.

After the fall of the Northern Kingdom, refugees that fled to Judah in the late eighth to early seventh century BCE continued to assert their Israelite nationalism. Three Judean sites of social practice exemplify changes brought about by the migration of Israelites into Judah: the script, the orthography, and personal names. Several scholars have already pointed out the influence of Israelite scribal practices in the Judean Hebrew writing system from the eighth to sixth centuries BCE as a consequence of the migrations and deportations of the Northern Kingdom of Israel in the contraction of diphthongs **ay* and **aw*, orthographic variations from Judah, and lexical forms peculiar to Israelites (Sarfatti 1982; 1992; Israel 1989; 2000; Briquel-Chatonnet 1992b, 1993; Rendsburg and Schniedewind 2010). But one area largely unexplored is naming and personal identity.

In debating the presence of Israelite refugees in Judah, the majority of scholars appeal to the absence of *yw* theophoric names in Judean inscriptions dated to the late eighth to seventh century BCE. For example, two scholars in particular, Nadav Na'aman (2007; 2014) and Israel Finkelstein (2008; 2015), have written several articles and rejoinders on the topic of Israelite refugees. In their discussion of the evidence of Israelite names in Judah, they continue to appeal to the criteria of the absence or presence of *yw*- theophoric elements in personal names. It is true that the *yw* theophoric spelling is an orthographic feature stereotypical of non-Judeans. As noted above, the *yw* orthographic spelling style is replicated in Israelite text-artifacts prior to the fall of Israel. Admittedly, the occurrence and significance of the distribution of *yw* theophoric names in Judah is still debated; in fact, the evidence is rather negligible. But it must be kept in mind that it is one criterion among many in the politics of naming that index Israelite identity alignment. Lastly, there are several cultural reasons why *yw*-type names would disappear in Judah. Let us evaluate each of these points.

Several inscriptions with *yw*-style names in Judah have been variously interpreted (Cross 1983; Zevit 2001). Most recently, Mastin (2004-2007) argues that *yw*-style divine names in Iron Age Judah show that this name style was an optional variant of *yhw* and had become incorporated into the southern Judean Hebrew dialect in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE. This view approaches the evolution of names as a linear process and fails to consider agency in name choices as well as the ongoing reformulations of identity construction; therefore, this argument is in need of revision.

The spelling choice of *yw* in Judah was a form of oppositional agency and an act of identity alignment by Israelite refugees. Using LePage and Tabouret-Keller's influential work *Acts of Identity* (one of the first books to fully treat linguistic identity) allows us to place this

phenomenon in a larger framework. In terms of identity construction, they argue that individuals only behave according to the patterns of groups that they find desirable to identify with (1985:182).

Several individuals in Judah, after the fall of the North Kingdom, selected the use of the Israelite orthographic of the divine name Yahweh to express their ethno-national sentiments and claims of descent from pre-collapsed Samaria. The politically charged spelling norm of *yw*, as a commemoration of the dissolution from Judah and the embodiment of a new religious hegemony in the previous century, was preserved among refugees and migrants across time and space after the Israelite exile, especially during Hezekiah's reign. The *yw* spelling, as a trace of the stances of pride and prestige, starts to appear on several seals and ostraca in Judah that are dated to the late eighth century BCE.

Iconic Israelite *yw* prefix and suffix spelling in Judah²³²

Suffix -*yw* in the late eighth century BCE

šbnyw Jerusalem (WSS 688; Vaughn 1999: 209 no. 139; Avigad and Barkay 2000: 248 no. 54; *lmlk* jar handle impression)

[*nt*]*nyw* Tel Naṣbeh (*AHI* 1: 109 no. 30.002; *HAE* I: 221)

smk[yw] Tel Naṣbeh (*AHI* 1: 109 no. 30.002; *HAE* I, 221)²³³

Prefix *yw*- in the late eighth century BCE

ywkn Tell Beit Mirsim, Beth Shemesh, and Ramat Rahel (WSS 663; *lmlk* jar handle impression)

ywbnh Gibeon, Lachish, Beth Shemesh, Ramat Rahel, and Jerusalem (WSS 678; Avigad and Barkay 2000: 248 no. 54; Bunimovitz and Lederman 2000; *lmlk* jar handle)

²³² Excluded from discussion are two unprovenanced seals, whose authenticity cannot be confirmed, that appear to indicate Israelites in the southern Judean administration of King Uzziah (783-742 BCE): *šbnyw* (WSS 3:1) and *ʾbyw* (WSS 4:2), servants of Uzziyaw.

²³³ The two names from Tell en-Naṣbeh, a Benjamite city, are found on the same jar handle. Some read the final ending of the first name as *yhw*, based upon the false expectation that these individuals in the ostrakon should be only Judahites and not Israelites, but they acknowledge that this ending is problematic and the *yw* reading is a legitimate alternative (*HITBP*: 386).

impressions)²³⁴
yw[] Arad 89 (ostracon)²³⁵

Prefix yw- in the seventh century BCE

yw 'zr Mur 2:4 (early seventh century BCE papyrus)

yw 'lyh Khirbet Uza (Beit-Arieh 2007: 150-152; late seventh century BCE ostracon)

It is remarkable that we currently have only two examples of the yw-suffixed forms in personal names in Judah.²³⁶ Considering that the prefix yw- was infrequent in Israel (attested 4x) in comparison to the suffix -yw; which occurs the vast majority of times (over 29x), the preponderance of the former in Judah is unexpected. I am uncertain if one can argue that the selection of the prefix yw- over the suffix -yw was a stance to mask an affiliation with Israel, as both were iconic of Omride-Israelite culture. The suffix -yw was a salient feature of the Israelite onomasticon.²³⁷

In examining the evidence shown above, we find that some officials in Hezekiah's administration invoked and constructed their Israelite heritage and nationalism in Judahite spaces; this is evident in the use of IH yw in three royal Judean *lmlk* stamp impressions. While the function of the *lmlk* ("belonging to the King") stamps with private seals on storage jars is debated, it is indisputable that the seals belonged to royal officials in the Judean kingdom. The

²³⁴ There are three unprovenanced artifacts with the PN *ywbnh*: two *lmlk* jar stamp impressions (*AHI*: nos. 100.956; 101.296) and a bullae (*AHI*: no. 101.348).

²³⁵ This ostracon is similar to the *lyw* from Megiddo (*AHI*: no. 28.001; *HAE* I: 281-282). Note that Barkay hypothetically reconstructs the prefix yw in the name [yw]hnn inscribed on a late 8th century BCE storage jar from Stratum 9 Area A in the Jewish Quarter excavations of Jerusalem (Barkay 2003: 55).

²³⁶ The reconstructed yw suffix in the names from Naṣbeh by Renz (1995) and others is more convincing than *HITBP*. The latter prefers the Judean theophoric for consistency but it is clear from the list that Israelite refugees used the yw form in Judah.

²³⁷ Regarding religious names in the modern Middle East, note that Jewish, Christian, Shia, and Sunni naming practices unequivocally do not intersect or overlap. Each religious group use specific names that are tied to their religious identity. A similar naming ideology was practiced in the Iron Age Judah, as evidenced by the retention and replicating of Israelite religious names by Israelite exiles in Assyria and refugees in Judah.

general consensus among scholars is that private *lmlk* jar handle impressions are dated to the late eighth century BCE, were manufactured in the Shephelah of Judah, and were dispersed throughout the major cities and small rural sites and forts (Ussishkin 1976; 2004; 2011a; 2012; Garfinkel 1984; Na'aman 1986b; Vaughn 1999: 166, 185-197; Avigad and Barkay 2000: 243-248; Lipschits et. al. 2010; 2011). The prefix *yw-* is featured on impressions of a single official stamp with the first name *ywkn* discovered in the Shephelah and Highlands of Judah: Tell Beit Mirsim, Beth Shemesh, and Ramat Rahel (WSS 663: *ʾlyqm n ʿr ywkn* “Elyaqim steward of Yawkin”). The prefix *yw-* is also featured in the patronymic name *ywbnh* (with IH first name *mnḥm*) on official stamp impressions discovered at Gibeon, Lachish, Ramat Rahel, and Jerusalem (two other impressions were discovered at Tel Socoh and Tel ʿAdullam but they remain unpublished, cf. Avigad and Barkay 2000: 249). The jar handle impression from Jerusalem was discovered in Area A in the western Hill (Avigad and Barkay 2000: 249 no. 53). These jars may have been stamped in the Shephelah and dispersed to these other locations; it is also possible that the officials stamped on the jar handles received these shipments.

The excavations of the Western Hill of Jerusalem yielded an official seal stamp impression that reads: *nry* son of *šbnyw* (Vaughn 1999: 209 no. 139; Avigad and Barkay 2000: 248 no. 54; note that the first name is aligned with Israelite *nryw* in an Assyrian document, see Cogan 2013: 41).²³⁸ This is the first and only *lmlk* official stamp impression from a controlled excavation with a name spelled with the Israelite suffix *-yw* (Avigad and Barkay 2000: 248-

²³⁸ Another seal impression, from the same site and area, reads the following name: *nr ʾ* son of *šbn ʾ*. Some scholars argue that latter is a variant name of the former (Avigad and Barkay 2000: 248). But this argument is inconclusive since the fabric, script, and spelling of both seals are different. The same can be said for the seal of *mnḥm* son of *ywbnh*, whose patronymic is spelled three different ways on three different seals: *ywbnh*, *ybnh* and *yhwbnh* (Avigad and Barkay 2000: 249-250). Either this was the same official with three different seal cutters (one of whom was Israelite) or they were all different officials. Regardless of how one takes the evidence, the presence of Israelite officials or seal cutters in Judah is the main point.

249). A total of two official impressions in the Western Hill of Jerusalem are aligned with Israelite names: one from Area A and the other from Area F-4 (Avigad and Barkay 2000: 248-249). These artifacts are the most distinctive and convincing evidence of indexicality connected with the use of a naming register that voiced foreignness. These inscriptions place Israelite bodies in Jerusalemite space; in particular, on the western hill, which archaeologists and scholars have long argued was inhabited by refugees during this time period (Broshi 1974; 1978). Indeed, the iconic *yw* spelling on Judean royal stamp impressions, as a prefix and suffix, indicates a personal naming system that was used in a variety of contexts by officials to construct, summon, and project their claims to Israel in the Shephelah, the Highlands, and especially Jerusalem under Hezekiah's administration.

Tel En-Naşbeh (Mizpeh) is the only site with an example of the suffix *-yw* in an ostrakon, dated to the late eighth century BCE: *ntnyw* and *smkyw* (*HAE Nasb* (8)1:1). The site of Tel El Naşbeh was located within the tribal territory of Benjamin. The material culture of southern Ephraim and north Benjamin was very similar during the Iron II B period and the implication is that there was cultural contact and continuity between the two zones (Finkelstein and Silberman 2006; Finkelstein 2008; 2011c; 2015). There is a report in the Hebrew Bible about an Israelite priest from Samaria who had moved to Bethel in Benjamin during the Assyrian period (2 Kgs. 17:28). Therefore it is not surprising to find that Israelite migrants constructed their identity in Benjamite spaces.

The naming system with *yw* theophoric elements continues in Judah into the seventh century BCE, pointing to the persistence of the long-standing regional differences between Israel and Judah. The Wadi Murabba'at papyrus, the only surviving papyrus from pre-exilic times, was found in the Judean desert and contains the personal name *yw'zr* (*Mur* 2:4). The Judean desert

experienced settlement density during the 7th century BCE, specifically in the Buqe‘ah valley near the Dead Sea (Finkelstein 1994: 175-176; Vaughn 1999: 71-78; Faust 2008: 170; Master 2009: 313); and it is not out of the question that Israelite migrants were partly responsible for this social change. Several other names aligned with Israelite tribal identity are attested on the papyrus, such as *hwš‘*. Lastly, the first name *yw‘lyh* was discovered at Khirbet Uza, but is unclear if the *yw* was contracted (Beit-Arieh 2007: 150-152), which would mean it would be part of the verbal form and not a theophoric element. These two examples are the last ones before the exile of Judah in 586 BCE.

Based upon this survey, Yahwistic religious names come to index cultural symbolic meaning, and the two spelling styles in personal names among urban Israelites and Judeans in the Iron Age period come to index separate socio-political identities. The *yw*-style names (using both prefix and suffix) embody ethno-nationalistic-religious sentiments. A revision of the writing systems of the newly independent Israelite state, established under the Omrides, signaled a break from the political and religious hegemony of the House of David and Judah (1 Kgs. 11:31, 35). Those who affirmed their national identity and anti-Judean religious allegiance embodied this stance through the selection of *yw*-style names. On the other hand, individuals in favor of Judah asserted their national and religious affiliation by use of *yhw*-style names. (This is not to deny the role of individual agency in the selection of religious names, for some acted contrary to this neat paradigm in both Judah and Israel, especially after the fall of the Northern Kingdom. For example, some refugees selected kinship names or *yhw* names instead).

That the *yw* spelling norm continued to be practiced by refugees is indisputable, but speculation remains about what may have influenced this naming practice. First, refugees show an awareness of language maintenance (and a refusal to engage in naming diversity) as a

conscious form of agency to embody their individual (and potentially household) allegiance to the Israelite Yahwistic cult. Fidelity to the Northern cult of Yahweh somehow met their emotional needs and attachment to Yahwism. After the elimination and destruction of Yahwistic cult sites in Israel by the Assyrians (leaving only the site of Bethel in Benjamin as a cult place), the *yw* name form was one way to affirm their religious attachments to these centers. With the Israelite people being displaced and living under colonial conditions in Judah, many households may have felt it appropriate to instruct their children about their ancestral cult through names associated with the Northern name of Yahweh (and, in so doing, to reverse the direction of linguistic and religious shift).

A second possible meaning of the use of *yw* names is that these names expressed their desire to remain separate. The agency of naming, as a part of language, allows one to voice attitudes, beliefs, and wishes. Reverting to an indigenous name is one strategy to express the desire to remain apart from other ethnic groups in Judah. As Bucholtz and Hall observe in their discussion of language and ethnicity, “Ethnic identity, for example, generally emerges under conditions of contact, whether as a way of reifying distinctions between people who live in juxtaposition to one another . . . or as a way for cultural groups to remain apart, voluntarily or involuntarily, from the de-ethnicizing process of citizenship in the nation-state” (2004: 371). Thus, as Israelites organized in groups, *yw* names embodied a form of resistance that marked their difference and helped them remain separate, a choice induced by contact with multi-ethnic groups in Judah.

A last rationale for the preservation of *yw* in Judah centers on the politics of naming. The retention of the *yw* name may have served as a coping mechanism in the hope of restoring the glory days of the Omrides or Jeroboam II. With the lead-up and revolt of Hezekiah against

Assyria in full force, following the death of Sargon II, a brief glimmer of hope and cultural revitalization associated with Israelite political claims may have arisen during this intervening time amongst refugees in Judah.

Certainly, this is to not say that there were not other factors for this spelling choice. One cannot discount the fact that the *yw*-naming system could have taken on a totally different meaning among refugees in Judean contexts. As Keane notes, material things, “can, in principle, acquire features unrelated to the intentions of previous users or the inferences to which they have given rise in the past. This is in part because as material things they are prone to enter into new contexts” (2008: 124). Needless to say, any other interpretation of the recurrence of *yw*-names in Judah remains elusive. We are on firmer footing with respect to a possible theophoric restructuring and alignment towards the Judean *yhw* spelling under the Judean hegemonic orbit of King Josiah; for in the second half of the seventh century BCE, he is attributed with enacting a cult centralization in Jerusalem that extended to reforming the Israelite cult sites in Bethel and Samaria (2 Kgs. 23:15–20; or according 2 Chr. 34:6, in Manasseh, Ephraim, and even to Naphtali). It is under these circumstances that Israelites renegotiated their identity and adopted the iconic *yhw*-theophoric spelling to their names.²³⁹

The cultural impact of immigrant presence in Judean spaces during the late eighth century BCE is evident beyond naming, especially as one examines other forms of discursive practices in Hebrew inscriptions and the Hebrew Bible. For instance, there is a sudden appearance of Asherah in an epigraphic Judean Hebrew artifact from Khirbet El-Qom in the Shephelah during the late eighth century BCE (Qom 3:3, 5). In view of the fact that the goddess Asherah first emerges in Israelian Hebrew artifacts from Kuntillet Ajrud more than half a century

²³⁹ Several examples are listed below under each separate tribe.

before the El-Qom find (Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel 2012: 88, 91, 95, 127 nos. 3.1, 3.6, 3.9, 4.1.1), one can attribute the sudden appearance of the Asherah cult in Judah to the religious agency of elite Israelite refugees during the late eighth century BCE. In a popular oracle from Micah, a prophet from Moresheth-gath in the Shephelah who lived during this same period, a Judahite struggle for religious dominance is articulated in the statement to Judean officials: “You have kept the laws of Omri, and all the practices of the House of Ahab, and have followed what they devised. Therefore I will make you an object of horror and her inhabitants an object of hissing; and you shall bear the mockery of peoples” (Mic. 6:16). Micah’s narrative critique of Judeans adopting Omride religious cult practices in the Shephelah – a surprise in light of the fact that Omrides ceased to exist centuries before Micah’s time and their memory was largely forgotten afterward – can be attributed to the arrival of Israelite refugees who brought with them their cultic *habitus* associated with Asherah (1 Kgs. 16:33; 18:19). The cultural hybridity of Asherah deities and hybrid Yahwism among displaced minority Israelites was as a form of social resilience; a strategy for survival within the larger system of Judah.

That being said, one must be careful of assuming homogeneity in Judean identity at this time, especially when social changes affected cultural practices. One often-overlooked aspect of identity construction is that it can “serve to manufacture or underscore differences between in-group members and those outside the group. The perception of shared identity often requires as its foil a sense of alterity, of an Other who can be positioned against those socially constituted as the same,” especially when heterogeneity exists (Bucholtz and Hall 2004: 371). Hebrew-inscribed artifacts attest to certain representations of Israelite identity in the administration of Hezekiah. The Biblical writers’ sentiments, expressed in the Books of Micah for example, reflect on how southern Judeans responded to wider social change brought on by the migration of

Israelites. These southern Judeans drew on a set of beliefs about the Israelites' classification with the Omrides by means of historical practice – regardless of whether or not they were aware of what really happened in Israel – and labeled them (and their practices) as outsiders with negative religious stereotypes. This representation of Israelites, in Judean historical remembrance, achieved visibility and centrality; and others remained invisible and muted.

5.7 Indexicality of Regional Variation of Names in the Judean Writing System

Proper names are inextricably tied to identity and group membership and provide a window into linguistic regional differences in the writing system. Tribal alignment is a key component in segmentary societies for the maintenance of hierarchy, balance, placement, and social cohesion. Northwest Semitic inscriptions show a concern over one's placement in society, having a good name, and preserving the memory of one's name in perpetuity.²⁴⁰ The performance of naming is transformative in nature, as the child becomes aligned with local group identity—even if the child was not named after an ancestor. Based upon particular social circumstances, sometimes the name conferred will reveal the vernacular dialect of the speaker (in the consonantal structure of the text). Because tribes were acutely aware of linguistic differentiation (as the *Shibboleth-Sibboleth* story indicates), regional diversity was a form of agency that projected of resistance or opposition to the “shared” or “standard” forms of other tribes. One may find this projection through dialect variations that point to urban vs. rural dialects or Northern Israel vs. southern Judean dialects (Harris 1939; Eshel 1960; Gibson 1971:

²⁴⁰ This sentiment is expressed in the narratives of Saul and Absalom (1Sam. 24:21; 2Sam. 18:18) and in several Northwest Semitic inscriptions of the Iron II period: Azitawadda (KAI 26 AIII:13; KAI 26 AIV:2); Zakkur (KAI 202 C:2); Panamuwa (KAI 214 1:21); Tel Fekharyeh (KAI 309 1:12; 1:17); Sefire (KAI 222 A3:24-25; KAI 222 B2:7); Nerab (KAI 226 1:3).

8).²⁴¹ Other forms of regional diversity—and to an extent diachrony—are indicated by the names in the books of Genesis, Joshua, and Judges that index an alignment with Amorite, Hurrian, and Anatolian identities of the Bronze Age period (Hess 1993; 1996b; 1997; 1998; 2003; 2007a; 2015) or with archaisms (Layton 1990).

Sometimes proper names with the added noun for “son” index regional group membership in text-artifacts; this is evident the Balaam inscription that was discovered at Deir Alla in Transjordan. In the first set of fragments, it is said that Balaam’s kinsmen (*ʿm* “people”, see Gen. 28: 3) came to him and addressed him as “Balaam, son of Beor” (*KAI* 312 1:4).

Without getting into the debate over the linguistic classification of the Deir Alla inscription, whether Canaanite or Aramaic, it is sufficient to say that in this text the word *br* “son” aligns Balaam’s identity with Aramaic and inland Syria than local Transjordan or Canaan (in contrast to the use of *bn* on two seals from Deir Alla, WSS 963, 988).²⁴² In the local context of the agro-pastoral society of Transjordan, arguably the inclusion of the patronymic as an address form constructs not only distance and respect, but also unfamiliarity and unshared membership (Gellner 1969; Cohen 1970; Geertz 1979; Borg and Kessler 2001). Here, background

²⁴¹ For instance, two Benjamite names spelled with internal vowel *yod* in Hebrew but are absent in the Septuagint and thus are not pronouns: *ʾldd* (Num. 34:21) and *ʾlp ʾl* (1 Chr. 8:11). They point to a different dialect represented in the text before the Septuagint translators vs. Massoretic text (Sivan 2000: 190).

²⁴² Based upon Silverstein’s compartmentalization of inscriptional, language, and speech communities (2006), in the Deir Alla inscription Balaam identifies with the Aramaic speech community (based upon his title), but this has nothing to do with his membership with the inscriptional community that wrote the text in plaster (which some have argued is Gileadite, an old Canaanite text that was updated under Aramaic influence, or Canaanite cf. Hoftijzer and van der Kooij 1991; Beyer 2012: 123-126; Gzella 2015: 87-91; Pat-El and Wilson-Wright 2015: 13-23). The same can be said about the Kilamuwa Inscription (*KAI* 24: 1), whose self-identification is with the Aramaic speech community: *klmw br ʾly*], but the language of the text aligns with the Phoenician inscriptional community. Another view is Lipinski (1994: 110-113) who reanalyzes the consonantal structure of the Hebrew text in Numbers 22:5 to read: “Balaam, son of Beor, the seer who was near the River, in the country of the sons of Ammon”—thus making Balaam’s identity at home in Ammon.

information— such as the Aramaic term *br* with patronymic *b ʿr* meaning “cattle, livestock” (*HALOT*, 1:142)— is needed to properly identify Balaam because he is not native to the area.

Considering that ancient Israelites mapped their intra-tribal linguistic values onto their personal and family names, one is able to distinguish Israelite clans living in distinct areas outside of Judah such as the Mediterranean coast, Galilee, and Transjordan.²⁴³ Despite the fact that Biblical scribes attempted the level dialectal of forms in the Hebrew Bible (Rendsburg 2003; 2012; 2013a; 2014) nevertheless, efforts to distinguish Israelites from Judeans are enhanced by knowledge of other comparative Northwest Semitic inscriptions.

Lexical forms (and grammar to a certain extent) are privileged in the study of linguistic purism, hybridity, and contact because they play on the discursive conscience level. In order to unpack the idea of purism and hybridity in terms of contact in this particular tribal situation, I draw on Kroskrity study of Kiva ritual speech among the Arizona Tewa (1998; 2004). A purist discourse is a self-conscious concern to resist mixed forms in language such as the avoidance of codeswitching, loans, and foreign words. Kroskrity examines how tribal elders of Arizona Tewa monitor the lexicon to maintain indigenous purism in Kiva Speech but not grammar—for grammar is not restricted to language ideological reasoning. Thus, lexical forms are important in the construction of tribal identity because they are the locus on the discursive level that can be manipulated. In the Hebrew Bible, this is evident in the Shibboleth-Sibboleth narrative about Ephraimites and Gileadites (Judg. 12:6).

What constitutes a “good” name must be evaluated based on what the Israelite tribal communities ideologically valued in practice, as is evident in text-artifacts. Within tribal communities, names, like economic commodities, were produced, circulated, and consumed

²⁴³ See use of Heb. *yš ʿ*-type names as iconic of Transjordan identity (O’Connor 1990).

intra-tribally (especially in ancient Israel, as they were tied to residences and land rights).

Bourdieu aptly explains this political economic aspect of language in which speakers produce and receive linguistic forms into their communities of experience:

What circulates on the linguistic market is not “language” as such, but rather discourses that are stylistically marked both in their production, in so far as each speaker fashions an idiolect from the common language, and in their reception, in so far as each recipient helps to *produce* the message which he perceives and appreciates by bringing to it everything that makes up his singular and collective experience.
(Bourdieu 1991:39)

The ways in which ancient clan members produced and circulated purist and mixed forms of personal names, and their representation in inscribed artifacts can help the modern interpreter understand how names functioned as social practice.

An example of the production, distribution, consumption, and circulation²⁴⁴ of dialectal forms of personal names is the lexeme *ḥrṣ*. The lexical form *ḥrṣ* is the Phoenician word for “gold” (*PPD*: 197) in contrast with *zḥb*, the Judean Hebrew word for gold (Harris 1939: 52). For example, *zḥb* “gold” is the standard form in administrative parlance and prose form in Judean Hebrew inscriptions (*Jslm* 25:3; *Qasile* 2:1; *Silwan* 2:10) and the Hebrew Bible.²⁴⁵ However, the lexeme *ḥrṣ* is compartmentalized to poetic performances in the Hebrew Bible or, as some have argued, to dialect register of Israelite Hebrew (*ḥrwṣ*: Psalms 68:14; Proverbs 3:14; 8:10,19; 16:16; *pace* Rainey 2007a: 74).²⁴⁶ Ancient Hebrew has two or more words for gold (such as *zḥb*

²⁴⁴ On the political economic aspect of language, see Irvine 1989.

²⁴⁵ The word *zḥb* is also a cognate in Old Aramaic and Official Aramaic [*dḥb*] (*HALOT*, 5:1848; *DNWSI*: 306-307). The Canaanite/Phoenician form *ḥrṣ* does not exist in Aramaic. Thus, there is a discursive awareness of linguistic contrast with *zḥb/ḥrṣ* between these two language groups (*pace* Rainey 2007b: 52-55).

²⁴⁶ See Rendsburg 1989, 2003, Yiyi Chen 2000. This lexeme is also infrequent in Late Biblical Hebrew (*Zech* 9:3; *HALOT*, 1:352). On linguistic compartmentalization theory, see Kroskrity 1998.

and *bšr*) and the lexeme *hrš* is an isogloss with Phoenician *hrš*. But in Phoenician this lexeme is the standard form and other words like *zhb* are never used.²⁴⁷ A perusal of the standard Northwest Semitic dictionaries reveals that *zhb* is the Judean form of everyday usage but *hrš*, which is compartmentalized to poetic usage, is Israelian Hebrew. On a linguistic anthropological

²⁴⁷ Rainey (2007a: 73-74). Recently Hacket and Pat-El (2010) critiqued Rainey's position on the alignment of *hrš* in Hebrew with a Transjordanian dialect. Hacket and Pat-El note that this root, attested in Phoenician and Akkadian, "is clearly a retention from PS, which any language had access to. Whether or not a given language actually used the root is immaterial in language sub grouping" (2010:183). Others disagree, such as Kogan (251-2 n. 42; 2015: 369-375), who argues that *hrš* is an Ugaritic-Phoenician isogloss that is not shared with Hebrew. Interestingly, this lexeme is part of everyday usage in both Ugaritic and Phoenician (Halayqa 2008:174) but not in Hebrew. While Hacket- Pat-El's argument may have merit on historical linguistic grounds, it is not particularly relevant to linguistic anthropology, which does not concern itself with analyses such as genetic sub grouping of languages. Language is tied to identity and there are other facets of language use ignored by historical linguists that can impair how one categorizes language groups. For example, in linguistic anthropology, cultural codability is more important than availability. That is, people make choices on language use that are not restricted to academic paradigms of classifications and language groups. Therefore, the two approaches to language, historical linguistics and linguistic anthropology, rarely intersect. Hacket and Pat-El's approach fails to appreciate other avenues of linguistic theory that center upon cultural ideologies and practice, which lead to varying conclusions that often differ from historical linguistics. A key difference is the cultural performance aspect of language use is: who performs this word (their social position, gender, etc.), when does the speaker/writer use this word (in public, in private, in court, or in a legal assembly), and what are the ongoing social processes affecting the speaker/writer (migration, exile, deportation or none of the above). Audience design is another important aspect of language use as it incorporates questions of identity, such as to whom and before whom is this being performed (before the king, a judge, officials, dignitaries, elders, colleagues, friends or family?). Lastly, the purpose of speaker or writer's performance is also key; that is, what type of identity is the speaker/writer attempted to construct? From this perspective, what historical linguistics values in terms of extracting and evaluating subgroups of languages does not necessarily resonant with actual speakers' or writers' cultural values, ideologies, or practices. Lastly, examining if this word occurs in everyday usage vs. special usage is also an important factor in language grouping. Rainey is correct in viewing *zhb* as an example of a non-Canaanite lexeme in Hebrew because Hebrew *zhb* (Jslm 25:3; Qasile 2:1; Silwan 2:10) is an isogloss with Aramaic (a non-Canaanite language) in everyday usage in opposition to the Canaanite Phoenician language. The everyday non-poetic use of *zhb* in Aramaic is abundantly attested: the North Syrian dialect of Samal (*KAI* 215 1:11], Old Aramaic (*KAI* 216 1:11 Bar-Rakib), Official Aramaic (*DNWSI* 306-307; Biblical Aramaic *HALOT*, 5:1848; *DNWSI* 306-307); as well as Late Aramaic dialects like Jewish Aramaic, Palmyrene, and Nabatean (*DNWSI* 306). But the word *hrš*, which is standard in Canaanite, is not attested in the non-Canaanite dialect of Aramaic and rarely occurs in ancient Hebrew. When the word is attested in ancient Hebrew, it is aligned with Israelite identity. From this perspective, what is more important than *hrš* being "available" in Hebrew is that it has semiotic salience reflecting upon on the speaker or writer's cultural ideology of practice rather than genetic sub grouping. In sum, while the word *Harutz* is "available" in Hebrew, as Hacket and Pat-El correctly point out, what is more relevant is the cultural codability of this word in the speaker/writer construction of identity.

level, use of the Judean form *zhh* would reflect linguistic purism, while *hrs* demonstrates a type of linguistic hybridity aligned with identities outside of Judah, such as Israel and Phoenicia. The use of *zhh* in Judah marks in-group identity boundaries while *hrs* indexes out-group identity. Therefore, one could conclude that if the word *hrs* is used in the onomastic corpus, it is not a non-Judean Hebrew name. The question then becomes: in what ethnic group(s) is the production, distribution, and consumption of *hrs* embedded in everyday use? As noted previously, the lexeme *hrs* appears to be part of everyday usage among ethnic groups from North Syria, Phoenician coast, and Galilee (*DNWSI*: 406-407; *DULAT*: 406-407; *PPD*: 197). The name *hrs̄n* is attested in Ugaritic, a Northwest Semitic language spoken in the coastal regions of North Syria in the Late Bronze Age (*hrs̄n DULAT*: 407). The name *hrs* is attested in an unprovenanced Phoenician seal dated on paleographic grounds to the 8th century BCE (Aufrecht 1995:387; Heltzer 1999:217). We also find *haruša* as possibly a Phoenician PN in Neo-Assyrian sources (*PNA* 2/I: 463a). Lastly, Ḥaruz is the personal name of King Manasseh's father-in-law from Jotbah in Galilee (2 Kgs. 21:19). From this survey, it is evident that name Harutz is iconic of non-Judean identity and aligned with ethnicities living in the regions of Syro-Phoenicia and Galilee.

Providing the historical conditions in which the name *hrs* was semiotically situated with meaning in the Levant allows one to make broader claims regarding this name as a cultural category. For instance, there was the discovery of an unprovenanced ancient Hebrew seal with the name *hwr̄s*– with a rare crescent moon (*WSS*: 152; *HAE* 8.16; Sass 1993: 239). There is reason to believe—if this seal is authentic— that, based upon our analysis of this name's cultural category above, this name indexes this person as a non-Judean.²⁴⁸ If this seal originated in

²⁴⁸ It must be kept in mind that this seal is of limited use because it is unprovenanced. We have no clue as

Judah, then the owner– whose name-type is situated with ethnic groups in Israel, Phoenicia, and Galilee– must have migrated to Judah (be it voluntary or forced migration). Consequently, during the Iron II period some foreign names were produced, consumed, and circulated in Judah.²⁴⁹

Thus, when it comes to the proper names, the majority of tribal members of the Iron II period in the Levant and Transjordan had a purist ideology of language. Israelite tribesmen, as represented in text-artifacts, constructed and circulated purist forms of personal names. Because personal names in text-artifacts (seals, papyri, ostraca, bullae) were attested in public documents, we can assume that whether they are nicknames or official names, they reflect the specific dialects of their users.

It is important to keep in mind, however, that in larger cities with a more common nuclear family structure (as opposed to the extended family in the village), it may have been fashionable to adopt common Northwest Semitic names, as family land rights were contested in the city. From an ethno-linguistic geographical perspective, many proper names in Judah are similarly produced, circulated, and consumed in other linguistic geographical areas (from Amorite, Phoenician, Aramaic, Transjordan, Edomite, Old South Arabian) and periods (from

to region and date and, furthermore, it may very well be a forgery and, consequently, of no use for our analysis. If it were genuine and found in Israel this would be an example of Israelite personal name from contact zones of Phoenician coast and Galilee. If it were discovered in an excavation in Judah, then this would more likely be due to migration.

²⁴⁹ A similar proposal can be made for the semantically related Hebrew PN *bšr* (“gold”) attested in an unprovenanced seal that was bought in Jerusalem allegedly from the Hebron district and dated to the 6th century BCE (WSS 354; HAE 21.12). This seal is unprovenanced, therefore one can only make tentative conclusions regarding the use of seal in reconstructing Israelite dialectal names. This lexeme is an isogloss with Ugaritic (*bšr DULAT* 253 “a precious metal”; Halayqa 2008:119) and found only in the poetic sections of the Hebrew Bible (Job 22:24 36:19 HALOT 1:149). Most importantly, in Israelite genealogies this PN is aligned with the northern tribe of Asher (1Chr. 7:37)– a tribal group that settled near the coastal areas of Israel and Galilee and later migrated to Ephraim and Benjamin.

Bronze Age to Persian period and beyond). But within in the ancient Israelite and Judean worldview, tribal names, whether or not they were shared with other Northwest Semitic peoples, did something. They evoked a mental map of tribal land, clans, occupation, social standing, and more. Sometimes these names were local regional forms and sometimes they were common Semitic forms. Group differences are best examined through an analysis of local tribal forms.

Generally, Israelite names can be grouped in three ways: as purist, regional, or popular forms. Sometimes two categories can be in play: for example, an Israelite name could be a purist form that was restricted to a certain region. Sometimes an Israelite name-form could be regional and popular because it was shared with groups in the contact zone of Phoenicia. For instance, the contraction of **ay* is attested in Phoenician spelling and in Israel in the word *yn* “wine” instead of Judean Hebrew *ynn* (Garr 1985).²⁵⁰ This contraction is also attested in two Israelian Hebrew names from Kuntillet Ajrud and Samaria: *hlyw* (Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel 2012: 128) and *hly[w]* (Samar 116 [118]; *HITBP*: 496) instead of Judean Hebrew *hylyw*. The two Israelian Hebrew names reflect linguistic purism with the contraction **ay* and theophoric *yaw*; it is also a regional name, as it shares a standard spelling with Phoenicia. There are also several names with the theophoric Ba‘al (and without vowel letters) in the Samaria ostraca— such as *’bb l* (Abiba’al; Samar 2:4), which is shared with Phoenician (*HAE*: Sam(8):1.2, 4; Benz 1972: 54; Sader 2005: 23:1; Albertz 2012; Norin 2013). These shared forms represent a syncretistic ideology, where speakers enhanced their onomastic lexicon with borrowings from another dialect or from the contact zone with Phoenicia. (Note that some Baal names in the Samaria ostraca are from foreign distributors; for more, see Schloen 2001.) We do not find this to be the case with Judean names: the Judeans avoided dialectal names (unless one takes uncontracted forms as

²⁵⁰ Other forms of contraction in Israel include: *št* “year” (shared with Phoenician and Moabite) against *šnh*, the Judean Hebrew equivalent (Gibson 1971:8).

evinced dialect), foreign names (except for a few instances of Egyptian names, see Zadok 1986) and syncretistic names (i.e. none with theophoric Baal). Resisting dialectal borrowings reflected an assiduous loyalty to one's own linguistic identity.

Names are cultural symbols that change more slowly than other social phenomena, for example, such as politics. Thus, an exploration of the cultural categories of names in Judean artifacts (for example, which names can be seen as purist and which as hybrid) allows an examination of what factors—such as migration and political alliances—contributed to the ethnic diversity and hybridity in Judah even as Judeans struggled to sustain their cultural and linguistic distinction in the face of socio-demographic change.

One useful area for analysis is extracting how variations are embedded in the Judean writing system. This section proposes that the careful examination of names in the Judean text-artifacts—dated to the late 8th-7th centuries BCE—reveal encoded regional social stances, ideologies, and values that index an alignment with Israel or with identities within the contact zone of Israel (Syro-Mesopotamian, Phoenician, and Aramean). Here are some examples:

1) *Names with no Canaanite Shift of *ā > *ō*. Generally, the Canaanite shift of the intervocalic semi-vowel *ā > *ō occurred in Amarna Canaanite (Sivan 1984) and most Iron Age II speech communities in the southern and coastal Levant such as Phoenician and Judean Hebrew (Garr 1985: 30-35; Sáenz-Badillos 1993: 34, 42, 45, 48; Friedrich-Röllig 1999: 36-39; Krahmalkov 2001: 28-29; Yun 2005: 744; Beyer 2012: 115, 122).²⁵¹ This vowel shift did not take place in Ugaritic and Aramaic. However, the biblical names with the lexical form *pdh* “to ransom” do not show the Canaanite shift. The *pdh*-naming style without the Canaanite shift is

²⁵¹ This is a rare case where the vocalization of names in the MT potentially has indexical relevance for identity construction in relation to similar forms in other Judean inscriptions.

aligned with Israelite tribes of Naphtali and Manasseh such as *pdh* ʾl [*p^ədahʾēl*], *pdhšwr* [*p^ədāhšûr*], and *pdyh* [*p^ədāyāhû*] (Num 1:10; 2:20; 7:54, 59; 10:23; 34:28; 1 Chr 27:20; 2 Kgs. 23:36 [from Rumah in lower Galilee, Aharoni 1979; 403]; Yun 2005: 744; Ugaritic *pdy*, syllabic *pa-di/di-ya/ia*, see *DULAT*: 664). The name *pdh* is attested in an inscription from Hazor in Naphtali (Naveh 1989:347). Arguably, the name was pronounced the same way as others members from the tribe of Naphtali. This is one of the few cases of regional diversity within Israel among clans that did not participate in a wider phonological practice (like Ugaritic and Aramaic).

In the Samaritan Hebrew tradition (that possibly goes back to the Second Temple period), there are examples of both the Canaanite shift and the preservation of the vocalic /a/. The cases in which the Canaanite shift did not take place are more pervasive than in the Tiberian Hebrew tradition. For example, the shift did not take in the following areas: pronoun *ānāki*, numeral *šlš*, verbal forms *šāmar* and *dāraš*, and nominal forms built on the *qāl*, *qaṭāl*, *quṭāl*, *qāṭal*, *qaṭṭāl*, and *maqāl* patterns (Ben-Ḥayyim 2000: 83-87). The retention of the /a/ forms appears to have fallen outside of discursive consciousness (i.e. falling on the level of *habitus* rather than intentional agency). According to Ben-Ḥayyim, “Every in-depth study of this linguistic tradition reveals a zealous preservation of heritage, and forgetting the simplest and most common words in the Pentateuch is unthinkable. For this reason . . . words with the *a* in SH derive from the earliest Hebrew stratum and are unparalleled in Aramaic . . . or . . . contradicts the Aramaic” (2000: 85). Despite the uneven absences of the Canaanite shift in Samaritan Hebrew, it carried symbolic meaning as an index to group membership without fully intending to do so.

Agency, however, is more apparent in the selection of *pdh*-naming style—as oppose to other lexical forms with equivalent contextual meaning— that semiotic align the users with Israel. The *pdh*-naming style was reproduced among tribal members of Naphtali and Manasseh. Generally, Judeans used the root *g ʾl* as a naming style—the semantic equivalent of the verb *pdh* “ransom”— to construct their personal identity (*g ʾlyhw Arad* 16:5; 39. Obv. 5; *HITBP*: 592; Albertz and Schmitt 2012: 303: 543). This set of naming practices with the root *g ʾl* instead of *pdh* was intended to distinguish members as part of the Judean sociocultural group. Thus, the *pdh*-naming style take on a distinct social cultural meaning in relation to the Judean *g ʾl*-naming style in that the former semiotically aligns with Israelian Hebrew. Giles and Johnson (1981; 1987) observe, based on their foundational study on ethnolinguistic identity, that individuals often create distinctive speaking styles— such as in-group language and accents— as a strategy to enhance their own group’s self-esteem. The *pdh*-naming style is an example of in-group language use. Interestingly, the name *pdylhw* is attested in a Judean inscription (*Arad* 49:15 [Renz 1995: 153-155]).²⁵² Arguably, the enregisterment of the *pdh*-style names among clans of Naphtali and Manasseh and its reproduction later at Arad—which may also have been spoken without the Canaanite shift—indexes an alignment with the speech communities of Israel, not Judah.

2) *Contraction of the diphthong *ay in Israelian Hebrew.* The contraction of the diphthong **ay* is one of the distinctive markers of Israelian Hebrew and a parade example is the word *yn* “wine” instead of *yyn* in the Samaria Ostraca (Sarfatti 1982; Garr 1985; Israel 1989). The contraction of the medial letter */y/* is also attested in the personal name *hlyw* “YW is Strength” or “YW is (my) uncle,” from Kuntillet Ajrud and Samaria ostrakon 116 [118] *hly[w]*

²⁵² Additionally, the name *pdyl* is reconstructed in *Arad* 55:2 (Lemaire 1977: 213).

(Briquel-Chatonnet 1992b: 102; Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel 2012: 128; *HITBP*: 496). This Israelite spelling norm is replicated in the name *yhwḥl*, which is attested on two Judean *lmlk* official seal impression from Ramat Rahel and Lachish (WSS 673; Vaughn 1999a: nos. 42-43; *HITBP*: 601). The name is reconstructed on a late 8th century BCE ostrakon from Arad 68: 2 [*yhw*]*hl* (Aharoni 1981: 93; *HITBP*: 91). In contrast to this, the Judean Hebrew rendering of this name occurs with an un-contracted *yod* (*yhwḥyl*) on impressions from Jerusalem, Ramat Rahel, Lachish, and Tell ‘Abbad (WSS 672; Vaughn 1999a: nos. 44-47, 49; Ussishkin 2004b: no. 80).²⁵³ The fact that the conflation of the sound **ay* and contraction of the letter *y* is an orthographic rule on visual objects in Israelite culture and that its reuse appears on several text-artifacts with the PN *yhwḥl* in Judah points to migration of the former into the latter.

Lastly, it must be restated that the appearance of the theophoric *yhw* in this name does not automatically assign this person’s identity as Judahite. The theophoric *yhw*, as an indexical sign (Peirce 1955: 111), means nothing in and of itself, but it finds meaning through contextual use in interactive settings. One context of use is among elites in the Diaspora community of Judah under Hezekiah’s administration and in this setting one finds the variation between *yhw* and *yw* on seal legends. There are a few examples of official Judean *lmlk* seals impressions with the same first name of the owner but the theophoric name on the patronymic changed—for example: *mnḥm ywbnh* → *mnḥm ybnh* → *mnḥm yhwbnh* (WSS 676-678); *nr’ šbn yw* → *nr’ šbn’* (WSS 686-688);

²⁵³ It is unlikely that *lmlk* seal impressions with this contraction of **ay* (WSS 673) are an abbreviation of the name or a scribal error since the contraction occurs at Kuntillet Ajrud. Leaving aside a referential approach to this issue, I seriously consider the variation in orthography of **ay* as a meaningful way an individual’s choice and construction of identity was projected in the writing system (Sebba 2007; Jaffe, Androutsopoulos, Sebba, and Johnson 2012). This name with the contracted form is also found in several unprovenanced seals and bullae (Deutsch and Heltzer 1999: no. 153; Deutsch 2003a: no. 97; Deutsch 2011: nos. 573a-b, 677a-b). The Judean Hebrew spelling is found in a number unprovenanced seals and bullae (*hyl’* WSS 235, 358; *yhwḥyl* WSS 63).

šbnyhw ‘*zryh* → *šbnyhw* ‘*zryhw* (WSS 702-703).²⁵⁴ If these seal belonged to the same owner bearing the first name then the spelling variation of the patronymic may signal a shift from the *yw* to the *yhw* theophoric name (or shift from *yw* to *ʾ* and *yh* to *yhw*) under Hezekiah’s administration. Secondly, the steady decline in popularity of *yw*-theophoric during the late 8th century BCE can be seen as a reflection of the spread of Hezekiah’s religious and political revival that peaked in 701 BCE.²⁵⁵ That is to say, the shift in naming patterns from *yw* to *yhw* could be an act of identity modernization and the elimination of stigma as a consequence of Hezekiah’s religious reforms before the Assyrian invasion (Barkay 1992: 329; Borowski 1995; Young 2012: 91-121).

3) *Israelian Hebrew sibilant /s/ for Judean Hebrew /š/*. In a late 8th century bulla discovered at Lachish, the PN *m* ʾs is spelled with the sibilant /s/ rather than /š/ (WSS 498). There are two other unprovenanced seals with the orthographic variation of *s* for *š*: *m* ʾs (WSS 276) and *s* ʾl with the patronymic *ysp* “Joseph” or “Yasaph”, the eponymous ancestor the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh (WSS 587:1; Josh. 24:32; Judg. 1:22; 1 Kgs. 11:28; Ezek. 37:16). There are

²⁵⁴ With regard to interpreting the orthographic variation –*yh* as an indexical sign (i.e., the patronymic ‘*zryh* as opposed to ‘*zryhw*), the fact that an Israelian Hebrew inscriptions from Gezer and Samaria bears this theophoric suffix –*yh* (HITBP: 157; AHI: no. 3.109; Renz 1995: 109-110) and the short form the divine name *YHW* is attested on a stone bowl and storage jar from the Kuntillet Ajrud (Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel 2012: 76-77, 98; Millard 2014: 120) underscore the fact that naming styles have no pre-determined meaning, can circulate outside of expected areas, and must be interpreted in context; as social agents in a given setting can resist against assimilating into a dominate cultural order and invoke an alternative linguistic marker (or mixed language). Hence, the agency conveyed by the suffix –*yh* in Samaria include (but not limited to): 1) a mixed Israelite identity; 2) a local regional variation among Ephraimites in southern Samaria (among communities bordering or in contact with Judah), or 3) a local regional variation among mixed Judahite-Ephraimites in Samaria.

²⁵⁵ Naming patterns that seem to reflect a rise in Judahite national identity– as indexed by the trend away from the *YW* theophoric toward the *YHW* form– is not always traceable in the artifacts. In the example above (and others such as *špn* ‘*zr* → *špn* ‘*zryhw* [Vaughn 1999: 211-212 nos. 161-165, 168-173]), we are afforded a rare glimpse to this change in the corpus of official *lmk* seals. On modern-day ethnographic examples of name change in the Middle East and Europe, see Bulliet 1978; Gardner 1994; Salin and Bader 1999; Bursell 2012.

several possible etymologies of this name as a dialectal variation in Hebrew (Israel 1989: 57), but I will make only two proposals.²⁵⁶

The first etymological proposal for the name *m š* is from the root *ʾwš*, meaning “gift (of DN).” Several scholars derive this meaning based upon the name-form *m š* (Israel 1992: 191, 193; Renz 1995: 61; Gogel 1998: 297; Rechenmacher 2012: 96).²⁵⁷ The name *m š* occurs in an unprovenanced seal (WSS 22) and in Moabite *m š* (WSS 1011; Umm Udheina, Moabite).²⁵⁸ Therefore, the spelling of this name with the sibilant /s/ in the Lachish bulla points to an uncertain non-Judean identity.

The second possible etymology of the name is based upon the Proto-Semitic **ʾt* “there is” wherein the consonant /s/ indicates the phoneme /t/.²⁵⁹ In the Shibboleth story of Judges 12: 5-6, the Ephraimites could not enunciate the Giladite sound / *t* / correctly so they pronounced it as /s/. The same problem occurs in the Tell Fekherye Aramaic inscription, where /s/ represented the phoneme /t/ (Lipinski 2014: 373). This Israelite influence is evident in Jeremiah (40:14 [Eng.]) –a book that reflects the border dialect of Benjamite and influences from Ephraim

²⁵⁶ The etymology of the name *m š* on this seal has generated divergent opinions. Early interpreters connected the etymology to votive inscriptions in Phoenician, Punic, and Neo-Punic, but Bordreuil (1975: 113-117) identified *m š* as either a Hophal or Hiphil of *ʾwš* “gift.” Zadok (1986: 394; 1988: 175), on the other hand, explains *m š* as a mixed Hebrew-Egyptian name meaning “from Isis.” This view has gained little traction. Israel (1989: 57) and Garbini (*apud* Israel 1989: 57) sees an Arabic phonetic rendering of the sibilant.

²⁵⁷ Note that the occurrence of the name *y ʾwš* in the Israelian Hebrew inscriptions from Kuntillet Ajrud is now disputed (Ahituv, Eshel, Meshel 2012: 128).

²⁵⁸ Other unprovenanced Moabite seals are *m š* (WSS 1037 1038) and *kmšm š* (WSS 1033).

²⁵⁹ See Ugaritic *ʾit* “to be, exist” (*DULAT*: 123; Watson 2002: 232). The Proto-Semitic /*t*/ is represented in the first millennium BCE by /t/ in Phoenician: *ʾtb ʾl* Ittobaal of Byblos (*KAI* 1 1:1) and *ʾtb ʾl* Ethbaal king of Sidon (1 Kgs. 16:31). Other variations include the Chronicler spelling the name Eshbaal with a /š/ rather than /t/ (1 Chr 8:33; 9:39) and Punic *ʾš ʾl* (“God is alive!”) and *ʾšb ʾl* (“Baal is alive”) (*PNPPI*: 70; *PPD*:80-81).

(Smith 2003; Rendsburg 2003)– in the spelling of the name of the Ammonite king as Baalis with /s/ (Rendsburg 1988a; 1988b). The latter spelling with š appears on the official seal the Ammonite king (WSS 68) and thus the phoneme /t/ existed in Ammonite-Gilead at the end of the Iron Age period (Lipinski 2014: 373).²⁶⁰ What is the indexical meaning of this variation?

An assessment of the type of agency represented in the Lachish bulla is found on the level of the phonological differentiation between the Ephraimite and Judean dialect. Speakers of the tribe of Ephraim were socialized into using the peculiar sibilant /s/ in their dialect– as a high level norm (Judg. 12:6; Jer. 40:14; shared with Tell Fekherye Aramaic)–and the performance of this way of speaking represented a type of agency connected to the speakers’ awareness of the relations between themselves, the system, and others (Ahearn 2001: 112-115; Duranti 2004: 451). Hence, when this Ephraimite person migrated to Lachish in Judah and selected to have his vernacular reproduced in the orthography of his personal seal, it represented an oppositional agency. In other words, by choosing to encode a non-standard Judean cultural practice in the writing system, this Ephraimite projected a self-conscious resistance to the power structure in Judah.

4) *Israelian Hebrew sibilant /b/ for Judean Hebrew /p/*. A stone weight discovered in Stratum 10C-B –dated to the second half of the eighth and seventh century BCE- in Jerusalem is inscribed with the name *blth* (Naveh 2000:8; Vainstub 2000:302). The name *blth* is a dialectal variant form of *plth* – a *b/p* interchange (Rechenmacher 2012: 159). The name *plth* is attested on

²⁶⁰ Of course, this endeavor is an educated guess concerning the phonemic representations behind the Northwest Semitic writing system and determining which sounds corresponded to certain consonants. For more on the debate over the representation of letters š and s for Gileadite t, see Rendsburg 1992; 2013b and critique by Bloch 2008 based upon Assyrian transcriptions. The occurrence of Eshbaal with a /š/ rather than /t/ in 1 Chronicles 8:33 and 9:39 runs counter to Bloch’s (2008) argument that /t/ did not represent /š/ in Iron Age Canaan. Secondly, his evidence stems only from the late Neo-Assyrian period; that is, his assertions can only be valid for the late Iron Age (7th century BCE). He also fails to acknowledge the role of Aramaic in influencing the Neo-Assyrian spelling of West Semitic names.

a Judean Hebrew seal from Ketef Hinnom (WSS 326). The *b/p* interchange is common among the cultures and identities in contact with Israel in North Syria: for example, Ugaritic *ʿrpt* for Judean Hebrew *ʿrbt* (*DULAT*: 184); *nbš* for Judean Hebrew *npš* in the Phoenician inscription of Kilamuwa (*KAI* 24: 13), Samal dialects of Aramaic (*KAI* 214 1:17; *KAI* 215 1:18), Old Aramaic Barrakkab inscription (*KAI* 217 1:7), and Old Aramaic Sefire inscription (*KAI* 222 A2: 39–40, 42; B2: 5, 8; C: 5–7). The *b/p* variant is also attested in ostrakon 24 from Arad: *bnbškm/bnpškm* (Arad 24:18) and *whbqydm/whpqydm* (Arad 24: 14-15) (Aharoni 1981: 46-49). Scholars have concluded that the difference between the */b/* and */p/*—the voiced and voiceless sounds—was weakened in the language of the scribe from Arad (Sarfatii 1982: 69-71; 1992: 42; Israel 1989: 56-57; Briquel-Chatonnet 1992b: 107). However, the fact that we find the interchange of *p/b* occurs in the North Syrian writing system and in the name of an Aramean official of Haddedezer named Shobach in the book of Samuel (2 Sam. 10:16, 18)—but spelled Shophach with */p/* in the book of Chronicles (1 Chr. 19:16, 18)—leads me to believe that the spelling with */b/* is aligned with North Syrian identity. Taking into consideration the social forces at work in Judah, such as forced migration, one can conclude that the interchange of *b/p* is a matter of the politics of orthography and the name *blth* aligns with Israelite identities who came to Judah from communities in contact with Aramaic.

5) *Israelite lexemes in names found in Judean artifacts*. The lexical item *mr-* is pragmatically salient in communicating non-Judean identity. The etymology of this word is either “lord” or (based upon Ugaritic) *mrr* “to bless, consecrate” or *mrr* “to strengthen” (*PTU*: 159; *HITBP*: 608).²⁶¹ From the perspective of comparative alternatives, the onomastic

²⁶¹ There are other possibilities for the lexical item *mr* in these names: 1) Egyptian word *mr(y)* “to love”; 2) the Akkadian weather god Mer; 3) Hiphil participle of the root *ryb* “One who conducts a case”; 4) *mrr* “strong” (*PTU*: 159; Zadok 1988: 52 *HITBP*: 432, 608).

component *mr* “lord” is embedded in Aramean and Israel culture, but *ʾdn* “lord” is Judean culture (Schüle 2000: 250-251).²⁶² Typically, Aramaic-like features in the Hebrew Bible are classified as Israelian Hebrew (Rendsburg 2003; 2012; 2014). The Aramaic speech communities (and some Phoenician) of the Iron Age II period produced naming styles built on the divine title *mr*: Aramaic *mr ʾ*, *mr ʿl*, *mr ʾsr* (Maraqten 1988: 53, 88-89; Schwiderski 2008: 544-545); and Phoen. *mrr*, *mrrb ʿl*, *mrsmk* (Benz 1972: 354). The lexical item *mr* is attested with Manassite identities in the Samaria ostracon: *mr b ʿl* (*Samar* 2: 7; *HITBP*: 432-433; Ahituv 2008: 264); *m ʾ r ʾ n ʾ yw* (*Samar* 42: 3; conjectural restoration in [Renz 1995: 101; but see *HITBP*: 464-465; Ahituv 2008: 296]); and [*mr*]*mwt* (*Samar* 33:3; conjectural restoration [Lemaire 1977: 33, 35; Renz 1995: 99; but see *HITBP*: 459]). The lexical item *mr* is replicated in the name *mr mwt* in Arad 50 from the Negev of Judah (*HITBP*: 80; Ahituv 2008: 149; dated to the late 8th cent. BCE) and possibly in the name *mr ʾ* on a *lmlk* official stamp impression from En Gedi dated to the same period (*AHI*: no. 100.208; but Barkay prefers the reading *nr ʾ* [1995: 41-47; Vaughn 1999: 209 no. 137]). In Israelite genealogies *mr b ʿl* is aligned with the tribe of Benjamin (1 Chr. 8:34; 9:40). Irrespective of how one interprets the etymology of the form *mr*-, the indexical association is certainly non-Judean. It is disseminated more widely as a habitual naming style among Israelite and North Syrian social and cultural groups.

7) North Levantine Deities in Judean Personal Names. There are several Egyptian and

²⁶² The attestation of the word *ʾdn* in Israelian Hebrew ostraca is disputed. The reading *ʾdnyw* in Samaria Ostracon 42– based upon the stances of the letters *aleph* and *mem*– is debated and an alternative reading is the name *mrnyw* (*HITBP*: 465). Other attestations of *ʾdn* in the Samaria Ostraca are also disputed, such as the reading Abinoam instead of Adoniam (*Samar* 8:2; 9:2; 10:2–3; 11:2; *HITBP*: 437-44). For Samaria Ostraca 19:4, Kaufman reads the name Adoniam, but other scholars propose the reading Ahinoam (see *HITBP*: 448). Hence, the references to *ʾdn*-type names in the Samaria Ostraca are not definitive. On the other hand, the name *ʾdny[hw]* appears on an 8th century BCE Judean Hebrew inscription from Kadesh-Barnea (*HITBP*: 261; also, this name appears on numerous unprovenanced seals and bullae: WSS 23; 50; 403; 404; 423; 578; 642) and on an Ammonite seal (PN *ʾdnnr*; WSS 859).

West Semitic deities among the neighboring cultures of Israel that are potentially reproduced in several Judean artifacts:²⁶³ a) the Egyptian deity Bes is reconstructed in the name *bs*[] at Tel Masos (Tigay 1986: 75; *HITPB*: 377-378)²⁶⁴; b) Gad is a West Semitic deity of good fortune in Amorite and Phoenician culture (Tigay 1986: 69; *DDD*: 339-341) and is possibly reproduced in several artifacts: *gd*’ Arad 72:3 (*HITPB*: 93) *gdy* Arad 71:3 (*HITPB*: 92-93); *gd* Tel Malḥata (Beit-Arieh 2015: 502); *gdw* Kh. Uza (Beit-Arieh 2007:176); *gdyhw* Jerusalem (*WSS* 467); *bgd* Tel Haror (Tigay 1986: 75; Gogel 1998: 295);²⁶⁵ c) the deity Yam is possibly attested in the name Ḥiyam (*hym*) on seal discovered in a tomb at Tell el-Far‘ah (south) (*WSS* 1069);²⁶⁶ d) the deity *Mkl* is a Canaanite god of Beth-Shean and the name of the deity is found in the Kition plaque and as part of a compound divine name, Reshep-*Mkl*, in Phoenician inscriptions (Benz 1972: 343; *PPD*: 449). Ugaritic and Phoenician names are also constructed with the divine

²⁶³ I have excluded from this section the reference to the deity Baal in the personal name *šb l* at Yavneh Yam because this area was traditionally Israelite (Dan-Ephraim) and the Judeans briefly occupied the site in the second half of the 7th century BCE (*HITPB*: 374-375). Deities attested in unprovenanced artifacts are also not discussed. For example, the deity Hillel (Ugaritic *bnt hll* “daughters of Hll,” a divine epithet of the *Ktrt* goddesses [*DULAT*: 472]) is found in the personal names *hll l* and *hllyhw* (*HAE* 5.21; 5.23; *AHI*: nos. 101.017.1; 100.968.1; in the Hebrew Bible the name *hll* is aligned with Ephraim [Judg 12:13, 15]).

²⁶⁴ For the possible occurrence of the deity Bes in Israel, see *Samar* 1: 5 *q[d]bš* (*HITPB*: 428; Aḥituv 2008: 263-264) and note the drawing of the Bes figure at Kuntillet Ajrud (*DDD*: 173; Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel 2012). The Egyptian name *bsy* is among post-exilic returnees from Mesopotamia (Ezra 2:49; Neh 7:52; Muchiki 1999: 210).

²⁶⁵ The element *gd-* is enregistered among Israelite identities: tribe of Gad (Gen. 30:11; 35:26; *KAI* 181 1:10); *gdy* an Israelite king (2 Kgs. 15:14); *gdy* Manassite first name (Num. 13:11); *gdy l* Zebulunite name (Num 13:10); Israelian Hebrew *gdyw* (*Samar* 2:2; 4:2; 5:2; 6:2–3; 7:2; 16:2; 16b:2; 17a:2; 17b:2; 18:2; 30:2; 33:2; 34:2; 35:2; 42:3); *ga-di-a* an exiled Israelite at Nimrud (*PNA* 1/II: 417).

²⁶⁶ This seal could be Hebrew, Philistine, or Phoenician (Naveh 1985: 19; Tigay 1986:66). In mythological texts from Ugarit, Yam is the deity of the sea and an enemy of Baal, and in Israelite literature the personified power of the sea is an enemy of Yahweh (Ps 18:16; Ps 74:13-14; Ps 89:10; *DDD*: 739-740). Biblical names constructed with the deity Yam include Miriam and Abijam (Ex. 15:20; 1 Kgs. 14:31).

element *mkl* (*DULAT*: 543; Benz 1972: 343). Several scholars have proposed reading of the name *mkl* in Lachish ostrakon 19:3 (Albright 1941: 24; *AHI*: no. 1.019.3; Lemaire 1977: 133; 2004: 2112; dated to the early 6th cent. BCE);²⁶⁷ e) Mot is the Hebrew the word for “death” and is a deity in mythological texts from Ugarit (as an adversary of Baal) (*DDD*: 598-603). The element Mot is possibly found in the name *mrmt* in Arad 50 (Tigay 1986:66; *HITBP*: 80; Rechenmacher 2012: 107, 124 no. 110) and Samaria ostrakon 33 ([*mr*]*mt* Lemaire 1977: 33, 35; Tigay 1986:66-67; Renz 1995: 99; but see *HITBP*: 459);²⁶⁸ f) the name Shaḥar, meaning “dawn”, is attested as a divine name at Ugarit and Emar (*DDD*: 754); it is also used in personal names at Ugarit (*ilšhr* *DULAT*: 64). In Judean inscriptions from the late 8th century BCE, the Canaanite divine element *šhr* occurs as the patronymic on three official *lmlk* jar-handle impressions: *yhwḥl šhr* Lachish and Ramat Raḥel (Vaughn 1999: 202 nos. 42-43); *yhwḥl šhr* Jerusalem, Ramat Raḥel, Tell ‘Abbad, and Lachish (Vaughn 1999: 202-203 nos. 44-47, 49); *šbn ṣ šhr* Lachish, Ramat Raḥel, and Tell en-Naṣbeh (Vaughn 1999 212-213 nos. 176-184).²⁶⁹ In summary, six north Levantine deities—Bes, Gad, Yam, *Mkl*, Mot, and Shaḥar— are potentially represented in these Judean artifacts and align the name-bearers as Israelite.

In the following sections, I will examine Israelite identity in Judah tribe by tribe.

Settlement changes in Israel will be highlighted along with the replication of Israelite names in

²⁶⁷ The decipherment of the *kaph* has not won the support of all scholars (Tigay 1986: 77). Other readings have been suggested, but they are unconvincing: *mbl* (Renz 1995: 435) and *‘mdl* (*HITBP*: 334). In the Hebrew Bible, the name *mykl* is the daughter of King Saul and is aligned with the tribe of Benjamin (1 Sam. 14:49; 18:20).

²⁶⁸ The deity Mot appears in several Benjamite and Israelite names (Goldberg 1973).

²⁶⁹ The component *šhr* is found in the name *šhrh* from Khirbet Uza in the Negev (Beit-Arieh 2007: 159; dated to the late 7th century BCE). This is the only occurrence of *šhr* as a first name in epigraphic Hebrew. In the Hebrew Bible, the element *šhr* is found in names that are aligned only with the tribe of Benjamin: Sheḥariah (1 Chr. 8:26); Shaḥaraim (1 Chr. 8:8); Ṣaḥishahar (1 Chronicles 7:10).

Judah during late 8th-7th century BCE.

5.8 Manassite-Aligned Tribal Names in Judean Inscriptions

Information on Manassite tribal identity is based primarily upon textual memory and archaeological studies. Textual sources indicate that Manasseh was the eponymous ancestor of the eldest son of Joseph (Gen. 46:20; De Geus 1991). It is unclear when groups living in this region began to conceive of themselves as having common descent from this ancestor. But by the eighth century BCE, this lineage ideology among agricultural sedentary communities was concretized (Josh. 17:1; 20:8; Judg. 12:4; Is. 9:21; Sparks 1998: 297, 322-326).

The tribal name of Manasseh expressed a bond of community and common culture between agriculturalist and pastoral segments within a territorial zone. Manassite ancestral land extended from the Palestine coast region to the northern hill country of Palestine and parts of the Jordan Valley (Miller and Hayes 2006: 87-98). However, the exact territorial borders with the neighboring tribes of Ephraim, Naphtali, Issachar, and Asher (Josh. 17) are not clearly defined, and cannot be dated sufficiently (Demsky 2000; Lisovsky and Na'aman 2003). It is common for tribal societies to have frontier zones constantly in flux, unlike modern nation-states. One hint regarding the antiquity of Manasseh's borders is the fact that the district of Dor was included within its boundaries. Dor was a separate administrative district under Solomon, but later, under the Neo-Assyrian Empire, it was possibly a district under the administrative province of Megiddo (Cogan 2013:13). This inclusion may signal that Manasseh's allotment was based upon an older territorial ideology.

Manasseh was one of the most politically and religiously powerful tribes of ancient Israel. Most of the Northern Kingdom's major political centers were found in the tribal

boundaries of Manasseh: Shechem, Tirzah, and Samaria (Zertal 2001). Whereas the tribal name ‘Ephraim’ became a metonym for the Northern Kingdom of Israel (as they were brothers, see Gen. 46:20; 48:5), the tribe of Manasseh still played an important political role in the kingdom (Is. 9:21). The political marriage between Ahab and Jezebel signals a shared commercial interest between Phoenicia and Israel-Manasseh (Tel Dor) in the ninth century BCE (1 Kgs. 16:31).

During the Iron Age II period (1000–721 BCE, according to Zertal [2004]) the territory of Manasseh experienced tremendous settlement growth. The region of North Manasseh near Megiddo and the Jezreel Valley was stabilized by the Omride period and reached its settlement peak in the 8th century BCE (Niemann 2006b). Zertal’s settlement survey of Manasseh yielded several details of demographic significance. Approximately 84 sites emerged in central Manasseh (Shechem syncline), and no less than 82 sites in east Manasseh (the eastern valleys south of the wadi Shubash to the Wadi Tirzah) were documented to have Iron II pottery – including fortified tells, farmsteads, encampments, and roadside fortresses (Zertal 2004: 56; 2008: 85). Most of the sites in central Manasseh clustered around the Samaria region. In east Manasseh, “[m]ost of the Iron Age II sites seem to have been founded during the eighth century BCE, the most prosperous period of northern Israel” (Zertal 2008: 88). During this century, there was an intensive increase in the number of settlements and the prosperity of villages and farms that indicates a dual economy of agro-pastoralism in Manasseh (Zertal 2008: 62, 87).

In western Manasseh, from the fringes of the Jezreel Valley and Tanaach hills to the Wadi ‘Ara and the Wadi Shechem, approximately 63 sites had Iron II pottery (Zertal and Mirkam 2016: 41). There were a large number of fortified tells, villages or farms. “During the 9th–8th centuries BCE the settlement of the hill country seems to have been completed, with optimal dispersion of sites. Construction of terraces and agricultural installations, reached its first

peak” (Zertal and Mirkam 2016: 42). Hence, the region of western Manasseh experienced natural settlement growth that peaked in the middle of the 8th century BCE.

But the Assyrian conquest of Manasseh in the eighth century BCE severely affected the region. In his military campaign of 734-732, Tiglath-Pileser III eliminated all resistance to Assyrian expansion, including Gilead and Galilee, and killed Pekah, King of Israel, and installed Hoshea as a puppet king (Na’aman 1993; 1995b, 1995c). After Hoshea rebelled and failed to secure help from Egypt, Shalmaneser V (726-722 BCE) besieged Samaria for three years and captured it in 722/721 BCE (2 Kgs. 17:3–5; 18:10). After the death of Shalmaneser V, Sargon II (721-705 BCE) arrived on the scene to end another anti-Assyrian rebellion by Samaria and other Levantine city-states, and he deported the inhabitants of Samaria (Younger 1999; 2002). Many cities were destroyed, such as Beth-Shean, Tirzah (Tell el-Farah [North]), Taanach, Tel Kedesh, Megiddo, Tel Qiri, Jokneam, Shiqmona, and Dor (Stern 2001: 7, 46-49; Dever 2007: 83-85). Coastal cities belonging to Manasseh, like Tel Dor (Aharoni 1979: 258), were destroyed and quickly rebuilt by the Assyrians, but other inland areas of Manasseh were not resettled (Stern 1990; Stern 2001: 67-70; Bagg 2011:284-285; 2013:136). During the reign of Sargon II, the regions of Naphtali, Gilead, Manasseh, and Ephraim were transformed into Assyrian provinces and some of the major cities were rebuilt (Stern 2001: 3, 19-21, 45).

The land of Manasseh was separated into two or possibly three Assyrian provinces: Megiddo and Samerina (see map in Cogan 2013:14). Although the historical maps by scholars divide the land of Manasseh under Assyria into exact provincial borders, the reality on the ground was more complex (contra Otzen 1977/78; 1979; Aharoni 1979: 375; Na’aman and Zadok 2000: 160; Miller and Hayes 2006: 379, 382). At one time, for example, it was assumed that the province of Dor [Akk. Du’ru] encompassed the coastal cities of Phoenicia and western

Galilee (Forrer 1920; Alt 1929; Otzen 1977/78: 100-102; 1979 254 -256; Aharoni 1979: 374; Stern 2001:12-14), but the status of Dor as a separate Assyrian province is uncertain (Na'aman 2009b; even negated by Bagg 2011: 12, 222). All that can be said definitively is that Dor was an Assyrian administrative center (Gilboa 2015: 302 ff., along with ceramic and other material culture from Dor and sundry coastal areas during the Iron II C period). Others suggest that these coastal cities were under the administrative province of Megiddo (Cogan 2013:13, 15).

The Assyrian occupation in the late 8th -7th century BCE (or Iron III period) brought a decrease in settlement as families and clans were deported or forced to migrate. The number of settlements dropped from 84 to 40 in central Manasseh and from 82 to 25 in east Manasseh (Zertal 2004: 57-58; 2008: 89; note that many sites in the seventh century BCE were a continuation of eighth-century settlements). The most severe decline occurred in western Manasseh, which decreased from 65 to 10 settlements (Zertal and Mirkam 2016: 42). It does not appear that many Manassite clans living in cities, villages, and farmsteads returned to their villages or stayed locally after the Assyrian military campaigns (contra Guillame 2008). In central Manasseh, the more than 50% decline in settlements was due to Assyrian deportation and abandonment of settlements. The settlement loss was felt even more in the region of east Manasseh. Zertal observes:

It seems that this decline evolved from the Assyrian exile policy, which deeply affected this territory. The villages and farms in the arid zones were the first to be abandoned, and the population moved to the richer and better defended Mediterranean zones. However, even in the latter area there is a 50% decline of settlement . . .The desertion of the east was apparently not quick, and no evidence of destruction or fire was found. Assyrian destruction is typical only of cities and tells. (2008: 90)

But the area most severely impacted was western Manasseh, which decreased over 80% from the previous period. Only one conclusion can be drawn from these surveys: few western and eastern

Manassites remained in the land after the Assyrian invasion. Those who were not exiled migrated to more secure political and economic areas.

One of the many secure areas that served as a host community to Manassite immigrants was Judah. Support for Manassite migration into Judean territories stems from the reoccurrence of enregistered and iconic Manassite personal and family names in Judean inscriptions.²⁷⁰

Manassite identity in Judah can be ascertained by the study of names indexical of Manassite collective cultural identity.

A crucial indicator of Manassite identity in eighth-century BCE Judah is the reusing of the iconic Israelite name Ahab. The name Ahab (meaning “father’s brother”: Noth 1928: 235; *HALOT*, 1:29; Zadok 1988: 59) is iconic of the most famous ninth-century king of Israel, who reigned for approximately 20 years, from 871-852/1 BCE (1 Kgs. 16:28–29; Timm 1980; 1982). He is renowned for his building (renovating) activities (1 Kgs. 22:39), including the royal centers of Hazor, Megiddo, Samaria, Jezreel, and possibly Khirbet el-Mudeyine eth-Themed in Transjordan (Stern 1990; Finkelstein 2000; 2011; 2013; Grabbe 2007; Ussishkin 2007; 2011; Finkelstein and Lipschits 2010).

Among his most notable achievements, Ahab led a large military contingent in 853 BCE in the Battle of Qarqar between a coalition of 12 Syrian kings and Shalmaneser III, king of Assyria. The Assyrian version, found in the Kurkh Inscription, singles out “Ahab the Israelite” for having the largest and strongest force of war chariots (2,000 chariots and 10,000 foot

²⁷⁰ Manassite tribal identity can also be found outside of Judah. For example, the eponymous ancestral name *mnšh* ‘Manasseh’ is replicated among Israelite exiles in Assyria (SH 1:31. 67; Fales 1993, 147; Becking 2002: 159). By the sixth century BCE, the eponymous tribal name is replicated in one ostraca from Ashkelon: *bn mnš* ‘son of Manasseh’ (Ashkelon 2.6, Cross 2008: 352). Finally, the Israelite ancestral name is replicated once at Elephantine with a gentilic marker (*mnšy*: Lidzbarski 1912: no. 52). Among unprovenanced artifacts, this name is also attested on two seals and a bulla (WSS 16; 1006 [Moabite seal with same inscription as WSS 16]; Deutsch 2002-2003).

soldiers) in the coalition against the Assyrian army (Yamada 2000: 156- 162; Cantrell 2011).

Unfortunately, there are no extant Israelite tribal literary collections commemorating this or any military achievements of the “House of Ahab” that were retold and enshrined in national memory. Only Judahite recollections, as found in 2 Kings, retell his failures and military defeat to the Arameans from their ideological perspective. Nevertheless, based upon archaeological and textual sources, Ahab appears to have been a local tribal hero. Under his tenure, the Northern Kingdom experienced significant cultural, economic, and territorial growth.

As local forms of identity are constructed through name practices, the name Ahab had indexical relevance and positive social currency for those of the same kinship heritage under Israelite hegemony. Ahab-type names appear in Israel and align with Manassite ancestor lineages for identity construction. Although Israelite sources do not explicitly detail king Ahab’s genealogy, I infer that he was of hybrid Israelite identity: a Manassite with lineage ties to Shimron/Shemer of the tribe of Issachar.²⁷¹

²⁷¹ Ahab’s hybrid Issachar-Manassite tribal identity can be inferred from several sources. Curiously, the writer of 1 Kgs. 16 does not assign Ahab’s father, Omri, a tribal honorific, but only the title “commander of the army” (Timm 1982). Scholars continue to debate Omri’s origin, contending that he was Canaanite, Arab, Amorite (see Thiel 1992: 17; Cogan 2001: 416), Issacharite (Ishida 1977: 174-175; Tappy 2005: 859-60), Phoenician (Kuan 1993), or a non-Israelite of uncertain lineage (Miller and Hayes 2006: 301). One thing is for certain: textual sources indicate that the Omride royal family (Bit-Omri) had an estate in Jezreel, which belonged to Issachar (Josh. 19:18; 1 Kgs. 21:1 ff; 2 Kgs. 8:29; 9:15), and it is only during their dynasty that Jezreel-Issachar played any prominent role in Israelite history (Thiel 1992). This is the first indication that Omri and his descendants held some form of corporate lineage ties to this tribe. Next, the name Omri refers to a person from the time of David who is aligned with the tribe of Issachar in the Chronicler’s genealogy (1Chr. 27:18); there is also a person named Omri, a descendant of the Becherite clan of Benjamin (which is not listed in Genesis 46:21, but notice that in Num 26:35 Becher is aligned with Ephraim); also note that in 1 Chr 9:3–4, a person named Omri is identified as a descendant of Manasseh living in Jerusalem after the Judean exile. It is interesting, nevertheless, that Omri moved his capital city from Tirzah to Samaria (Heb. Shomron), a town with ties to Issachar. For example, the name *šmrwn* is aligned with the tribe of Issachar (Gen 46:13; Num 26:24; 1Chr. 7:1). Moreover, during the period of the Judges, Tola, son of Puaha, a man of Issachar, lived in Shamir (*šmyr*) in the hill country of Ephraim (Judg 10:1–2). Omri purchases (or redeems, see Stager 1990) Shemer/Shamir’s estate and names the city Shomron after its owner (1 Kgs. 16:24). Both Tirzah and Shemer/Shomron/Samaria are located in the tribal territory of Manasseh (Josh 17, although Samaria is not named in the text). Omri’s

The name Ahab is possibly documented in three Israelite Hebrew inscriptions in the Manassite region that permit at least several linguistic ideological conclusions regarding indigenous naming practices. The first and earliest attestation of the name $\text{ʔh} \text{ʔb}$ is found on a jar handle from Tel el Ḥammah dated to the ninth century BCE (Renz 1995: 47; *HITBP*: 181). This site is located south of Beth Shean in the tribal territory of Manasseh. Secondly, the name $\text{ʔh} \text{ʔb}$ is also reconstructed on two ostraca that are located within the same tribal region. In Beth Shean ostracon 2 side A line 1, the first part of the inscription is unclear, but Mazar read the letter as an *aleph* before the numeral 1. Among the many possibilities and suggestions include the PN $\text{ʔh} \text{ʔb}$ (*HITBP*: 141; *BShn* 2). In Samaria ostraca 118, line 2 only reads [] ʔb and there are not any letters following this word, so the word ʔb is the final component of a compound name. It has been suggested that the end of line 1 contained the first half of the name, like the lexeme ʔh , and the beginning of line 2 the second half of the name, ʔb , reading: [ʔh] ʔb (*HITBP*: 496).

If these two hypothetical reconstructions by scholars of the Beth Shean and Samaria ostraca are taken seriously, then a familiar linguistic ideological pattern of iconization emerges, linking language, people, and places. As language does not only reflect social relations but also

choice to move to his capital city to an estate with ties to Issachar signals his political-cultural identity with Issachar-Manasseh. Therefore it is more likely than not that Omri, Ahab's father, was a member of the tribe of Issachar.

Another point is that Ahab's name aligns with inscriptions in Manasseh. Several sources indicate that Manassites settled within the territory of Issachar (Josh. 17:11) and intermixed with them (Kallai 1986: 179–193; Gal 1992: 91). The shared lived space and socio-economic interests between Manasseh and Issachar leaves little doubt that hybrid identities existed during the Iron I-II period. Based upon these observations, Ahab, son of Omri, was of Issachar-Manassite identity.

Israelite kings usually purchased property for their capital city from within their own tribal territory. For example, Jeroboam I, the first king of Israel, built his capital Shechem in his home tribal territory of Ephraim (1 Kgs. 12:25) and likewise Omri built his capital Samaria within the tribal territorial zone of Manasseh. The problem of purchasing estates outside of one's own tribal area is evident in Ahab's attempt to obtain Naboth's vineyard in Jezreel; an estate that belonged to the tribe of Issachar (Josh 17:17-18). Sweeney (2007: 249) argues that Ahab was from the tribe of Manasseh, but if Ahab had lineage ties to Issachar through his father Omri then it would have been legal for him to obtain property in both Issachar and Manasseh.

creates them, members of the speech community within the heritable region of Manasseh created a boundary around their tribal identity by reusing a standardized name. Moreover, the enregisterment of the name Ahab – for more than a half a century before the fall of the Northern Kingdom– was an agentive strategy to project group boundaries (i.e. “we are of the House of Ahab”) and create hierarchy (i.e. “Ahab indexes royal prestige”). Consequently, the name Ahab became stereotypically iconic of the Manassite land, language, and people.²⁷²

Interestingly, it is only after the fall of the Northern Kingdom of Israel (732-720 BCE) that Ahab-names are reproduced among kinship groups in southern Judah. The name Ahab is documented on two provenanced Judean inscriptions.²⁷³ The first is on a private seal found in Tomb 106 from Lachish (WSS 350): *lšbn ʾhʾb* “Belonging to Shebna (son of) Ahab.” Tomb 106 is dated between Lachish III and II (Ussishkin 2004a: 88). Based upon his paleographical

²⁷² This social dynamic is possibly at play among Israelite deportees bearing the names *Ah-abi* and *Ah-abu* in Assyrian cuneiform texts dated to the time period of Tiglath-Pileser III, Sargon II, and Sennacherib (PNA 1/1: 57; Zadok 2002: 22).

²⁷³ The name Ahab is widely distributed on several unprovenanced Hebrew seals and ostraca considered “Judean” and dated to the seventh or sixth century BCE. I did not include these artifacts in my analysis because they are without context and their authenticity cannot be verified (some may be forgeries). For seals and bullae: WSS 87 (allegedly from the Hebron district); WSS 178 (allegedly from Tel es-Safi in the Shephelah); WSS nos. 52, 53, 208, 257, 350, 361, 425, 426; 432, 444, 445, 494; Lemaire 1991-92: 72; Deutsch and Heltzer 1995: nos. 67; Deutsch 1999: nos. 18a-b, 19, 72; Deutsch and Heltzer 1999: nos. 128, 151; Deutsch and Lemaire 2000: nos. 28, 29 [*ʾhyʾb*, also in *AHI*: 128], 123, 155; Deutsch 2003a: nos. 62, 63, 64, 65, 66a-d, 67, 68, 69, 109 (seal 109a), 125, 323; *AHI*: no. 100.908; as a first name in Deutsch 2011: nos. 424, 425, 426, 529a-b, 530 (same as Deutsch 2003a: no. 13) and as a patronymic in Deutsch 2011: nos. 442, 447, and 644. Lastly, the name *ʾhb* is attested in an unprovenanced ostraca (Deutsch and Heltzer 1995: nos. 79 obv.12) dated to the end of the seventh to the beginning of the sixth century BCE.

An ethnolinguistic geographical distribution of the PN *ʾhʾb*, and related forms, also appear on three Ammonite seals that are unprovenanced (Aufrecht 1989: nos. 98; WSS 932; Deutsch and Lemaire 2000: no. 155) and several Aramaic inscriptions—all of which date to the Persian period (Maraqtan 1988: 118; Schwiderski 2008: 23). Also, a patronymic with this name is found on an unprovenanced Hebrew-Aramaic seal with *IH yw* that is dated to the Persian period (WSS 107). Interestingly, this name is not found in Phoenician inscriptional communities, which points to a regional alignment with Transjordan and the central Highlands of Palestine rather than the coastal region.

analysis, Herr (1978: 92) dates this seal to the first half of the seventh century BCE and notes that the long shaft of the *alephs* (the *aleph* in the top register and especially the *alephs* in the bottom register provided in the photograph by Avigad and Sass 1997: 151) is a sign of a formal hand but, on the other hand, they may have some other semiotic significance. That is, the script may tell us a different story about the personal identity of the seal bearer.

Scholars in the fields of sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology have noted that scripts are not neutral technologies but, on the contrary, have a nested semiotic complexity that is indexically tied to identity and language ideologies.²⁷⁴ Sebba notes that scripts have iconic power that “can help to create a common identity, reject an identity, or construct boundaries and divisions” and “can function to differentiate social groups at different levels of social organization” including tribal-clan identity which would be “a powerful symbol of group membership, identifying the users as *belonging to* or *differing from* other groups using the same or different scripts” (2009: 39, 42; italics his). Hence, it is critical that one applies the notion of agency and the semiotics of material things to the social activity of script-writing.

Some time ago, Ivan T. Kaufman, in his groundbreaking study of the Samaria Ostraca, observed that “the most common form of the *alef* in the Harvard Samaria Ostraca has a long vertical shaft” (1966: 6). From a linear evolutionary perspective, it is generally recognized that the presence of a long vertical shaft in *alephs* is a prominent feature of eighth-century BCE scribal culture, likely dating this seal to that time period (Birnbaum 2011 [1957]: 31; Cross 1962: 36; Lemaire 1977: 42; Renz 1997: 12; Herr 1998: 52; 2014: 188-189; Rollston 2010: 97-98; 2014: 207-208). This script form also appears in Judah after the fall of the Northern Kingdom in text-artifacts like the Siloam tunnel inscription, prompting Kaufman to point out

²⁷⁴ See Fishman 1977, 1988; Jaffe 1996; 1999; 2000; Keane 2003; Johnson 2005; Unseth 2005; Sebba 2007; 2009; 2012; Bender 2008; Hatcher 2008; Jaffe et. al. 2012; Wertheim 2012.

that, “the Siloam scribe . . . [may] have been influenced by the long verticals of some of the Samaria forms” (1966: 83). In my estimation, the *alephs* with long vertical shafts represent acts of identity (LePage and Tabouret-Keller 1985) that align the seal owner and the seal cutter (workshop) with Israelite culture of the late eighth century BCE. Before the fall of the Northern Kingdom, there was an iconization of this script style within the Israelite scribal community (cf. the long vertical shaft of *alephs* on Samaria ostraca 37, 38 48, 51, barley ostrakon, Kuntillet Ajrud pithos; Ahituv 2008: 310, 321) that does not appear in Judah prior to the late eighth century BCE. In a study devoted to comparing Israelite, Judean, and Phoenician scripts, Briquel-Chatonnet contends that, “Des scribes israélites réfugiés en Juda après la chute de Samarie en 722/20 ont pu y avoir une influence” (1993: 6).²⁷⁵ Hence, I postulate, based upon the personal identity and script style of this seal, that the seal owner was a descendant of the Israelite tribe of Manasseh. This case illuminates the role of language and script practices in various institutions (specifically urban centers and seal cutter workshops) and education (assuming the seal owner was literate) in influencing language maintenance across the territorial boundaries of Manasseh and Judah.

The second occurrence of this personal name *ʾh ʾb* is on a seal discovered in the Beth Shemesh excavations of 1912 by D. Mackenzie on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund (Bunnimovitz and Lederman 1993: 249). The seal, which reads: *l ʾh ʾb b<n> ʿd ʾl* “Belonging to Ahab (son of) Adael,” was discovered in Beth Shemesh tomb 8 (WSS 52; HAE 1.25; these

²⁷⁵ This is a very important topic, obviously beyond the scope of this chapter, which will be treated in a forthcoming article. The notion of Israelite social agency in the Judean script culture at the end of the eighth century BCE would help to explain the appearance, for example, of the *yod* with a leftward tick on Arad ostrakon 100 (common in Samaria ostraca but negatively interpreted by Naveh 1998: 91 n. 4), and the Phoenician motifs in Judean inscribed seals (Sass 1998: 5, 7). It would also complement the linguistic profile of the Siloam Tunnel inscription (Rendsburg and Schniedewind 2010).

references offer no date for this seal). Mackenzie attributed the final destruction of this site to Sennacherib and the renewed excavations by Bunnimovitz and Lederman (1993: 252; Bunnimovitz and Lederman 2008: 1648) confirm this conclusion. Herr (1978: 101), based upon pottery dates before the renewed excavation and his own paleographic analysis, argues that the seal exhibits characteristics of classic script and should be dated to the early seventh century BCE, but this is far from certain.²⁷⁶

Typically, epigraphers and Biblical scholars recognize only the referential function of seals with this name, marginalizing their indexical importance (Albertz and Schmitt 2012: 352-353, 577). But the reusing of a standardized Manassite name in Judean seals plays an important language ideological role. It indexes the recruitment of a cultural resource, such as a name, for the discursive construction of identity maintenance and solidarity with the tribe of Manasseh. These inscribed seals point to a population shift from regions affected by the Assyrian devastation of Manasseh-Ephraim to the Shephelah of Judah, as refugees exhibited a discourse of nostalgia and commemoration in their preference to reproduce an iconic Israelite name.

It is also important to observe that by the late eighth century BCE Beth-Shemesh experienced significant demographic, social, and economic growth along with the rest of the Shephelah (Dagan 2000; 2004; 2006b; 2010; 2011). Beth-Shemesh was productive in the oil

²⁷⁶ Herr (1978) relied upon outdated pottery analysis to conclude that this seal should be dated to the seventh century BCE, but since Bunnimovitz and Lederman (2008) have reanalyzed the pottery data we assume that this seal dates to the late eighth century BCE. Herr's recent analysis of the Hebrew seal script suggests that the wide square *het* dates to the end of the seventh century BCE, but the triangular form of the *ayin* dates to the late eighth to seventh century BCE (Herr 2014: 191-192). But diagnostic dating pegs are arguably derived from the letters *he*, *waw*, *nun*, *aleph*, *samek*, and *qop*, rather than *het* (Vaughn 1999b). Herr (1998: 52) acknowledges the widely separated horizontals on the *alephs* on WSS 52, but nothing more. However, the distinctive feature of the three *alephs* that point to a date in the late eighth century BCE is that the crossbars are formed by two separate strokes and only the top crossbar passes through the vertical shaft (Vaughn 1999b: 55-56, see Table 8; see WSS 663, 695, the *alephs* on two late-eighth-century *lmlk* official stamp impressions).

industry under Hezekiah on the eve of Sennacherib's devastation and depopulation campaign in 701 BCE, and many scholars credit this economic increase to the influx of Israelite refugees in the Shephelah (Katz 2008b).²⁷⁷ The city was destroyed and abandoned after Sennacherib's campaign and sparsely settled in the seventh century BCE.

From a politics of naming perspective, the name Ahab takes on a pejorative use in Judean contexts in the Hebrew Bible. In certain eighth-century BCE prophetic circles, especially in the regions of the Shephelah, the name Ahab is a metonym for the religious syncretism between Baal, Asherah, and Yahweh (1 Kgs. 16:28-33; 2 Kgs. 21:3, 13; Hadley 2000). The prophet Micah, in his discourses to tribal leaders, decries the Shephelah as being the beginning of Israelite cult practices in Judah as well as the hotbed of Omri and Ahab-type culture: Micah 1:13 "inhabitant of Lachish . . . the transgressions of Israel were found in you"; Micah 6:16 "you have kept the laws of Omri, and all the practices of the House of Ahab." How Omride-Ahab Israelite culture invaded Judah is not specifically mentioned in historical sources, but the prophetic tradition shows a metadiscursive *awareness* of the distinctive relations between selves and Judahite and Israelite cultural systems through the iconic signs of names.

In other Judean literary narratives (i.e. the so-called Deuteronomistic History), the "House of Ahab" plays a similar metonymic semiotic role of religious syncretism (2 Kgs. 8:18, 27; 9:9). King Manasseh of Judah, the son of Hezekiah in the seventh century BCE, is accused of following the same religious pluralism of the House of Ahab (2 Kgs. 21:3, 13; Schniedewind 1991; 1993; van Keulen 1996: 147-160; Stavrakopoulou 2004: 39-43; 2005: 248-263). These sources paint a picture of two or more cultures in religious conflict in Judah in the late Iron Age

²⁷⁷ The presence of northern Israelite-type names like Ahab supports Finkelstein's (2008; 2015) contention (for different reasons) that many of the refugees came from the highlands of Israel and migrated to areas of economic productivity such as the Shephelah.

period. The image of Ahab aligns well with what anthropological ethnographers of tribal societies observe as the “consequences when radically different images of community, each based on a unique historicity, are forced to occupy the same political space” (Shryock 1997: 326).

The clash of national and hybrid ethnic images of community on display in the Shephelah during this period is attributed to the economic prosperity (specifically from the olive oil industry) and settlement density brought on by the arrival of Israelite refugees (Schniedewind 2004; Finkelstein 2006; 2008; Katz 2008b). Homi K. Bhabba (1994) discusses how modern colonialism and migration bring on “cultural collisions” resulting in hybrid forms of culture. The same principle can be applied to ancient Judean society, which experienced an influx of migrants in the late eighth century BCE under Assyrian colonialism. The Shephelah was an attractive location for economic migration of Israelites, and the prophet Micah singles out these immigrant families aligned with Ahab-Israelite culture as the cause of the encroachment of religious syncretism. The prophet Micah’s complaints concerning Israelite cultural practices in the Shephelah (that are outside of Deuteronomistic ideologies) are mirrored by the Hebrew epigraphic data from Beth Shemesh and Lachish. One way immigrant language users’ ideologies in the Shephelah were expressed through their explicit use of Ahab-type names. The historical sociolinguistics and politics of naming patterns attested on official seals from Lachish and Beth Shemesh index a shift in cultural ideologies and values, a shift away from Judah and an orientation towards Israel.

By the seventh century BCE, Ahab-type names converge in Jerusalem rather than the Shephelah, which may be indexical of a demographic shift of identities from the lowlands that

were devastated by Sennacherib in 701 BCE to the central highlands.²⁷⁸ First, the name *ʔhy ʔb* is inscribed on a late-seventh-century bulla found in Jerusalem (WSS 427; Shoham 2000: 47 no. 37). The inclusion of the letter *yod* /y/ in this name is either the *plene* spelling of *ʔh ʔb* or a marker of the first person singular pronominal suffix, whose referential value encompasses the meaning of the name as a whole, “my brother is the father” (Zadok 1988: 57, 59; Shoham 2000: 44). The name with this spelling is unattested in Biblical genealogies. Although the /y/ spelling marker is characteristic of Judean orthography, its inclusion in the name Ahab may be more than a linguistic feature. It may be symbolic of a struggle to remove the social stigma of an iconic Manassite name by a spelling change (i.e. establishing distance through orthography).²⁷⁹

²⁷⁸ This point does not take into consideration the appearance of *ʔh ʔb* names on four unprovenanced bullae allegedly from the area of Tell Beit Mirsim because their authenticity cannot be confirmed (Avigad 1986: 35 no. 16, 36 no. 17, 36 no. 18, 37 no. 19; dated to the late seventh to early sixth century BCE). In a recent study, Golub (2012) concluded that these bullae were authentic and originated from Jerusalem based upon similar name features. Albertz (2012, 2014) raised a similar argument regarding the profile of the theophoric elements in provenanced and unprovenanced seals and bullae. But this criterion does not induce confidence in the authenticity of these artifacts. Case in point, Vaughn and Dobler (2006) cast doubt on certain bullae based upon their height, width, and depth. Goren and Arie’s (2014) recent microscopic study of bullae formation, comparing two unprovenanced bullae with the provenanced bulla from Jerusalem, have determined that some of the bullae found in Avigad’s corpus are recent forgeries. Their petrographic analysis of soil deposits on bullae is also promising in determining epigraphic forgeries. With regard to seals, I can only concede to Bordreuil (2014: 129) criteria. He makes a valid argument in stating that unprovenanced seals that were found before the discovery of the Siloam Tunnel inscription in the nineteenth century should be considered authentic because forgers could not have known how to reproduce the Old Hebrew script prior to that time. Be that as it may, it remains very difficult to determine the authenticity all of unprovenanced epigraphic artifacts without objective scientific controls.

²⁷⁹ The patronymic on this bulla is the name *yhw ʔb*, but the *yhw* theophoric prefix with the component *ʔb* is unattested in Biblical literature and only found in epigraphic Hebrew (Arad (59:1; 49:9 [late eighth century]; 39:10 [late 7th cen.]; WSS 447 with an Ephraimite first name *ʔsm ʕ* [late seventh century]). In both Israelite genealogies and Hebrew inscriptions, the name is spelled with prefix *yw-* and it is aligned with both Israelites and Judeans. For instance, the name *yw ʔb* is inscribed on an eighth-century BCE Israelite seal (WSS 185; Sass 1993: 235; a late Carthage tomb and note the name *yw ʔb*, a returnee in the Persian period from Pahath-Moab in Transjordan [Ezra 2:6; 8:9; Neh. 7:11]). Additionally, we find the form *yw ʔb* replicated in Judah (a military commander [1Sam. 26:6; 2 Sam. 2:18]; a head of a family of craftsmen [1 Chr. 4:14]). Obviously, the cultural indexical meaning of *yw* was lost by the time of the Masoretes in the first millennium CE, and the *waw* served as a vowel letter. Be that as it may, the preservation of a first name that falls within the linguistic boundary of the Northern Kingdom –

The name Ahab is also attested in a late-seventh-to-sixth-century BCE setting in the book of Jeremiah (29:21-22). In this source, Jeremiah curses a prophet named Ahab, son of Kolaiah, because he prophesied a lie in the name Yahweh (Jeremiah 29:21). Ahab, son of Kolaiah's, tribal genealogy is not referenced nor his place of origin given.²⁸⁰ Consequently, we cannot accurately deduce whether his family emigrated from Israel. But we can find a key to unfolding his patronymic tribal identity by taking a closer look at the name Kolaiah. Interestingly, this name is associated with the post-exilic community of the tribe of Benjamin (Neh. 11:7). It should be noted that after the fall of Israel, some Israelites migrated to the land of Benjamin (2 Kgs. 17:28; Davies 2007; Finkelstein 2011; contra Na'aman 2009a; 2009b). Based upon this prophet's Manassite first name and Benjamite patronym, we can speculate that this person's background involved the migration of Manassites who subsequently intermarried with Benjamites sometime during the late eight to seventh century BCE. Moreover, one must ask why a Judean would name their child after one of the most notorious kings of Israel (according to the negative associations in Micah [6:16] and the Judean Deuteronomistic historian [2 Kgs. 21:3]), unless the origin was families from Israel cities and villages with Ahab-type naming ideologies who had immigrated to Judah.

The foregoing examples indicate the complexity involved in the politically charged reuse of Ahab-type names in Judean society. For more than a century before the fall of the Northern

irrespective of the hybrid identity of the patronymic *yhw 'b* – leads me to conclude that this person's background was not indigenous to Judah.

²⁸⁰ The vocalization of his name is partially dissimilated in the MT: *'eḥād* (BL §21n), which only points to a possible late linguistic element of Judean Hebrew before the exilic period. Note that an unprovenanced Hebrew ostrakon, dated to the late seventh to sixth century BCE, features the spelling variant of an elided or regressive assimilated *aleph* in the name *'ḥb* (Deutsch and Heltzer 1995: 92, 100; *HITBP*: 585). Because the ostrakon's origin is unknown, it will not inform our discussion. I have also eliminated from my analysis the name Ahab on other unprovenanced and possibly forged seals, bullae, and ostraca.

Kingdom, Ahab-type names bore a stigma among multigenerational families of Manasseh in Israel, specifically because it was the name of one of the most famous kings of Israel. Members of the Manassite kinship group expressed their ideological stance by sustaining and legitimating the reproduction of this name style. Settlement patterns in the region of Manasseh indicate a shift in population density as the Assyrian invasion devastated and depopulated the Northern Kingdom. Decades later, settlement patterns in the Shephelah of Judah show that this region was at the zenith of population density. The appearance of Ahab-type names in Judah during the period of demographic increase (and subsequent to the demographic decrease in Manasseh) underscores an indexical connection between Manassite families that fled Israel and came to Judah: they practiced identity maintenance for over a century.

The reusing of the iconic name Ahab in these Judean contexts is also an example of oppositional agency. As identities are mostly oppositional identities (that is, identity establishes who someone is not), this name conveys the social agency of ‘I am not Judean’ rather than ‘I am a Manassite/Israelite.’ The correlation between the naming practices of the Manassites that once inhabited Israel and those that migrated to Judah can be summarized accordingly: 1) the increase in population density in the Shephelah during the late eighth century BCE can be partially attributed to the migration of Israelite refugees, and 2) the reproduction of iconic names indexes the continuation and strength of Manassite kinship networks and group solidarity in the face of outside threats across territorial-national borders.

5.8.1. The Problem of a Judean King Named Manasseh

After the collapse of the Northern Kingdom of Israel, the Judean King Hezekiah named his son Manasseh (2 Kgs. 20:21). The fact that a Judean heir to the throne was given the name

‘Manasseh’, after the founder of an Israelite tribe, is unexpected and a conundrum that potentially poses a challenge to my model of identifying Israelite refugees in Judah, for this would be an example of an indigenous Judean naming his offspring after a famous Israelite tribe without any lineage ties or cultural affiliation with Israel. If Hezekiah and his wife were Judeans, then this example of naming as social practice would detract from my paradigm that Israelite type names in Judah index Israelite identity.

First, we do not know if King Manasseh had a hybrid identity, for a case can be made that Manasseh’s mother was non-Judean. 2 Kgs. 21:1 identifies her name as Hephzibah (*ḥp̄sy-bh*) but omits her place of origin and patronymic (Niemann 2006a: 230). This odd omission may point to her being non-Judean. Furthermore, she is omitted in the Chronicler’s history altogether (along with Manasseh’s wife Meshullemeth, mother of King Amon, and every other queen mother after Manasseh’s time). As a consequence, scholars have offered various reasons for this omission as well as her place of origin. Because Judean queen mothers are noted prior to Manasseh’s reign in the Chronicler’s history, McKay argues, “Hephzibah must have been a stain on the reputation of both Manasseh and the Davidic dynasty” (1973: 24). The same argument can be made for Manasseh’s wife, the queen mother of Amon, who was clearly foreign. Johnston observes that queen mothers from Manasseh to Zedekiah who are native-born appear in the Chronicler’s account and are “therefore not responsible for the infiltration of foreign influences” (1997: 15).

Several scholars have criticized the view that Hephzibah was not Judean (Provan 1988: 140; Dietrich 2000: 337 note 64). Niemann contends that Hephzibah was Judean because after the fall of the Northern Kingdom Judah was stable, hence, there was no need for matrimonial alliances with Israel and “traditional close kin marriages were thus favored” (2006a: 230). Stavrakopoulou also rejects this idea that we have sufficient indication of her origin. One clue

that may suggest she was Judean, claims Stavrakopoulou, is the reference to her name as the name for Jerusalem in Isaiah 62:4. She goes on to say, “[g]iven that the Chronicler does not name the mothers of any of Manasseh’s successors, it may be either that there is nothing of particular theological significance in this apparent omission, or that this detail was not included in his *vorlage*” (Stavrakopoulou 2004: 52). Eynikel asserts that, “Chronicles reflects an older version of Kings in which, after Hezekiah, no queen mother was mentioned” (1996: 132). But as we will see, the renaming of Jerusalem as Hephzibah in Isaiah bears no connection to her Judean ethnicity; it is rather a metonymic attribution of her as queen mother during Jerusalem’s most prosperous period: the seventh century BCE under the reign of King Manasseh.

Taking a closer look at the macro- and micro-level ethno-geographical distribution of her personal name-type reveals Hephzibah’s ethnic identity. The personal name Hephzibah is a compound name that is not Yahwistic or Judean but is aligned with Phoenician identity. The root *ḥpš* does not occur in any epigraphic or Biblical Hebrew personal name, and its exact equivalent is not found in Akkadian or Egyptian.²⁸¹ The name *ḥpšy-bh* is formed with a construct masculine noun (*ḥpš*) with a first-person singular possessive followed by the preposition *beth* with a third-person feminine suffix translated, “My delight is in her.” Most importantly, from a micro-level prosopographical perspective of aspects unique to a specific speech community, the root *ḥpš* “to take pleasure in, delight” is replicated in the Phoenician speech and inscriptional community onomasticon but not ancient Hebrew (*PPD*: 193).²⁸² For example, the name Hephzibah finds the

²⁸¹ Note comparable Egyptian names (Stamm 1980: 114). But see Late Babylonian *ḥa-pa-eši* (PIAP: 57).

²⁸² On the difference between language, speech, and inscriptional community, see Silverstein 2005. While the root does occur in ancient Hebrew (*HALOT*, 1:340), it did not map onto onomastic practices. The root is also attested in the Karatepe Phoenician inscription (KAI 222C:8) but with the Northern meaning of “business” (as found in Qoh 3:1,17, 5:7, 8:6; Isaiah 53:10; 58:13 [Staples 1965]).

closest parallel in the Phoenician personal name *ḥpšb ʿl* (*PNPPI*: 316; *PIAP*: 57). According to Stamm, the Phoenician theophoric name could hardly be “Ba‘al is My Pleasure” but rather “good pleasure of Ba‘al” (1980: 114).

A closer examination of the politics of naming – through the entextualized use of her personal name in the poetic passage of Isaiah – also helps to reconstruct her personal identity. The Phoenician personal name, with the compound with the divine name Baal, parallels the pun in Isaiah 62:4. That is, Hephzibah’s name is in synonymous parallelism with *Ba‘al* in the renaming of Jerusalem. In Isaiah 62:4, the poet declares, “Nevermore will you be called ‘Forsaken,’ nor will your land be called ‘Desolate’; but you will be called ‘I delight in her,’ and your land ‘Espoused’ (*bʿwlh*, G passive participle feminine singular of *bʿl* ‘to marry’) for the LORD takes delight in you, and your land shall be espoused (*tb ʿl* Niph’al Imperfect 3 feminine singular).” The parallelism of her name is entextualized in an ABA’B’ pattern marking the discourse according to the following coding scheme:

A Forsaken	B Hephzibah (I delight in her)
A’ Desolate	B’ Ba‘al (Espoused)

Isaiah 62:4 echoes an ancient practice of metaphorical renaming that is found in Israelite prophetic traditions. Halpern (1998) notes that renaming of Jerusalem goes back to an Israelite prophecy tradition of Hosea 2:18, where the prophet says Israel will no longer call Yahweh “My Baal/Husband” but “My Man.” The renaming tradition goes back to other Northern renaming of persons (such as Jacob/Israel, Hoshea/Joshua, Jerubbaal/Gideon etc.). The prophetic declaration of Isaiah 62:4 reverses the old Israelite metaphorical renaming pattern found in Hosea 2:18: “And in that day — declares the LORD — You will call Me *Ishi*, and no more will you call Me

Baali.”²⁸³ As Halpern notes, “Yahweh’s role as ‘husband/*b’t*’ reverses the prescription of Hosea” (1998: 628).²⁸⁴ The poetic parallelism between Hephzibah and Ba‘al is intriguing, for it aligns Hephzibah with Ba‘al, a socially loaded term whose orientation is towards the Israelite cult. Thus, the connection of Hephzibah with Ba‘al in Isaiah 62:2 indexes the political aspect of naming: Hephzibah has an affiliation with Israel, not southern Judah. After all, the tradition of renaming using Ba‘al has its origin with the Israelite prophet Hoshea, and one of the acts of rebellion most singled out by the prophets was the introduction of the Ba‘al cult in Samaria by queen Jezebel. Moreover, Hephzibah’s son Manasseh is singled out by the Deuteronomistic Historian as the only Judean king that adopted an Israelite Baal cult like Ahab: 2 Kgs. 21:3, “he reared up altars for Baal, and made an Asherah, as did Ahab king of Israel.” The Isaiah literary parallelism has ideological ramifications for the identity of Hephzibah.

²⁸³ The notion of Yhwh as Judah’s Baal is also attested in Jeremiah 3:14 (a Benjamite prophet with Israelite connections): “Turn back, rebellious children — declares the LORD. Since I have espoused (*b’ty* G perf. 1c sing) you.” In Jeremiah 31:32, a chapter devoted to the restoration of the house of Israel and the redemption of Ephraim, Baal is mentioned in conjunction to this restoration of Ephraim and Jacob but in a new way, different from Israelite Exodus tradition.

²⁸⁴ If Jerusalem under Hezekiah and Manasseh was more prosperous than under previous Judean kings (Finkelstein 1994; Knauf 2005; Faust 2008), the renaming of Jerusalem in Isaiah 64:2 after the queen mother linked to both kings is poignant. Halpern explains the meaning of the pun on Hephzibah’s name more fully. He describes the relation of the names of former queen mothers of Judah as follows: “Azuba’s son Jehoshaphat, was elected, a good king, beloved of YHWH; yet her name means ‘abandoned,’ which Isaiah 60:15 interprets as having the implication of divorce. Hephzibah’s son, Manasseh, was rejected – in the very source, Kings, that preserves the mother’s name; yet her name means ‘my desire/delight is in her’ . . . he makes the old names of the queen mothers, the old names of the woman who could be cast as personifications of the capital, assume new historical meaning, new applications. The Jerusalem of the future would be the one in whom YHWH delighted, not the one he rejected” (Halpern 1998: 640-641). I would add that local vs. foreign/negative reversal is also at play through the politics of naming:

	Azuba → Jehoshaphat	Hephzibah → Manasseh
Names in the Kings Lists	Good Mother (YHWH cult)	Bad Mother (Baal Cult)
Genealogical connection	Native other	Foreign mother
Economic status	Decline	Prosperity
Renaming in Isaiah	“Abandoned”	“My delight is in her”

Coupling the name Hephzibah with Ba'al in both a Phoenician inscription and in Isaiah 62:2 has several linguistic ideological implications. First, from the perspective of the politics of naming, it aligns Hephzibah's identity in Phoenician-North Palestine identity instead of southern Judah. As the Israelite tribal territory of West Manasseh extended to the Phoenician border and included the coastal regions of Tel Dor to the south and Shiqmona to the north (Kallai 1986; Zertal 2004), it is not inconceivable that Hephzibah's ancestral ties extended to this region. Hephzibah's identity alignment with Manasseh would explain why she named her son "Manasseh" after the territory-tribe where she was born, which was destroyed by the Assyrians.²⁸⁵

There is also another political aspect to naming her child Manasseh. After Sargon II's opening of trade routes with Egypt (and potentially other regions), it would have served Hezekiah's economic and political interest to secure a matrimonial alliance with an Israelite tribe that remained in the land. For this region was an important trade and commercial zone and he needed to bolster the number of troops in preparation for his revolt against Assyria. The recent discovery of a *lmlk* ('belonging to the king') jar handle within the Manassite region of Nahal Tut only solidifies this impression (Finkielsztejn and Gorzalczy 2010; contra Niemann 2006a).²⁸⁶ That being the case, Hephzibah's naming her son Manasseh meant projecting not only her cultural identity but also as her political alignment.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁵ For an ethnographic analogy of modern Palestinians naming children after towns and villages that they cannot return to, see Slyomovics 1998: 202.

²⁸⁶ A fragment of a *lmlk*-type Judean storage jar was discovered at Horvat Aqav (Brandl 2000:187), a site located in the tribal territory of Manasseh.

²⁸⁷ This point, however, does not rule out another motive for Hezekiah and his wife in naming their son Manasseh: it may have stemmed from a desire to win over Israelite refugees that resided in Jerusalem (Schneidewind 2004). Other propositions behind the ideology of the name Manasseh are unconvincing

Realistically, one could conjecture that her name was originally constructed with the Baal theophoric element (rather than the compound preposition and pronominal suffix ending), and that Biblical scribes subsequently changed her name.²⁸⁸ That is to say, Hephzibah's name was originally *hps-b ʾl* in the Book of Kings (because she was a devotee of Baal) but this information becomes ambiguous through her new identity as *hpsy-bh*. Through the politics of name change and the omission of her family history, her identity was obscured. Furthermore, in the eyes of the Deuteronomistic Historian the Baal theophoric detracted from Hezekiah's image as a Yahwistic devotee. Hence, these social factors contribute to understanding Manasseh's cult practices; after Hezekiah died and Manasseh assumed the throne, he returned to his mother's Baal cult (2 Kgs. 21:3). Manasseh's fidelity to the Baal cult can now be seen in new light: it is attributable to his mother, Hephzibah, whose ethnic and cultural background was not Judean but Manassite/Phoenician.

Hephzibah and Manasseh were not the only individuals of the royal house of Judah during the late eighth to seventh century BCE whose identities were aligned with Israel. Spanier (1998) promotes the idea that Hezekiah's mother Abi, daughter of Zechariah (2 Kgs. 18:2), was in fact the daughter of the Israelite King Zechariah who reigned over Israel for six months (2 Kgs. 14:29; 15:8, 11).²⁸⁹ Several scholars point out that Manasseh's wife Meshullemeth, the

(such as Stavrakopoulou 2004: 116-119, who contends that because the name was synonymous with prestige and power associated with the territory of Manasseh it was therefore suitable for a prince).

²⁸⁸ A parade example of this scribal feature transpired with the corruption of the Baal element in the name Ish-bosheth, the son of Saul (2 Sam. 2:8, 10, 12, 15). The correct form of this, Eshbaal, is found in the book of Chronicles (1 Chr. 8:33; 9:39).

²⁸⁹ From a semiotic perspective, the first name Aby is aligned with the tribe of Ephraim (Gezer 1:8; 1 Sam. 8:2) and her father's name Zechariah aligns with the tribe of Naphtali (Bethsaida and Tel Dan [WSS 669a-b; Hess 2004: 55]). The political situation of Judah under Ahaz was ripe for the formation of marriage alliances with Israel (Spanier 1998).

daughter of Haruz, was from Jobtah in Galilee (2 Kgs. 21:19; McKay 1973: 23-25; Schniedewind 1999: 80; 2004: 94; Stavrakopoulou 2004: 118, who locates Jobtah in the Manassite territory of the Assyrian province).²⁹⁰

Interestingly, Meshullemeth's father name, Haruz, is aligned with Israel-Phoenicia. This personal name is etymologically connected to the standard Phoenician word for 'gold' *ḥaruz* (*PPD*: 197) in contrast to the standard Judean Hebrew word *zḥb* (*HALOT* 5:1848).²⁹¹ Additionally, Meshullemeth gives her son the birth name Amon, which aligns with the name of the governor of the city of Samaria in the time of King Ahab (1 Kgs. 22:26) and Phoenician names such as *ʿlʾmn* and *ʿbdʾmn* (Goldberg 1973:70).

If our reconstruction is followed, Hephzibah joins the list of foreign women and their non-Yahwistic cults in the royal courts of Israel and Judah.²⁹² The fact that Hephzibah was likely of Manassite/Phoenician descent explains why the Israelite first name Manasseh was chosen for a Judean king.

²⁹⁰ Zadok connects Jobtah with the tribe of Zebulun (*PIAP*: 253). Some scholars attribute King Hezekiah's choice to name his son Manasseh not only to his marriage to a woman from Israel (Jobtah in Galilee) but also to his overtures to Israelite refugees (Schniedewind 2004).

²⁹¹ Kogan argues that *ḥrṣ* is an Ugaritic-Phoenician isogloss that is not shared by Hebrew (2006: 251-2 note 42). In Biblical Hebrew, the lexeme *ḥrṣ* is compartmentalized to poetic usage (*ḥrwṣ* Psalms 68:14; Proverbs 3:14 8:10.19 16:16) and viewed by some scholars as falling under the influence of Israelian Hebrew (Goldberg 1973; Rendsburg 1989; 2003).

²⁹² Solomon's wife Maacah, daughter of Absalom (whose mother was from Geshur in Galilee, 1 Kgs. 11:1-8), who erected an Asherah image (1 Kgs. 15:10-13); Jezebel, daughter of King Ethbaal of the Phoenicians, whose marriage with Ahab inspired the Baal and Asherah cult in Samaria (2 Kgs. 16:31-32); and Athaliah, daughter of Omri, who reigned over Judah for several years after she became queen mother and who certainly inserted a form of the Baal cult in Judah (2 Kgs. 8:26; 2 Kgs. 11:3). On the influence of foreign queen mothers in the Judean court, see Ackerman (1993), Spanier (1998), and Niemann (2006a).

5.8.2. A List of Manassite-Aligned Names in Judean Inscriptions

Several names iconic of Manassite clan identity in Hebrew inscriptions and Israelite genealogies are replicated in Judean inscriptions after the fall of the Northern Kingdom. These names do not simply convey information or refer to their bearers but also create meaning and identity. That is, in ancient Israelite society we find an acute metadiscursive use of gentiles in personal reference (see Revel 1996a) and this underscores a micro-level awareness of who was from what family and their status that was uniquely specific to each speech community. To that extent, names (and gentilic markers) formed an ideological map that indexed these socio-cultural geographies of meaning.²⁹³

In the following list of first and family names, an indexical relationship is built between the name bearer and the Judean society they lived in. Each case of an alignment with an Israelite iconic name communicates several aspects of discursive intentionality, including tribal politics, the reflection and construction of social relationships (such as declaring clan affiliation), and the maintenance of identity in Judah. Some names may be redistributed in Judean genealogies and index a hybrid identity. Other names may be cognates with other Semitic languages and dialects, but this is unimportant to our focus on the semiotic cultural significance of local microforms of identity construction within Israelite-Judean society of the late 8th- early 7th century BCE. The central idea behind the following enregistered list of tribally aligned names is to present potential

²⁹³ With respect to the role of social agency among the names represented in the Samaria archives, all references to the recipients named (dubbed the *l-men*) in the list of wine and oil shipments are considering local Manassites. Only Schloen (2001: 164) contends that two deliveryman were foreigners: Baala the Baalmeonite (no. 27) and Aha the Judahite (no. 51). But these two locations continue to be debated: Niemann (2008: 262) considers Baal-meon as a site in Helek in Manasseh and the latter site could be a locale in Samaria, identified as Khribet Yahuda by Ahituv (2008: 304). Recent studies have shown that these text-artifacts deal with local deliveries from clan territories to their own tribal elite representatives in the royal court (Niemann 2008), who were involved in competitive feasting (Nam 2012) under King Joash or Jeroboam II.

candidates for refugee families that migrated to Judah during the late eighth to seventh century

BCE:

𐤅𐤓 Manasseh Wadi Dilbeh (Lemaire 2004:555; 9th-8th cent. BCE); Samaria (Samar 51.3; *HITBP*: 471; first half 8th cent. BCE) → 𐤅𐤓 Lachish (Vaughn 1999: 217 no. 245; Ussishkin 2004b: 2138 no. 91; late 8th cent. BCE *lmlk* jar handle stamp impression with patronymic *tnḥm*); Arad, Beth-Shemesh, Jerusalem, Kh. Rabud, Tel Goded (Tell el-Judeideh), Ramat Rahel (WSS 705; Vaughn 1999: 214 nos. 195-203; late 8th cent. BCE *lmlk* impressions with first name *šlm*); 𐤅𐤓 Arad (49:16 *bny 𐤅𐤓*; Renz 1995:153-155 Arad(8):49; *HITBP*: 77-80; Ahituv 2008: 145-148; late 8th cent. BCE); Arad (67:4; Renz 1995:156 Arad(8):67; *HITBP*: 90; late 8th cent. BCE); Arad (74.2; Renz 1995:115; *HITBP*: 94; Stratum X 8th cent. BCE); 𐤅𐤓 Tel Masos (1.4; *HITBP*: 377; late 7th cent. BCE); 𐤅𐤓 Jerusalem (WSS 503; Shoham 2000:46 no. 34, 49 no. 42; patronyms on two late 7th century BCE bulla)

𐤅𐤔 Manasseh (1 Kgs. 16:28–30, 33); Tell el Ḥamme (Renz 1995: 47; *HITBP*: 181; 9th cent. BCE); [𐤅] 𐤔 Samaria (Samar 118; *HITBP*: 496; first half of the 8th cent. BCE); Beth Shean (BShean 2; *HITBP*: 140-141; first half of the 8th cent. BCE) → 𐤅𐤔 Lachish (WSS 350; 7th cent. BCE); Beth-Shemesh (WSS 52; *HAE* II/2 124 no. 1.25; late 8th cent. BCE); related form 𐤅𐤔𐤔 Jerusalem (WSS 427; Shoham 2000: 47 no. 37; late 7th cent. BCE)

𐤅𐤔𐤔 iconic Manassite prophet (1 Kgs. 19:16; 9th cent. BCE); 𐤅𐤔𐤔 Manassite Tel Rehov (Ahituv and Mazar 2014: 49; 9th cent. BCE); Samaria (3x *Samar* 1:4, 7; 41:1; Ahituv 2008: 261-263; 8th cent. BCE); Mannasite exile inscribed on a Nimrud ivory plaque (Renz 1995: 131; *HITBP*: 394); possibly a Mannasite exile named *mnḥm bn 𐤅𐤔𐤔* in the Nimrud ostrakon? (*CAI* no. 47:11; Ahituv 2008: 384); Mannasites in Ammonite inscriptional communities (Amman *CAI* no. 120 [late 8th cent. BCE]; Ur (WSS 975; *CAI* no. 45 [late 8th -7th cent. BCE]); Amman WSS 916; *CAI* no. 38 [7th cent. BCE]; Aufrecht 1999) → [𐤅] 𐤅𐤔𐤔 Jerusalem (Mazar and Ben-Arie 2015:306-307 no. B3; 7th cent. BCE bulla from the Ophel); 𐤅𐤔𐤔 Arad (Arad 24:15, 19–20; early 6th cent.); Lachish (Lach. 22:8 𐤅𐤔𐤔 [𐤅] Ahituv 2008:86 or another reading is 𐤅𐤔𐤔[𐤅] *HITBP*: 339; early 6th cent.)

𐤅𐤔𐤔 Samaria (Samar 50:2; 𐤅𐤔𐤔[𐤅] *Samar* 112; *HITBP*: 491; Ahituv 2008: 312) → 𐤅𐤔𐤔𐤔 Khirbet el-Qom (Qom 3:1–2; *HITBP*: 409; late 8th cent. BCE); En-Gedi and Tel Goren (WSS 94; Stern 2007: 157; Ussishkin 2011; Stratum V began in the late 8th continues into the 7th cent. BCE); Mareshah (Mar 1:3; *HITBP*: 349-350; 7th century BCE); Arad (Arad 26:1; Stratum VI (early 6th cent. BCE); also with medial /w/: 𐤅𐤔𐤔𐤔 Jerusalem (*Jslm* 1:8; *HITBP*: 207; late 7th cent. BCE); Horvat Uza (*Uza* 4.6, 7; Beit-Arie 2007: 153-154 no. 19:6-7; late 7th cent. BCE); Arad (Arad 31:1; Ahituv 2008: 135)²⁹⁴

𐤅𐤔𐤔 Manasseh (patronymic) (Samar 22.2; 23.2; 24.1; 26.1; 27.1; 28.1-2; 29.1; 37.3); 𐤅𐤔𐤔 Kunt. Ajrud (3.16; Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel 2012:103-104) → [𐤅] 𐤅𐤔𐤔 Jerusalem (*Jslm* 11; Nadelman 1990: 38; late 8th cent. incised jar); 𐤅𐤔𐤔 Jerusalem (*Jslm* 18; *HITBP*: 224-225; late 8th cent. BCE); 𐤅𐤔𐤔 Jerusalem seal (Ornan et. al. 2008; late 8th cent. BCE seal from the Western Wall Plaza)

𐤅𐤔𐤔𐤔 Samaria (Samar 22.2-3; 23.2; 24.1; 25.2; 26.1; 27.2; 28.2; 29.2; 48.2; *HITBP*: 450 ff.) → 𐤅𐤔𐤔𐤔 Umm Tuba (IAA 2009; a first name on a seal near Jerusalem); 𐤅𐤔𐤔𐤔 Lachish (WSS 59; 8th cent. BCE seal with patronymic *smk*); 𐤅𐤔𐤔𐤔 Lachish (WSS 679; Vaughn 1999: 205 nos. 76-87; *lmlk* seal impressions with first name *mšlm*); 𐤅𐤔𐤔𐤔 Beth Shemesh (WSS 293); Arad (72:2; *HITBP*: 93; 8th cent. BCE); Jerusalem 𐤅𐤔𐤔𐤔 (Mazar and Ben-Arie 2015: 310-311 no. B8; patronymic on a 7th cent. BCE bulla)²⁹⁵

²⁹⁴ Middle Eastern ethnographies indicate that families, clans, and even tribes that move to a new homeland often adopt the religious names of the sedentary population (Borg and Kressel 2001). The reoccurrence of IH 𐤅𐤔𐤔 as 𐤅𐤔𐤔𐤔 in Judah (especially at Khirbet el-Qom with the mention of the goddess Asherah) may be an example of Israelites adopted *yhw* theophoric form.

²⁹⁵ This PN is aligned with Shiloh priesthood in Ephraim. Ahimelech son of Ahitub was grandson of Eli (1 Sam. 14:3; 22:9). Shiloh belonged to the tribe of Ephraim (Josh. 16:6).

ḥzyhw (2 Kgs. 10:35); *ḥzy* (Samar 25:3; *HITBP*: 452); *ḥz* (Samar 2:5; 114:1) → *ḥzyhw* Beth Shemesh, Tel en-Naṣbeh, Ramat Rahel, and Lachish (WSS 665:1–2; Barkay and Vaughn 1996: 44–46; Vaughn 1999: 199 nos. 3–5; Ussishkin 2004b: 2137, no. 78; *lmlk* seal impressions)

brk Manasseh (Samar 109 [111]; 114 [116]; *HITBP*: 487–489, 494) → *ybrk* Lachish ostraca (31:2; *HITBP*: 344)

gdy Manassite first name (Num. 13:11) and patronymic (2 Kgs. 15:14); *gdyw* Samaria (Samar 2:2; 4:2; 5:2; 6:2–3; 7:2; 16:2; 16b:2; 17a:2; 17b:2; 18:2; 30:2; 33:2; 34:2; 35:2; 42:3) → *gdy* Arad (71:3; *HITBP*: 92; late 8th cent. BCE); *gd* Ṿ Arad (72:3; *HITBP*: 93; late 8th cent. BCE); *gd* Tel Malḥata²⁹⁶ (Beit-Arieh 2015: 502; or *gd[y?*]; 7th cent. BCE); *gdw* Kh. Uza (Beit-Arieh 2007: 176; 7th cent. BCE); possibly Tel Haror *lbgd* (dropping of the *aleph* meaning “belonging to <Ṿ> *bygd* [“my father is fortune] (Gogel 1998: 295; *AHI*: no. 46.001; note the Egyptian *ankh* sign after the PN; late 7th cent. BCE) and Lachish 24:1 *ḥbgd* (abecedary or PN; but cf. WSS 992 ff.); *gdyhw* City of David bullae (WSS 467; late 7th cent. BCE)

gr Ṿ Samaria (Samar 30:3; 36:3); [] *gr* Beth Shean (*BShn* 3:3; *HITBP*: 142–143) → *gr* [Ṿ] Jerusalem (*Jslm* 36; *HITBP*: 205); [*g*] *r* Ṿ Tell Beit Mirsim (*BMir* 2:1; *HITBP*: 134); *bn gr* Mareshah (1:1; Kloner and Eshel 1999, 147)

dlh Samaria (Samar 38:3; *HITBP*: 462); *dl[h]* Samar 56 (*HITBP*: 475); *dlyw* Hazor 8 (*HAE* 1995:125); *dl[yw]* or *dl[h]* (WSS 473; allegedly from Samaria); *dlyh* Samaritans in the Persian Period²⁹⁷ → *dlyh* [] Jerusalem (WSS 458; Shoham 2000: 32; 7th cent. BCE) and *dly* [] Jerusalem (WSS 474; Shoham 2000: 42–43 with Northern patronymic Hoshea; 7th cent. BCE); *dlyhw* Jerusalem (Mazar and Ben-Arie 2015: 308 no. B5; 7th cent. BCE bullae).²⁹⁸ (here, it is possible that Manassites renegotiated their identity by adopting the *yhw*-spelling to their name)

dml Ṿ Samaria (Samar 115 [jug fragment]) → *dml* Ṿ Gibeon (*Gibn* 21; 26–29 [jar handles]; Pritchard 1959:8)²⁹⁹

hwdwyh Manasseh (1 Chr 5:24); related form *hwd* Asher (1Chr. 7:37) → *hdyhw* Gibeon (WSS 220; 7th–6th cent. BCE); *hwdwyhw* Kh. Uza (Beit-Arieh 2007: 144–145 no. 12:2; 153, 155 no. 19:9; 2x 7th cent BCE); *hwdwyhw*

²⁹⁶ This ostrakon from Tel Malḥata (Beit-Arieh 2015: 488), written in the Edomite script, has discursive name-forms aligned with Israelite identity: *ʿzn ʾl* (Issachar [Num. 34:26]); *dn ʾl* (Ugarit/Phoenician coast); *ʾlšm ʿ* (Ephraim [Num 1:10]); *ʾlplṭ* (Naphtali, Tell el-ʿOreme, and Maacah [2 Sam. 23:34]).

²⁹⁷ The name *dlyh* is aligned with Samaritan ethno-political identity of the Persian period: a son of Sanballat, governor of Samaria (A4 7:29; 8:28; Kornfeld 1978: 46); on dedicatory inscriptions from Mt. Gerizim (Magan et. al. 2004: 72 no. 30; 137 no. 147); and Samaritans in the Wadi ed-Daliyeh papyri (*WDSP* 3 1:2, 4, 10; *WDSP* 10 1R: 10; *WDSP* 15 1:2, 6; Cross 2006:78; Dušek 2007: 616).

²⁹⁸ A prince in Judah with an uncertain tribal genealogy bears the PN *dlyhw* in the Book of Jeremiah during the 7th–6th cent. BCE (Jer 36:12). The reference to a Levite with this PN in the list of 1 Chr 24:18 offers no guidance regarding his northern or southern tribal alignment. The fact the PNs *dlh* and *dlyw* are found in inscriptions from Israel leads to the possibility that these names in Judean artifacts could be descendants from Israel.

²⁹⁹ The name *dml* Ṿ contains is spelled with an orthographic final *aleph* is indexical of Israelite identity (final /Ṿ/: Kun. Ajrud [Aḥtiv et. al. 2012: 128]; Hazor [Naveh 1989:346]; Beth Shean [Mazar 2001:302]; Tel Rehov [Aḥituv and Mazar 2014:41]; Samaria [more than eight different persons: Samar 1:7; 1:5; 22:2; 32:3; 38:3; 45:2; 113:1; 115:1]). If the names that appear in the second register on the Gibeon jar handles indicate the name of a clan (such as Gedor) in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C.E., then it is possible that a Manassite clan migrated to Benjamin and became successful in the production of wine.

Lachish (3:17; early 6th cent. BCE)[here, it is possible that Manassites renegotiated their identity by adopting the *yhw*-spelling to their name]

zkr Samaria (Samar 31a:3; 31b:3; 37:3; Ahituv 2008: 290, 292 *b l' zkr*, patronymic)→ *zkr* Arad (67:5; 48:3; both late 8th cent. BCE); Arad 38:7 (Ahituv 2008: 139; late 7th cent. BCE); *zkr* Tel Masos (Mesh 1:1; Ahituv 2008: 164; mid-7th cent. BCE); *zkr* Jerusalem (Shoham 2000: 34-35 no. 4-6; 7th cent. BCE bullae); *zkr* Horvat Uza (Uza 1:2; Ahituv 2008: 166; late 7th cent. BCE)

zkryhw King of Israel (2 Kgs. 14:29; 15:8, 11); it was likely written as *zkryw* in Israelian Hebrew→ *zkryhw* Jerusalem (Kletter 1998:210; a weight); *zkryhw* Kh. Uza (Uza 3:4 Beit-Arich 2007 : 129; 7th cent. ostrakon); *zkryhw* Tel Masos (Mesh 3.4; *HITBP*: 378; 7th cent. BCE)

hlš Heletz is a iconic of a powerful Manassite clan: *hlš* ' Wadi Dilbeh (Lemaire 2004:555); replicated and enregistered in Samaria ostraca (Samar 22:4; 23:3; 30:2; 31a:2; 31b:2; 32:2; 33:2; 34:2; 35:2; 49:2); a Manassite exile at Nimrud (Heltzer 1978:3)→ [*h*] *hlš* Jerusalem (Mazar and Ben-Arie 2015: 314 no. B12; 7th cent. bullae)³⁰⁰

hlq Manasseh (Num. 26:30; Josh 17:2); Samaria (Samar 22:1–2; 23:1; 24:1; 26:1; 27:1); *Hilqi-Iau* deportee at Nimrud (Tiglath-pileser III's reign; *PIAP*: 55, 67, 185, 303; Cogan 2013: 40; note this is the only example of this Manassite PN with a Northern theophoric *yw*) → *hlqyhw* Lachish (WSS 498; *HAE* 8.32; late 8th-7th cen. BCE); *hlqyhw* Jerusalem (Shoham 2000: 43 no. 27; 7th cen. BCE); *hlqyhw* Jerusalem (Mazar and Ben-Arie 2015: 309 no. B7; 7th cent. BCE)³⁰¹

³⁰⁰ A migration of some members of the Heletz clan from Manassah is indexed by the replication of the name in this Judean bulla and several unprovenanced inscribed seals/bullae: *hlš b[n] 'h 'b* (WSS 494; Manassite patronym Ahab); *'lyhw hlš* (WSS 603; Israelite first name Elijah); and *hlš* (Deutsch 2015: 66 no. 6). In the late 7th cent. BCE, some Manassites adopted *the yhw* theophoric (assuming that several unprovenanced seals are authentic (WSS 154:1; 236:1; 446:2; 483:2; 534:3; 624:2). The Helez clan had also kinship ties with Ephraim (2 Sam. 23:26; 1 Chr 11:27; 27:10; Japhat 1993: 249). The only reference to a Judahite with the name Helez is found in the post-exilic Chroncler's genealogy of the clans of Hezron (1Chr. 2:39). But the Hezron clans were tied to Manassah-Machir and Gilead (Aharoni 1979: 208, 244; Rainey and Notley 2006: 152).

³⁰¹ The clan name *hlq* (meaning “portion”) was one of the most famous clans of the tribe of Manasseh. The prestige character of this name is evident in the performance of identity maintenance by an exiled Manassite (*hlqyw* with theophoric suffix *yw* in cuneiform) in an Assyrian document from Nimrud dated to the 8th century BCE (Becking 1992: 84; Zadok 2002: 21; *PNA* 2/I: 472; Galil 2009). This member of the Helek clan was a deportee who became a military official under the Tiglath-pileser III, and he continued to practice an oppositional agency against assimilation to Mesopotamian culture. Members of the Helek clan also continued identity maintenance in Judah, except with a switch from IH *yw* to the JH theophoric *yhw*. This form is replicated on several provenanced Judean seals from Lachish and Jerusalem (listed above). From the perspective of social agency, this stance not only indexes a migration of some family members from the Helek clan to southern Judah but also their adoption and fidelity to Jerusalemite urban cultic ideology in the 7th cent. BCE. As pointed out earlier with support from ethnographic studies, refugee and migrant families will adopt new religious names for ideological reasons, and this appears to be particularly the case with descendants of the Helek clan in Judah. The Manassite lexical component *hlq* is also replicated with the Judean theophoric spelling *yhw* on several unprovenanced as a first name (WSS 495) and patronymic (WSS 128; 549; 615). The variant form *hlq* ' is also found among unprovenanced seals (WSS 155:1; 306:2).

hnn Samaria³⁰² (Samar 43:2; 45:2; 46:2; 47:1) → *hnn* Arad 92:1 (*HITBP*: 101; Singer-Avitz 2002:176, Stratum IX; 8th cent BCE); *hnn* Tel Malḥata (Beit-Arieh 2015:488; Stratum IV-III, late 8th century BCE);[*hnn* Jerusalem (Barkay 2003: 55; late 8th century BCE); Arad (38:2, 6; *HITBP*: 67; late 7th cent. BCE)

hṣd Manassite official (1 Kgs. 4:10; patronymic of an official over Arubboth in the Dothan Valley [Kallai 1986: 53; Zertal 1992:465-467]) → *hṣd* Beth Shemesh (WSS 670; first name)

yw ṣ Manassch Abiezer (Judg. 6:11, 29–30; *y* ṣ (without vowels) is related form of ṣ, listed above in the Samaria ostraca → *y* ṣ Jerusalem seal (Ornan et. al. 2008: 118; late 8th cent. BCE seal from the Western Wall Plaza)

yd ṣ *yw* (Samar 1.8; 42.2; 48.1) → *yd* ṣ *yhw* Jerusalem (Ornan et. al. 2008:118; late 8th-7th cent. BCE seal from the Western Wall Plaza); [*y*] *d* ṣ *yhw* Jerusalem (Mazar and Ben-Arie 2015: 312 no. B10; 7th cent. BCE); *yd* ṣ *yhw* Jerusalem (WSS 515; Shoham 2000: 38 no. B 12; 7th cent. BCE with the patronymic *šlm*); [*y*] *d* ṣ *yhw* Jerusalem Naveh 2000: 2–3, no. IN 2; 7th cent. BCE); *yd* ṣ *yhw* Arad (Arad 31:7; 39:4–5; *HITBP*: 60, 68; late 7th-6th cent. BCE); see two related forms: *yd* ṣ *wy*[*hw*] Kh. Uza (Beit-Arieh 2007: 176; a different spelling with an added /w/; 7th cent. BCE)

ywtm Mannaseh (son of Gideon in pre-monarchic period; Judg 9:5, 7, 21, 57)³⁰³ → *ytm* Jerusalem (*Jslm* 33; Naveh 2000:7 no. IN 10; 7th cent. BCE chiseled bowl); *ytm* Jerusalem (Mazar and Ben-Arie 2015: 312-313 no. B11; 7th cent. bulla); *ytm* Kh. Uza (Beit-Arieh 2007: 176; 7th cent. ostrakon)

y ṣ *r* Manassch (Num. 32:41; Deut. 3:14; 1 Kgs. 4:13) → *y* ṣ *r* Jerusalem (Kletter 1998: 210; weight; patronymic; late 8th-7th cent. BCE)

mḥ[*syw*] Samar 112:1 (*HITBP*: 491; *mḥsyw* on an unprov. IH seal (Deutsch 2003: 232-233) → *mḥsyhw* Jerusalem (WSS 637:2; late 7th cent. BCE); *mḥs*[] Arad (23:6; *HAE* I: 388; *HITBP*: 47; early 6th cent. BCE)

mnḥm Samaria (Samar 112.5; Aḥituv 2008: 312); King of Israel (1 Kgs. 15:14-22) → *mnḥm* Jerusalem and Tel Goded (WSS 676; Vaughn 1999: 204 nos. 69-70; *HAE* 13.55; *mlk* jar handle impressions with patronymic *ybnh*); *mnḥm* Beth Shemesh and Ramat Rahel (WSS 677; Vaughn 1999: 203 nos 56-57; *HAE* 13.56; *mlk* jar handle impressions with patronymic *wyḥbnh*); Adullam, Gibeon, Kh. Abbad, Lachish, and Ramat Rahel (WSS 678; Vaughn 1999: 204 nos. 60-67; *HAE* 13.57; *mlk* jar handle impressions with patronymic *ywbnh* [IH theophoric prefix *yw*]); Jerusalem tomb (WSS 35; *HAE* 8.34; patronymic of seal dated to the end of the 8th cent. BCE); Arad (72:1; 8th cent. BCE); *mnḥm* Khirbet Uza (Uza 1:1; 4:2; Beit-Arieh 2007: 140, 176; Aḥituv 2008:166, 177; late 7th cent. BCE)

**mk* ṣ (Samaria WSS 29)³⁰⁴; *mk* ṣ *ḥ* Nahal Tut (Gorzalczany 2010) → *mk* ṣ Tel Goded (Tell el-Judeideh) (WSS 709;

³⁰² This name has pre-701 BCE local cultural indexical associations in both the tribal communities of the Shephelah of Judah (as previously indicated) and Manasseh (see the list of references in Albertz and Schmidt 2012: 538). Therefore, it is included in this corpus as a possibly alignment with Samaria-Manasseh.

³⁰³ The etymology of *ytm* is unclear: either “orphan” or “perfect” (*HITBP*: 605). A seal with a possible Israelite PN *ytm* in the Edomite/Moabite writing system was discovered at Tell el-Kheleifeh (WSS 1054). Note that the related PN *ytmh* is Moabite (1 Chr 11:46) and *ywtm* is an 8th cent. Judean king (II Kings 15:5 ff). In Persian period at Elephantine, *hwš* ṣ *br ytwm* may be of Israelite identity (A4 4:7; 10:4; B3 5:24). The identity alignment of the other individuals with this patronymic is uncertain (although they could likewise be northern): *hwš* ṣ *br ytwm* (B3 10:24); ṣ *wš* ṣ *br ytwm* (C4 4:3).

³⁰⁴ This seal reads *zḏq* (son of) *mk* ṣ and is allegedly from Samaria but the city of Dor is inscribed on face B of the seal (*zkryw* priest of Dor; Stern 1994: 122-123; *HAE* 18.1). Because the seal has been considered by scholars to be authentic, it is included in this list (see Stern 1994). Note the final *alpeh* on *mk* ṣ is indexical of Israelite orthographic identity in personal names. The city of Dor is located in the

Vaughn 1999: 218, no. 255; *HAE* 53.2; *lmlk* jar handle impression); *mk* ʾ Jerusalem (*HAE* 3: 1.78; Shoham 2000:81; Brandl 2012: 386; patronymic on late 8th-7th century BCE seal); Ashkelon (1.6 r. 3; Cross 2008 : 342-342)

m ʿs+ kinship term PN's: Jezreel (ʿ*hm* ʿs 1 Sam. 14:50; 25:43;³⁰⁵ this patronymic is a hybrid of Issachar-Manasseh because of the Israelite political hegemony over tribal area of Jezreel. Also notice that her first name ʿ*hyn* ʿ*m* is replicated in a Samaria ostrakon, thus aligning *m* ʿs-type names with Manasseh [1 Sam. 14:50; *Samar* 19.4]) → ʿ*bm* ʿs Tel Batash, Azekah, Jerusalem, Tel Batash, Tell es-Safi (WSS 695; Vaughn 1999: 211 Nos. 158, 160; Avigad and Barkay 2000: 249; 8th cent. *lmlk* jar handle impression with first name *špn*); [ʿ*hm* ʿs Jerusalem (Mazar and Ben-Arie 2015: 305 no. B1; 7th cent. BCE)

nhm Tel Rehov (Ahituv and Mazar 2014: 42; 10th cent. BCE)³⁰⁶ → *nhm* Jerusalem and Gibeon (WSS 681; *lmlk* jar handles); Lachish (WSS 682; *lmlk* jar handle); Ramat Rahel (WSS 683; *lmlk* jar handle); Tel Goded, Lachish and En Gedi (WSS 684; *lmlk* jar handles); Jerusalem (WSS 573); Jerusalem (*Jslm* 34, 35; *HITBP*: 240; late 8th cent.); Jerusalem (WSS 573; first name on 7th cent. bullae); Lachish solar shrine (WSS 571)

smk-PN's: *smkyw* Samaria (Samar 110:3 [112:3]; *HITBP*: 491); ʿ*lsmk* Tel Zeror (Kochavi 1993:1525);³⁰⁷ *smkyw* Nimrud (Heltzer 1978; Israel 1989) → *smkyw* Tel en-Naşbeh (*AHI*: no. 30.002; Renz 1995: 221; Nasb(8):1, 1; *HITBP*:242; late 8th cent. BCE with Israelite theophoric); *smk* Lachish (WSS 59; 8th cent. seal with IH patronymic ʿ*hmlk*); *smk* Beth Shemesh (WSS 694; patronymic on a *lmlk* jar handle impression); *smk* Jerusalem, Lachish, Tell el-Judeideh (WSS 689; Vaughn 1999: 218, no. 255; first name on several *lmlk* jar handle impressions); *smk* Tel Eton (Faust and Eshel 2012; late 8th cent. BCE); *smk* Tell el-Hesi (*HITBP*: 95; late 8th cent. BCE); *smk*[] Kh. Uza (Beit-Arich 2007: 153; 7th cent. ostrakon)

ʿ*bdyw* Samaria (Samar 50:2; *HITBP*: 471); ʿ*bd* ʾ Samaria (Samar. 57:1; *HITBP*: 576); ʿ*bdyw* K.Ajrud 9 (Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel 2012); ʿ*bdyhw* (1 Kgs. 18:3) → ʿ*bdy* Lachish, Tell el-Judeideh and Naḥal Arugot (WSS 684; Vaughn 1999: 207 nos. 103-117; *lmlk* jar handle impression with the first name *nhm*); ʿ*bdy* Lachish (WSS 690; Vaughn 1999: 210 no. 148; *lmlk* jar handle impression); ʿ*bd*[] Arad 49:8 (*HITBP*: 78; 8th cent. BCE); ʿ*bdyhw* Beersheba bulla (WSS 661; 8th cent.); Lachish (31:3; Lemaire 2004: 2126 late 8th or early 7th cent. BCE); ʿ*bdyhw* Yavneh Yam (MHsh 4:7; *HITBP*: 342; late 7th cent. BCE); Arad 10:4; 27:2 (*HITBP*: 26-27, 56; late 7th- early 6th cent. BCE).

ʿ*z* ʾ Beth Shean (4:2; Mazar 2006 : 508-509; patronymic); Samaria (Samar 1:5; first name); Samaria (Samar 112); but also a Benjamin PN (1Chr. 8:7) → ʿ*z*[ʾ] Tell Beit Mirsim (Nadelman 1990:390; *HITBP*: 135; late 8th cent.

western extend of the tribal boundary of Manasseh and was destroyed by Tiglath-Pileser III. Prior to the destruction, Dor excavations under Ephraim Stern and an Israelite occupation in Area D2 was revealed. The renewed excavation under Ayelet Gilboa has revealed several Hebrew ostraca from area D that remain unpublished. A similar form to this PN is *mky* attested on a jar handle from Bethsaida in Israel (Arav 1999, 90; Arav et al. 2000, 56).

³⁰⁵ The form *m* ʿs likely derives from the root *y* ʿs meaning “counsel” (*PIAP*: 48, Mulzer 1989; *DNSWI*: 464; *HALOT*: 2:42; Roellig 2003: 371).

³⁰⁶ Lemaire points out that P. K. McCarter and F. M. Cross suggest, after the *lamed* and *nun*, the letter *mem* and Lemaire supplies the final *shin* to read the iconic Manassite name *nmš* (2012:303; 2015:21). But recently, Ahituv and Mazar (2014: 42) argue that McCarter, Cross, and Ahituv suggest reading the letter *het* on top of a *mem*. I follow the latter’s most recent suggestion (i.e. *nhm*).

³⁰⁷ This name from Tel Zeror was inscribed on the base of a burnished bowl in a script that was influenced by Aramaic and approximately dated to late 8th century BCE (Kochavi 1993: 1525). No photographs of the inscription have been published. The other inscribed artifact discovered from this period was a storage jar with Hebrew letter *mem* incised on its side (ibid).

BCE); ‘z’ Arad (72:4; Renz 1995: 114; 8th cent. BCE); ‘z’ Tel Ira (7:1; Beit-Arieh 1999: 410-411 Stratum VII [late 8th cent. BCE])

‘zr’ Samaria (Samar 112:1/114:1; see the reconstruction by *HITBP*: 493); ‘zr’ Kuntillet Ajrud (10; *HITBP*: 284; Aḥituv 2008: 313; Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel 2012) → ‘zr’ Gezer (Ephraim) and Azekah (Tell el-Zakariyah) (WSS 691; Vaughn 1999: 210 nos. 150; same *lmlk* jar impressions from Gezer); ‘zr’ Beth Shemesh (WSS 696; Vaughn 1999: 212 no. 168; with first name *špn*); Lachish (WSS 697; Vaughn 1999: 212 nos. 169-171); a different *lmlk* seal impressions with the same with first name *špn*); Azekah (WSS 691; Tell el-Zakariyah); Arad (51:2; *HITBP*: 81; late 8th cent. BCE); Arad 58:3 (*HITBP*: 84; late 8th cent. BCE); Jerusalem (WSS 467; 7th century BCE); Tel Masos (*Mesh* 1:2; *HITBP*: 377; 7th century BCE); Arad (22:2; 23:8; *HITBP*: 46-47; late 7th-early 6th century BCE); Lachish (19:1; *HITBP*: 333; late 7th-early 6th century BCE); also see ‘zr’ reconstructed on a 6th century BCE ostrakon from Transjordan (Tall Ḥisbān A3 (XII) line 9 [‘zr; Aufrecht 1999; forthcoming])

‘pr’ Manassite first name (1Chr. 5:24) → ‘pr’ Tel ‘Aroer (Renz 1995: 166; *AHI*: 10 no. 6.003; ostrakon 3 line 2 Stratum IV [8th cent. BCE])

pdh-šwr Manasseh (Num. 1:10; 2:20; 7:54, 59; 10:23); also *pdh Hazr* 15 (Naveh 1989: 347) or *pdy* (Delavault and Lemaire 1979:12) → *p*d*y* Arad 55:2 (a reconstruction proposed by Lemaire [1977:213], who finds traces of /p/ and /d/ before *yod*); *pdylhw* Arad (49:15; Renz 1995: 153-155; late 8th cent. BCE)

qlyw Samaria (Samar 110:2) → *qwlyhw* Tel Masos (Mesh 3; for this reconstruction, see *HITBP*: 378 [the head and stem of the *qof* is visible in the photograph in Aḥituv 2008: 165]).

rg’ Samaria (Samar 78:1; *HAE* 1995:67) → *rg’* Arad (68:3; *HITBP*: 90; late 8th cent. BCE); Arad (31:2; *HITBP*: 63; late 7th cent. BCE)

šb’ Samaria (Samar 2:6) → *šb’* Arad (38:4; *HITBP*: 66-67; late 7th cent. BCE)

špt (1Chr. 27:29; Sharon Plains of Manasseh [Josh. 17:11]) → *yšpt* Arad (53; *HITBP*: 81)

šm’ Megiddo (WSS 2); Israelite PN *šm’yw* at KAjr 1.1 (Ahituv, Eshel, Meshel 2012: 75-76); Israelite PN *šm’y* (KAjr 3.3; Ahituv, Eshel, Meshel 2012: 91) → *šm’* Jerusalem (*Jslm* 32; Nadelman 1990: 39; Naveh 2000:6; *HITBP*: 239; 8th cent. BCE)

šlm Samaria (Samar 111; either a patronymic [Albright 1936; Gibson 1971: 15; Birnbaum 2011: 19] or a verb [Renz 1995: 136-137; *HITBP*: 488-489; Birnbaum 2011: 19-20]); *šlm* Shallum king of Israel (2 Kgs. 15:10, 13-14; was the son of Jabesh [a clan of Jabesh Gilead] (Judg. 21; 1 Sam. 11)³⁰⁸ → *šlm* Beth-Shemesh, Kh. Rabud, Tel Goded (Tell el-Judeideh), Arad, Jerusalem, and Ramat Rahel (WSS 705; Vaughn 1999: 214 nos. 195-203; first name [*šlm ḥ’*] on several *lmlk* jar handles); *šlm* Lachish (WSS 706; first name on a *lmlk* jar handle); *šlm* Beth Shemesh and Horvat Shovav (WSS 666; Vaughn 1999: 200; patronymic); *šlm* Arad 44 (ostrakon from stratum VIII); *šlm* City of David (Reich and Shukron 2009; patronymic on late 8th century BCE seal); *šlm* Lachish seal (WSS 360; first name on unstratified seal but likely late 8th century BCE seal); *šlm* Tel Sera’ (*HAE* 1:345; 7th century BCE ostrakon line 3); *šlm* Jerusalem (Shoham 2000:82; 7th century BCE bullae); also in latter periods (Arad 21:4; 35:3; Lachish 6:10)

Approximately 38 names (first and family names) in Judean inscribed artifacts

potentially align with the tribe of Manassite; they were likely Manassite elites who migrated to

³⁰⁸ The West Semitic deity Šalim is attested in the Ugaritic god list text (Salimu) and in personal names of Amorite identities of the Bronze Age period—specifically in North Syria and Mesopotamia (Huffmon 1965: 246-247; 1999: 755-757). If Shalem is a deity in these Hebrew personal names, then it is aligned with the Northern Levant (Tigay 1986: 67).

Judah under the reign of Hezekiah.³⁰⁹ The size of this corpus is second only to the tribe of Ephraim—the latter being a tribal region that was located just south of Manasseh and bordering Judah. It comes as no surprise that Manassite refugees crossed their border and sought asylum in Judah—as it is expected that refugees would have fled from war-torn zones to the closest region of familiarity that was relatively more peaceful. These elites—indicated in inscribed artifacts as owners of seals or listed on ostraca in urban contexts—were more densely populated in the Highlands of Judah (approximately 20 or more, particularly in Jerusalem), and the Shephelah than in other areas. Some are well represented in the Shephelah (for example, *ʔḥʔ*, *ʔḥʔb*, *ʔḥmlk*, and *smk*-type Manassite names at Tel Goded, Lachish, Beth Shemesh, Tel Eton) during the time period of settlement increase (Dagan 2000; 2004; 2006b; 2010; 2011). Other areas of a migrant population include the Negev (approximately 19), particularly at Arad. Not surprisingly, the Negev region was also densely settled during this period (Thareani-Sussely 2007; Faust 2008). The use of family or patronymic/traditional names, employed in reference as classificatory device, requires background knowledge and therefore indexes distance in the construction of prestige heritage identity.

Settlement pattern discontinuity in Manassite territories and demographic increase in Judah during the Iron IIB-C period coincide with the emergence of Manassite-type names in Judah, as Manassite refugee families continued to align themselves with their past. The social

³⁰⁹ Many Manassite replicated names occur in Judean inscriptions dated to the 6th century BCE. For example, the PNs *nḥm* in Manasseh (Tel Rehov: Ahituv and Mazar 2014:42= *nḥm* in Jslm 34:1–35:1) and *ʔlyšʿ* (Tel Rehov: Ahituv and Mazar 2014:49; Samar 1; Nimrud 2 [ivory plaque])= *ʔlyšʿ* in Lachish 22 and Arad 24). Others are found in Transjordan, for example, the PN *nmš* in Manasseh (Tel Rehov: Mazar 2003:180-182; Ahituv and Mazar 2014: 43; Tel Amal 1:1; Samar 56:2)= *nmš* at Tal Jalul 1 (Gane 2008: 78). It is also possible that identities with the theophoric names like *šmryw* in Manasseh (Dothan: Barkay 2005; Samaria: Samar 1:1–2; 13:2; 14:2; 21:1–2; also KAjr 21.3) may have migrated to Judah and switched to *šmryhw* (Arad 18:4; late 7th-early 6th century BCE).

network of the family is vital in establishing ethnic immigrant communities in host societies and the enregisterment of family names is a form of symbolic communication among interacting individuals in the network. Manassites used names as a cue to construct tribal authenticity in their new Judean contexts. The direct indexicality of Manassite enregistered family names such as: *ʔhʔ*, *ʔhʔb*, *ʔhmlk*, *grʔ*, *gdy*, *mnḥm*, *ʕzʔ*, *ʕzr*, *šmʕ*, are cultural signs of communication that projected a stance of kinship affiliation, clan solidarity, and symbolic community. Moreover, some immigrants who projected this stance on private seals were officials, signifying other indexicalities, such as social mobility and membership among the Judean literati. These Manassites constructed and projected these indexical meanings to their upper class public in the context of the royal court or other official urban spaces.

To be sure, many Manassites did not migrate to Judah nor did the Assyrians deport them from their homeland. Archaeological evidence points to the continuation of Israelite occupation within the Assyrian provinces of Magiddu and Samerina. Adam Zertal, in his archaeological surveys of the region of west Manasseh after the fall of the Northern Kingdom of Israel, observes that the Assyrian rule “left only limited traces here. The boundaries of the province continued under the old Israelite border system (tribal and district) with few changes. The Assyrian conquerors seemed to destroy only some of the larger cities, whereas most of the towns and villages were left intact” (2003:405). He concludes that most, if not all, of the fortified towns and rural settlements continued to exist after 722 BCE (2003:400). The discovery of small quantities of Judahite vessel types parallel to Lachish Level II at Megiddo and Tell el-Far‘ah (North) Stratum VIIc supports this assessment (Singer-Avitz 2014: 138).

Despite the Assyrian occupation and provincial system in Israel, there remained some form of socioeconomic contiguity between the remnant of the tribal territories of Manasseh and

Judah. Excavations at Nahal Tut, located in west Manasseh, revealed an administrative center and eight Judean *lmlk* royal seal impression stamped on jar handles dated to the end of the 8th century BCE (Finkielsztejn and Gorzalczyński 2010). Two royal Judean *lmlk* jar handle impressions, dated to the late 8th century BCE, are of the double wing type and are impressed with the Judean cities “Hebron” and “Ziph.”

The discovery of Judean material culture in Manasseh sets the stage for broader claims concerning the tacit relationship between the two regions. The presence of royal Judean impressions from Hezekiah’s reign in the territory of Manasseh underscores the establishment of social networks and socioeconomic contiguity with Manasseh and the forging of political alliances with local tribal leaders who remained in the region after the Assyrian invasion. Additionally, it would be reasonable to assert that the discovery of a Judean presence far beyond Judean territorial boundaries in Manasseh (outside the hegemonic orbit of Judah while they were under the *Pax Assyriaca*) between the years of 721-701 BCE is suggestive of open borders and makes the likelihood of a Manassite diaspora in Judah even more plausible (contra Na’aman 2007).

The case for a Manassite Diaspora in Judah not only stems from personal names in Judah, but also from the prophetic sources in Hebrew Bible as well. For example, in Isaiah 33:9 the devastation of the Sharon in western Manasseh is lamented, but in Isaiah 35:2; 65:10 those maintaining religious fidelity to Yahweh will see its restoration and be glad. In Obadiah 19 and Jeremiah 31:5, the restoration of Samaria comes into view (Wright 1957:164; Greenwood 1976: 377-379; Evans 1980: 163-164). It would make sense for these oracles to form the centers of hope for a Manassite remnant; they likely comprised the target audience of the exilic and post-exilic Judean community.

Analyzing narratives told by the Chronicler in Judah during the post-exilic period about refugee experiences during Hezekiah's reign provide a window into Judah's role in the migration process. According to the Chronicler, Hezekiah invited Manassite leaders who survived the Assyrian invasion to a Passover ritual in Jerusalem (2 Chr. 30:1-6, 10-11).³¹⁰ Some Manassites, "returned, every man to his possession, into their own cities," but others, "lived in the cities of Judah" (2 Chr. 31:1, 6). Here, Judah is depicted as a friendly host community to Israelites; the passage also shows the role that the national Passover ritual performance in the Temple of Jerusalem played in the process of resettlement (Braun 1977; Williamson 1977).

Others have already observed that Hezekiah's overtures to Israel were due to his preparations to rebel against Assyria and restore the golden age of Israel.³¹¹ These overtures, nevertheless, are largely based upon a disputed Chronicler's narrative (Na'aman 2007:46). But some Scholars have argued that Chronicler's description was based upon a genuine late-monarchic source (Japhet 1989; 1993; Rainey 1997; Vaughn 1999). If we are to take the concentration of Manassite identity in Judean artifacts seriously, then they provide a corollary to the Judean *lmlk* handles in Manasseh and the Chronicler's report. Manassite immigrants were incorporated into Hezekiah's Judean administration, as evidenced by the names listed above, and were instrumental in forging a network-base urban ethnic community across two distant

³¹⁰ Scholars often debate and question the historicity of this episode (see Knoppers 2004b; Klein 2006). The Judean political orientation toward Manassite region continued during the reign of Josiah in the late 7th century BCE (2 Chron. 34: 6, 9). During the exilic period, the prophet Ezekiel envisioned the restoration of territory of Manasseh (Ezek 48:4-5) and the Chronicler mentions descendants of Manassite and Ephraimite refugees residing in Jerusalem during the Neo-Babylonian exile (1Chr. 9:3).

³¹¹ Some scholars support the theory of Hezekiah's reunification of their tribal monarchy with Israel (Wright 1957:164; Greenwood 1976: 377-379; Oded 1977: 444; Evans 1980: 163-164; Schniedewind 2004: 73-75; Finkelstein and Silberman 2001; 2006b), while others reject it (Stavropoulou 117,118). The discovery of royal Judean *lmlk* and a Hebrew seal at En Tut (among other Judean artifacts in Israel) substantiates the claim that Hezekiah sought the reunification of Israel. This means that a Manassite remnant retained their own separate ethnic identity despite the fact that the Assyrians assimilated their territory (contra Stavropoulou 2004: 117).

geographic areas that at one time were hostile toward each other (Ephraim-Manasseh and Judah). Taken together, they buttress the primacy of a Manassite Diaspora in Judah hypothesis.

In conclusion, it is evident that select Manassite elites fled to Judah while, at the same time, some of them remained in their homeland. The symbiotic political, economic, and kinship relationship between Manassite elites who migrated to Judah and those who remained in their homeland was rooted in Judah's favorable political ideology towards immigrants in the context of an Assyrian uprising and national pursuits aimed at restoring the golden age of a united tribal monarchy. This national policy encompassed multiculturalism and ethnic diversity, even to the chagrin of Judean prophets (Mic. 6:16). Manassite identity alignment in Judah was a way that social agents meaningfully constructed their world and communicated a self-consciousness about their ethnic national heritage amidst social structural shifts and demographic change. The reproduction of iconic Manassite names embodied local family-clan loyalty and symbolic community within the larger Israelite Diaspora communities in Judah.

5.9 Naphtali-Aligned Names in Judean Text-artifacts

Naphtali is the eponym of the three northernmost tribes of Israel that were the sons of Jacob's through Leah (Gen. 30:20). The tribe of Naphtali occupied parts of the Upper Galilee, Lower Galilee, Huleh Valley and Jordan Valley; I will refrain from debating the exact territorial boundaries of Naphtali, as they are not always clearly demarcated, but were constantly fluctuating with their tribal neighbors (Kallai 1986: 225-240). The population of the land of Naphtali during the Iron I period, based upon settlement patterns and material culture, emerges from the region of Hazor, as opposed to what is attested for the central hill country (Frankel et. al. 2001).

The Neo-Assyrian invasion of Israel devastated the land of Naphtali. Details of the annexation and depopulation of Naphtali in the 8th century BCE are found in two principal sources: an archive-type list in 2 Kgs. 15-17 and two very fragmentary Assyrian annuals. According to 2 Kgs. 15:29, Tiglath-Pileser, King of Assyria, “took Ijon, and Abel Beth Maacah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali; and he carried them captive to Assyria” (Cogan and Tadmor 1988: 179).³¹² While a few of the cities listed above were contested and shifted hands between Israelites and Aramaeans, by the time of Jeroboam II in the 8th century BCE they had been recovered by Israel (2 Kgs. 14:25–28; Amos 8:14).

The Assyrian annexation of Galilee is mentioned in two summary inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III.³¹³ Two annual fragments of Tiglath-Pileser III campaigns mention the deportation of 13,520 people from Lower Galilee, and several cities are mentioned, such as Jobtah, Hanathon, Rumah, Marom, Daberath, and possibly Cisloth-tabor (Cogan 2008: 76-78; Tadmor and Yamada 2011:61 no. 21.10'; 63 no. 22.7). Jobtah³¹⁴ and Marom are only cities located in Naphtali.³¹⁵

Settlement patterns in Naphtali before and after the Assyrian campaigns lead to the

³¹² For the identification of these sites, see Aharoni (1979: 373, 437). Some suggest “Gilead and Galilee” is a gloss for all the land of Naphtali (Cogan and Tadmor 1988:174).

³¹³ *ANET*: 283 reconstructs the name Naphtali in this inscription, but this reading is uncertain; it is absent in the most recent edition of these texts by Tadmor and Yamada (2011:105 text nos. 42 6'; 49 rev. 3; 50 rev. 3). The summary inscriptions also mention a city that begins with the name Abel- but the rest is undecipherable. This could be a reference to Abel-beth-Maachah, mentioned in the Bible as captured by Assyria (2 Kgs 15:29) or Abel-shittim in Moab (Num 33:49). But Coogan insightfully concludes that the latter suggestion “locates the border of Damascus quite far south and would imply the elimination of the Israelite rule in the Gilead” (2008:67).

³¹⁴ Gal identifies Jobtah with Karem el-Ras near Kefar Kanaa', a site with Iron Age II pottery (1992:19, 108).

³¹⁵ Hanathon, Rumah, Daberath, and Cisloth-tabor are in the tribal area of Zebulun (Na'aman 1986: 141; Gal 1992: 108).

conclusion that the Assyrian campaign in 732 BCE depopulated the region. Only a few sites within the tribal territory of Naphtali have been excavated, and therefore the yield of material culture and text-artifacts has been limited (Dever 2007). The archaeological survey of parts of upper Galilee revealed 36 sites from the Iron II period and an increase in settlement in the eastern hills (Naphtali) but a decrease in western hills (Asher) (Frankel et. al. 2001: 104, 106, 133). Approximately 25 Iron II settlements were discovered in the Huley valley; after the Assyrian invasion, a very small number of settlements continued into the 7th century BCE (Zwickel 2007: 172-175; such as Hazor and Ayelet Ha-Shahar). Only eight settlements were documented for the Persian period (Zwickel 2007:176). The following major cities in Naphtali appear to have been razed: Dan II, Hazor VA, Kinneret II (and possibly the closely linked sites of Tel Hadar and En Gev on the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee),³¹⁶ and Bethsaida 5a (Dever 2010:529). Resettlement did not take place until the Persian period (Gal 1992:108).

The Israel Antiquities Authority's archaeological survey maps of the land of Naphtali provide a similar picture of settlement dynamics.³¹⁷ In the map of Ashmura (Hartal and Ben Ephraim 2014 [Map No. 15]), surrounding the Jordan River, two sites were identified from the Iron II period associated with settlements in the Hula Valley. Both settlements did not continue into the Iron III-Persian period. In the area of Rosh Pina (Stepansk 2012 [Map No. 18]),

³¹⁶ Despite the fact that Tel Hadar levels I-II (eighth century BCE) have a four-room house, the building plans as well as the discovery of Aramaic inscription at this site and En Gev led the excavators to conclude that these settlements were Aramean (Faust 2012:237). However, one must be careful in assigning a one-to-one equation between a writing system and a people group. These scholars neglect the aspect of agency in writing systems. Israelites living in this area were likely bilingual and with a hybrid identity. Some may have belonged to the script community of Aramaic while being Israelites. Needless to say, the discovery of one writing system does not a whole kinship-ethnic community make.

³¹⁷ The following Archaeological Survey Maps of the Israel Antiquities Authority of the land of Naphtali are unpublished: 7 (no name); 8 (Dan); 8.1 (Har Dov); 9 (Beth Gebel); 10 (Neot Mordechai); 12 (Sasa); 13 ('Alma); 14 ('Emeq-ha-Hula); 16 (Peqi'in); 17 (Safed); 21 (Seguev); 34 (Maghar); 35 (Huquq); 36 (Kefar Nahum); 38 (Migdal); 42 (Yavne'el); 43 (Kinneret).

separating the Hula Valley in the north from the Kinarot Valley in the south of the Upper Eastern Galilee, approximately 27 or more settlements were dated to the Iron II B Period. The majority of these settlements were destroyed or abandoned in the Assyrian period (late 8th-7th century BCE). Only 4 sites were either newly built, rebuilt, or reoccupied during the 7th century BCE: Ayelet Ha-Shahar, a fortress at Tel Nes, Tel Ya'af, and possibly Tel Hazor (Ayelet Ha-Shahar could have served as Assyrian administrative center). These sites are the only indications of the resettlement of displaced Israelites within Naphtali.

Other indications of a refugee population are derived from demographic statistics. Broshi and Finkelstein's regional archaeological data of Lower Galilee estimates that "the overall built-up area in the Lower Galilee in Iron II to be ca. 90 hectares, inhabited by 22,500 people" (1992:50). If these numbers are taken seriously, coupled with the number of Israelites deported from the region, the population after the Assyrian invasion was approximately a little less than 9,000. Gal's regional survey (surface surveys, salvage excavations, and full scale excavations) supports the total collapse and desertion of the region and the exile of the population. Gal estimates, based upon the cumulative area of cities in the region, that the population of Lower Galilee was approximately 17,600 prior to the Assyrian invasion (1992:109). If Tiglath-Pileser III deported approximately 13,520 people from the region then less than 60 % of the population remained. Consequently, about 4,000 refugees may have fled to other areas. But these figures do not include the population in smaller towns, enclaves, and rural areas, which cannot be presently quantified (Gal 1992: 109). However, we can assume that the smaller enclaves and rural areas were well populated, since, as scholars have long noted, most Israelites did not live in cities (Dever 2012). Clearly, the Assyrian campaigns targeted the political centers and the cities were the main loci of social organization (not to mention that some of these cities controlled trade

routes). The only support for the Assyrian occupation is the discovery of a palace at Ayyelet ha-Shahar to control trade (Zwickel 2007). But sometimes the Assyrian policy was to deport only a portion of the city's inhabitants (Oded 1979; Young 1998; 1999; 2002; Cogan 2008). Therefore, the numbers we have for Israelite families and clans with kinship ties that settled within "the land of Naphtali" are only rough estimates. All in all, evaluating the extent and impact of the Assyrian invasion and subsequent refugee population is very complex.

Textual sources indicate that a small refugee population in Naphtali survived the Assyrian invasion and destruction.³¹⁸ In Assyrian inscriptions, Tiglath-Pileser III is said to have captured Jobtah, a city in Galilee (Ann. 18.3'-13'; 24.3'-10); however, this city appears to have made a recovery (Aharoni 1979: 403). The 7th century BCE Judean king Manasseh married a woman from Jobtah in Galilee (2 Kgs. 21:19); this was likely a political marriage to extend Judean control over Galilee.³¹⁹ The Iron Age II rural settlement of Gush Halav possibly indicates that an Israelite community existed during late the 8th- 7th century BCE (Meyers 1990: 8-10).

Archaeological support for the survival of an Israelite remnant in Naphtali stems from the discovery of a royal Judean *lmlk* jar handle impression. This inscribed object was discovered at Mt. Meiron in Naphtali and post-dates the Assyrian campaign by at least 20 years (Meyers and

³¹⁸ Some contend the whole region was devastated and did not recover. For example, Na'aman argues, "Why did the Assyrians not resettle the Galilee region, as they did in other parts of the country? The answer may be sought in the marginality of the area within the confines of the Assyrian empire and its relatively poor economic potential. . . . the Assyrians apparently regarded most of the Galilee as unimportant - both economically and politically - thus, following deportation of part of the population, it was left in a state of partial abandonment and desolation" (1993: 106).

³¹⁹ If Jobtah is indeed Karem el-Ras, as Gal contends, the site does have Iron II and Persian period remains. However, Gal cautiously points out "mentioning the home town of the king's mother is a common phenomenon in the Bible and does not necessarily mean that the city was occupied during the seventh century BCE (1992:109).

Meyers 1990: 126, Pl. D: 1; cited in Liptschitz, Sergi, and Koch 2011: 30, 35 note 40). From the perspective of the semiotics of material objects, this artifact has several indexical and anthropological demographic implications (for modern examples, see Brettel's study on migration in Portugal [2003]). The discovery of a royal Judean artifact this far north points to the establishment of a post-Assyrian-invasion Israelite community in Lower Galilee with pro-Judean political leanings. Despite the eradication of political boundaries and hostilities between Israel and Judah—brought on by the annexation of the former by the Assyrians—internally displaced person in Naphtali engaged in community cohesion and economic collaboration with Judah. Moreover, this object indicates that Judah was a favorable destination for refugees and immigrants under King Hezekiah. Opening Judean borders to Israelite immigrants served Hezekiah's political interests, especially in the context of preparing for an Assyrian revolt (which some scholars contend was the sole purpose of the *lmk* jar handles [Na'aman 1986b]). Immigrants who were incentivized to flee to southern Judah were still drawn to their tribal homeland and sustained long-distance social networks across the Assyrian provinces. If the royal Judean *lmk* jar handles were generally part of Hezekiah's administrative and economic reorganization (Vaughn 1999: 136-140), then the land of Naphtali was associated with it.

After the departure of Assyria from the southern Levant in second half of the 7th century BCE, Judah aspired to gain hegemonic control of these territories. Small quantities of Judahite vessel types dated to the Iron II C (Lachish Level II) were discovered at Tel Dan Stratum I (Singer-Avitz 2014: 138). King Josiah's cultic reforms are said to have extended to the territory of Naphtali (2 Chr. 34:6-7). Josiah's preoccupation with Israel was likely stimulated by his desire to seize the highly prestigious heritage of Israelite territories that were available after the Assyrian withdrawal (Cogan 2004; Na'aman 2010: 17-18). The Judean prophet Jeremiah

poetically describes an Israelite lookout in the city of Dan warning Judeans of an approaching army with horsemen from the north (Jer. 4:15; 8:16). These references, oriented from a southern Judean perspective, provide some insight into the survival and revitalization of a displaced/returnee population in Naphtali as well as their presence in the Judean court from time of Hezekiah and Josiah. They were in support of the incorporation of Israelite territories into the Judean hegemonic orbit (Is 9:1; Ezek 48:3-4; 2 Kgs 23:36).³²⁰

Naphtali-aligned names reoccur in Judean inscriptions after the fall of the Northern Kingdom. Several first and family names in Israelite genealogies and on text-artifacts of the tribe of Naphtali from the 10th-8th century BCE (that is, before the Assyrian invasion) are replicated in Judean text-artifacts after the Assyrian invasion of Tiglath-Pileser III. For example, the name *pdh* is enregistered among identities of the tribe of Naphtali. At Hazor, one of the most famous Israelite cities belonging to this tribe (Joshua 19:32, 36; Noth 1960: 149; de Vaux 1978: 665-667, 677; Kallai 1986:229, 508), the personal name *pdh* is inscribed on jar fragment # 15 (*HITBP*: 192-193).³²¹ Names that are based on the lexical component *pdh* “to ransom” (*HALOT*, 3:911) are replicated in the Israelite genealogies of Naphtali (*pdh* ’l, Num. 34:28; *pdyh* Naphtalite-Zebulunite from Rumah in Lower Galilee, 2 Kgs. 23:36). Consequently, social agents, whose tribal membership belonged to Naphtali, invoked *pdh*-type names in constructing their identity in the pre-exilic period. After the Assyrian invasion, some Naphtali refugees in

³²⁰ King Jehoiakim’s mother is the daughter of Pedaiah of Rumah. Aharoni identified Rumah with Khirbet er-Rumeh in Lower Galilee (1979: 403). Support for Aharoni’s Galilee identification can be gleaned from the linguistic ideology of her father’s first name. *Pdh*-type names are aligned with Israelite identities in the Galilee region in the pre-exilic period (Hazor 15; Num. 34:28; 1 Chr 27:20; but the PN *pdh-šwr* is aligned with Manasseh (Num 1:10; 2:20; 7:54, 59; 10:23).

³²¹ Hazr 15 is read *pdh* (Naveh 1989:347) or *pdy* (Delavault and Lemaire 1979). See the discussion in *HITBP*: 192. Note that *pdh*-forms are also found among Manassites: *pdh-šwr* (Num 1:10; 2:20; 7:54, 59; 10:23);

Judah may have respelled their name as *pdylhw* (Arad 49:15) as indexical of their hybrid Judean-Naphtali identity.³²²

It is important to point out that I also include those onomasticons from the city of Dan, which belonged to the tribe of Dan, in my list of names aligned with the tribe of Naphtali in Judah. According to textual sources, Dan and Naphtali were brothers born to Bilhah Rachel's handmaid (Gen. 35:25). In historical accounts, the tribe of Dan migrated from the coastal region bordering the Shephelah and western Ephraim up to the city of Laish in Naphtali and renamed it Dan after their tribe (Josh. 19: 40-48; Judg. 18:2-30; for a recent overview of the debate concerning the tribal allotment of the tribe of Dan in the book of Joshua, see Bartusch 2003, Demsky 2004). Thus, there existed some type of symbiotic relationship between the two tribes and they were intertwined socially, historically, and culturally. The kinship relationship between Naphtali and Dan, described as brothers in Genesis and sharing the same space in the land of Naphtali, can be characterized by what Marshal Sahlins (2013) keenly observes as the "mutuality of being" – that is kinship based not on nature first, but on culture, for example, sharing the same area, food, perils, outside threats. Here, the use of birth terms comes after both groups have begun procreating together. Hence, the tribal allotment of Naphtali was comprised of several heterogeneous ethnolinguistic groups before its fall in 732 BCE.³²³

The following list of first and family names of the tribe of Naphtali, as a putative and metaphorical lineage ideology among sedentary societies of Upper and Lower Galilee, reoccur

³²² Certain names aligned with Naphtali in early Israelite period such as *'bn 'm* (Judg 4:6, 12; 5:1, 12) are possibly replicated in Manasseh (for example, *'bn 'm* reconstructed by G. I. Davies in *AH*¹: 41 nos. 3.009 and 3.010). If this is the case, then it may signal the movement of a family from Naphtali to Samaria.

³²³ Other ethnic groups in Naphtali included Phoenicians at Hazor (Delavault and Lemaire 1979: 5-12; Briquel-Chatonnet 1992: 246-248).

among Judean text-artifacts of the late 8th -7th century BCE:

ʾmš Dan 1 (Renz 1995: 134; *HITBP*: 147); Kunt Ajrud 21.2 (Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel 2012: 101); ʾmš ʾDeir Alla (*CAI*: 281 no. 112 but see *WSS* 963)³²⁴ → ʾmš Beersheba (1:3; *HITBP*: 116)³²⁵

bn ʾl Hazor (Mendel 2011) → *bn[ʾl]*? Arad 74:4³²⁶; *bn ʾy* Beth Shemesh, Ramat Raḥel, and Tell Beit Mirsim (Vaughn 1999: 199 nos 11-4); *bn ʾy* Mareshah and Tel es-Şafi (Vaughn 1999: 200 nos. 17-19; *lmk* jar handle impression); *bn ʾ* Lachish (Lachish 34; Lemaire 2004: 2129; or *bnh* *HITBP*: 347; 8th cent. BCE); *bnh* Jerusalem (Uziel, Eshel, and Szanton 2015; 7th century BCE patronymic); *bnhwh* Jerusalem (*WSS* 459; Shoham 2000: 45 no. B 31; 7th cent. BCE)³²⁷

brq Naphtali (Judg. 4:6; iconic tribal leader of the Iron I period); *brq* Israelite exile in Assyria during Sargon II (Oded 2000: 94); *brq* Israelite patronymic in Transjordan (Tell Hishan 3:5; Ahituv 2008: 376; Ammonite ostrakon; mid-6th cent. BCE) → *brqn* Tel Seraʿ (Tel Seraʿ 3:3; Cross 2003: 160-161; late 7th–early 6th cent. BCE Aramaic ostrakon)

dlyw Hazor 8 (Renz 1995:125; *HITBP*: 190) → *dlyh[]* Jerusalem (*WSS* 458; Shoham 2000: 32) and *dly[]* Jerusalem (*WSS* 474; Shoham 2000: 42-43 with Northern patronymic Hoshea); *dlyhw* Jerusalem (Mazar and Ben-Arie 2015: 308 no. B5)³²⁸

zkryw Tel Dan (*WSS* 669a-b)³²⁹ → *zkryhw* Jerusalem (Kletter 1998:210); *zkryhw* Khirbet Uza (Uza 3:4; Beit-Arieh 2007: 129; late 7th century BCE); *zkryhw* Tel Masos (Mesh 3.4; *HITBP*: 378; late 7th century BCE)

yhš-type names in Naphtali: *yhš ʾl* (Gen 46:24; Num 26:48); *yhšy ʾl* (1 Chr. 7:13; *PIAP*: 8, 131) → *y ʾyhš* Arad (58:4; *HITBP*: 84)

³²⁴ This PN is also aligned with Israelite identities: ʾmšyhw priest of Bethel (Amos 7:10) and ʾmšy Merrari Levitical priests serving in Zebulun, Gad, and Reuben (1 Chr. 6:46).

³²⁵ According to Amos 5:5, Beersheba was a pligrimage site for Israelites. Therefore, it is not surprising to find possibly Israelite migrant/refugees at Beersheba.

³²⁶ Another proposal is *bn[yhw]* (Lemaire 1977:220; *HITBP*: 94; a name restored in *Arad* 39.9). Scholars suggest that the lexical form *bn* can derive from *bn̄y* meaning “DN has built/created” or *bn* “son” translated as “son of DN” (Avigad 1989). Note that the PN *bn ʾl* is attested on an unprovenanced Ammonite seal (*WSS* 918).

³²⁷ The Jerusalem bulla (Shoham 2000: 42-43) bears the IH patronymic *hwš ʾyhw*. The non-theophoric spelling style is aligned with Ephraim (*hwš ʿ* Num. 13:8), but the long theophoric form *hwš ʾyh* is used interchangeably with the gentilic ‘Maacathite’ (Jer 40:8; 42:1; 2 Kgs. 25:23). Maacathites are connected with either Abel Beth-Maacah in Naphtali (2 Sam. 20:14; Lipinski 2000:334-337) or with the Golan Heights region in southern Syria- northeast of the Sea of Galilee (Mazar 1986; Kallai 1986 map no. 3 puts Maacah within the East-Manasseh district). Another Maacathite bears the name Eliphelet (2 Samuel 23:34); a PN also discovered at Tell el-Oreime/Chinnereth (Kinrot) in Naphtali.

³²⁸ The PN *dl[yhw]* is also reconstructed in Lachish 22:4 (*HITBP*: 339; early 6th century BCE) .

³²⁹ Note also an unprovenanced IH seal engraved with the first name *šm ʿ* and family name *zkryw* (*WSS* 371); both names are aligned with Naphtali. In Israelite genealogies, *zkryhw* is aligned with the half-tribe of Manasseh in Gilead (1 Chr. 27:21) and the name of a king of Israel (2 Kgs. 14:29; 15:8, 11).

kbr-type PN *mkbrm* Hazor (5:1; *HITBP*: 188) → Tel Goded *kbrh* (WSS 536; Hebrew seal dated to late 8th cent. BCE based upon on the *kap* and the upright *bet* and *he* without extension [Herr 1998: 55])³³⁰

m 'š + kinship term PN Naphtali ('hym 'š 1 Kgs. 4:15)³³¹ → 'bm 'š Tel Batash, Azekah, Jerusalem, Tel Batash, Tell es-Safi; (WSS 695; Vaughn 1999: 211 Nos. 158, 160; Avigad and Barkay 2000: 249; *HAE* 18.12; *lmlk* jar handle impression); *m* [š] Tel Batash (2; *HITBP*: 606 or *m* [kh])

mtt 'l Hazor (4; *HITBP*: 187) → *mt* [t 'l?] Beersheba (9; *HITBP*: 122; another possibility is the PN *mtn*; late 8th cent. BCE)

'z ' Tel Dan (WSS: 1165) → 'z ['] Tell Beit Mirsim (Nadelman 1990:390; *HITBP*: 135; late 8th cent. BCE); 'z ' Arad (72:4; Renz 1995: 114; 8th cent. BCE); 'z ' Tel Ira (7:1; Beit-Arieh 1999: 410-411 Stratum VII [late 8th cent. BCE])

'mdyw Tel Dan (WSS 692) → 'mdyhw Umm Tuba seal (near Jerusalem);³³² Khirbet Uza (Uza 1:2; *HITBP*: 518; dated to the 7th century BCE)

*pd*y Hazor 15 (*pd*y Delavault and Lemaire 1979:12 or *pdh* Naveh 1989:347; *HITBP*: 192-193) → *p*d*y* Arad 55:2 (a reconstruction proposed by Lemaire [1977:213], who finds traces of /p/ and /d/ before yod); *pdyhw* Arad 49:15 (Renz 1995: 153-155; late 8th cen. BCE)

pqh Hazor 7 (*PIAP*: 28; Renz 1995: 124; *HITBP*: 189)³³³ → *pqh* (Lachish 19:2; *HITBP*: 333; end of the 7th-early 6th cen. BCE)³³⁴

³³⁰ The form *mkbrm* is a Hiphil participle with predicate form *rm* (*HITBP*: 188). The lexeme *kbr*¹ is only attested in the poetic register often associated with Israelian Hebrew (Job 35:16; 36:31). *Kbr* is not found in Phoenician names (see Avigad and Sass 1997: 502), but among Amorite identities of the Bronze Age period from Mari (Golients 2010: 363-364), Emar (Pruzsinszky 2003: 84-85), and Ugarit (*bn kbr PTU*: 29, 149; *DULAT*: 428; Watson [1996: 234] provides the meaning “Fat”). One can speculate that the PN ^m*ki*-[] in Tel Hadid tablet, whose wife and sister in-law bore Israelite names, is the West Semitic PN *ki-bur-ti* (*PNA* 2/I: 614). This reconstruction finds support in light of the Israelite PN *kbrh* at Tel Goded.

³³¹ Ahimaaz was a district governor in Naphtali; which would have included the city of Hazor (Josh 19:32–39). He married Basemath, one of Solomon’s daughters (another governor, named Ben Abinadab over the district of Dor, married Tapath [1 Kgs 4:11]). Was Basemath the daughter of one of Solomon’s foreign wives? Basemath appears in genealogical lists as aligned with the local Canaanite population (Gen. 36:3; Gen. 26:34). It is possible that she was the daughter of one of Solomon’s Canaanite wives (1 Kgs 11:1). Nieman has argued that Ahimaaz was a local leader (Niemann 1993, 2000). However, it would make socio-political sense for Solomon to marry off his daughter to an influential political tribal leader over the Naphtalite-Manassite community.

³³² Forthcoming: http://www.antiquities.org.il/article_eng.aspx?sec_id=25&subj_id=240&id=1496

³³³ *pqh*-type names are also aligned with two kings of Israel: Peqah the son of Ramaliah (2 Kgs. 15:25-37; Isa 7:1; 2 Chr 28:6) and Peqahya the son of Menahem (2 Kgs 15:22-26). This name is also attested among Israelite deportees in Assyria: *pa-qa-ha* (Zadok *PIAP* 303, 463; *PNA* 3/I P-S pg. 987-988; *PIAP* 303, 463; *PNA* 3/I: 987-988). A seal purchased in the nineteenth century in Nablus (near Samaria) by Charles Clermont-Ganneau bears the name *pqh* (WSS 1170). Bordreuil (1986) contends the seal is Hebrew but Avigad-Sass are unsure (1997: 443, 527). The PN *pqhy* is attested on seal purchased in Jericho in 1896 (WSS 1123) that reads 'hyw *pqhy*. The script of the seal exhibits one feature that is characteristically Aramaic (the letter *aleph*), but the rhomboid head of the *qof* resembles Hebrew and Moabite. The PN *Ahiyaw* with the IH theophoric -yw leads to the conclusion that this seal is IH. The PN

plṭ-type PN: *ʿlplṭ* Tell el-Oreimeh (Chinnereth; Renz1995: 132-133); *ʿlplṭ* Maacah (2Sam. 23:34); *b ʿlplṭ* Tel Dan (Delavault and Lemaire 1979:2; 7th cent. ostrakon in the Phoenician writing system) → *ʿlpl[t]* Tel Malḥata (Beit-Arieh 2015: 488; 7th cent. BCE); related PNs: *plṭh* Ketef Hinnom (WSS 326; HAL 930f.; Barkay 1986, 34; 1994, 101); *plṭyhw* Jerusalem (Shiloh 1986: 29 no. 23; 7th cent. BCE; cf. *plṭyhw* WSS nos. 329-331, 638).³³⁵

šm ʿ Kefar Veradim (Alexander 2002)³³⁶ → *šm ʿ* Jerusalem (*Jslm* 32; Nadelman 1990: 39; Navch 2000:6; pot)

šlm Naphtali (Gen 46:24; Num 26:49; 1Chr. 7:13) → *šlm* Beth-Shemesh, Kh. Rabud, Tel Goded (Tell el-Judeideh), Arad, Jerusalem, and Ramat Rahel (WSS 705; Vaughn 1999: 214 nos. 195-203; first name on several *lmlk* jar handles); *šlm* Lachish (WSS 706; first name on a *lmlk* jar handle); *šlm* Beth Shemesh and Horvat Shovav (WSS 666; Vaughn 1999: 200; patronymic); *šlm* Arad 44 (ostrakon from stratum VIII); *šlm* City of David (Reich and Shukron 2009; patronymic on late 8th century BCE seal); *šlm* Lachish seal (WSS 360; first name on an unstratified seal that is likely late 8th century BCE seal); *šlm* Tel Seraʿ (HAE 1:345; 7th century BCE ostrakon line 3); *šlm* Jerusalem (Shoham 2000:82; 7th century BCE bullae with the IH patronymic *ʿh ʿ* [Wadi Dilbeh and Samar 51.3]); also in latter periods (Arad 21:4; 35:3; Lachish 6:10)

Potentially, 16 names on text-artifacts in Judah are aligned with the clans-families of Naphtali—encoding the strengthening of Naphtali identity while, at the same time, resisting the adoption of Judean-style names. The distribution patterns show families from Naphtali were concentrated in the Negev (approx. 10 x) and Highlands (approx. 10 x) of Judah as opposed to the Shephelah (5x).³³⁷

pqhyw is also attested on an unprovenanced Israelian Hebrew seal (Deutsch and Heltzer 1997: 45-46 no. 98). Several unprovenanced seals have the name *pqh* (Deutsch and Lemaire 2000 no. 4; Deutsch 1999 nos. 17, 39; Deutsch and Heltzer 1999:156; Deutsch 2003 nos. 11 and 272). From an ethno-geographical perspective, variations of this name type are found throughout Syria-Lebanon in the Bronze and Iron Age period: Amorite (Gelb 1980: 28, 339; Streck 2000: 340, 409; Golients 2010: 152; 395); and West Semitic names on arrowheads (Bordreuil 1992:208; Deutsch and Heltzer 1995: 26 no. 19; Hess 2007:113-139).

³³⁴ This ostrakon was found in 1938 among the debris on the roadway leading to the city-gate (Renz 1995: 435-436; *HITBP*: 333-335; Lemaire 2004: 2112).

³³⁵ Another PN from Tel Oreime is *n ʿnn* (Renz 1995:65). The *ʿn*-form in the name may be related to PN *ʿn ʿl* in Nimrud ostraca 1:1; possibly an Israelite exile from Galilee/Transjordan, and the PN *ʿnyhw* from the Lachish II solar shrine (WSS 571; HAE II/2 305 no. 14.7; also note the reconstructed PN *ʿnyb ʿl* from Yavneh Yam (Mešad Ḥashavyahu 6: 1; Lemaire *IH*, 269; HAE I: 332-333), and the two post-exilic returnees from Babylonia named *ʿnyh* [Neh. 8:4; 10:22]). The root is either *ʿnn* “to appear” (Noth 1928: 184; *HALOT*, 2:858) or *ʿnh* “to answer” (*HALOT*, 2:851; Zadok 1988: 34).

³³⁶ Although the script is Phoenician, the PN is common in ancient Israel and it is likely that Israelites with hybrid Phoenician-Israelite identity lived in this area.

³³⁷ I count each *lmlk* jar handles concentrated in one geographical area as one occurrence.

Each name aligned with the tribe of Naphtali is an itinerary that tells a personal story in the construction of refugees' struggle to preserve their prestige identity in Judah. The use of the family or clan name from this tribe as a form of address, invoked in the performance of ethnic classification, required the background knowledge of its users—and this information points to prestige of tribe of Naphtali during the Iron II period. The land of Naphtali was one of the most economically prosperous regions of Israel; Galilee was a central trade zone between Transjordan and the Mediterranean coast. The heritage of Naphtali was prestigious, and if wealthy immigrants from Naphtali migrated to Judah, they likely purchased land in Judah to begin new sedentary agricultural pursuits, particularly in the areas near Jerusalem. There is a heavy of concentration of Naphtali names that have been discovered in Jerusalem. Perhaps the sudden emergence of farmsteads, agricultural terraces, and estates in the areas of Moza in the Soreq Valley (Greenhut and De Groot 2009) and several sites in the Rephaim Valley such as Beit Safafa (Feig 1996; 2003), Er-Ras (Edelstein 2000), Manaḥat (Zehavi 1993), Giv'at Massua'a (Ovadia 1993), Rogem Gannim (Greenberg and Cinamon 2006; 2011) during the late 8th century BCE is related to the influx of forced migrants from Galilee.³³⁸

Economic success made it easier for immigrants to situate themselves in relation to other dominant discourses in Judah. Some immigrants from Naphtali were employed by the king as officials (as evident from the *lmlk* jar handles) and joined the Judean military (for ex. at Arad or Khirbet Uza). The reusing of their names in the Diaspora community of Judah points to the projection of their powerful status even as they worked on behalf of Judean royal interests.³³⁹

³³⁸ Arguably, most of the Israelite refugee names on seals, bullae, and ostraca in Judah were elites or former military officials that were employed in Hezekiah's administration.

³³⁹ The recruitment of Israelite foreign officials and military personell is not uncommon. The Assyrians incorporated a segment of the Samarian chariotree into its army (Dalley 1985).

Despite the Assyrian devastation of the land of Naphtali, native tribesmen from Naphtali performed identity maintenance in Judah by reusing iconic names to differentiate themselves from other groups and embody their clan and symbolic Israelite community.

5.10 Transjordanian Israelite (Half-Tribe of Manasseh, Gad, Reuben) Aligned Names in Judean Text-artifacts

Three heterogeneous and polymorphic Israelite tribal groups occupied the land of Transjordan and were affected by the Neo-Assyrian invasion of 732 BCE: the half-tribe of Manasseh, Gad, and Reuben. According to Israel's ideological map, Transjordan was "ambiguously both Israel and other" (Havrelock 2011:25). We can detect at least two principal social formations in Transjordan. First, there were indigenous or local Israelite kinship groups in the region: the elements that defined their semiotic social structures and metaphorical relationships were multidimensional. Tribal actors invoked and manipulated kinship structures and allegiances based upon needs that centered on household membership, subsistence practices (agro-pastoralist, semi-nomadism, and nomadism), and patronage. Their borders were inexact and constantly in flux during the Iron Age II period. The second social formation was the tribal state, specifically under the Omri in first part of the 9th century BCE and Jeroboam in the early 8th century BCE. This centralizing political and cultural structure was superimposed upon the previous polymorphic social structure. With the Israelite tribal state based on kinship and genealogically based in Cisjordan, local Transjordanian clan segmentation alliances and patronage cut across state alliances. From an anthropological perspective, this merger of the three tribes into Israel (half-tribe of Manasseh, Gad, and Reuben) involved several social factors, including intermarriages, shared kinship ideologies, political and economic enterprises, religious

practices, and confrontations with similar outside threats.

The earliest explicit extra-Biblical reference to Israelites in Transjordan is found in a 9th century BCE Moabite royal inscription of King Mesha. In this inscription, Omri, King of Israel, and his cities are mentioned (which Biblical writers assigned to the tribe of Reubenite) and the tribesmen of Gad are also referenced (KAI 181 1:7–10). But there were other Israelite groups present in the region, especially in the northern portion of Transjordan, and we will not focus on these groups.³⁴⁰ The following analysis proceeds on a north to south axis, beginning first with the half-tribe of Manasseh.

The half-tribe of Manasseh is first mentioned in Num. 32:33, suddenly and without much elaboration, and is described as “the son of Joseph” that “lived in northern Jordan” (Ottosson 1969: 78). Machir and Jair, the sons of Manasseh (Num 32: 39, 41), are the two Israelite clans identified with the founding of Manassite tribal communities in northern Transjordan. The explicit metalinguistic phrase “half-tribe” of Manasseh (Heb. *ḥṣy šbṭ mnšh*) in Joshua 22:13–15 may have political and ideological salience. It likely indexes an ethnocultural hybridity and multilingualism between Manassites and non-agnate Manassite kinship groups such as the Arameans occupying the northeastern side of Jordan (as well as other social networks).³⁴¹ Space

³⁴⁰ Some scholars dispute the existence of Transjordan as part of the Promised Land (it is not included in Priestly sources) and others contend that these tribes were never part of “Israel” (Oeming 1990; Schorn 1997). However, these arguments are unconvincing (see Weinfield 1983; Japhet 1993: 128-142; Williams 2002: 152-155; Knoppers 2004b: 394-398; Klein 2006: 159-171; Havrelock 2011).

³⁴¹ The half tribe of Manasseh is not discussed much in Israelite sources outside of the Pentateuch, Chronicles, and Joshua 22 and the dispute over an altar (for more, see Jobeling 1986). It is remarkable to find so little discussion of this tribe in narratives of Northern traditions, particularly of the pre-monarchic period. Beside the hybrid term “half-tribe”, the other descriptive phrase to describe this tribe include the “sons of Manasseh” (Heb. *ḥny mnšh*) in Joshua 22:30–31; which fully recognizes their tribal social structure and, most importantly, their national-political-ethnic status as Israelites. Recently, Havrelock cogently observed, “the designation “half Manasseh” offered a means of domesticating Gileadite clans in the twelve-tribe system. It is not a question of a tribe splitting into two, but rather the extension of a tribal name in order to incorporate allies. Gileadite clans were brought into Israel under the rubric of half

limitations preclude us from further sorting out the complex relationship and social evolution of the kinship ties between Manasseh-Machir-Gilead in Transjordan and their connection to Manssites in Cisjordan and “Israel” overall; many of which remain elusive to the modern interpreter.³⁴² Suffice it to say that at different periods and under sundry social circumstances these kinship groups merged and aligned together under the name “half-tribe of Manasseh,” “Machir,” and “Israelites” by the 8th century BCE.³⁴³

The exact territorial borders of the half-tribe of Manasseh are unclear, and there are some literary discrepancies between the accounts in the books of Numbers and Joshua (Ottosson 1969: 78-79, 129-133; Noth 1971: 278, 368-371; Jobeling 1986: 108; Kallai 1986: 275; Macdonald 2000: 111, 129; Finkelstein, Koch, and Lipschits 2011:147-8).³⁴⁴ Given that boundaries in tribal societies of Iron II period were fuzzy and functioned like frontier zones constantly overlapping—quite different from modern nation-states with strict territorial borders—this lack of consensus is

Manasseh, and the “half” in their name communicates both that they are partial and that they are mixed . . . mixed ethnicity operates both as a border and as a frontier. . . The mixed blood opens up a frontier at once geographic and ethnic. In its function as a border, Gilead—reinforced by the Jordan River—keeps Arameans out of Israel, but in its function as a frontier it brings Aramean-Israelites in” (2011: 120).

³⁴² For various proposals suggesting that Machir came first then Manasseh or vice versa and the debate over whether Machir’s origins derive from Cisjordan or Transjordan, see Noth 1960: 62; Zobel 1965: 112-115; Ottosson 1969: 138-143; Wüst 1975: 63-71; de Vaux 1978: 584-590, 644, 651-2; Mittmann 1970: 213-218, 224; de Geus 1976; Lemaire 1981; Lemche 1985: 284; Graham 1992: 458-459; Haverlock 2011: 118-120.

³⁴³ As Kallai (1983: 114) points out, regarding the fusion of Machir-Mansseh as the father of Gilead, that it is a, “generalization that expresses the assimilation and absorption of the clans in northern Trans-Jordan into the strongest tribal framework that had the necessary standing in the tribal league of Israel in that area.”

³⁴⁴ From a Deuteronomic perspective, Transjordan is part of Israel’s Promised Land, in contrast to the Priestly view (Weinfeld 1983). Jobeling sees the east-west divide as beginning with the Abraham and Lot foundation myth of Genesis 13 (1986: 113). According to Havrelock, the inclusion of Transjordan in Israel’s boundary of the Promised Land rivals the Mesopotamian empire: “the Jordan maps conceive of ancient Israel in Egyptian imperial terms and that the Euphrates maps configure Israel as a counterpart to a Mesopotamian Empire” (2011:30-31).

not surprising. Generally, the tribal allotment of the half-tribe of Manasseh encompassed the Amorite region of Argob, the kingdom of Og in Bashan or the Golan in the north (Deut. 4:43; Josh. 20:8; Josh. 21:27; 1 Chr. 5:23), and parts of Gilead, including the cities Ashtaroth, Edrei in the south (Num. 32: 39-42; Deut. 3:13-16; Josh. 13:31; Judg. 10:4).³⁴⁵ The full extent of this tribe's allotment is described as extending through all Bashan on both sides of the Yarmuk to Mahanaim in Gilead, which is close to the Jabbok River (Josh 13:30). In Solomon's sixth administrative district was an official by the name of Ben-Geber, who resided in Ramoth-gilead, and he administrated over the regions of Bashan and Gilead; that is, the traditional territory belonging to the half-tribe of Manasseh (1 Kgs. 4:13; Kallai 1986: 64).³⁴⁶ In the 9th century BCE, the northern kings of Ahab and Jehoram waged war against the Arameans at Ramoth-Gilead (1 Kgs. 22; 2 Kgs 8:28–29; Rainey and Notley 2006: 202). This zone mainly served as a source of wool for trade in the textile industry for the Omrides (Rainey and Notely 2006: 198). According to 2 Kings 13: 25; 14: 25 and Amos 6: 13, the Golan and northern Transjordan, which were previously occupied by the Arameans, were taken over in the early 8th century BCE by the Israelites under Kings Joash (800–785 BCE) and Jeroboam II (785–745 BCE) and thus this area formed the eastern extent of Israelite hegemony (Lemaire 1981: 60-61; Finkelstein 2011: 240–242).

³⁴⁵ The exact location of many of these cities is disputed (Macdonald 2000: 123-131). Lemaire considered the region north of the Jabbok to be Gilead (1981). According to Lipinski, the Manassite occupation of Bashan likely goes back to the reign of Jeroboam II (2007:229-230).

³⁴⁶ The Solomonic 6th district— over the half-tribe of Mansseh, Gad, and Reuben— is centered in Gilead— Ramoth-Gilead, “land of Gilead,” and Mahanaim (1 Kgs. 4:13,14,19). Some scholars contend that this list goes back to the time of Jeroboam II (Finkelstein and Silberman, 2006: 161–162). Weippert (1997:31) argues that Mahanaim was the old land of Gilead south of the Jabbok, and Solomon added another district, Ramoth-gilead, north of the Jabbok, thereby dividing Gilead, for whatever reasons, into parts. Perhaps this has something to do with Jabbok River being a dividing line between the tribe of Manasseh from Gad. Barako argues that Ramoth-gilead was initially in the territory of half-Manasseh, but later became a part of the territory of Gad (2009:9).

The archaeological excavations and surveys provide insights into the material culture of the half-tribe of Manasseh, and the results support the view of some cultural continuity between Israelites living in the central hill country and those on the other side of the Jordan; hence, the east-west split and differentiation between the Manassite clans was to a certain degree more political and ideological than ethnic (besides the Aramean element).³⁴⁷ Excavations of sites north of the Yarmuk river at Tall ‘Aštara, which was excavated by Ali Abou Assaf in 1966 and 1967, revealed Aramean pottery but also sherds common in Palestine and Israel in particular (Hafthorsson 2006: 198).

South of the Yarmuk lies the important administrative center of Ramoth-Gilead, but unfortunately there is no consensus on the identification of this site. Two main locations have been suggested, either the town of Ramtha, 15 km east of Irbid (as recently argued by Finkelstein, Lipschits, and Sergi. 2013 based upon Finkelstein’s “Low Chronology”),³⁴⁸ or Tell er-Rumeith, excavated under the direction of Paul W. Lapp (Hafthorsson 2006: 202-203). The more likely candidate is the latter (see the refutation of the proposal by Finkelstein et. al. in Barako 2015: 191-194). This site was rich with Aramean and Israelite pottery in strata dated to the 9th -8th century BCE (Hafthorsson 2006: 202-203). Fortunately, Barako (2015) has just published the final excavation report, and his analysis of the pottery and revised stratigraphy has yielded some interesting facts. For the purposes of this section, we will only highlight aspects that point to Manassite identity.

³⁴⁷ Admittedly, there is a gap in material cultural data between Damascus in the north and Yarmuk River in the south due to lack of excavations and regional surveys (Hafthorsson 2006: 194). Thus we can only draw tentative conclusions. The evidence points to some Aramean-Canaanite hybridity.

³⁴⁸ There are several other candidates for Ramoth-Gilead besides Tall Rumeith, such as Tall Irbid and Tall al-Husn (Weippert 1997:33).

Manassite identity in the Iron II material culture of Tell er-Rumeith is evident in the samples of pottery (certainly some with be parallel with other Transjordanian sites assigned to the tribe of Manasseh in this region). Type 3 kraters with a thickened and slightly flattened rim have iconic parallels with Manassite sites of Rehov in Strata V and IV, Beth Shean in both Lower and Upper Level V and Megiddo Stratum IVA (Barako 2015: 80). Type 1 jugs, with an everted rim and a funnel-shaped neck, are aligned with those forms from the Manassite sites of Beth Shean Stratum II and Megiddo, along with ‘Ashtara Stratum I in the Bashan region (Barako 2015: 83). In Stratum VI and VIB, “vessel type trends at Rumeith track closely to ceramic developments at Beth Shean. Most notably, Type 3 bowls and Type 1 storage jars, which are the most common vessel types at Rumeith, peak in Stratum VI. . peak at Beth Shean in Stratum P-7, which dates to the eighth century BC” (2015: 194). Barako asserts that ceramic traditions in both form and fabric parallel Israel throughout the Iron Age strata (VIII–VIB) (2015: 74). In the last phase of occupation, stratum VIB, a thick destruction layer was discovered that is associated with the military campaign of Tiglath-Pileser III (Barako 2015: 194). In sum, the ceramic parallels at Rumeith point to a cultural affinity and continuity that existed between the Manassite clans on the both sides of the Jordan in the Iron II period.

Another indication of Manassite cultural identity in north Transjordan is highlighted by the recent discovery of a West Semitic inscription from the Iron II period.³⁴⁹ Despite the severely limited coeval epigraphic sources from this area, one inscription provides evidence of a collective kinship ideology among the half-tribe of Manasseh through the reusing of local clan

³⁴⁹ Hebrew inscriptions in the eastern Golan and Northern Transjordan are few. At Tell Abu al-Kharaz, possibly Jabesh-Gilead, an incised storage jar with the letters *rqp*[] could be ancient Hebrew. It was discovered in a stratum that was destroyed by the Assyrians in the 8th century BCE (Fisher 2008: 212). In addition, several 8th century BCE Israelian Hebrew inscriptions were discovered at Bethsaida (Hess 2004; Savage 2009).

names. An Old Aramaic inscription written in the Phoenician script, dated to the 8th century BCE, was discovered at Wādi al-Melṭāt, approximately 40 km north of the modern Jordanian-Syrian border. This text-artifact reads: *ḥnn br prš* (Ababneh 2012). Both the first and family name of Hanan and Peresh are aligned with Manassite-Gileadite identity in Transjordan, specifically with the sub-tribal of clan of Maacah the wife of Machir who descend from an Aramean concubine in Gilead (*prš* 1Chr. 7:16; *ḥnn* 1Chr. 11:43). Thus, it can be seen that Manassite-Machir pastoral, nomadic, and semi-nomadic tribal groups inhabited this region.

The correlation of the Phoenician-Aramaic inscriptional and Israelite genealogical data concerning kinship groups living in northern Transjordan point to several aspects of language ideologies. First, from the perspective of writing as social practice, using a Phoenician writing system to express a name belonging to the Aramaic language community at Wādi al-Melṭāt (the use of Aramaic *br* instead of Canaanite *bn*) indexes a hybrid Canaanite-Aramean cultural milieu in the region. According to Israelite sources, Manassites living here were of hybrid Israelite-Aramean identity (1Chr. 2:23; 7:14). The positive attitude toward language mixing in the writing system³⁵⁰ is indexical of hybrid cultural practices, such as intermarriages between Israelites and

³⁵⁰ Language mixing of Canaanite-Aramaic is found in another text artifact in the tribal territory of Machir-Mannaseh in Gilead: the 9th century BCE Deir Alla plaster inscription (KAI 312; Hoftijzer and van der Kooij 1976). Scholars have debated the classification of this inscription; some have argued that the language of the inscription is Canaanite, proto-Aramaic, Gileadite, Aramaizing Canaanite, or an old Canaanite literary text that was updated under Aramaic influence (Garr 1985: 229-235; Hoftijzer and van der Kooij 1991; Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensverd 2008: 203-208; Beyer 2012: 123-126; Gzella 2015: 87-91; Pat-El and Wilson-Wright 2015: 13-23). This site sits north of the Jabbok in Gilead. The northern half of Gilead belonged to the Manasseh-Machir tribes in certain texts (Num. 32:39-40, Deut. 3: 15, and Josh. 17:5-6), and in others texts the southern half of Gilead was assigned to the tribes of Reuben and Gad (Num. 32:1 and Josh. 13:25). Lemaire (2006: 185) mentions that the linguistic difference between Ephraim and northern Manasseh is that the latter was more influenced by archaic Aramaic than the former. Recently, Frendo (2008: 106-108) has argued that Gadite-Israelite clans established a shrine at Deir Alla beginning in the early Iron Age period; by implication, the Deir Alla inscription would be Gadite. But in kinship terms, Machir the son of Manasseh is said to be the “father” of Gilead (Num 26:29; 27:1; 32:39–40; 36:1; Deut 3:15; Josh 13:31; 17:1, 3); a status not conferred upon any Gadite clans. Moreover, there are no sources that allude to a Gadite-Aramean cultural hybridity in Transjordan;

Arameans and shared cultural ideologies (Ottosson 2001: 340-342).³⁵¹ The reusing of names aligned with the half-tribe of Manasseh in the region traditionally assigned to this tribe indexes an element of social structure: the continuity of local clan-household-kinship group identity.³⁵² The centralization of the tribal state of Israel in Transjordan did not invalidate the traditional clan structure (Stager 2003: 68). As noted previously, the Israelite state and tribes coexisted during the Iron II period and, according to anthropological theories on tribal kinship, many local groups in Transjordan were incorporated into “Israel” through persuasion, marriage, alliances based upon mutual economic-social interest, and coercion.³⁵³ The linguistic ideological feature of the

this has been reserved for the eastern tribe of Manasseh. Finally, if the discursive form “half-tribe” of Manasseh-Machir indexes a cultural hybridity with Aramean identity, as noted by the Chronicler, then the mixed language of the Deir Alla inscription is the very embodiment of this construction.

³⁵¹ Indications of multilingualism with Aramaic in the territory of the half-tribe of Manasseh include the discovery of several 9th-8th century BCE Aramaic inscriptions and identity in the eastern Golan and northern Transjordan: at En Gev (*lšq*’ Schwiderski 2008: 817; Mazar et. al. 1964 [Aramaic emphatic state /ʔ/ on a store-jar]); Tel Hadar in the Golan (Ottosson 2001: 340-341; Hafthorsson 2006: 206, 209); the Aramean PN *‘qb*’ at Bethsaida [Hess 2004: 54]; and Deir Alla in Gilead, northwest of the Wadi Zerqa (*zy šr*’ Hoftijzer and van der Kooij 1976: 167, 267 [Aramaic demonstrative relative pronoun /zy/ and emphatic state ending /ʔ/] and *ʔbn šr*’ [Hoftijzer and van der Kooij 1976: 167, 267 [Aramaic spelling of emphatic state ending /ʔ/]]. Perhaps, the administrative structure remained in the hands of those trained in Aramaic writing system. However, the presence of Hebrew inscriptions and Palestinian pottery points to an Israelite segment in this region.

³⁵² Similarly, the name *hgr* is possibly attested on a Hebrew inscription from Tall Abu Karaz in Gilead (AH²: 18 no. 49.001). If *hgr* is correct, Hagarites were pastoralist tribes occupying the region east of Gilead and in constant conflict with the Reubenites (1Chr. 5:10).

³⁵³ The Moabite inscription of king Mesha provides some insider information regarding status of the ‘Israelite’ tribe of Gad from one local Transjordanian perspective. “Now, the men of Gad lived in the land of Ataroth from ancient times, and the king of Israel built for himself Ataroth”(KAI 181 1:10–11). From a Moabite perspective, the local tribe of Gad is indigenous to Transjordan and to be contrasted vis-à-vis the king of Israel and his political interests in Ataroth (representing Manassite-Ephraimite tribal hegemonic reach in the region); it is as if Cisjordan and Transjordanian tribal politics still matter and are seriously at play even in the 9th century BCE. Nevertheless, both Gad and Israel were viewed as enemies of Moab. In the face outside threats (and other similar circumstances which led to joining forces militarily), the Gadites benefitted from forging an alliance and being incorporated with the kingdom of Israel. A similar scenario is observed when comparing Numbers 32 with Judges 5. In Numbers 32, Gadites and Reubenites fight together alongside Israelites in Cisjordan against Canaanites as a justification for their inclusion as “Israelite” even though settled in Transjordan. By contrast, in Judges 5 the Gadites do come

enregisterment of local clan-household names from this early period casts doubt upon the theory that the half-tribe of Manasseh was a late development in Israel's history.³⁵⁴

Another example of presence of the half-tribe of Manasseh in Transjordan is found in the Ammonite writing system. An Ammonite ostrakon from Hesbon, dated to the 6th century BCE, reads: *prš* son of *ḥmšgb* (Jackson 1983: 512 no. 47 and 516 no. 93; Ahituv 2008:276-378 [on the reading, see *CAI* no. 137]). The first name *prš* is aligned with Manasseh-Gileadite identity (1 Chr. 7:16), as noted previously, but so is the patronymic *ḥmšgb*. This patronym consists of the lexical element *ḥm* “father-in-law” (without the vowel letter *yod* signifying a 1st singular pronominal suffix) and *šgb* “exalted.” In Israelite genealogies, *šgb* is aligned with Manasseh-Gilead (1 Chr. 2:21–22). If these readings are correct, it points to the migration of Manassite clans towards the central plateau after the Assyrian invasion. In sum, the foregoing examples

to the aid of Israel and are absent from the poem and replaced by Gilead (vs 17); possibly indexing the tribal political conflict over Gileadite and Gadite ‘Israelite’ patrimony, identity and territory.

³⁵⁴ The Israelite presence in Gilead can also be extracted from several names in inscriptions from Deir Alla. A seal dated to the 7th century BCE reads: *[ḥ]nn 'l bn 'wr ' (WSS 988; CAI no. 106)*. The first name is similar to the PN *ḥn 'l* which is aligned with the tribe of Manasseh (Num. 34:23; see also in the Nimrud ostrakon, the PN *ḥnn 'l* could be an exiled Israelite (*CAI* no. 47:2, 5). The patronym *'wr ' is attested on an inscription from Jezreel ('r ' [] but the PN could be 'r 'l, as noted by Ussishkin and Woodhead 1997:63) and aligned with the tribes of Asher (1 Chr. 7:38). The name is short for 'r 'l, which is a name that appears in the Mesha inscription (KAI 181 1:11–12; from the Israelite city of Ataroth) and aligned with the tribe of Gad in Transjordan ('r 'ly Gen. 46:16; Num. 26:17). Another seal is allegedly from Deir Alla and reads: 'kbr bn 'mš 'l (WSS 963; CAI no. 112). The first name 'kbr is found on two unprovenanced Hebrew seals (WSS 133:2; 166:2). The name 'kbr is also the patronymic of two Judean officials from the late 7th -6th century BCE (2 Kgs. 22:12, 14; Jer. 26:22; 36:12). 'mš ' (possibly a short form of 'mš 'l) is aligned with Israelite identities at Kuntillet Ajrud (Ahituv et. al. 2012:101) and Tel Dan ('mš Dan 1; Renz 1995: 134; HITBP: 147). In the Hebrew Bible, 'mšyhw was a priest of Bethel (Amos 7:10) and 'mšy is a Merrari Levitical priests serving in the tribal territories of Zebulun, Gad, and Reuben (1 Chr. 6:46). Finally, Lemaire (1984: 254-255) has reconstructed the PN š 'wl in on an inscribed bowl from Deir Alla that is dated to 800 BCE. The name š 'wl is aligned with a Kohathite Levite (1 Chr. 6:24) who served in the tribal area of the half-tribe of Manasseh (Josh. 21:5, 20). Moreover, š 'wl is the name of the first king of Israel whose lineage stemmed from the tribe of Benjamin (1 Sam. 9:2 ff; 1 Chr. 8:33; 9:39). In Israelite history, there were kinship and political ties between the tribe of Benjaminite and Jabesh-Gilead (Judg. 21:14; 1 Sam. 11:1, 9). Therefore, it is not mere coincidence that the men of Jabesh-Gilead removed Saul's corpse from the Manassite city of Beth-Shean and gave him and son Jonathan a proper burial in their ancestral tomb in Benjamin (2 Sam. 21:12-14).*

illustrate the cultural practice of replicating and reproducing names among Manasseh-Machir kinship groups during the 8th-6th century BCE.³⁵⁵

Returning to the question of Assyrian invasion of the tribal region of the half-tribe of Manasseh and subsequent demographic changes, evidence comes from the Chronicler history and an Assyrian relief. According to 1 Chronicles 5:26, “The God of Israel stirred up the spirit of Pul king of Assyria, and the spirit of Tilgath Pilneser king of Assyria, and he carried them away, even the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, and brought them to Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and to the river of Gozan, to this day.” The Chronicler’s reference can be supplemented by the Assyrian palace relief of Tiglath-Pileser III depicting the capture and deportation of Israelites from the fortified city of Ashtaroth (Tell Ashtarah) in Bashan, which belonged to Machir the son of Manasseh (Josh. 13:31). The relief is inscribed with the caption in cuneiform, “The city of Astartu” with some livestock of sheep being led away from the fortified city as the spoils of war (Tadmor 1994: 239, fig. II, Wall III, Relief 36; Tadmor and Yamada 2011: 144-146 no. 51; see also Russell 1999: 89, 93, 96; Uehlinger 2002: 94-98; Cogan 2008: 62-63). The forced deportees are dressed in typical Israelite garments with tilted caps on their heads, and they wearing sandals as they are led away walking to their exile in Assyria (similar hats are found in Shalmaneser III’s stele of the Israelite Jehu bowing before the king in the 9th century BCE).

³⁵⁵ Israelite presence in this region, not particularly Manassite, is found at Deir Alla, possibly the Biblical site of Sukkoth. For example, in the Deir Alla plaster inscription, the epithet Shaddai is invoked by the prophet Balaam. The Israelite patriarch Jacob invoked the name Shaddai (Gen. 28.3)—who is said to have established a house or cult site at Sukkoth (Gen. 33.17; see Hutton 2010 162-163; but note that MacDonald [2000: 143-44] lists several candidates for Sukkoth). Interestingly, in the Hebrew Bible the theophoric element *šdy* is compartmentalized to identities of the Exodus-Wilderness period that were aligned with the tribes of Reuben (*šdy ʿwr* Num. 1:5; 2:10; 7:30, 35; 10:18), Dan (*ʿmyšdy* Num. 1:12; 2:25; 7:66, 71; 10:25) and Simeon (*šwryšdy* Num. 1:6; 2:12; 7:36, 41; 10:19).

The archaeological survey maps of East Manasseh point to the depopulation of the area following the eighth century BCE. According to Survey Map 15 of Ashmura of the northern Golan, seven sites existed in the Iron II period, four were connected to the Hula Valley (nos. 6, 14, 20, 26) and three were located in the northern plateau (nos. 15, 40, 53). After the campaigns of Tiglath-Pileser III in 732 BCE, only one site, Shivat Ha-Alonim (no. 26), located at the foot of the Golan in the eastern Hula Valley, continued to the Iron III-Persian period (Hartal 1989; Hartal and Ephraim 2014).³⁵⁶

But the situation further east of the Golan is more difficult to assess, considering that settlement density only began in the Iron II period and there was coexistence with nomadic and semi-nomadic groups in the region. According to Survey Map 18/1 of the eastern Golan in Bashan, 10 sites were found to have Iron II sherds (nos. 5, 26, 30, 38, 59, 72, 88, 104 and 121). One site, Wadi el-‘Araghrah (no. 5), was built during this period. The surveyors point out these settlements were destroyed at the end of the 9th or early 8th century BCE and remained abandoned until the Hellenistic period (Hartal and Ephraim 2012a). Hartal and Ephraim (2012a) observe that nomads and semi-nomads occupied the eastern Golan at this time and that it is possible that the Arameans destroyed these settlements forcing Israelite clans further south. In Survey Map of Qeshet (18/2), published online by Hartal and Ephraim (2012b), sedentarization of this area began in the Iron II period, in which eleven sites were surveyed to reveal Iron II pottery (nos. 2, 3, 8, 13, 15, 24, 71, 72, 73, 76, 103). Of those, five were possibly nomadic encampments and two were fortresses (Razaniyye [Southwest] no. 3 and Upper Meşad Jonathan no. 15). In the late ninth or the early eighth century BCE, all these sites were abandoned (Hartal and Ephraim 2012b). Lastly, in the survey map of Har Peres (No. 18/3), three sites date to the

³⁵⁶ Survey Maps 15/1 of Har Shipon and 15/2 of Har ʿIqqesh (bordering modern Israel and Syria) are unpublished.

Iron II; they all continued from the Iron I period, and they were abandoned in the Iron II period, with only one site dated to the Persian period (Hartal and Ephraim 2012c). A sum total of 24 sites settlements dated the Iron II period were found in the eastern central Golan and they were all abandoned.

Indeed, if tribal groups abandoned the eastern Golan at least by the early 8th century BCE, as Hartel and Ephraim contend, then it appears that they moved to other zones later on in that century, such as the southeastern Golan, which experienced settlement density on the eve of the Assyrian invasion. At one time, the Aramean kingdom of Geshur occupied this area (Na'aman 2012). But the Israelite kings Joash and Jeroboam II regained the eastern Golan and northern Transjordan from the Arameans. Nevertheless, Israelites still coexisted with the Arameans –as is made evident in an 8th century Aramaic inscription engraved on the shoulder of a jar at Tel Hadar (Kochavi and Yadin 2008: 1757) and several Israelian Hebrew inscriptions at Bethsaida (Hess 2004; Savage 2009).

There are several abandoned sites in the settlement map of the Golan region. In survey Map of Ma'ale Gamla (36/1) of the north-east side of the sea of Galilee, the Iron II sites increased to nine (nos. 7, 29, 38,59, 71, 72, 74, 84, 89) and the site of Tel Hadar experienced population growth (Hartal and Ephraim 2012d). The Assyrian invasion destroyed many settlements and some were abandoned. Only one site, Khirbet es-Seybi (Southwest) (90), experienced settlement continuity to the Iron III period. Further east, in the survey Map of Rujem-el Hiri (36/2) the Iron II sites rose to 6 and they were all abandoned after the 8th century BCE (Hartal and Ephraim 2012e). Likewise, in the survey Map of Ein Gev, during the Iron II period the settlement density grew to seven sites, but they were all abandoned after the 8th century BCE (Hartal and Ephraim 2012f). The survey Map of Nov (40/1) revealed three Iron II

sites, which were all abandoned after the Assyrian invasion. This region was inhabited again until the early Roman period (Hartal and Ephraim 2012g). Finally, the survey Map of Hammat Gader (44) revealed thirteen Iron II sites (nos. 1, 7, 27, 30, 38, 39, 45, 52, 60 67 69 70, 72); this zone was more densely settled than others. But only three sites (nos. 2, 60, 71), strategically located to oversee their surroundings, existed in the Iron III period (Hartal and Ephraim 2012h). One continued from the Iron II period (no. 60) and the establishment of two new settlements (nos. 2, 71) after the Assyrian invasion is the most by far in this area. A sum total of 38 Iron II sites were destroyed and abandoned in the southeastern part of the Golan during the 8th century BCE and only four existed afterward. Where did the inhabitants of these settlements go? These demographic changes point to the deportation and migration of the Israelite population to other locations after Tiglath-Pileser campaign in 732 BCE.³⁵⁷

Further south is Gilead, where settlement changes are also documented and Israelites were forced to migrate to other places like Judah. The land of Gilead is difficult to demark geographically (Macdonald 2000:195-197). Generally, Gilead is considered to be the geographical area between the Yarmuk River to the north and the Jabbok to the south. But at times, Gilead refers to all of Transjordan (Josh. 22:9; 2 Kgs. 10:33) or it can refer to the dividing line between the Manasseh tribes north of the Jabbok and the Gad/Reuben tribes south of Jabbok (Num. 32:1, 26; Deut. 3:12, 16; Josh. 12:2; Ottosson, 1969: 242-53; de Vaux 1978: 571-572;

³⁵⁷ We cannot accurately estimate how many Israelites remained in the land. It can be assumed that Israelite Bedouins continued to inhabit the Jordan Valley in the Golan and in Norton Transjordan during the Assyrian period. They occupied the liminal spaces between major cities still inhabited or rebuilt by Assyrian empire. Their notion of attachment to space was different from city settlers (for the Bedouin, space was tied to animals, their movement was seasonal, and grazing land communal). The Beduoin also provided protection for travelers, and likely required payment for safe passage between the major urban centers.

Jobeling 1986: 116).³⁵⁸ It is important to reiterate that in Israelite genealogies, Gilead is aligned with Machir, son of Manasseh, and not the tribes of Reuben or Gad. But at some point the tribe of Gad occupied the southern part of the Gilead and Reubenites were interspersed with Gad.

The Assyrian deportation of Israelites in Gilead-Transjordan is described in several textual sources. In the Hebrew Bible, two texts mention the Assyrian invasion. According to 2 Kings 15:29, “King Tiglath-Pileser of Assyria came and captured Ijon, Abel-beth-maacah, Janoah, Kedesh, Hazor — Gilead, Galilee, the entire region of Naphtali; and he deported the inhabitants to Assyria.” But according to the Chronicler, the Assyrians deported the Reubenites,³⁵⁹ the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh to Halah, Habor, Hara, and the river Gozan (1 Chr. 5:26). From these sources, Gilead can be a metonym for all Israelite tribes in Transjordan (Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh; similar to 2 Kgs. 10:33). However, other Israelite traditions place Gad’s inheritance north of Hesbon (Josh. 13: 24-28) and the Reuben’s settlement as the wadi of Heshbon (Josh. 13: 15-21), Jogbehah near the border with Ammon (Num. 32:34–38) or the southern tip of the Gilead (1 Chr. 5:8–9) in the north to Aroer near Arnon valley in the south (Macdonald 2000: 122-125, 133-135, 146-147).³⁶⁰

³⁵⁸ Lemaire assigned the regions north of the Jabbok to Gilead (1981). Recently Finkelstein, Koch, and Lipschits (2011:134-138) have identified Gilead as consisting of two halves: the first half is located north of the Jabbok and the southern half in the lower plateau south of Jabbok that encompasses the land of Jazer and the “land of Gilead.” They go on to contend that “originally the term Gilead was restricted to the area south of the Jabbok and that it was called after the town Gilead” and that toponyms north of the Jabbok labeled with the geographical name “Gilead” (Jabesh-gilead, Ramoth-gilead, Tishbe of Gilead, Mizpah of the Gilead) were newly added to this territorial unit (ibid 2011:150). Note that this argument has been put forth by others, e.g., Macdonald (2000: 208).

³⁵⁹ The Chronicler provides more details about the tribe of Reuben, such as Tiglath-Pileser III exiling Beerah the Reubenite chieftain (1 Chron. 5:6).

³⁶⁰ Schorn (1997) proposes to date the Reubenite genealogy and tribal history to immediately after the fall of the northern kingdom. The literary tradition is very complex, and there is no agreement (Schmidt 2002). Needless to say, these settlements fell into Israelite hegemonic orbit during the reign of Jerobaom

The debate over whether or not Gilead was Aramean on the eve of Tiglath-Pileser III's campaign in 733-732 BCE has not been resolved. Some scholars view the inclusion of Gilead in Kings and Chronicles's description of the Assyrian annexation as a textual addition. For example, Cogan and Tadmor contend that the reference to Galilee and Gilead is a gloss (1988: 174) and Japhet argues that the Chronicler confusingly merged the first deportation of Tiglath-Pileser III in 733-32 with the Sargon's deportation of Samaria (Japhet 1993: 141). Other scholars have argued that Gilead belonged to the Arameans at this time rather than Israel. For example, Irvin (1994) supports the view that Rezin's Aramean kingdom extended into Gilead, and Na'aman argues Gilead was under Aramean control and not part of the original source in Kings (1995: 109). But other scholars view Gilead as a shared space between two political powers. For example, Galil views Ramoth-Gilead as the border between the Aramean and Israelite kingdoms. But the material culture of Gilead was heterogeneous (Israelite/Aramean) and, moreover, Israelites must have still been present in the region, because 50 men from Gilead supported Pekah's *coup d'état* over Menahem, King of Israel, in the 8th century BCE (Galil 2000).

The Assyrian invasion of Gilead is documented in three Assyrian inscriptions. Two summary inscriptions and one tablet (that has been reconstructed) detail the Tiglath-Pileser III's military actions against Gilead: "I annexed to Assyria the extensive land of Bit-Haza'ili (Damascus) in its entirety, from Mount Lebanon as far as the cities of Gilead³⁶¹ (and) Abil-šitti, which are on the border of the land Bit-Ḫumria (Israel) (and) I placed a eunuch of mine as

II. By the end of 8th- 7th century BCE these settlements continued to shift between Moabite and Ammonite control, as evident with the references to Heshbon (Isa. 15:4; Jer. 48:3; 49:3).

³⁶¹ The name Gilead is found in 50 rev. 3 and is used to restore the name in 42.6 and 49 rev. 3.

provincial governor over them” (Tadmor and Yamada 2011: 42 6; 49 rev. 3; 50 rev. 3). In these texts, Tiglath-Pileser III describes the incorporation of the wide land of the Bit Hazael’s (Aramean) territory, which included the borders of Bit Omri (Israel’s) territory in Gilead and city of Ramoth-Gilead, into Assyrian province. Yet, it is unclear if Gilead itself was made into its own Assyrian province (Eph‘al 1979: 284-285).³⁶² Tiglath-Pileser III does not mention directly the annexation of Gilead in any inscription, nor is it mentioned as an Assyrian province or in the eponym lists. Bienkowski contends that the summary inscriptions are ambiguous; it is uncertain if Gilead had its own governor or if one governor of the province of Damascus also ruled over the province of Gilead (2000: 45-46).³⁶³ The Hebrew Bible mentions the “taking” of Gilead, but it is unclear if all the major cities in the land of Gilead were destroyed and depopulated and made into its own province (Bagg 2011: 222-223).³⁶⁴

Historical sources indicate that Tiglath-Pileser III defeated Rezin king of Damascus in 734 BCE, and Israel was affected because of its alliance with Aram-Damascus. It is assumed that parts of Gilead belonged to Aram and Israel (Galil 2000). Some contend that Ramoth-Gilead belonged to the Arameans (Oded 1970: 179; Na’aman 1995a). If the Assyrians’ primary interest was in defeating Aram-Damascus during the campaigns of 734-732 BCE, then annexing all of Aram had to include Gilead. If this was the case, then an Israelite alliance with Rezin

³⁶² Tiglath-Pileser III also subjugated nearby polities in Transjordan such as Ammon, Moab, and Edom; they became vassal states of Assyria and are mentioned several times as paying tribute (Tadmor and Yamada 2011:122 no. 47 rev 10; Chamaza 2005: 63-78; Tyson 2014: 73-78, 219, 251).

³⁶³ As Bienkowski points out, based upon Garelli, “the presence of these officials is not necessarily evidence of provincial status or even of annexation, since they were also posted to states which remained independent. It cannot be excluded, therefore, that Gilead, Hauran, and Qarni were all administered as part of a single province of Damascus” (2000: 47).

³⁶⁴ Gilead may be referred to in Isaiah 8:2,3 “the other side of the Jordan.” Ezek. 47:18 reference to Gilead may indicate that the Neo-Babylonians continued the Assyrian provincial system of (Oded 1970: 180-181).

forced the former to participate in the military campaign against Assyria, and, consequently, they suffered the loss part of their territory (Weippert 1997: 31).

To understand the issue of the Assyrian conquest of Gilead, it is necessary to examine the archaeology of northern Transjordan. Only a few sites in Gilead have been excavated, and surface surveys have provided the most information (Mittmann 1970; Dever 2007: 81-82). A few sites provide information on the destruction of Gilead: one of the most important is Tall er-Rumeith, possibly biblical Ramoth-Gilead. Tall er-Rumeith has a destruction layer in Stratum V dated to the 8th century BCE in the old stratigraphy (Lapp 1997; Barako 2008) and now Stratum VI/VI B according to a revised stratigraphy (see Barako 2015: 190, 194). Scholars generally attribute the destruction of the 8th century strata to the Assyrian campaigns of Tiglath-Pileser III in 733/732 BCE (see Barako's [2015: 194] response to Finkelstein's proposal of Rezin of Damascus as a candidate). Other sites that are attributed to this same Assyrian invasion include Tall Irbid, Tall Abu al-Kharaz, Tabaqat Fahl, and Tall es-Sa'idiyeh (Stern 2001:236-7). The Assyrian invasion left an indelible demographic impression in the region, leading Herr and Najjar conclude that the northern plateau of Transjordan in the 7th-6th century BCE "seems to have been largely bereft of settlement. The Assyrian destruction seems to have destroyed the local will to establish significant settlements in the area" (2008: 323).

However, recent regional archaeological surveys of the Iron Age II period paint a different picture. These studies lead us to conclude that Gilead either recovered quickly after the Assyrian invasion or was not completely depopulated and deserted in the 7th-6th centuries BCE. According to the archaeological information in the Jordan Antiquities Database and Information System (*JADIS*), there are 178 Iron II A/B sites and 167 Iron IIC sites in the region of Gilead (Barako 2009: 9-10). Based upon the *JADIS* map, only 11 of the 178 Iron II A/B settlements did

not continue into the Iron IIC period. Apparently, the Assyrian invasion and annexation “did not significantly affect the settlement density of Gilead during the Iron II period” (Barako 2009: 10).

Dijkstra and Vriezen (2014) conducted a study of the regional archaeology of Gilead based upon new archaeological digs, salvage excavations, and surface surveys of the Iron Age period.³⁶⁵ According to Dijkstra and Vriezen, over 300 sites have yielded Iron Age finds in the land of Gilead, but 100 of these sites (one-third) were recorded without any chronological specification between the Iron I, IIA, IIB, and IIC period (2014: 15). That leaves a sizable amount of data of approximately 202 sites with which to evaluate. Of these, 123 sites had all Iron Age levels (or 61%) and only 6 sites had only an Iron IIC level (or 3%). A grand total of 64% of settlements in Gilead have Iron IIC levels dated to the 7th-6th century BCE (Dijkstra and Vriezen 2014:15).³⁶⁶ With Barako (2009) and Dijkstra and Vriezen (2014), one can conclude that the Assyrians did not completely devastate and depopulate all the land of Gilead. In fact, Assyrian hegemony brought economic prosperity and political stability to the Middle Jordan Valley during the 8th century BCE, as new road systems were established, fortresses erected, and settlements expanded (Petit 2009: 226)

We are left to wonder what to make of the sites with no settlement continuity with the Iron IIC period. Dijkstra and Vriezen excavated the site of Tal Zar‘a and observed a settlement interval in the Iron II C period, which they attributed to the Assyrian deportation in the late 8th

³⁶⁵ Excavated sites include: Tall Dair ‘Alla, Tall al-Mazar, Tall es-Sa‘idiyeh, Tabaqat Fahl, Tall Irbid, Tall Rumaith, Tall Zar‘a, Tall Abu al-Kharaz, Tall Yohfiyeh, and Tall al-Fukhar. Surface surveys include: the Wadi Yabis-survey, the Pella Hinterland survey, the Borders of Arabia and Palaestina project, the Zeraqon survey, and the Khanasiri Region survey (Dijkstra and Vriezen 2014: 14-15).

³⁶⁶ We cannot discount the fact that some sites in Gilead that were only surveyed for Iron II C pottery continuity could have had destruction layers. These destruction layers could have been quickly restored and rebuilt and the rooms cleared from destruction debris and this type of data would not show up on surface surveys (Petit 2009: 229).

century BCE (2009: 75-76). There are several more settlements in the region with similar occupational gaps: Tall Deir Alla, Tall ‘Ammata, Tall al-‘Adliyyeh, and Tell al-Mazār were unoccupied throughout most of the 7th century BCE (Petit 2009: 226). Based upon Dijkstra and Vriezen’s map of the distribution of Iron Age settlements in Northern Jordan, 71 sites with Iron II B levels did not continue into the Iron II C period (2014: 5 Fig. 1). While 129 sites continued after the Assyrian campaign, 71 sites were destroyed and depopulated.³⁶⁷ For example, 22 settlements in the region north of Irbid close to the Yarmuk River did not continue in the 7th century BCE. Perhaps the Assyrian campaigns were more heavily concentrated there and the Israelites living there were either deported or became refugees fleeing locally to mountain areas or migrated further south. In sum, a grand total of 71 out of 202 settlements were depopulated in the 7th century BCE, which lends support to the theory that many Manassite and Gadite (even Reubenite) clans were forced to migrate, and those who survived the Assyrian deportation could have fled to other regions like Judah.

When we turn to our attention to Judean literature of the late monarchic period, we notice that the territories of Bashan, Gilead, and Transjordan figure prominently in Judah’s ideological map, especially in the discourses of Judean prophets.³⁶⁸ The prophet Micah gives an oracle regarding the restoration the Israelite territories of Bashan and Gilead (Mic. 7:14); evidently the

³⁶⁷ Tracking the destruction of settlements within a region and attributing them to one political power, such as Assyria, is very complex. Some 7th century destructions can be attributed to local groups revolting against Assyria. For example, during the first quarter of the 7th century BCE, Tall Damiyah, possibly the residence of an Assyrian governor, was destroyed by fire (Petit 2009: 226). Some sites show a decrease in economic prosperity and impoverishment of the ceramic repertoire in the 7th century BCE (Petit 2009: 226); which leads to the conclusion that not all settlements experienced the same prosperity after 732 BCE and many that were affected were Israelite.

³⁶⁸ On Deuteronomic vs. Priestly territorial view of mapping the nation, see Weinfeld (1983) and Havrelock (2011).

Golan and northern Transjordan were valued as important topographic locations for Micah's Judean audience in the Shephelah. Other Judean prophets echo similar aspirations for the restoration of the Israelite territories of Bashan (Is. 33:9; Jer. 22:20; 50:19; Ezek. 27:6; 39:18; Nah. 1:4) and Gilead (Jer. 22:6; 46:11; 50:19; Ezek. 47:18; Obad. 1:19; Zech. 10:10). Lastly, Judahite post-exilic sources show interest in the half-tribe of Manasseh (1 Chr. 5:18, 23, 26; 6:61, 70–71; 12:31, 37; 26:32; 27:20–21), Gad (Jer. 49:1; Ezek. 48:27–28, 34; 1 Chr. 2:2; 5:11; 6:63, 80) and Reuben (Ezek. 48:6–7, 31; 1 Chr. 2:1; 5:1, 3, 18; 6:63, 78). These discourses point to an audience of Manassite, Gadite, and Reubenite refugees that arrived in Judah and Jerusalem as early as the late 8th century -7th century BCE and continued to be part of the “Israelite” community in the Persian period.

The exile of a Transjordanian Israelite community to Assyria can be traced in epigraphic discoveries in Mesopotamia. Several text-artifacts from Calah-Nimrud, the capital of Tiglath-Pileser III, provide one of the best sources of evidence for the deportation of Israelites from Galilee and Transjordan (Oded 1979; Zadok 2002; Galil 2007: 60-61). Approximately 24 individuals in Assyrian cuneiform tablets, more than any other site in Assyria, bear Israelite names (Zadok 2002: 20-21, 49). Two individuals bearing Israelite names with a divine theophoric are Assyrian officials: *hilqi-iau* and *gir-iau*.³⁶⁹ In addition, an ostrakon was discovered at Calah (ND 6231; *CAI*, no. 47)³⁷⁰ written in the Aramaic script is dated to the late

³⁶⁹ Based upon the official eponym of the palace herald in the document, they were probably deported from Galilee or Transjordan in 733-732 BCE (Galil 2007: 138); Sargon II probably deported the other Israelites listed at Calah.

³⁷⁰ I concur with Albright (1958), Becking (1988; 1992: 81-82), and Oded (2000: 92-93) that some of the individuals in this ostraca were Israelite deportees. Dalley offers the possibility that the Israelites in the Nimrud ostrakon were part of Sargon II's foreign army (Dalley 1985: 32).

8th century BCE.³⁷¹ The 11 names on the ostrakon, such as Menahem, Elisha, Hagai, and Achbor, are spelled with Canaanite *bn* “son” followed by a patronymic; they appear to be a mixed list of Israelite and Transjordanian deportees brought there by Tiglath-Pileser III or Sargon II (Segal 1957; Albright 1958; Becking 1988; 1992: 80-83; Oded 2000: 92-93; some may be of Reubenite-Ammonite identity, Naveh 1979-1980). The individuals listed in this ostrakon project oppositional agency by identifying themselves with the Israelite-Transjordanian divine theophoric element El.³⁷² An examination of Israelite personal names in Assyria show that they are discursive formations that communicate at least two elements of indexicality: these names index a shift in the demographic population of Assyria brought on by war and also index the maintenance of discursive markers of Transjordanian Israelite ethnic identity in a foreign land.³⁷³

³⁷¹ F.M. Cross Jr., in an earlier article on the Aramaic script, first suggested this date to Naveh (Naveh 1967: 256).

³⁷² Because the deity El is the only theophoric element in the list of names in the Nimrud ostrakon, scholars contend that these individuals were Ammonite (see full discussion in *CAI*, no. 47; Naveh 1979-1980; Aufrecht 1999; Zevit 2000: 651). However, the El theophoric is a generic term for the deity among Iron Age Israelite tribes (Tigay 1986; Snell 2000; Hess 2007). The name El is also very common among Transjordanian Israelites (particularly the tribe of Gad, see de Moor 1997: 18-19, 30-21). I would argue that many of the names in the Nimrud ostrakon are of Israelite-Gileadite ethnic identity. The preponderance of El-type theophoric names among the Israelite tribes in Cisjordan, Gad, Reuben and Ammonite kinship groups indexes an Israelite-Transjordanian shared influence. The El-theophoric elements in names dated to the late Judean Hebrew ostraca, seals, and bullae from Jerusalem, the Negev and the Shephelah may point to a different socio-economic situation brought on by Israelite refugees (see my list below).

³⁷³ A number of Israelite exiles from Transjordan returned to Jerusalem and Judah along with Judean exiles from Babylon. These exiles are mentioned as returning “to their own town” in Judah (Ezr. 2:1), yet they bear names that are topographically aligned with Israelites in Moab (“sons of Pahath-moab” Ezr. 2:6; Neh. 7:11) and Nebo (“sons of Nebo” Ezr. 2:29; 10:43; Neh. 7:33). As Cogan argues, they were Reubenite exiles from Transjordan after its fall to Tiglath-Pileser in 732 B.C.E. and they were the oral informants on Trans-Jordanian tribal history not available to the Chronicler (1979). One of the returnees from Pahath-moab is named Manasseh (Ezr. 10:30), possibly indexing an alignment with the Half-tribe of Manasseh in Transjordan.

If Israelite identity was maintained in Assyria, as indicated by cultural naming practices, we should expect similar discursive phenomena in southern Judah.

However, the textual sources for finding Transjordanian identity in Judah currently at our disposal are quite limited, and much of the onomastic data derive from the post-exilic Chronicler's genealogies. As will be seen below, many of Transjordanian Israelite names (half-tribe of Manasseh, Gad, and Reuben) used to reconstruct Israelite identity in Judah originate from the post-exilic Chronicler's genealogical register (i.e. a census referring to a census). As it stands today, there is not a consensus on historical reliability of these sources (Levin 2004), but we have noted above that cultural awareness of naming practices between the epigraphic data in Transjordan and the Chroniclers genealogies. It is possible, as some contend, that the Chronicler's sources derived from living informants who claimed lineage ties, or telescoped their descent, from Transjordanian Israelite tribes from the Assyrian exile (Klein 2006: 162).³⁷⁴ Others argue, based upon the unequivocal reference to these tribes as "reckoned by genealogy"

³⁷⁴ It is beyond the scope of this chapter to trace the influence of the Chronicler's onomastic corpus from either pre-exilic Hebrew inscriptions or Persian period Hebrew inscriptions. Such a study would, of course, help to determine if the Chronicler invented a genealogy from existing Persian period archives and telescoped them back to the period before the Assyrian exile. But then again, referentially speaking, one can find onomastic parallels to the Chronicler's corpus from anywhere in the Levant during the Persian period (Elephantine, Samaria, Judah, Negev, etc.). Suffice it to say that, based upon the foregoing evidence, the Chronicler genealogy maps on to the corpus of late Iron II Judean Hebrew onomasticon dating from 701-586 BCE. The former explicitly identifies the names of Israelite tribesmen in Transjordan and many of them align with the names found in late monarchic Judean sources (as illustrated by the discovery in the region of 8th century BCE names such *ḥnn br prš*). Moreover, one can even extrapolate information from cuneiform sources. For example, an Assyrian correspondence from Qurdi-Ashur-lamur regarding events in Transjordan, dated to the time of Tiglath-Pileser III, mentions a messenger of Aya-nur of Ṭabil, a local tribal prince who served as an Assyrian official of the Israelite tribe of Reuben, by the name of Ezazu (Cogan 2013: 30). The PN Ezazu is West Semitic and aligned with the tribe of Reuben in the Chronicler sources concerning Reubenites taken captive by Tiglath-Pileser III (1 Chr. 5:8). In the end, my methodological approach serves to link those who migrated to Judah after the Assyrian invasion of 732 BCE with the name identified by the Chronicler as belonging to Transjordanian tribes. The nexus between tribalism and social reality is often fuzzy, flexible, and complex. What can be inferred about the kinship strategies used to establish lineage ties among these groups or those that underlie their collective consciousness is very limited.

(1 Chr. 5:7; 7:5, 7, 9, 40), that the Chronicler used written sources or official archives of Israelite linear and segmented genealogies up to the time of the Assyrian exile (Oded 1970; Liver 1971; Braun 1997; Johnson 1998: 94, 113; Schniedewind 2004: 22; Chalcraft 2011).³⁷⁵ We might simply dismiss the Chronicler's work as invalid, for these claims, of course, cannot be substantiated due to the lack of sources and hence cannot withstand much scrutiny in this context.³⁷⁶ Nevertheless, they are listed here because this is all that is available to us. The Chronicler, accepting their genealogical claims and/or archives, paints a portrait of Transjordan tribes as comprising "all of Israel" that were in exile "to this day" (1 Chr. 5:26; Japhet 1993: 141-142; Levin 2004: 615-616; Klein 2006: 159). Admittedly, the Chronicler's primary concern is with the Israelite tribes and names in this region, and not so much with their territory or "other" neighboring groups (Kartveit 2007). Hence, the Chronicler performed genealogical erasure; that is, imagining homogeneity by discarding internal variation between sources in the Pentateuch/Joshua and his work, as well as rendering persons invisible that deviated from these lineage ties that he wished to align with "Israel."

All the tools at our disposal will be used to align Transjordanian identity in Judean inscriptions. The onomastic parallels in provenanced Judean text-artifacts point to several aspects

³⁷⁵ Sometimes the description of the Transjordan tribal territories in Chronicles does not match pre-exilic Biblical sources, which implies that the former is describing an ethnographic situation current in his own time- such as Gad in Bashan area, for example- and others are ignored altogether (Knoppers 2004b: 387-388, 393-394). There are also differences in the genealogies of Manasseh in the books of Numbers and Chroniclers (Levin 2001). One can attribute these differences to scribal communities – the Deuteronomist and Chronicler's – or to different social situations and periods. It is noteworthy that in Reuben's genealogy two cities are mentioned that existed in the Iron II B-C period, but not in the Persian period: Aroer (‘Ara‘ir) and Nebo (Khirbet el-Mukhayyat) (see Finkelstein 2012: 70-71). This implies that the Chronicler's genealogy relied upon written sources that provided the settlement reality of Reubenite towns of the late Iron Age II period.

³⁷⁶ It is acknowledged that the Chronicler's genealogy has a complex history (Kartveit 1989). Some scholars interpret the Chronicler's work as utopia (Schweitzer 2007: 50-52; 2011; 2013). Others see the Chronicler work as a commentary in its own right (Willi 1972; 2009).

of discursive activity during the late 8th and 7th centuries BCE. Naming is power, and the fact that forced migrants living in Judah continued to align themselves with their Transjordanian past indexed their need to stabilize and affirm their tribal heritage and nationalism in the midst of colonial space. These Israelites brought with them to Judah their tribal histories of the Bashan, Golan, and Transjordan area.

Names in Judah Aligned with the Half-Tribe of Manasseh³⁷⁷

ʾlyhw Gilead PN (1 Kgs. 17:1; also *ʾlyw* at Kunt.Ajrud 21:4 (Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel 2012) → *ʾlyhw* Jerusalem (Jslm 10:1; *HITBP*: 221; late 8th cen. BCE); Beth Shemesh seal (Sass 2008:1; late 8th cen. BCE)

gbr -Gilead (1 Kgs. 4:13, 19) → *gb[r]* Arad (60:5-6; *HITBP*: 85-86; late 8th cent. BCE)³⁷⁸

zkryhw Half tribe of Manasseh in Gilead (1 Chr. 27:21); *zkryw* Bethsaida in the Golan (WSS 669; Hess 2004:55); *zkryh* son of Jeroboam II, King of Israel (2 Kgs. 14:29, spelled *zkryhw* in 2 Kgs. 15:8) → *zkryhw* Jerusalem (Kletter 1998:210); *zkryhw* Khirbet Uza (Uza 3:4; Beit-Arieh 2007 : 129; late 7th century BCE); *zkryhw* Tel Masos (Mesh 3.4; late 7th century BCE)

y ʾr Gilead (Num. 32:41; Deut. 3:14; Josh. 13:30; Judg. 10:3; with no medial *yod*) → *y ʾr* Jerusalem weight (patronymic; Kletter, 210: Pym 44; HAE II/2 no. 70.2); *ʾyr* Maresha (1:2; Kloner and Eshel 1999; without prefix *yod*)

ydw half-tribe of Manasseh (1Chr. 27:21) → *ydw* Tel Naṣbeh (Renz 1995: 224-225; *HITBP*: 389; late 8th cen. BCE)

kmhm Gileadite (2 Sam. 19:38) or *zhm* Gileadite (Mahalath 2 Chr. 11:20; Num. 26:33; 1 Sam. 18:19) → *km]hm* or *[z]hm* Arad (96; *HITBP*: 102; late 8th cen. BCE)

mky Bethsaida (*Btsd* 1; Hess 2004:55) → *mkyn* Lachish (*AHI*: no. 90 no. 101.283; late 8th cent. BCE); *mky* Kh. Uza (1:4; *HITBP*: 518; late 7th century BCE); *mky* Arad (110:2; Renz 1995 : 401; *HITBP*: 195; beginning of the 6th century BCE); *mkyhw* (*Jslm* 78:2; *HITBP*: 240-241; late 8th -7th century BCE);

pdhyhw Half-tribe of Manasseh in Gilead (1Chr. 27:20; PN *pdh-ṣwr* is aligned with Manasseh (Num. 1:10; 2:20; 7:54, 59; 10:23) → *pdhyhw* Arad 49:15 (Renz 1995: 153-155; *HITBP*: 78; late 8th cen. BCE)

³⁷⁷ The personal name *mkr*, aligned with a major clan of Manasseh, is attested on an unprovenanced seal (WSS 232; HAE 13.31; cf. for Northern alignment, see Ugaritic *ilmkr* PTU 157; 369). If this 7th century BCE Judean seal is authentic, then it would lend further support for a migration of individuals from the half-tribe of Manasseh into Judah.

³⁷⁸ Another possible reading is *gb[y]*. A certain Israelite by the name of *Gab-bi* is mentioned as a member of the Samaritan chariotry in Assyria (Fales 1991:104; 1993:145). Note that Beit-Arieh's original reading of *gbr* in a Tel Ira jar fragment (which was followed by HAE Gar(7).2:1) is corrected to *rbt* in Beit-Arieh (1999: 407) but *rb ʾ* in *HITBP*: 199-200).

pnw 'l or *pnw* 'l Gileadite Toponym (Gen. 32:31/1Kgs. 12:25; Benjamite/Ephraimite 1 Chr. 8:25; Ephraim clan 1Chr. 4:4, see Demsky 1986; possibly tied to Jeroboam the Ephraimite (Leuchter 2006); note the PN *pnw* in the Gezer ostrakon [HITBP: 157] is aligned with Ephraimite PN *pnw* 1 Sam 1:2, 4) → *p·n* 'l Beersheba (1:2; Lemaire 1977: 271-271; Renz 1995: 232-233; another reading is *kn* 'l HITBP: 116; late 8th cen. BCE)

šlm Jabesh-Gilead (2 Kgs. 15:13–15) → *šlm* Beth Shemesh (WSS 666; Vaughn 1999: 200; late 8th cen. BCE)

Gadite-Aligned Names in Judah

ʔny Gad (Num. 26:16; Noth 1928: 36) → *y ʔn* Arad 59:5 (HAE 21.70; HITBP: 85)

ʔhy Gad (1Chr. 5:15); *ʔhyw* Nimrud 4 (Israelite-Gad-Gileadite identity in Transjordan: *ʔh* ' Tall Umayri (end of the 7th cent. Aufrecht 1999: 181 no. 211); *ʔh* ' Tall Jalul (Ostrakon 1:1 Gane 2008) → *ʔhy* Arad (39:6; HITBP: 68)³⁷⁹

bwz Gad (1Chr. 5:14) → *bz* ' Beersheba (1; HITBP: 116; note the IH patronymic *ʕmš*)

bny Gad (2 Sam 23:36); *bnyhw* Reubenite returnee from Moab (Ezra 10:30; Cogan 1979); (also *bnyhw* Ephraimite 2Sam. 23:30; 1Chr. 27:14) → *bn[y]* or *bn[h]* Arad 74:4 (Lemaire 1977: 220; HITBP: 94-95; *bnyhw* is a name restored in Arad 39:9); *bn[y]* or *bn[h]* Lachish 34 (Lemaire 2004: 2129; HITBP: 347); *bnh* Jerusalem (Uziel, Eshel, and Szanton 2015; 7th century BCE patronymic); *bnyhw* Jerusalem (WSS 459; Shoham 2000: 45 no. B 31); Arad (39:9; Ahituv 2008: 140; also HITBP: 68; late 7th century BCE ostrakon)

gd Gad (Gen 30:11;35:26; KAI 181 1:10;) → *gd* ' Arad 72:3 (HITBP: 93 [see discussion]; late 8th cent. BCE); *gdy* [] Arad 71:3 (HITBP: 92; late 8th cent. BCE); *gd* Tel Malḥata (Beit-Arieh 2015: 502; or *gd[y]* ? ; 7th cent. BCE ostrakon with other IH PN's); *gdw* Kh. Uza (Beit-Arieh 2007:176; 7th cent. BCE); possibly Tel Haror *lbgd* (dropping of the *aleph* meaning “belonging to <ʕ>bygd ? [“my father is fortune]; Gogel 1998: 295; AHI: no. 46.001; note the Egyptian *ankh* sign after the PN; late 7th cent. BCE), and *ʔbgd* Lachish (24:1; abecedary or PN; but cf. WSS 992 ff. categorized as Ammonite seals with abecedaries); see also from Transjordan *gd ʕr* (Tall Mazar 7:4; CAI: 38); *gdyhw* City of David bullae (WSS 467)³⁸⁰

d ʕw 'l Gadite (Num. 1:14; 7:42, 47; 10:20) → *d ʕw ʔ[l]* Jerusalem (*Jslm* 26; HITBP: 231-232; 7th or 6th cent. BCE)

hry Gad (1 Chr. 5:14) → *hry* Jerusalem seal (Ornan et. al. 2012: 8*, 10*; late 8th -7th cent. BCE)

hgy Gad (Gen 46:16; Num 26:15; Nimrud Ostr 1: rev 13 (Israelite deportee?) → *hgy* Tel el-Zakariyah and Gezer (WSS 691 *lmlk* jar handle-impressions patronym with possibly a Gadite first name *ʕr*); Jerusalem (Shoham 2000: 82, No. P2; WSS 668:2 *lmlk* jar handle-impression); Jerusalem (Nadelma 1989: 88 *lmlk* jar handle-impression); Jerusalem seal (WSS 147; Ophel); Jerusalem seal (WSS 150)

yrmyh Gad (1Chr. 12:10 [11], 13 [14]) → *yrmyh* Beth Shemesh (WSS 670; jar handle impression)

mšlm Gad (1 Chr. 5:13) → *mšlm* Lachish (WSS 679; Vaughn 1999: 205 nos. 76-87; *lmlk* seal impressions with patronymic name *ʔhmlk*)

mky Gad (Num. 13:15) → *mkyn* Lachish (AHI vol. 2: 90 no. 101.283; jar Stamp); *mky* Uza 1:4 (late 7th century BCE); *mky* Arad 110:2 (6th century BCE; Renz 1995: 401)

³⁷⁹ The IH *ʔh* ' (Samar 51:3) is enregistered in several Judean inscriptions: Arad 49:16; 67:4; 74:2; Mesh 1:4; and two *lmlk* seal impressions from Tell el-Judeideh and the City of David (WSS 705:2).

³⁸⁰ The *gd*-type names are also aligned with the tribe of Zebbulen (Num. 13:10) and Manasseh (see above).

ʿbdyh Gad (1 Chr. 12: 9[10]); see *ʿbdyw* K.Ajrud (Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel 2012); *ʿbdyw* Samar 50:2 (*HITBP*: 471) → *ʿbdy* Lachish, Tell el-Judeideh and Naḥal Arugot (WSS 684; Vaughn 1999: 207 nos. 103-117; *lmlk* jar handle impression with the first name *nḥm*); *ʿbdy* Lachish (WSS 690; Vaughn 1999: 210 no. 148; *lmlk* jar handle impression); *ʿbd[]* Arad 49:8 (*HITBP*: 78; 8th cent. BCE); *ʿbdyhw* Beersheba bullae (WSS 661; 8th cent.); Lachish ostrakon (31:3; Lemaire 2004:2126 late 8th or early 7th.); *ʿbdyhw* Yavneh Yam (MHsh 4:7; *HITBP*: 342; late 7th cent. BCE); Arad 10:4; 27:2 (*HITBP*: 26-27, 56).

ʿzr Gad (1Chr. 12:9 [10]) → *ʿzr* Gezer (Ephraim) and Azekah (Tell el-Zakariyah) (WSS 691; Vaughn 1999: 210 nos. 150; same *lmlk* jar impressions from Gezer); *ʿzr* Beth Shemesh (WSS 696; Vaughn 1999: 212 no. 168; with first name *špn*); Lachish (WSS 697; Vaughn 1999: 212 nos. 169-171 ; a different *lmlk* seal impression with the same with first name *špn*); Azekah (WSS 691; Tell el-Zakariyah); Arad (51:2; patronymic, late 8th cent. BCE; 58:3; (first name) late 8th cent. BCE); Jerusalem (WSS 467; 7th century BCE); Tel Masos (*Mesh* 1:2; 7th century BCE); Arad (22:2; 23:8; late 7th-early 6th century BCE); Lachish (19:1; late 7th-early 6th century BCE); also see *ʿzr* reconstructed on a 6th century BCE ostrakon from Transjordan (Tall Ḥisbān A3 (XII) line 9 [ʿzr Aufrecht 1999])

špn Gad (Gen. 46:16 ; Num. 26:15) and toponym in Gilead (Šaphan EA 274:15; Josh. 13:27; Judg. 12:1; etym. “protected” [Noth 1928: 178] or “hidden” [Rechenmacher 2012:158 no. 403]) → *špn* Gezer (Ephraim), Khirbet Abbad, Lachish, and Tel Goded (WSS 667; Vaughn 1999: 200-201 nos. 22-30; Barkay and Vaughn 2004: 2160; same seal impression discovered at Gezer); *špn* Tel Batash, Azekah, Jerusalem, Tel Batash, Tell es-Safi (WSS 695; Vaughn 1999: 211 nos. 156-160; Avigad and Barkay 2000: 249; *lmlk* jar handle impression with the Issachar-Manassite patronymic *ʿbm ʿš*); *špn* Beth Shemesh (WSS 696; Vaughn 1999: 212 no. 168; with an Ephraimite patronymic *ʿzr*); Lachish (WSS 697; Vaughn 1999: 212 nos. 169-171 ; a different *lmlk* seal impressions with the same patronymic *ʿzr*); *špn* Lachish (WSS 698; Vaughn 1999: 211 nos. 161-165; different seal with patronymic *ʿzryhw*); *špn* Gibeon and Ramat Rahel (WSS 699; Vaughn 1999: 212 nos. 172-173; fragmentary *lmlk* seal impression with patronymic *ʿzryhw*); *špn* Jerusalem (Prignaud 1978:136 but see HI. late 8th cent); *špn[]* Arad 59:5; *špn* Motza 7th cent. (Vainstub 2009: 137-138)

šb ʿh Gad (1Chr. 5:13) → *šb ʿt* Jerusalem (*Jslm* 9; *HITBP*: 221)

špʿt Gad (Shaphat in Bashan) (1Chr. 5:12) → *yšpʿt* Arad 53 (*HITBP*: 81)

Reubenite-Aligned Names in Judah

ʿlšr Reuben (Num. 1:5 2:10; 7:30, 35; 10:18; *HALOT*, 1:56); *šr ʿl* Merari Levite that served in Reuben (Josh. 21:7; Japhat 1993:147); *ʿlšr* possibly a Reubenite on a 6th century BCE Ammonite seal from Tall al-ʿUmayri in Transjordan (Herr and Clark 2005) → *ʿlšr* Beersheba (2:1; *HITBP*: 118)

krmy Reuben (Gen. 46:9; Ex. 6:14; 1 Chr. 5:3; Ug. PN *krmn* (*DULAT*: 456); Ug. PN *Ku-rume* (*PIAP*: 74) → *krmy* Lachish (WSS 675; *lmlk* jar handle impression)

mkyh Reuben (1 Chr. 5:5); see Israelite *mky* Bethsaida (*HITBP*: 137) → *mkyn* Lachish (*AHI*: no. 90 no. 101.283; late 8th century jar stamp); *mky* Uza 1:4 (*HITBP*: 606; late 7th century BCE); *mky* Arad (110:2 ; Renz 1995 : 401; 6th century BCE)

zrḥyh Reuben? (Ezra 8:4; returnee from Path-Moab, see Cogan 1979) → *zr[ḥyh?]* Jerusalem Silwan Village (Ahituv 2008: 48-49; 8th century BCE tomb inscription)

zkrw Reuben (Num. 13:4; *zkry* 1 Chr. 27:16) → *zkr* Arad (48:3; 67:5; *HITBP*: 77, 90; both late 8th cent. BCE); Arad 38:7 (Ahituv 2008: 139; late 7th cent. BCE); *zkr* Tel Masos (*Mesh* 1:1; Ahituv 2008: 164; mid-7th cent. BCE); *zkr* Jerusalem (Shoham 2000: 34-35 no. 4-6; 7th cent. BCE bullae); *zkr* Horvat Uza (Uza 1:2; Ahituv 2008: 166; late 7th cent. BCE)

zkryhw Reuben (1 Chr. 5:7) → *zkryhw* Jerusalem weight (Kletter, 210; Ahituv 2008:248); two 7th century BCE inscriptions: Tel Masos 2:3 [Ahituv 2008: 165; but registers as 3:4 in *HITBP*: 378-9); *zkryhw* son of *šm ʿ* Horvat

Uza (Beit-Arich 2007 : 129-130)

šby Reubenite-Machir-Ammonite (2 Sam. 17:27); related form *šb* ʾ Tall al-ʿUmayri (Aufrecht 1999: 180 no. 171, 172; 6th century BCE Ammonite seal) → *šby* Yavneh Yam (MHsh 1:7–8; Aḥituv 2008:162; 7th century BCE inscription with Ephraimite first name *hwš* ʿ*yhw*); *šby* Jerusalem (van der Veen 2012; Mazar and Ben-Arie 2015: 311 no. B9; 7th century BCE bullae); *šby* Jerusalem (Mazar and Ben-Arie 2015:319 no. B19; 7th century BCE bullae)³⁸¹

šm ʿ Reuben (1 Chr. 5:8); *šm* ʿ*y* (1Chr. 5:4); *šm* ʿ Hirbat Umm ad-Danānīr (Aufrecht 1999: 179 no. 150; Reubenite identity? on a mid-7th cen. BCE ostrakon); *šm* ʿ Tall al-ʿUmayri (WSS 977; Reubenite identity? on a late 7th cen. BCE seal) → *šm* ʿ Jerusalem (*Jslm* 32; *HITBP*:239, 8th cen. BCE pot)

Approximately 33 Transjordan Israelite names are aligned in Judean text-artifacts. The greatest number of names is from Gad (approximately 15), followed by the Half-tribe of Manasseh (approximately 10), and finally the tribe of Reuben (approximately 7). Some names have a stronger case to reference Transjordanian Israelites in Judah than others. Nevertheless, these names embody their tribal heritage, community cohesion, and resilience in Judean space.

5.11 Zebulun-Aligned Tribal Names in Judean Text-artifacts

The tribal territory of Zebulun in Lower Galilee was devastated by the Neo-Assyrian campaign. Zebulun, one of Leah’s sons through Jacob (Gen 30:18–21), is the eponym of one of the two smaller southernmost Galilean tribes. The inheritance of the land of Zebulun was surrounded by Asher to the west, Naphtali to the north, Issachar toward the east, and Manasseh toward the south (the boundaries are discussed in Aharoni 1979: 237; but as noted earlier, it is important to remember that boundaries in tribal societies function like fuzzy frontier zones in constant flux).

The devastation of Zebulun is not directly mentioned in Israelite sources, but is implied in 2 Kgs. 15:29 and Isaiah 9:1 [Heb 8:23]. In 2 Kgs. 15:29, Tiglath-Pileser III, King of Assyria,

³⁸¹ This name is replicated among Amorite identities in Syria and Egypt: Alalakh *SŪu-be-ia* (*HALOT*, 4:1391) and *séaé-beî* a Canaanite PN in Egyptian (*HALOT*, 4:1391). The name *šby* occurs as the name of a post-exilic returnees to Jerusalem of uncertain tribal identity (Ezra 2:42; Neh. 7:45).

is mentioned as taking all of Galilee- since Zebulun is part of Galilee, it is safe to assume that it too was taken. Isaiah 9:1 [Heb 8:23] explicitly states that the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali or “Galilee of the nations” was brought into contempt. This verse is an allusion to the destruction and annexation of the land of Zebulun by Assyria, and the prophet infers that Yahweh brought about the defeat Israel.

The archaeological surveys of Lower Galilee demonstrate that the tribal territory of Zebulun was ravaged by the Neo-Assyrian campaigns and did not begin to be resettled until the Persian period. Tiglath-Pileser III’s annals explicitly mention four sites that they destroyed: Chisloth-tabor, Daberath, Rumah and Hannathon (Gal 1992:109).

The map area of Har Tavor, which covers the area of Hare Nazerat (the Nazerat hills), Biq’at Bet Netofa, parts of the valley of Jezreel and plateaus of eastern Lower Galilee, show an interesting settlement pattern (Gal 1998 [Map No. 41]).³⁸² At least 13 sites in the map area that belong to the tribe of Zebulun are definitively dated the Iron Age II: Karm er Ras (3), ‘Ein Kabshanat (9), Tel Gat Hefer (13), ‘En Lappidot (22), Kh. Umm Jebeil (25), Har Yona (28), Kh. ‘Irbada (38), Nahal Baraq (43), Enot Sho’im (44), Kh. ‘Ein es Sauda (47), Biret Tira (48), H. Kadduran (53), and Kh. El Mughaiyir (72). The late 8th century sites of Horbat Malta, ‘En Zammeret, Tel Mador, Hanaton and Tel Gat-Hefer have occupational gaps between the late 8th and Persian period (Covello-Paran 2008: 75). The areas of the Map of Har Tavor were destroyed in 733-732 BCE by Tiglath-Pileser III and remained desolate from the 7th century BCE until the Persian period (Gal 1998). The settlement patterns point to demographic changes brought on by the Assyrian campaign; the trajectory of population growth was disrupted and people were

³⁸² In the region of Nahalal in western Zebulun (Raban 1982 [Map no. 28]), 16 settlements were established in the 9th century BCE in the northern foothills under Tyrian influence, and they continued well into the Persian period.

forced to migrate elsewhere (Gal 1992:180)

While the archaeological surveys show a disruptive force on demographic processes, there are several indicators that Lower Galilee was not completely deserted.

Recent archaeological surveys south of the Beit Netofa Valley have revealed century two small 7th century BCE settlements at Tel En Zippori and Horvat Hftahel (Gal 2009; Oshri and Gal 2010). It is possible that internally displaced Israelites — from the cities like Rumah in the Bet Netofa Valley that were ravaged by the Assyrian campaign—fled south to Tel En Zippori and Horvat Hftahel in Issachar to form a new Israelite community. In the post-exilic Chronicler's narrative, a Zebulunite remnant, which survived the Assyrian invasion, made a religious pilgrimage to Jerusalem during the reign of Hezekiah to celebrate the Passover ritual in Jerusalem (2 Chr. 30:10–11, 18).³⁸³ The Chronicler's refugee narrative is bolstered by the discovery of Judean royal *lmk* jar handles in land of Zebulun. Two official *lmk* jar handle impressions, dated to the reign of Hezekiah (701 BCE), were discovered at Nahalal, a village belonging to the tribe of Zebulun (Josh. 19:15), and at Mt. Meiron, a city bordering the tribe of Naphtali (Dayan 1978:114; Liptschitz, Sergi, and Koch 2011: 30, 35 note 40). From a macro-view, the discovery of these Judean royal jar handles in Zebulun point to Judean political and economic interests in Lower Galilee. From a micro-level perspective, the official symbols of the Judean state in Zebulun point to the development of social networks (households and families) between these two regions. Members of the Zebulunite and Judean social networks developed “a sense of community” despite not living in close proximity (Brettell 2003:109). This sense of community emerges only because Zebulunites lived in both geographical locales: in the homeland of Zebulun and clustered together in select cities of Judah.

³⁸³ On Hezekiah's expansion to northern territories, see Japhat (1993).

The continual survival of an Israelite remnant in Zebulun during the 7th century BCE and the Judean royal court's interest in maintaining ties to this community is evident in Israelite sources. For instance, one of Josiah's sons, king Jehoiakim, married the daughter of Pedaiah of Rumah (2 Kgs. 23:36). Rumah (Hirbat ar-Ruma) is located 9 km north of Nazareth in lower Galilee that belonged to the tribal territory of Zebulun-Naphtali (Aharoni 1979; 403, 445).³⁸⁴ Jehoiakim's predecessor King Manasseh also married a woman from lower Galilee (2 Kgs. 21:19). Hence, Judah's interest in forging political and economic ties thru marriage alliances with Israelites in lower Galilee continued in the second half of the 7th century BCE.

However, Zebulun is not a tribal region of any major religious interest in Judean sources. Zebulun is referenced once in pre-exilic prophetic oracles, mentioned along side Naphtali and Galilee (Isa. 9:1). This oracle may reflect the hopes and aspirations of Zebulunite refugees in Judah. The next reference to Zebulun is in the territorial boundaries featured in Ezekiel's exilic vision of a new Temple (Ezek. 48:26–27, 33). By the post-exilic period, the genealogy of the tribe of Zebulun, like the tribe of Dan, is absent in the Chronicler's history (Na'aman 1991:102–103; Levin 2004:611; Finkelstein 2012:72). It is important to also point out that in the Chronicler's account of Hezekiah's Passover, the main overtures are to the larger tribes of

³⁸⁴ It is not definitive that the Rumah referred to in 2 Kgs. 23:36 is indeed the one in Lower Galilee. There are several locations named Rumah in other tribal regions such as in Ephraim and Judah (Judg. 9:41; Gal 1992:109; Niemann 2006:232). Thus it remains open for debate. In the Herodian period the town was thought to be in Galilee (Rainey and Notley 2006: 256). The fact that an Israelite community continued to exist in lower Galilee supports the possibility that this is where Rumah should be located. Furthermore, from the level of identity alignment, *pdh/pdy*-type names are aligned with Israel (Hazor: Naveh 1989:347; Tel Hadid: Na'aman and Zadok 2000:170–171; Num 1:10; 2:20; 7:54, 59; 10:23; 34:28; 1 Chr 27:20; Ugaritic *pdy*, syllabic *pa-di/di-ya/ia* DULAT 664; Phoenician *pdy* Benz 1972: 389) and the name Pedaiah in the MT (2 Kgs. 23:36) is vocalized without Canaanite shift (like Ugaritic and Aramaic). By contrast, Judeans constructed their names with the root *g'ʾl*, the semantic equivalent of the verb “to ransom” (*g'lyhw* Arad 16:5; 39. Obv. 5; *HITBP*: 592; *g'ʾl* WSS 112 and the names constructed with *g'ʾl* on several other unprovenanced artifacts listed in Albertz and Schmitt 2012: 303: 543). Hence, Pedaiah's identity should be sought in lower Galilee and Israel, not Judah.

Ephraim and Manasseh to join him in this celebration (2 Chr. 30:1). The invitation “even to Zebulun” is of secondary importance, and only a few men from this area are reported to have attended the Passover feast (2 Chr. 30:11). Lastly, no Zebulunite toponyms are replicated in late Judean prophetic oracles concerning Israel’s national restoration.

The relatively scant Judean interest in the land of Zebulun coincides with the negligible number of Zebulunite replicated names in Judah. Only three names have the potential to be aligned with the tribe of Zebulun:

gdy’l Zebulun (Num. 13:10); *Gadi-ilu* (HALOT, 1:178; exiled Israelite in Assyria) → *gd’* (Arad 72:3; HAE Arad(8).72:3)

yšm’yhw Zebulun (1 Chr. 27:19); *šm’yw* Kuntillet Ajrud (HAE KAg(9).4) → *šm’yhw* Arad (69.3; late 8th cent. BCE); Muraba’at (1B.4; HAE Mur(7).2:4; early 7th cent. BCE); *šm’yhw* City of David (WSS 636, 637, 638; bullae from late 7th cent. BCE); Arad (HAE Arad(7).31:5; 39:2; 7f.; Arad(6).27:2; late 7th-early 6th cent. BCE); Lachish (HAE Lak(6).1.4:6; 19.4; early 6th cent. BCE)

’bdyhw Zebulun (1Chr. 27:19); *’bdyw* K.Ajrud 9 (Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel 2012); *’bdyw* Samar 50:2 (HITBP: 471) → *’bdy* Lachish, Tell el-Judeich and Naḥal Arugot (WSS 684; Vaughn 1999: 207 nos. 103-117; *lmlk* jar handle impression with the first name *nḥm*); *’bdy* Lachish (WSS 690; Vaughn 1999: 210 no. 148; *lmlk* jar handle impression); *’bd[]* Arad 49:8 (HITBP: 78; 8th cent. BCE); *’bdyhw* Beersheba bullae (WSS 661; 8th cent.); Lachish ostracon (31:3; Lemaire 2004:2126 late 8th or early 7th.); *’bdyhw* Yavneh Yam (MHsh 4:7; HITBP: 342; late 7th cent. BCE); Arad 10:4; 27:2 (HITBP: 26-27, 56).

pdyh Zebulun (2 Kgs. 23:36; Pediah from Rumah of Lower Galilee) → *p*d*y* Arad 55:2 (reconstructed by Lemaire [1977:213], who finds traces of /p/ and /d/ before *yod*); *pdyhw* Arad 49:15 (Renz 1995: 153-155; late 8th cen. BCE)

The case for Zebulunite identity in Judah is not concrete. The first name, *gd’l*, is possibly a long form of *gd’*, but it is also possible that the final *aleph* indexes another word, or that *gd’* is a different name all together. As previously noted in this chapter, the *pdh*-naming style was a habitual practice performed by members of the tribes of Lower Galilee and Manasseh and the alignment of *pdyhw* at Arad with these Israelite tribes is on a more sure footing. In the last example, *’bdyhw* is enregistered among other Israelite identities (*’bdyw* K.Ajrud 9; Samar 50:2; *’bdyhw* 1 Kgs. 18:3), so this name is not exclusively Zebulunite. The fact that the names

yšm ʿyhw and *ʿbdyhw* are only found in the Chronicler history suggest that some families living in Yehud claimed lineage ties to Zebulun (which may have been metaphorical, leading to some skepticism of their claim). In sum, there are no names that are exclusively Zebulunite in Judah after the fall of the Northern Kingdom. This indicates that there is no solid evidence for a Zebulunite clan-family refugee migration to Judah.

5.12 Issachar-Aligned Tribal Names in Judean Text-artifacts

The tribe of Issachar settled in the eastern part of lower Galilee bordering the Jordan River to the east, the tribes of Naphtali to the north, Zebulun to the west and Manasseh to the south. The precise locations of territorial borders and cities are inexact and Issachar's territory appears to be part of Manasseh (Gal 1992: 106). In Issachar's genealogical tribal history, they are paired with their Zebulun, their tribal neighbor to the west (Gen. 30:18–20). But several of Israel's genealogical lists, along with the settlement sequence of the tribes of Issachar and Zebulun, suggest that they were a group of fringe tribes of lesser status than the southern Lea tribes (Kallai 1997:56).³⁸⁵ Some sources indicate that Manasseh's allotment extended into Issachar (Megiddo, Tanaach, Ibleam, Beth Shean [Josh. 17:11]) and Issachar families lived in Mount Ephraim (Judg. 10:1-2). According to Gal's archaeological surveys, the settlements of the tribe of Issachar mentioned in the book of Joshua were not occupied before the late eleventh century B.C.E (Gal 1991; 1992).³⁸⁶ However, recent excavations at Ṭamra ez-Zu'bi on the

³⁸⁵ It is important to note that genealogical lists and settlement sequences of all the Israelite tribes in the Hebrew Bible were composed at different times and served various political purposes (Wilson 1977). It is beyond the scope of this chapter to explore and sort out all the details for each tribe.

³⁸⁶ Gal contends that, "some of the clans of Issachar apparently moved from the Samaritan hills to the basalt heights of the Eastern Lower Galilee. This attempt at settlement was not of long duration, its peak period being in the 10th century when there were about 15 sites, followed by decline and general abandonment." (1982:83). Issachar's genealogical list contains a few names aligned with Manassite

Issachar Heights, about 6 km south of Mt. Tabor, yielded a few Iron I pottery sherds, although no architectural remains (Porat 2008: 47*, 49*, 54*). Apparently, some families-clans of the tribe of Issachar moved to eastern Lower Galilee in the Iron I period, but the majority settled there after the 10th century BCE.

With respect to the Assyrian invasion and devastation of Issachar, textual information remains ambiguous and one must rely upon archaeological excavations to explain what occurred in the region. It is well known that Lower Galilee in general was devastated by Tiglath-Pileser III's campaign (Gal 1992: 108). But there is no explicit reference, either in the Assyrian annals or the Hebrew Bible, to any specific areas in Issachar that were affected. The nearest towns and cities mentioned in textual sources are all located in the land of Zebulun. In addition, we find no reference to an Assyrian province in Lower-east Galilee. The nearest one was centered at Megiddo in the Jezreel Valley, and this city belonged to the tribe of Manasseh.

Despite the lack of explicit textual references to the Assyrians presence, however, the settlement patterns paint a clearer picture. The destruction of several sites in the land of Issachar leads to the conclusion that Assyrians invaded this region (Gal 2009). The Israel Antiquities Authority³⁸⁷ map of the region of Gazit identified 12 sites located in the centre of Ramot Issachar that were dated to the Iron II period (Gal 1991 [Map no. 46]). There was an occupation gap in the 7th century-6th century BCE, and only 2 sites were not resettled in the Persian period. The Map of 'En Dor (Gal 1998 [Map No. 45]), situated between the basalt plateaus of Ramot Yissakhar in the east and 'Emeq Yizre'el in the west, revealed 7 sites established in the Iron Age

identity (PNs Yashub and Shimron [1 Chr. 7:1-2]). As Gal correctly points out, many Issacharites lived in the territory of Manasseh and families of Issachar settled together with Manasseh before moving to Ramat Issachar in lower Galilee (Gal 1992: 91, 93).

³⁸⁷ The Israel Antiquities Authority have yet to complete three maps that contain sundry parts of the land of Issachar: Yavne'el (Map no. 42), Kinneret (43), and Geshur (47).

II period: Tel Qishyon, H. Tevet, H. Zafzafot, a site north of 'En ha-More, Tel 'Agol, H. Tomer, and Sulam. Of these, only 2 sites (H. Tomer and Sulam), were reoccupied in the Persian period and the rest were abandoned (Gal 1998). Furthermore, the Assyrians did not resettle the regions of Ramat Issachar and the Jezreel valley, unlike their resettlement of Samaria (Stern 2001; Gal 1992).

An important question is whether or not there is any new archaeological evidence for the survival of an Israelite refugee community in the southern part of lower Eastern Galilee. Until recently, scholars relied heavily upon Gal's surveys, carried in the 1970s, to support the view that Lower Galilee was completely deserted after the 8th century BCE until the Persian period (Gal 1992: 180). However, recent archaeological discoveries in the land of Issachar, particularly south of the Beit Netofa Valley, have revealed two small settlements at Tel En Zippori and Horvat Hftahel dated to the 7th century BCE (Gal 2009; Oshri and Gal 2010). Tel En Zippori and Horvat Hftahel were both destroyed by Tiglath-Pileser III in 732 BCE, but both sites had a small single-period settlement relocated away from the main tel (Gal 2009: 284*; Oshri and Gal 2010: 23). This is the first archaeological evidence for community cohesion among the internally displaced Israelites in the post-Samaritan exilic period in Lower Galilee. It is likely that some families and clans living in the land of Issachar were not forced to migrate elsewhere but remained in their homeland.

Another indication of the survival of an Israelite population in Issachar that is often overlooked is the discovery of a *lmk* jar handle impression at Tel Jezreel (Ussishkin and Woodhead 1992).³⁸⁸ In their first preliminary report on Tel Jezreel, Ussishkin and Woodhead mention the important discovery of "a stamped royal Judean storage jar handle found on a rock

³⁸⁸ Prof. David Ussishkin informs me that there was a second stamped handle discovered at Jezreel by Dr. Gabriel Barkay, but he has yet to publish on it (D. Ussishkin, personal communication 2015).

surface to the east of the site, where more Iron Age pottery was recovered . . . The stamp, clearly impressed except for its lower part, bears a two-winged symbol and the inscription: *lmlk m[mšt]* (1992: 10). The *lmlk* jar handles are dated to reign of Hezekiah; that is, after the fall of the Northern Kingdom (Ussishkin 1976; 2011; 2012; Vaughn 1999). This is the first and only archaeological evidence of contact between Issachar and Judah after the Assyrian invasion. The discovery of this text-artifact strengthens not only the view that a refugee population survived in Issachar but also that some migrated to Judah and maintained contact with their pre-displaced past.

In light of these new findings, Gal's older thesis that the end of the Israelite presence in Lower Galilee occurred after Tiglath-Pileser III's Assyrian invasion in 733/2 is no longer tenable. The recent archaeological discoveries lends support to the post-exilic Chronicler's reference to Issacharites whose identity was still aligned with the heritage of Israel visiting Hezekiah in Judah to celebrate the Passover (2 Chr. 30:18).

With respect to identifying Issachar refugees in Judah, settlement patterns must be correlated to the discursive naming practices employed in text-artifacts. As noted previously, Issachar's tribal allotment and settlements were smaller in size and number than their Israelite neighbors. Despite the fact the tribe of Issachar could boast of having two of Israel's power kings (Baasha and Omri), the settlements in Issachar were not prosperous. Gal observes that, "it appears that the 9th-8th century settlements were fewer in number and smaller in size, most of them very poor villages" (1982: 83). The impoverished and apparent secondary status of Issachar implies that they were not one of the more populous tribes in the Iron Age II period. Therefore, it comes as no surprise to find Issacharite identity marginally represented in the onomasticon of Judean Hebrew text-artifacts.

Issachar Identity in Judah

ḥyh Issachar (1 Kgs. 15:27; 2 Kgs. 9) → *ḥyhw* Ramat Rahel (*HITBP*: 421 [first name on an ostrakon dated to the late 8th-7th cent]); *ḥyhw* Jerusalem bullae (WSS 450; Shoham 2000: 30; patronymic 7th cent. BCE); Jerusalem (*Jslm* 1:2; *HITBP*: 207; late 7th cent. BCE); Lachish (3:17; *HITBP*: 309; early 6th cent. BCE)

ḥm ṣ Issachar-Manassch (1 Sam. 14:50; 25:43) → [*ḥm ṣ* Jerusalem (Mazar and Ben-Arie 2015: 305 no. B1; 7th cent. BCE)

myk ṽ Issachar (1 Chr. 27:18); **mk ṽ* (Samaria WSS 29) → *mk ṽ* Tel Goded [Tell el-Judeideh] (WSS 709; *HAE* 53.2; Vaughn 1999: 218, no. 255; *lmlk* jar handle impression); *mk ṽ* Jerusalem (Shoham 2000:81; *HAE* 1.78; Brandl 2012: 386; patronymic on late 8th-7th century BCE seal); the name is also attested at Ashkelon (1.6 r. 3; Cross 2008: 342-342).

ḥdy Issachar (1 Chr. 6: 44 [29]; *ḥdyh* (1 Chr. 7:3); see *ḥdyw* K.Ajrud 9 (Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel 2012); *ḥdyw* Samar 50:2 (*HITBP*: 471) → *ḥdy* Lachish, Tell el-Judeideh and Naḥal Arugot (WSS 684; Vaughn 1999: 207 nos. 103-117; *lmlk* jar handle impression with the first name *nḥm*); *ḥdy* Lachish (WSS 690; Vaughn 1999: 210 no. 148; *lmlk* jar handle impression); *ḥd[]* Arad 49:8 (*HITBP*: 78; 8th cent. BCE); *ḥdyhw* Beersheba bullae (WSS 661; 8th cent. BCE); Lachish ostrakon (31:3; Lemaire 2004: 2126; late 8th or early 7th cent. BCE); *ḥdyhw* Yavneh Yam (MHsh 4:7; *HITBP*: 342; late 7th cent. BCE); Arad (10:4; 27:2; *HITBP*: 26-27, 56; early 6th cent. BCE).³⁸⁹

ṣy Issachar (1 Chr. 7:2-3) → *ṣ* [y?] Beit Mirsim (no. 5; *HITBP*: 135); *ṣyhw* Jerusalem (Shoham 2000: 43; 7th cent. bulla)

ṣn Issachar (Num. 34:26) → *ṣn ṽ* Tel Malḥata (Beit-Arieh 2015:488; PN in Edomite script; 7th cent. BCE)³⁹⁰

plṭ ṽ – Issachar (Num. 34:26) → (*ṽplṭ* in Naphtali [Orem 1] and *plṭy* [WSS 1011]; 8th cent Ammonite/Moabite seal discovered in a tomb from Hirbat Umm Udeinah; *plṭ* on a 6th cent. Ammonite Ostrakon from Tal Mazar [Ahituv 2008:379]) → *plṭh* Ketef Hinnom, Jerusalem (WSS 326); see also *plṭyhw* Jerusalem (Shoham 2000: 30; bulla)

rpyh Issachar (1Chr. 7:2) → *rpy*[h?] Lachish (WSS 675; *lmlk* jar handle impression)

Approximately eight names were aligned with the tribe of Issachar in Judean

inscriptions.³⁹¹ Some names have multiple tribal alignments or were potentially of hybrid

³⁸⁹ Ezra 10:26 mentions *ḥdy* as one of the sons of Elam. Perhaps these individuals were descendents of the northerners who, according to 1 Kings 17:6; 18:14 were deported to Media by Assyria (Zadok 2002:41-42; Galil 2009)

³⁹⁰ This ostrakon is a list of names documented in the Edomite writing system—which does not define the identities or deny the social agency of ethnic identities of those represented in the artifact— and has several names that are affiliated with Israelites besides *ṣn ṽ* (line 2), such as: *dn ṽ* (Ugarit/Phoenician coast); *ṽlsm* (Ephraim/Num 1:10); *ṽplṭ* (Naphtali/Tell el-Oreime/Maacah 2Sam. 23:34) and (Beit-Arieh 2015:488).

³⁹¹ There are examples of Issacharite aligned names in unprovenanced Judean seals. For instance, the clan Jashub (Num. 26:24; Jashib in 1 Chr. 7:1) is associated with a place name in the Samaria Ostraca (Samar 48) and is reused as a patronymic in an unprovenanced 7th century BCE Judean seal (WSS 290; *HAE* 16.8).

identity (Issacharite and another Israelite tribe). The most convincing examples of the embodiment of Issachar identity in Judah are the names *ʾhyh* (Ahijah), *ʾhm ʿs* (Ahimaaz), and *ʿbdy* (Abdy). It should come as no surprise that Jerusalem (and environs) and Lachish would be the two locations where most of the names aligned with the tribe of Issachar were discovered. These two cities experienced the most exponential settlement and demographic growth in the late 8th century BCE (Dagan 1992; 2004; 2011; Vaughn 1999).

5.13 Asherite-Aligned Tribal Names in Judean Text-artifacts

Asher, the eponymous ancestor of one of the twelve Israelite tribes, was born to Zilpah, Jacob and Leah's handmaid (Gen. 30:12). The tribe of Asher was a heterogeneous ethnolinguistic group that occupied the western Galilean hills and the coastal plain. Since the reign of Pharaoh Seti I (1291-1272 BCE), this region had been associated with the name Asher (Edelman 1991). According to Frankel, the emergence of tribe of Asher in western Galilee during the Iron I period derived from the local indigenous Canaanite pastoral nomads and sedentary villagers of the Late Bronze Age (Frankel 1994). Others argue that the Asherites were not from the local population because of the major shift in settlement patterns in Upper Galilee in the Iron I period that did not overlap with the Late Bronze Age (Dever 2003).

Scholars have yet to come to a consensus on the territorial borders of the tribe of Asher (Frankel and Gerzov 2012). The allotment of Asher in the book of Joshua, possibly reflecting the situation at the time of King David, follows a south-to-north order, beginning with Helkath up to the Litani River but not inclusive of Tyre (Josh 19:25–29; Kallai 1986:200-205, 283;

Na'aman 1986a:50-55; Lemaire 1991; Briquel-Chatonnet 1992a: 39, 49, Frankel 1998; Lehman 2001:92-93; Frankel et. al. 2004; but see Kallai 1986:181; Lipinski 1991).³⁹²

In the Iron Age II period, Asherites were of hybrid Israelite-Phoenician identity. During the Iron Age I and II period, Phoenician (Tyre, Sidon, and Byblos) coastal culture (luxury items) and the Phoenician writing system (for public display outside Lebanon) was a social symbol of prestige (Aubet 2001: 23, 47-48, 79, 135; Lipinski 2004: 141). But scholars continue to debate the correlation between ethnicity and material culture; that is, the notion of the term “Phoenician” needs to be reassessed. Generally, homogeneous static categories of “Phoenician, Israelite, and Aramean” are carved out in Levantine archaeology (equating pots and people) and the role of agency in the construction of ethnic identity is ignored.³⁹³ Ethnic identity is flexible and constantly being negotiated based upon various circumstances (Jones 1997). Therefore, it must be kept in mind that “Phoenician” is not a monolithic or static ethnic entity.³⁹⁴

³⁹² The debate over the territory of Asher's continues to be contested. Lipinski (1991) argues that city list of Asher in the book of Joshua list is post-exilic or dated to the Persian period because Asher's allotment is basically the territory of Tyre. Lisovsky and Na'aman consider the author of Asher's allotment to have been unfamiliar with the territorial reality, as he was familiar with areas of Ephraim, Benjamin, and Judah. They view the inheritance of Asher as comprising the settlements of the kingdom of Tyre during the 8th-7th century BCE (Lisovsky and Na'aman 2005:311, 315, 318-19). For a recent view on the border descriptions, see van Bekkum (2011: 177-179).

³⁹³ Whincop (2009) argues that ceramic and material culture analysis of the Northern Levant shows a cultural divide between the inland region (North Syria, Orontes, Beqa' Valley, North Palestine, Jezreel Valley) and the coastal region (Syria, Lebanese, Palestine coast). Moreover, there is also evidence of cultural diversity within each region and political structure during the Iron Age. He concludes that textual and archaeological approaches that assume homogenous ethnic groups are invalid

³⁹⁴ Whincop's 2009 study shows material cultural diversity between the Jezreel valley and inland North Palestine/coastal Palestine. But the three regions are closer in material culture than inland Syria. What is interesting is trying to determine if there is a material cultural disjunction vs. continuum in naming practices in the regions in one territorial aggregate (Palestine coast, Jezreel valley, N. Palestine) in comparison to another (Syria/Aram). Apparently, the situation is more complicated. A case in point is the PN *ʾdnrm* (WSS no. 760) inscribed on an Aramaic bulla from the Hama on the Orontes of Syria that is dated to 720 BCE. The PN aligns with Coastal-North Palestine identities and not Aramean ones (1 Kgs. 5:28; Avigad and Sass 1997:476-7; *DULAT*: 19-20; Benz 1972: 56; see *ʾdn* on a 7th cent. BCE Ekron

Phoenicians had no unified ethnic national identity (Frankenstein 1979:288). The city-states of Tyre, Sidon, and Byblos did not consider themselves to be one ethnic national group. Phoenician social and economic kinship and ethnic organization was not monolithic “other than that imposed by others, for the inhabitants of the Levantine coast, viz. ‘Canaanite’ and ‘Phoenician’ were terms that were applied to the heterogeneous populations of the coastal cities by their contemporaries. The populations of these cities included residents from different Syro-Palestinian cities” (Frankenstein 1979: 288). The indexical meaning of “Phoenician” was grounded in professional activities such as maritime trade and the merchant class. Consequently, “Phoenician” was indexical of an economic network of coastal city-state merchants and traders of diverse cultural and ethnic identity and some made maritime trading their career (in addition to other skills aligned with the coastal region, see Ezekiel 27:8-24).³⁹⁵

Coastal identities of Tyre, which held dominance over the coast for a period of time in the Iron Age period, were iconized and indexed affluence; the social effect was often a stance of genealogical alignment toward Tyre and the erasure of the non-prestigious culturally hybrid elements of personal identity. For instance, in 1 Kings 7:13-14 a bronze worker named *hyrm* “of Tyre” had kinship affinity with Tyre through his father (“man of Tyre”), but it is revealed that

inscription in Aramaic script [Zadok 2009: 671]). The lexical form *ʾdn* is not Aramaic; the form in inland Syria/Aram is *mr ʾ* (Maraqten 1988: 43, 53). Hence, mapping regional naming practices on to Whincop’s geography of material culture-pottery distribution shows that if we take the role of agency seriously, then there is not a neat disjunction between Coast/ N. Palestine and inland Syria. Pottery analysis provides one sample of the many varied and at times contradictory picture of ethnic identity, and so do naming patterns.

³⁹⁵ For a critique of the generalization of “Phoenician” as a collective entity, see van Dongen (2010). For recent study on joint nautical enterprise between Israel and Tyre, see Beitzel (2010).

his mother was an Israelite widow from Naphtali.³⁹⁶ His personal name is aligned with Tyrian identity not Israel (replicated and enregistered in several sources: 2 Sam. 5:11; 1 Kgs. 5:1; *PPD*: 196).³⁹⁷ In this case, “Phoenician” indexed a socioeconomic status marker (bronze worker) aligned with the city-state of Tyre (through his father unless he belonged to a kinship guild) while, at the same time, holding membership with groups outside of the coast from areas such as Naphtali. The stance of self-reference in this situation is the erasure of differentiation (Gal and Irvine 2000), as one aspect of kinship membership diversity (which did not fit his model of identity projection) was not invoked but erased by selecting the ascription ‘of Tyre’ and not “of Israel.”³⁹⁸ Iron Age II Phoenician identity was hybrid and multiply based upon different social, economic, and political allegiances and ideologies that agents chose to invoke (and erasure the non-prestige elements) at different times and spaces and under varying circumstances.

Several textual sources indicate an Asherite cultural hybridity with Phoenicians. In the book of Judges (1:31-32), the Asherites were unable to conquer the Akko region, resulting in peaceful coexistence and intermarrying with locals on the coast. In 1 Kings 4:16, the name of the

³⁹⁶ According to the parallel source in 2 Chron. 2:14, the woman is a daughter of Dan. By this time Dan had migrated north and was absorbed in Naphtali; therefore the dual Dan-Naphtali identity is understandable (Kallai 1986: 23).

³⁹⁷ This Phoenician name is composed of *ʾhy +rm* “my brother is exalted”. The spelling without prefix *aleph* is an orthographic alignment iconic of Tyre-Sidonian identity (*PPD*: 44), but the form with prosthetic *aleph* is of Byblian identity (Benz 1972: 61; *KAI* 1). Spelling is an area where contestation of another groups’ standard occurs and belies cultural tensions between groups, falling on the level of discursive conscienciousness. The spelling difference of the letter *aleph* makes claims on political differentiation as it indexes attitudes among rival coastal “Phoenician” city-states.

³⁹⁸ For the concept of erasure as an attribute of language ideologies, see Irvine and Gal 2000. In this case, the name Hiram ‘of Tyre’ outcompetes other names aligned with Israelite tribes. This name indexes some kind of erasure or suppression of inter-cultural diversity within his family and raises the question of why kinship ties with Naphtali was submerged under Tyre. Evidently, it was politically and socioeconomically valuable (based upon the extent of his work on the Jerusalem temple in 1 Kgs. 7) for Hiram to publicize ties with Tyre and suppress kinship affinity with Israel. Hiram’s stance of erasure was based on his ideology, and reflects the political and economic prestige of the city of Tyre.

governor of the province of Asher under Solomon, *b ʿn*, is probably a shortened form of the Phoenician *b ʿl-ntn* (Lipinski 1991:166; the PN is found in the Eshmoun inscription (source) and incised on inscription from Tell Gemmeh, see Benz [1972: 96] and Delavaunt and Lemaire [1979: 27 no. 51]). If *b ʿn* is indeed iconic of Phoenician identity, then one can conclude that Asherites shared some cultural affinity with coastal non-Israelites.³⁹⁹

Most illustrative of the complexity of Asherite-Phoenician cultural hybridity, especially during times of conflict over tribal allegiances, is text found in Judges 5. According to the victory poem of Judges (5:17), the Asherites, who were engaged in maritime trade at the Mediterranean seacoast, did not come to aid of fellow Israelites during wartime (de Vaux 1978: 664). According Stagers' insightful socioeconomic study (1986: 224), Asherites did not respond to a call for Israelite tribal war against lowland Canaanites because of "economic entanglements with non-Israelites . . . whose livelihoods depended on maritime trade." This suggests that Asherites' economic dependency and social network structure could pose a greater challenge to their survival than tribal allegiances with the Israelites. Tribes that were more economically independent, located in the highlands, could engage in warfare with indigenous kinship groups living in the lowlands, for their livelihood was not in jeopardy (i.e. Naphtali, Issachar, Zebulun, Manasseh, Machir, and Benjamin [Stager 1986: 224]). In this case, Asherites held stronger political-economic allegiances to coastal Canaanites/Phoenicians than to Israel.

An Asherite-Phoenician hybrid identity is also evident from the excavations of the village of Rosh Zayit, southeast of Tel Akko in lower western Galilee. Rosh Zayit, located on the eastern border of the tribe of Asher commonly identified with ancient Kabul (Josh. 19:27; Gal

³⁹⁹ Another name, Shua (1 Chr. 7:32), is aligned with Canaanite identity in Israelite narratives (Gen 38:2).

1992 but see Lipinski 2010: 260-263), was initially settled in the early Israelite period (12th century BCE).⁴⁰⁰ By the 10th-9th century BCE, a large fortress was erected and the site served as an administrative center or commercial trading post between Tyre and Israel (Gal and Alexandre 2000: 198-200).⁴⁰¹ A Phoenician seal was discovered in the domestic quarter west of the fortress dated to the 9th century BCE (Gal 1994). Also, a Hebrew ostrakon (based upon the diagnostic features in the writing system of the letters *nun* and *mem*) was discovered written in red-brown ink that reads [y]n ḥmr “(fermented) wine” and dated to the 10th- 9th century BCE (Renz 1995: 38; Gal and Alexandre 2000: 133-134). A rural village with a four-room house, characteristic of Israelite-style dwellings, was built and destroyed in the 8th century BCE (Faust 2012: 132; Dever 2012: 306). The ceramic data and the techniques of oil production at the village were largely Phoenician-Israelite (Gal 1992: 48-53; Gal and Frankel 1993). The four-room house, olive press building, and olive presses point to a mix of Phoenician-Israelite influences prior to its destruction by the Assyrians in 732 BCE (Gal and Alexandre 2000).⁴⁰²

⁴⁰⁰ The small harbor city of Tell Abu Hawam, located on the Kishon River north of the Carmel ridge, has been identified as Shihor-Libnath, which belonged to the tribe of Asher (Josh. 19:26; Aharoni 1979:258; Balensi, Herrera, and Artzi 1993: 8; Lipinski 2004: 310-312). Excavators discovered a mixed Israelite-Phoenician culture in stratum IIIA-B (10th-8th cent. BCE) (Dever 1997a). The harbor city may have served Israelite economic interests of Megiddo and the Jezreel valley. There is a settlement gap in the Assyrian period (Artzy 2008: 1553-4). The Iron II period at Tell Keisan, located southeast of Akko and considered to be Biblical Achshaph of the tribe of Asher (Josh. 19:25; Na’aman 1986:123; but Lehmann [2001: 86] considers Tell Abu Hawam as Achshaph) is also mixed. This site was an agricultural settlement in the Akko hinterland and its unclear if it was destroyed in the late 8th century BCE (Humbert 1993). Stratum 5 (8th century BCE) shows evidence of Cypro-Phoenician, Samaria wares, and also imported vessel like Judahite decanters (Dever 1997b: 279; Mazar and Ahituv 2011: 271).

⁴⁰¹ The fortress was built without doorways, leading the excavators to suggest that a ladder was used to climb the walls. Similar fortresses were discovered in the Judean Negev at Tel Beer Sheva and Tel Malḥata (Gal and Alexandre 2000: 12-14).

⁴⁰² Asherite-Phoenician material culture of Rosh Zayit is evident at other Israelite territories. For example, jars characteristic of Rosh Zayit (as well as ceramic traditions from Tel Keisan and Akhziv in the coastal region) were also discovered further south at the 7th century BCE Israelite site of ‘En Zippori in Lower Galilee (Oshri and Gal 2010).

During the Iron Age II period, Asherites mostly occupied the southern coastal plain and the hills (Frankel 1998: 67). According to Israelite tradition, Solomon gave the “Land of Kabul” to Hiram, King of Tyre (1 Kgs. 9:11; Gal 1992). Regardless of the debate over the historicity of this event, the archaeological material culture of region indicates that it was under Phoenician-Tyrian hegemony from the 10th- 8th century BCE. Asherites living close to the northern coastal plain were under Phoenician hegemony for most of the Iron Age period; this was the case for communities near the Akko plain (1 Kgs. 9:12-14; 2 Chr. 9:2; Frankel 1997; Frankel et. al. 2004: 133) and Akhziv (Frankel and Gerzov 1997; Frankel and Gerzov 2012; Lehmann and Peilstoecker 2012). As Frankel et. al (2001: 148) point out, “The description of Sennacharib’s campaign of 701 BCE, in which Maḥaliba, Ushu, Akhzib, and Akko, are included in the territory of Luli king of Sidon shows that most if not all, of the coastal plain of Galilee was Phoenician at this time.” Asherites that dwelled in the southern coastal plain and in the hills, even after the fall of the Northern Kingdom, were undoubtedly socially, culturally, and economically influenced by the Phoenician hegemony during the Iron Age II period.⁴⁰³

The excavations and archaeological surveys of the northern Phoenician coast reveal some interesting settlement patterns.⁴⁰⁴ Tiglath-Pileser III invaded the coast of Palestine and made part of the Phoenician coast into an Assyrian province in the 8th century BCE (Aubet 2001: 55). Unlike other Israelite territories, the Assyrian invasion of western Galilee did not change the settlement landscape, and settlement patterns continued unabated (Frankel and Gerzov 2012).

⁴⁰³ Rather than view material culture as static- either Phoenician or Israelite (see Lehman 2001:67, 92-93; 2008)- I view agency, influenced by sociocultural forces, as playing a larger role in the construction of Asherite identity during this period.

⁴⁰⁴ Survey maps covering the eastern borders of Asher remain unpublished: Archaeological Surveys of Israel volumes 3 (Shomera), 6 (Me’ona), and 21 (Seguev).

Approximately 113 sites existed in the Iron II period between the territories comprising Achziv and its hinterland to Abu Hawam and the inland hilly region (Lehmann 2001: 91 fig. 3.8). Of all these particular zones, the Akko plain experienced some of the greatest economic prosperity and settlement continuity. The settlement in the Akko hinterland reached its zenith in settlement density in the 8th century BCE (54 sites) when an urban center developed at Akko (Lehmann and Peilstoecker 2012).⁴⁰⁵ We can attribute the demographic consistency of the coastal hinterland to Assyria's favorable policy toward Phoenicia, whose economic expansion via maritime trade in the western Mediterranean took place during the 8th century BCE.⁴⁰⁶

While the archaeological survey maps indicate that the plain of Akko experienced settlement continuity and growth, a different picture emerges for those that lived in the inland areas. The inland and hill region of the coast is where one finds settlement disruption in the 8th century BCE. This would have been the region where the Asherite enclaves were displaced from their homeland. For instance, the Archaeological Survey Map 2 of Hanita by Frankel and Gerzov (1997 [2013]) revealed 13 Iron II sites and only 6 continued into the Persian period. Of these, only two are located in the inland region and the rest are found on the coast. This means that the majority of sites in the inland areas were destroyed and did not continue into the Persian period.

Along the same lines, six Iron II sites were identified in the Archaeological Survey Map 5, 'Amqa, south of maps Akhziv and Hanita (Frankel and Getzov 2012). Of these Iron II sites,

⁴⁰⁵ A disruption of settlement continuity appears after the fall of Assyria in the 7th century when the Neo-Babylonian Empire invaded Palestine in 604 BCE (Tel Kabri, Tell Keisan, Tel Achziv, Shiqmona and several settlements in the Akko plain [Lehmann and Peilstoecker 2012]).

⁴⁰⁶ Phoenician city-states benefited from Assyrian protection despite the fact that Assyrians taxed Tyre and controlled access to the Lebanese coast (Gallagher 1999: 91-95; Aubet 2001: 54-60, 84). Even when Tyre rebelled against Tiglath-Pileser III and other Assyrian kings, they still received favorable treatment based upon mutual economic interests (Gallagher 1999: 91-104; Aubet 2001: 57).

two that were located in inland areas – no. 75 (Kh. el Shubeika) and no. 80 (Ḥorbat Ga'aton)– did not continue into the Persian period. This is in contrast to sites closer to the coastal region, such as sites nos. 3, 10, 11, 61 (Tel Kabri) and 178 (Tel 'Emeq), which show no evidence of settlement destruction at the end of the 8th century BCE.⁴⁰⁷

The Archaeological Survey Map 20 of Ahihud (Lehman and Peilstoecker 2012) documented seven sites dated to the Iron II period (Sites nos. 1, 4, 24, 70, 117, 125, 127). Of these settlements, four continued into the Iron III period (7th century BCE), but Tiglath-Pileser III destroyed three of them (nos. 4, 125, and 127).

The Archaeological survey map 22 of the coast of Haifa west (Akko plain) revealed only two sites from Iron II period, Tel Shiqmona (Site 18) and Kh. 'Atteisi (Site 89). Although both sites continued to the Persian period (Olami, Ronen, and Romano 2003 [2011]), there is evidence that Tiglath-Pileser III razed and restored Shiqmona (Stern 2001:7, 46-49; Dever 2007: 83-85). This is indeed a rare instance of the Tiglath-Pileser III destroying and restoring a coastal city.

The last Archaeological Survey Map to be discussed is Map 24 of Shefar'am of the Allonim–Shefar'am Hills, located inland in the tribal territory of Asher (Olami and Gal 2003 [2011]). Of the eight settlements dated to the Iron II period (nos. 32 47 57 100 106 111 113 127), only one survived into the Iron III period (Tel Par, site no. 111; 7th century BCE). Tiglath-Pileser III's conquest of 732 BCE left this area barren like the rest of the Galilee, in contrast to the settlement continuity of the Plain of Akko (Olami and Gal 2003 [2011]).

⁴⁰⁷ Certainly, the Babylonians could have destroyed some sites at the end of the Iron Age II period. For example, a fortress with Assyrian material culture was built at Tel Kabri in the 7th century BCE and its destruction is attributed campaigns of Nebuchadnezzar (Lehman 2001:95; Lehman 2002: 218-219). But then again, it is difficult to differentiate between Assyrian and Babylonian destruction level of sites simply from surface surveys.

The archaeological survey maps mentioned above clearly show an Assyrian military strategy of privileging the coastal region rather than the inland region (which was tied to Galilee), thus leading to the forced displacement of the population. This course of action may be directly attributed to the different political allegiances of the two areas. That is to say, the inland settlements in the hills, which were consistently destroyed, must have been politically aligned with Asher-Israel, while the coastal area was most likely aligned with Phoenicia. The fact that many sites in the hill regions were not rebuilt or resettled implies that the inhabitants migrated elsewhere. As a result, Asherites must have migrated to regions (with national ties to Israel) like southern Judah.

The one surviving text-artifact from the region of Asher dated to the Assyrian period is a cuneiform tablet from Tel Keisan. The archaeological context of this tablet dates to 750-650 BCE (Horowitz and Oshima 2006: 98-99). Zilberg's (2015: 92) new edition of the cuneiform tablet provides two names that are certainly West Semitic: line 3' *Aḥu-nu[ri]* and line 6' *Ḥamadinnu*. Regarding the first name *Aḥu-nuri* (meaning "The brother is my light"), this name is aligned with Israelite identity (names based upon the a kinship term+ Heb. *nr* are aligned with the tribe of Benjamin, cf. 1 Sam. 14:50 ff.). Names with *Aḥ* element are common among Samarian exiles at Nimrud (Zadok 2002: 20-21). Within the epigraphic Israelite onomasticon, the first name *ʾhy* is attested at Arad (39:6) and the *ʾh*-formed names are very common (Aḥituv 2008: 502). In Israelite genealogies, the element *nr* is aligned with tribe of Benjamin (1 Sam. 14:50–51; 26:5; 1 Chr. 8:33; 9:36, 39; *nr* ʾ of the Gibeonite clans attested on the jar handles Gibeon (Gibeon 22:1; 24:1; 32:1; 37:1–40:1; 42:1; 45:1–50:1; 57:1; 62:1; Demsky 1971: 22). The element *nry* is an Israelite first name on royal *lmlk* jar handle impression from Jerusalem

(WSS 688; with IH patronymic *šbnyw*).⁴⁰⁸ In Neo-Assyrian cuneiform artifacts of the 7th century BCE, the name *Aḫu- nuri* could refer to Israelite exiles in the Harran area and Mesopotamia (PNA 1/1: 86-86).⁴⁰⁹ Finally, since there are no textual references to Assyrians deporting Arameans to the region of Tel Keisan, it is more likely than not that *Aḫu- nuri* is of Israelite descent.

The second person is found in line 6' and bears the name *Ḥamadinnu*, from the West Semitic root *ḥmd* “desire, beauty” (*HALOT*, 1:325). This Israelite name is not attested in the Hebrew Bible, but it is replicated as the PN *ḥmd*ʾ in a late 8th century BCE ostrakon from Arad (55:1; *HITBP*: 82, 598). If our reconstruction is correct, then *ḥmd*-type names are indexical of Israelite urbanity and embody the persistence of native internally displaced Israelites in their homeland of Asher.⁴¹⁰ This observation is completed by the presence of Israelite Iron II C pottery at Tel Keisan Stratum 5 and 4 (for recent analysis, see Singer-Avitz 2014: 113); hence, some of the rebuilding of Tel Keisan Stratum 5 in the 7th century BCE can be attributed to an Asher-Israelite community living in the region. In summary, both names in the Assyrian text from Tel Keisan are well-established Israelite names that come with presupposable indexical

⁴⁰⁸ The PN *nry* is also found among Israelite identities in the Persian Period. This PN is attested twice in the Elephantine papyri (C3A 15:89, 105). The PN *lnry* is attested in the Wadi-Daliyeh papyri from Samaria (Cross 2006: 80, 82). The orthography in the latter papyri is not Aramaic; as we would expect the internal vowel *nwry*, as in other cases in this corpus (*yḥwnwr*). This person could be Israelite. The prefix *lamed* can be interpreted as the Aramaic precativ *lʾ*, found in a Phoenician-Aramean PN and seal from Hama in Syria (WSS 760). An Israelite-Aramean hybrid identity is not out of the question (North Syrian precativ, with defective orthography of *nr*).

⁴⁰⁹ An unprovenanced seal in the Aramaic script, dated 6th century BCE, reads the following name twice: *ḥnry* and *ḥnwry* (WSS 762). Since the seal's authenticity is unclear and provenance is unknown, then no deductions can be made about his ethnic identity.

⁴¹⁰ A recently published unprovenanced Hebrew seal, held in a private collection, was allegedly discovered on the ancient tell of Akko (Deutsch 2015: 62 fn. 6). The seal— which is dome-shaped with a four-winged scarab in the center and two plants on each side— reads: *lʾyš* ‘Belonging to Elisha’ (Deutsch 2015: 62 no. 3). As discussed previously, this name is aligned with Israelite identity.

meaning that is normative within that culture. The systematically reproduced names in Judean contexts come with indexical attachments to a specific group: Asherites from the coastal region.

Interestingly, an Asherite migration hypothesis may help to explain the presence of Phoenician influence in Judean material culture.⁴¹¹ Asherite identity in Judah may be coeval with what scholars recognize as Phoenician cultural influence. For instance, the Phoenician pottery assemblages from the Asherite sites of Rosh Zayit and Tel Keisan, dated to the late 8th century BCE, were discovered at Beersheba in the Negev of Judah (Singer-Avitz 2010: 93, 191). The Phoenician ceramic assemblages include an elongated jar, storage jars, bowls, and jugs (Singer-Avitz 2010: 190-191), and were likely transported on donkeys and carts to Judah. Phoenician material cultural influence that is evident elsewhere, at sites such as Jerusalem,⁴¹² Ramat Rahel,⁴¹³ Tel en-Naṣbeh (Brody 2014), and Tel Aroer,⁴¹⁴ may be attributed to an Asherite economic migration or trade with Judah.⁴¹⁵ Inversely, the discovery of a limited number of

⁴¹¹ Phoenician coastal identities are not only intertwined with the region of Asher but also other areas like Naphtali. For Phoenician influence at Hazor, see Faust 2012: 250-251.

⁴¹² Excavations of Jerusalem have revealed several sets of pottery types that have morphological parallels with Phoenicia: Kenyon's excavations of the south eastern Hill and caves (Eshel 1995: 42-42, 47-50, 61, 95); Western Hall tunnel (Bahat and Solomon 2003); City of David (Ariel, Hirschfeld, and Savir 2000: 51); and the Necropoli (Barkay 2000). Other environs include Ramat Rahel (Eshel 1995: 23). Fish bones from the Mediterranean coast that were discovered the City of David and the Ophel (Lernau and Lernau 1989; 1992) might point the presence of Asherite merchants in Jerusalem.

⁴¹³ For example, the Proto-Aeolic capitals, decorated balustrades, and ashlar masonry discovered at Ramat Rahel (Aharoni 1964; Shiloh 1979; Stern 1992).

⁴¹⁴ Phoenician cultural influence from Tel Aroer Stratum III, date to the 8th century BCE, include: a Phoenician bowl fragment, weight (although found in stratum IV), and a Phoenician bone-carved calendar (Thareani 2011:105, 110, 209-211).

⁴¹⁵ For Phoenician influence on Hebrew seals, see Sass (1993: 199, 239, 244). Recently, Winderbaum (2015: 391-392) argues that the iconography of the four-winged scarab on bullae and seals were first practiced in Phoenicia and Israel and arrived in Judah in the late 8th century BCE. The graffiti of two boats in the Judean cave of Khirbet Beit Lei, dated to the late 8th century BCE, is odd since Judeans were

Judahite vessel types dated to the Lachish Level II level at Kabri Stratum E2a points to trade and contact between Judah and Asher (Singer-Avitz 2014: 138).

Also germane to this discussion is the possible role that Asherites (along with others Israelites) played in the spread of olive oil technology to Judah. Olive oil was an important staple of the Israelite and Judean economy. Several hundred installations and presses are attested in excavations and settlement surveys in ancient Israel and Judah. Nonetheless, oil installations and press technology emerged first in Northern Israel. The earliest olive oil installations that appear in Israel are dated to the 9th century BCE (Faust 2011). Faust (2011: 69) observes that the emergence of olive oil production facilities first appeared in Israel at such sites as Kh. Rosh Zayit in the 9th century BCE and then subsequently in Judah after the fall of Northern kingdom in 732 BCE. Several olive oil installations and presses have been excavated and surveyed in Israel.⁴¹⁶ Central vats of simple lever presses, commonly found in Judah, appear in Israel at Rosh Zayit and ‘Avdon (Frankel 1999: 66). Faust goes on to say that the “technology of oil production (or, more likely, the relevant changes in the economy), gradually drifted southward and was also adopted in the kingdom of Judah” (Faust 2011: 70). The importance of Faust’s observation cannot be clearer. Asherites and other Israelites were instrumental in the spread of oil production technology to Judah. That is, we can attribute the proliferation of the olive oil technology in Judah to the economic migration of Israelite elites whose homeland was destroyed by the

not maritime traders (BLEi 7; *HITBP*: 131-132). However, they may point to the presence of an Asherite or coastal Israelite.

⁴¹⁶ For example, at Kh. Rosh-Zayit, Shiqmona, Beit Aryeh (Kh. Khadash), Kh. Kila and the presses at Kh. Banat Barr, Kurnet Bir e-Tel, Deir el-Mir, Sheikh Isa, Kh. Tibna, Hazor, and Shechem (Faust 2011).

Assyrians.⁴¹⁷

Further evidence of political and economic contact between Asherites and Judeans can be found in the discovery of a royal Judean *lmlk* jar handle at Khirbet Sharta. Khirbet Sharta (Kefar-Ata), a small village from Iron II B-C period near Tel Aphek, belonged to the tribe of Asher (Josh. 19:24, 30). A royal Judean *lmlk* jar handle with a M IIb impression, dated to the time of King Hezekiah, was discovered on the surface of the Tel (Vaughn 1999: 194 no. 36). This discovery bolsters the notion that an Asherite population remained in the land and established socio-economic network ties across territorial borders with southern Judah in the late 8th century BCE. Also, this discovery may signal that Asherites living in Judah were interested in establishing economic ties and community cohesion with their homeland, possibly after Sargon II's favorable economic policy in 716 BCE.⁴¹⁸ Lastly, the discovery of a royal *lmlk* jar handle impression from Hezekiah's reign in Asher resonates with the post-exilic Chronicler's account. According to the Chronicler, men from "Asher and Manasseh and of Zebulun humbled themselves, and came to Jerusalem" to celebrate the Passover (2 Chr. 30:11).⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁷ On economic migration in general in the Ancient Near East, see Altman 2002. Curiously, Faustus maintains that "it is possible that a few refugees with expert knowledge of the olive oil industry found refuge in Philistia" but he does not apply the same logic to Israelite refugees in Judah (2011:76).

⁴¹⁸ One can speculate that Asherite-Phoenicians in western Galilee and the coastal region likely benefited from Assyria's pro-Phoenician policy. Asherite-Phoenician traders could have profited from Sargon II's new economic policy of opening the 'sealed harbor of Egypt' in 716 BCE; which fostered trade between Egypt, the southern Mediterranean coast of Philistia, and Judah. The sudden appearance of 8th century BCE Phoenician influence in Judah may be attributed to the Asherite-Phoenicians.

⁴¹⁹ An imported late 8th -7th century BCE Judean cooking pot was discovered at Tell Abu Hawam on the coast (Balensi, Herrera, and Artzi 1993: 10). Imported Judahite decanters have been discovered at Tel Keisan in the Akko valley (Mazar and Ahituv 2011: 271). The presence of Judean material culture in the coastal region indicates economic contact and social network ties between Jerusalem and Asher during the reign of Hezekiah.

There are two sociolinguistic consequences of an Asherite migration outside of their territorial borders. First, as previously noted, the Asherite tribal genealogies index the migration of some Asherite clan segments to Ephraim and Benjamin in the Iron Age II period in that these clans and families share Ephraimite and Benjamite names and toponyms.⁴²⁰ The sociolinguistic impact was that migrants shifted away from their ancestral heritage by adopting new names. For example, the Asherite clan Beriah (Gen. 46:17; Num. 26:44–45; 1 Chr. 7:23, 30) is associated with the hill country of Ephraim (1 Chr. 7:23) and Benjamin (1 Chr. 8:13, 16). The duplication of names associated with these regions indexes the social migration of a clan of Beriah from western Galilee to the central hill country (de Vaux 1978: 655; Aharoni 1979: 244; Edelman 1988; Demsky 1993: 70–73; Japhet 1993: 185; Levin and Faust 1998; Zevit 2001: 644–645;

⁴²⁰ Some scholars contend that the Asher tribal genealogies were based upon a census or military list (Johnson 1969; Japhet 1993; Sparks 2008), while others contend that they were artificially contrived with additions and elaborations in the post-exilic period (Na'aman 1991; Schweitzer 2009). Scholars date to the genealogical alignment of Asher with Ephraim and Benjamin to the time period of Josiah (Edelman 1988) or the Persian period (Levin and Faust 1998; Levin 2003: 236; Levin 2004: 618–619). Levin presents an interesting rationale for how Asherite genealogies were constructed. He contends that the Chronicler's genealogies "exhibit the fluidity of oral lineages (including the telescoping of hundreds of years into eight generations that can be remembered)," which was precisely those "living traditions" of the Asherite clans still inhabiting southern Mount Ephraim in his own day. What the Chronicler actually did here, then, was to take his ancient sources, the Asherite genealogies in Genesis and in Numbers and that old military census (whether actually from the time of David or not), and use them to "frame" a written version of the oral traditions preserved by the Asherite clans of his own day. Those oral traditions, as usual for this genre, reflected the members' memories of their own origins and their relationships with each other and with their neighbors, with a "telescoped" sense of depth reaching from their present all the way back to their eponymous founder" (2004: 619). Levin's reconstruction runs into several problems. For one, some names/toponyms mentioned in the Chronicler's genealogy of Asher existed in Iron Age II period but not in the Persian period. For example, the name Birzaith (1 Chr. 7:31) and the site Khirbet Bir Zeit in the hill country of Ephraim existed in the Iron II period but not in the Persian period (Finkelstein 2012: 70 note 44); that is, it did not exist not in the Chronicler's day. Therefore he could not have based his genealogy on oral sources of Asherites living in Ephraim hills during the Persian period. It is more likely, in my view, that Asher's genealogy was based upon archival text-artifacts from the 8th century BCE, for this was a period when: 1) Khirbet Bir Zeit existed, 2) Asherites likely migrated to the central hill country, and 3) the Chronicler explicitly acknowledges that Israelites were "reckoned by genealogy" (1 Chr. 5:17; 1Chr. 7:40; also the Levites for priestly duties under Hezekiah in 2 Chr. 31:16–18). After the fall of Israel, Asherite refugees brought their heritage archives with them to Judah. Some documents survived the Babylonian devastation and exile of Judah by the custodians of the clan traditions (they were most likely hidden in caves, as was customarily done with papyrus in Palestine of the first millennium [i.e. Samaria papyri from the Persian period]), and they reached the Chronicler in the Persian period.

Levin 2004: 618-619). Because of an Asherite migration south to the hill country of Ephraim, some names were shared between Asherite-Manassite-Ephraimite identities.

Another type of sociolinguistic consequence of an Asherite migration across tribal boundaries is the invocation of certain names as indexical of ancestral heritage. An Asherite clan name, as a linguistic sign of cultural and political communication, was associational with the Asherite families' naming register. Agents in the clan authorized the local names in speech events across time and space, and one is able to track the migration of certain clan members through animators who continued uttering them. For example, the Asherite clan name $\text{ʔr}^{\text{ʔ}}$ (1Chr. 7:38) was reproduced in a Hebrew ostrakon from Tel Jezreel in Issachar (Ussishkin and Woodhead 1997:63; possibly indexical of the presence of pan-coastal elements, along with the overall Phoenician influence under Ahab at Jezreel, a site of significance only to the Omrides); ʔ^{m} , the long form of the Asherite PN ʔ^{r} (1 Chr. 7: 39), was reproduced on a Hebrew seal from Tel Rehov in Manasseh (Mazar and Aḥituv 2011); and the Asherite clan name Imnah ymnh (Gen. 46:17; Num. 26:44) may have been reproduced in Samaria ostrakon 111 in Manasseh (*HITBP*: 490).⁴²¹ These examples point to a reversal of the shift in naming ideologies in that the sociolinguistic impact of migration among Asherites was an alignment towards pre-existing local family names.

Mindful of these observations, the reproduction and enregisterment of Asherite-Phoenician names⁴²² in Judean inscriptions index an Asherite migration further south to Judah

⁴²¹ A limestone stele fragment discovered at Samaria (Samar 119) is inscribed with the letters ʔ^{r} , which could be read as a relative particle (as part of the opening line of a monumental inscription, *HITBP*: 496-7) or as the personal name Asher (Gogel 1998: 438), but the reading is uncertain.

⁴²² An example of Asherite clans reproducing name components is the clan names $\text{y}^{\text{šwh}}$ and $\text{y}^{\text{šwy}}$ (Gen. 46:17; 1 Chr. 7:30; possibly based on the root šwh [*HALOT*, 2: 446]). They are not examples of dittography nor the latter a gentilic of the former (contra Zadok 1988: 90). On the contrary, they are

(due to conflict with the Assyrians along with other social factors). Through the semiotic processes of enregisterment, iconization, and the reproduction of heritage clan/family names over time and space, patterns are formed that index the migration of Asherite ethnic groups.

Several Asherite personal and family names in Judean inscriptions communicated an ancestral heritage connection to refugees who fled from the coastal region and western Galilee.⁴²³ Some names in this list below are based upon the Asherite cultural hybridity with coastal Phoenicians while others are based upon Asherite genealogies in the Hebrew Bible.⁴²⁴ The decision to include names aligned with Phoenicia is due to the semiotics of language socialization, emulation, and iconization among coastal identities (wherein language, territory, and identity making were inseparably associated). The mixed Asher-Phoenician type-names, as noticeable signs associated with coastal prestige identity, were reproduced among multigenerational families of the tribe of Asher that either intermarried with Phoenicians or were under Phoenician linguistic domination.⁴²⁵ While Phoenician was not the dominant language in Judah, a Phoenician aligned name bore a positive social stigma among Asherites in Judah who were of a coastal cultural heritage.

Asherite identity is potentially embodied by the following names in Judean text-artifacts:

metalinguistic games that fall on the discursive level among clan members that, based upon agro-pastoral Middle Eastern ethnographic analogies mentioned above, served to strengthen clan solidarity and ideology.

⁴²³ One Asherite name, *stwr* (Num. 13:13), is replicated at Elephantine (*stry* D1 8:1; Zadok 1988: 89).

⁴²⁴ Cypriot Phoenician identity in Judah is indexed by the reference to the gentilic Kittim in a ration list from Arad dated to the 6th century BCE? (Ahituv 2008: 94). However, no personal names are listed. This is the only explicit reference to Phoenicians in Judean text-artifacts in the late Iron Age period.

⁴²⁵ On the subject of linguistic domination, Bourdieu (1991: 46) writes “Integration into a single ‘linguistic community’, which is a product of the political domination that is endlessly reproduced by institutions capable of imposing universal recognition of the dominant language, is the condition for the establishment of relations of linguistic domination.”

Asherite Identity in Judah

ʔhmlk Phoenician (*PPD*: 43; *hmlk* Benz 1972: 110-112, 264) → ʔhk Beth Shemesh (Delevault and Lemaire 1979: 23 no. 47; short for ʔhmlk; the *alpeh* and *kaph* is semiotically aligned with the Phoenician writing system)

ʔhy Asher (1Chr. 7:34) → ʔhy Arad 39:6 (*HITBP*: 68; late 7th cent. BCE)

ʔdšʔ Byblos (WSS 990; from root dšʔ)⁴²⁶ → dšʔt Jerusalem bulla (Mazar and Ben-Arie 2015: 309 no. B6; 7th cent. BCE)

ʔlnʿ Akko Phoen. 8th cent. BCE (WSS 716; Gubal 1993:129; Keel 1997:536 no. 19) → ʔln[ʔ]ʔ Arad (69; *HAE* I: 68; *HITBP*: 91-92; 8th cent. BCE)

ʔšʔ Akko (Delevault and Lemaire 1979:12 no. 20); ʔšy Akhziv (Cross 2002:170 no. 2; late 7th cent. BCE patronymic); ʔšʔ is replicated among Israelite tribal identities from Manasseh—pointing to a Phoenician/Asherite-Samaritan symbiosis (Samar 22.2; 23.2; 24.1; 26.1; 27.1; 28.1-2; 29.1; 37.3; including Kunt. Ajrud 3.16 in Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel 2012:103-104) → [ʔ]ʔšʔ Jerusalem (*Jslm* 11; Nadelman 1990: 38; late 8th cent. incised jar); ʔš[ʔ] Jerusalem (*Jslm* 18; *HITBP*: 224-225; late 8th cent. BCE); ʔwsʔ Jerusalem (Ornan et. al. 2008; late 8th cent. BCE seal from the Western Wall Plaza)

gʔwʔl (corrupt form of ǵʔlʔ? Num. 13:15; *HALOT* 1:168) → gʔlyhw Beth Zur (WSS 412; *HAE* 3.6; 7th cent. BCE); Umm el-Qanafid Jordan (WSS 7; 7th cent. BCE, for a newly discovered Judean seals in Jordan, see Goulart and Gane 2011); Arad (39.5; *HITBP*: 68; late 7th cent. BCE); Arad (16.5; *HITBP*: 32; late 7th early 6th cent. BCE); a by-form of ygʔl of the tribe of Issachar in Num. 13:7, but note that in 2 Sam. 23:36 one of David’s mighty warriors is named Igal from Zobah [possibly a district between Beth-zur and Jerusalem, cf. Aharoni 1979: 355])

gd[y] Akko (Delevault and Lemaire 1979: 12 no. 20); gd Shiqmona (Delevault and Lemaire 1979: 17; or can be read as gr; 8th cent. BCE) → gdy[ʔ] Arad 71:3 (*HITBP*: 92; late 8th cent. BCE); gdʔ Arad 72:3 (*HITBP*: 93; late 8th cent. BCE); gd Tel Malḥata (Beit-Arieh 2015: 502; or gd[y]ʔ); 7th cent. BCE); gdw Kh. Uza (Beit-Arieh 2007:176; 7th cent. BCE); possibly bgd Tel Haror (with an elided *aleph* meaning “belonging to <ʔ>bygd [“my father is fortune] (Gogel 1998: 295; *AHI*: no. 46.001; note the Egyptian *ankh* sign after the PN; late 7th cent. BCE) and Lachish 24:1 ʔbgd (abecedary or PN; but cf. WSS 992 ff. categorized as Ammonite seals with abecedaries); gdyhw City of David (WSS 467)

gr Shiqmona (Delevault and Lemaire 1979: 17; 8th cent. BCE); grtʔ Tyre (Sader 2005: 61 no. 38; 8th cent. BCE); grʔ and gry Phoenician names (Benz 1972: 103-104) → gr[ʔ] Jerusalem (*Jslm* 36; *HITBP*: 205); [g]rʔ Tell Beit Mirsim (*BMir* 2:1; *HITBP*: 134); bn gr Maresha (1:1; Kloner and Eshel 1999, 147)

hwd Asher (1Chr. 7:37); related to hwdwyh, which is aligned with Manasseh and Benjamin (1 Chr 5:24; 9:7) → hdyhw Gibeon (WSS 220; 7th-6th cent. BCE); hwdwyhw Kh. Uza (Beit-Arieh 2007: 144-145 no. 12:2; 153, 155 no. 19:9; 2x 7th cent BCE); hwdwyhw Lachish (3:17; early 6th cent. BCE); (here it is possible Asherites renegotiated their identity and adopted the yhw-spelling for their names)

zkr Akhziv (Cross 2002:170 no. 3 could be read zkr (bn) mlk or zkrmlk (Delevault and Lemaire 1979: 4 no. 4) → zkr Arad (67:5; 48:3 [both late 8th cent. BCE]; Arad 38:7 [Aḥituv 2008: 139; late 7th cent. BCE]); zkr Tel Masos (Mesh 1:1; Aḥituv 2008: 164; mid-7th cent. BCE); zkr Jerusalem (Shoham 2000: 34-35 no. 4-6; 7th cent. BCE bullae); zkr Horvat Uza (Uza 1:2; Aḥituv 2008: 166; late 7th cent. BCE).

ḥamadinnu Tel Keisan (Zilberg 2015: 92) → ḥmdʔ Arad (Arad 55:1; *HITBP*: 82, 598; late 8th century BCE)

⁴²⁶ This seal was a surface find in Byblos (Phoenician) with an Ammonite layout and iconography, but it was inscribed in the Aramaic writing system. The first and family names are neither Ammonite nor Aramaic.

ḥšy Asher (1 Kgs. 4:16) → *ḥšy* Jerusalem (Shoham 2000: 82, No. P2; a *lmlk* jar handle impression)

yʿny Asher (1 Chr. 5:12) → *yʿn[y]* Wadi Murbaaʿat (*HAE* I: 343-344; also see the discovery of *lmlk* handles in Magen and Peleg 2007:27)

yplṭ Asher (1Chr. 7:32; *plṭ*-type names among coastal identities like Ug. *yplṭn* and *plṭ DULAT*: 673)⁴²⁷ → *plṭh* Ketef Hinnom seal (*WSS* 326; *HALOT* 930f; Barkay 1994:101); *plṭyhw* Jerusalem (Shiloh 1986: 29 no. 23; again, here it is possible Asherites renegotiated their identity and adopted the *yhw*-spelling to their name)

klbt Tyre ? (Sader 2005 63 no. 41; late 7th c. B.C.); *klb* ʿ and *klby* Phoenician names (Benz 131-132, 331) → *klb* Arad (58.2; *HITBP*: 84; 7th century BCE)

myk ʿl Asher (Num. 13:13); other IH references: **mk* ʿ (Samaria *WSS* 29) → *mk* ʿ Tel Goded [Tell el- Judeideh] (*lmlk* jar handle *WSS* 709; *HAE* 53.2; Vaughn 1999: 218, no. 255; the short form of *mk ʿl*); *mk* ʿ Jerusalem (*HAE* 3: 1.78; Shoham 2000:81; Brandl 2012: 386; patronymic on late 8th-7th century BCE seal; also at Ashkelon 1.6 r. 3; Cross 2008: 342-342).

mky Asher (Num. 13:15; patronymic); similar *mky* Bethsaida 1 (Hess 2004:55) → *mkyn* Lachish (AHI vol. 2: 90 no. 101.283 Jar Stamp,); *mky* Uza 1:4 (late 7th century BCE); *mky* Arad 110:2 (6th century BCE; Renz 1995 : 401; *HITBP*: 105); related form *mkyhw* Jerusalem (*Jslm* 78:2 *HITBP*: 240- 241; late 8th cent. BCE; long form of *mky* or indexical of the renegotiating of Asherite identity?)

mlky ʿl Asher (Gen. 46:17; Num. 26:45; 1 Chr. 7:31); *mlk ʿl* Shiqmona (Delavault and Lemaire 1979: 17-18; 8th cen. BCE); *mlk* ʿ Tyre (Sader 2005:62 no. 40); *mlkyw* Nimrud (*HAE* Nim(8).5) → *mlky* Jerusalem (*WSS* 463; *HAE* 2.27; 13.35)

mtn-type Phoenician PNs⁴²⁸ Shiqmona (Delavault and Lemaire 1979:14-16; Benz 1972:144; *PPD*: 321) → *mtnyhw* Tell el-Ḥesi (*WSS* 568); Jerusalem (Shukron 2012); Jerusalem (*WSS* 261; 7th cent.).⁴²⁹

⁴²⁷ Also notice the PN *b ʿlplṭ* on a 7th cent. Phoenician ostrakon from Tel Dan (Delavault and Lemaire 1979: 2 no. 1) could be indexical of an Asherite in upper Galilee. An unprovenanced Phoenician-Israelite seal in a private collection bears the name *ʿlplṭ* (Elayi 2013).

⁴²⁸ *mtn*-type personal names are aligned with local Canaanite population in the 13 cent. BCE (Proto-Canaanite Lachish ewer; Naveh 33-35) but they are aligned with Phoenician identity and agency in the Iron Age II period. For example, it is the dynastic name of several Phoenician kings: Mattan I king of Tyre (829-821 BC), Mattan II (730-729 BCE), Mattan III (late 7th century BCE), and Mattan IV (6th century BCE) (Katzenstein 1997: 218-219, 349; Aubet 2001: 56-57). Katzenstein (ibid) is most likely correct in arguing that Mattan priest of Baal under Queen Athaliah of Judah was from Tyre (2 Kgs. 11:18, 2 Chron. 23:17)- which may explain the appearance of *mtn*-type names with Yahwistic theophoric among Judean royal house in subsequent periods before the exile (2 Kgs. 24:17). It is also possible that Judean personal names with formed with the lexeme *mtn* may reflect the migration of Asherites from the coastal region during Assyrian period. The PN *mtn* is attested on several unprovenanced seals and bullae: *WSS* 26:2; 57:2; 237:2; 256:1-257:1; 272:2; 387:2; 476:2; 488:2; 525:2; 562:1; 563:1; 564:1; 565:1; 566:1; 567:1; 592:2). There is also a *bn mtn* in Jer. 38:1 of uncertain genealogy. The social dislocation and cultural hybridity in the Persian period makes the post-exilic references to the names *mtnyh* and *mtnyhw* names difficult to align ideologically (*mtnyh* as Levites: Neh. 11:17, 22; 12:8; 13:13; 1 Chr. 9:15; 2 Chr. 20:14; a Levitical gatekeeper: Neh. 12:25; a priest: Neh. 12: 35; *mtnyhw* is also Levitical (1 Chr. 25:4, 16; 2 Chr. 29:13). A certain returnee from Elam was also named *mtnyhw* (Ezr.10: 26).

⁴²⁹ An unprovenanced bulla bears the Asherite patronymn *mtn* (son of) *ḥb* ʿ (*WSS* 488; *yḥbh* 1Chr. 7:34).

nqm, *nqm* 'l Phoenician (Benz 1972: 363; Ugaritic *PTU*: 168) → *nqm* Jerusalem (Prignaud 1970, 56; *HITBP*: 219; late 8th-early 7th cent. BCE); *nq[m]* Ramat Rahel (*HITBP*: 219); *nqm* Jerusalem (Vainstüb 2012; Western Wall; late 8th-7th cent. BCE); *nqm* 'l Tell en-Naşbeh (Prignaud 1970, 56; *HITBP*: 387 with a different reading that is unconvincing; 8th cent. BCE)

'*bdy* Shiqmona (Delavault and Lemaire 1979:17 no 34; 5th cen. BCE); '*bdy* Phoenician PN (Benz 1972:199, 371),⁴³⁰ see Israelite '*bdyw* K.Ajrud 9 (Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel 2012); '*bdyw* Samar 50:2 (*HITBP*: 471); '*bd* ' Samaria (Samar. 57:1); '*bdyhw* (1 Kgs. 18:3) → '*bdy* Lachish, Tell el-Judeideh and Naḥal Arugot (WSS 684; Vaughn 1999: 207 nos. 103-117; *lmlk* jar handle impression with the first name *nḥm*); '*bdy* Lachish (WSS 690; Vaughn 1999: 210 no. 148; *lmlk* jar handle impression); '*bd* [] Arad 49:8 (*HITBP*: 78; 8th cent. BCE); '*bdyhw* Beersheba bullae (WSS 661; 8th cent.); Lachish ostrakon (31:3; Lemaire 2004:2126 late 8th or early 7th.); '*bdyhw* Yavneh Yam (MHsh 4:7; *HITBP*: 342; late 7th cent. BCE); Arad 10:4; 27:2 (*HITBP*: 26-27, 56)

'*zr* Tyre (Sader 2005:46 no. 20; Benz 1972: 167, 375; patronymic); Israelite (KAjr 10:1; patronymic) → '*zr* Gezer (Ephraim) and Azekah (Tell el-Zakariyah) (WSS 691; Vaughn 1999: 210 nos. 150; same *lmlk* jar impressions from Gezer); '*zr* Beth Shemesh (WSS 696; Vaughn 1999: 212 no. 168; with first name *špn*); Lachish (WSS 697; Vaughn 1999: 212 nos. 169-171 ; a different *lmlk* seal impressions with the same with first name *špn*); Azekah (WSS 691; Tell el-Zakariyah); Arad (51:2; patronymic, late 8th cent. BCE; 58:3; first name, late 8th cent. BCE); Jerusalem (WSS 467; 7th century BCE); Tel Masos (*Mesh* 1:2; 7th century BCE); Arad (22:2; 23:8; late 7th-early 6th century BCE); Lachish (19:1; late 7th-early 6th century BCE); also see '*zr* reconstructed on a 6th century BCE ostrakon from Transjordan (Tall Ḥisbān A3 (XII) line 9 ['*zr* Aufrecht 1999)

'*l* ' Asher (1Chr. 7:39) → related form *y* '*ly* Jerusalem (Naveh 2000: 8; 7th cent. BCE; see also '*lyhw* Kh. Uza [Beit-Arieh 2007: 150-152])

rwhgh Asher (1 Chr. 7:34) → *rwh[gh]* Tel Sera' (1:2; Cross 2003: 158; 7th cent. BCE Philisto-Hebrew ostraca)

š*b* ' Tyre (Sader 2005); also Samar 2:6 (*HAE* Sam(8).1.2:6; *HITBP*: 432) → š*b* ' Arad (38:4; *HAE* Arad (7)38:4; *HITBP*: 66-67; late 7th cent. BCE)

š*b* ' *t* Tyre (Sader 2005:62 no. 39; late 7th cent. BCE) → š*b* ' *t* Jerusalem (*HITBP*: 221; 700 BCE)

š*lk*-type PNs Phoenician (Benz 1972:416-417; note š*lk* Ashkelon Cross 2008:342 no.1.6; 7th cent. ostrakon) → š*lk* Ramat Beth Shemesh/Naḥal Yarmutas (Milevski and Naveh 2005; 7th cent. BCE); š*lk* Khirbet Uza (Beit-Arieh 2007:170; 7th cent. BCE)

š*lmy* Asherite (Num. 34:27); š*lmy* Tel Azor (7 km east of Jaffa, indexical of Asherite identity in southern coast) (Delevault and Lemaire 1979: 23 no. 46; incised on jar dated to the 7th cent. BCE); š*lm* Phoenician PN (Benz Names 418) → š*lm* Beth-Shemesh, Kh. Rabud, Tel Goded (Tell el-Judeideh), Arad, Jerusalem, and Ramat Rahel (WSS 705; Vaughn 1999: 214 nos. 195-203; first name on several *lmlk* jar handles); š*lm* Lachish (WSS 706; first name on a *lmlk* jar handle); š*lm* Beth Shemesh and Horvat Shovav (WSS 666; Vaughn 1999: 200; patronymic); š*lm* Arad 44 (ostrakon from stratum VIII); š*lm* City of David (Reich and Shukron 2009; patronymic on late 8th century BCE seal); š*lm* Lachish seal (WSS 360; first name on an unstratified seal likely late 8th century BCE seal); š*lm* Tel Sera' (*HAE* 1:345; 7th century BCE ostrakon line 3); š*lm* Jerusalem (Shoham 2000:82; 7th century BCE bullae); also in latter periods (Arad 21:4; 35:3; Lachish 6:10)

š*m* ' Tyre (Sader 2005: 43 no. 16; 10th cent BCE) → š*m* ' Jerusalem (*Jslm* 32; Nadelman 1990: 39; Naveh 2000:6; pot)

⁴³⁰ In several unprovenanced inscriptions: '*bdy* Deutsch and Heltzer 1995:26.27; 27.34; 27.40; 27.41; Deutsch and Heltzer 1997: 21.45, 46.

šmr Asher (1 Chr. 7:34) (also *šmryw* in Manasseh [Samar 1:1–2; 13:2; 14:2; 21:1–2; WSS 377:1])→ *šmryhw* Arad (18:4; *HITBP*: 37-38; early 6th cent. BCE)

š'ḷ Asher (1 Chr. 7:36)⁴³¹ → *š'ḷ* Arad 49 (Renz 1995: 153-155; *HITBP*: 78; Aḥituv 2008:147; late 8th cent. BCE); Arad 38 (*HITBP*: 67; late 7th century)⁴³²

špṭ Phoenician Tyre (Sader 2005: 46 no. 20; end of 7th cent. BCE; other Phoenician PNs, see Benz 1972: 423)→ *yšpṭ* Arad (*HAE* (8) 53:1; *HITBP*: 81; 8th cent. BCE)

Approximately 33 names align with coastal Phoenician-Asherite identity in Judah. It must be stated upfront that these are educated guesses based upon present-day analogies of replicating names and the limitations of sources. Some names are not as convincing as others because they are similar to other names, grammatical forms are different, or the names were partially reconstructed. In building a case for Asherite presence, certain names are more relevant and help to explain the Phoenician influence in Judah and Judean presence in Asher. But the general overall trend is the presence of coastal Asherites in Judah. Statistically speaking, the number of names ranks fourth to the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, and (leaving reconstructions aside) Naphtali.

5.14 Danite-Aligned Tribal Names in Judean Text-artifacts

The tribesmen of Dan, a very small Israelite tribe (even called a clan, see de Vaux 1978: 777), descended from one of the sons of Bilhah Rachel's handmaid (Gen. 35:25). According to Israelite history, the tribe of Dan was first located in a coastal region surrounded by Ephraim to the east, Manasseh to the north, and Philistia-Judah to the south and then migrated north to

⁴³¹ This clan of Asher had previously moved from their territory in North Palestine to the land of Shual in southern hill country of Ephraim (1 Sam. 13:17) (de Vaux 1978: 789; Aharon 1979: 244). Apparently this clan moved further south to the Judean Negev region.

⁴³² This PN is found several unprovenanced Hebrew inscriptions (Kh. El Qom 7; WSS 75, 112, 378, 517, 534, 576, 640) and unprovenanced Ammonite seals (WSS 951, 969, 979).

Galilee. Based upon Joshua 19:47, “the territory of the Danites slipped from their grasp,” consequently the Danites migrated northward to region of Naphtali and conquered Laish and renamed it the city of Dan (Judg. 17-18; 18:29). Some Danite clans may have been assimilated into Naphtali, for in Biblical narratives a kinship affinity existed between these tribes in connection to Rachel’s handmaid Bilhah (Gen. 35:25). Already in the blessings of Moses (Deut. 33:22), Dan is connected to Bashan in the north (Kallai 1986: 23). But, surprisingly, in the Judges period Dan is linked with ships docked in the Mediterranean coast (Judg. 5:17; prompting some scholars like Cyrus Gordon, Yigal Yadin, and Gary Rendsburg to align the Danites with the Denyen/Danuna/Danaioi of the Aegean. (See Rendsburg 1990, but note the virtual absence of Aegean names in Dan’s genealogies).

In the book of Joshua, the tribal territory of Dan comprises parts of the southern coast of Ephraim, northwestern Judah, and north Philistia (Na’aman 1986a: 46-47; Lisovsky and Na’aman 2003: 312; according to Na’aman, the writer wanted to retain the system of 12 tribal territories). The cities allotted to the tribe of Dan are mentioned in Josh. 19: 41-45 (i.e. Zorah, Eshtaol, Aijalon, Shaalabbin, Baalath, Gibbethon, Eltekeh, Jehud, Bene-berak, and Gath-rimmon (on the identification of these sites, see Demsky 2004: 278-282). The Levitical cities in the allotment of Dan consisted of Elteke, Gibbethon, Aijalon, and Gath-Rimmon, along with their suburbs (Josh. 21:23-24; on the date of the Levitical cities in Chronicles, see Klein 2006: 186-193).

Albrecht Alt first identified two literary categories for the division and settlements of the land in Joshua 13-19: boundary descriptions and city lists (Alt 1925). Alt argued that the literary category of the former dated to the monarchic period and the latter to the reign of Josiah. The

description of Dan's settlement fell into the latter category (along with the tribes of Simeon and Issachar) and was therefore dated to the 7th century BCE (Alt 1927).

Since the time of Alt, no consensus has been reached on the type of list and date of the tribal inheritance of Dan in the book of Joshua. Some scholars assert that Dan's description is a town list derived from the period of the United Monarchy (de Vaux 1978: 780-783; Aharoni 1979: 248-260, 745; Kallai 1986: 277-325; Rainey 2006: 151-54, 181-85)⁴³³ and Jehoshaphat (Cross and Wright 1956), while others contend that they were border descriptions originated during Solomon, but were added at a later stage in Israel's history such as the period of Hezekiah or Josiah (Na'aman 1986a: 98-107; Demsky 2004). Kallai considered the fact that Gezer is missing from the Danite list and Solomon's 2nd district because it lay in ruins, and therefore, the Danite list could be dated to a later period, such as the times of Uzziah or Josiah (Kallai-Kleinmann 1958:148). Na'aman (1986: 116) argues that Dan's city list refers to a time during the united monarchy, but dates to a later period. Since seven of the ten towns listed as part of Dan's inheritance are found in Assyrian inscriptions as corresponding to the kingdom of Ekron in the 7th century BCE, Na'aman asserts, then it must have been written in the time of Josiah (Na'aman 1986a: 75-110; Lisovsky and Na'aman 2003: 316, 320-322). However, an objection can be raised against Na'aman's view on the grounds that no Danite names in Israelite genealogies align with people from Ekron (or Ekron inscriptions for that matter) and, furthermore, Danite-types names are not found in any epigraphic material from Ekron.⁴³⁴ It is

⁴³³ According to Rainey and Notley: "It is likely that the pericopes (passages) discussed above derive from the same archival sources that preserve the list of Solomon's commissioners' district" (2006:185).

⁴³⁴ Identities from the city of Ekron and environs are aligned with several non-Danite Israelite tribes (such as Ephraim discussed below in the next section) as well as Benjamin ('b ' Revadim [Zadok 2009: 670] → 'by 'l 1 Sam. 9:1; 14:51), and Judah (y 'r Ekron [Zadok 2009: 671] → y 'yr 2 Sam. 21:19; 1 Chr. 20:5). This picture generally agrees with the picture of tribal groups within the geographical borders of Ekron

true that Ekron is listed as part of Dan's inheritance (Na'aman 1986a: 99; but discounted by Demsky 2004: 280), but this has more to do with the hegemony of the region by Ephraimite-Israelites than it is about Danites (on the Israelite presence at Ekron, see below). Other scholars claim that the inheritance of Dan is a utopian list with no historical basis (Galil and Ahituv cited by Demsky 2004: 270). But Demsky (2004: 261-284) debunks these theories by analyzing the historical geography, toponyms, and textual sources. He stresses that the correlations between these three areas point to the time of Solomon, but notes that the list was added to the Book of Joshua at a later period in the Judean monarchy.

There is also no general agreement about the date of their migration north to the region of Naphtali (Kallai 1986: 277-325; Na'aman 1986a: 98-112; Niemann 1999; I will not discuss Na'aman's [2005] post-exilic date, which is rather unconvincing and otiose). Niemann takes an inversive permutation to the narrative of the Danite migration in Judges 17-18 by asserting that the Danites migrated south after the invasion of Tiglath-Pileser III, settling first near Kiriath-Jearim and then in the Zorah-Eshtaol region (1999). It is at this time they invented a northern migration to legitimize their claims to the area (1999). However, Niemann's claim does not withstand much scrutiny in this context in which he lodges it for several reasons. Excavations at Tel Dan have revealed that the early Iron Age strata included "collared-rim" jars that are typical of Israelites in the central hill country— thus providing support for a Danite relocation to this area (Rainey and Notley 2006: 151). Secondly, Dan was a small tribe and could not have overtaken the Zorah-Eshtaol region and its vicinity during the time period Niemann suggests because the Assyrians were in control of the area. Moreover, after the fall of Samaria portions of the

(such as Ephraim, Benjamin, and Judah). The only example possibly pointing to a Danite presence at Ekron is the Naphtali name *pd̄y* (*Hazr* 15; Delavault and Lemaire 1979:12; *pd̄y* at Ekron, see Ahituv 2008: 340-341). But this connection is highly uncertain because the tribe of Dan did not occupy the city of Hazor but Tel Dan.

Danite region- including the Danite city of Ekron (Josh 19:43)—was transferred over to Philistia. Even if one were to propose that the Danites settled in the area during the short rebellion of Judah and the Philistine king Šidqa of Ashkelon against Assyria—for after the death of Sargon II, Hezekiah took over Ekron and Gezer, and Šidqa took over Beth-dagan, Joppa, Bene-beraq, and Azor (2 Kgs. 18:8; Cogan 2008: 114)—this is too short a period for the overtaking of this region and the construction of a grand narrative from these events. The fact that after Sennacherib defeated this coalition, he cut off all anti-Assyrian control of this area in 701 BCE and portioned them out to the pro-Assyrian kings of Ekron and Ashdod allows one to concede that the facts on their face do not support Niemann’s claim (Rainey and Notley 2006: 241-242; Cogan 2008: 115-118).

It is more likely, as Greer (2013) has recently observed, that Danite migration represents an archaic tradition. Accordingly, “a number of archaic features—such as the preservation of the name Laish (Judg. 18:7, 29), the political setting, and the social setting—may support the plausibility of positing that an earlier tradition existed prior to Jeroboam” (2013: 35). Hence, “it seems reasonable to suggest that there existed Yahwistic traditions deeply rooted within a tribal framework prior to the time of Jeroboam, complex as they may be” (2013:35).

It must be kept in mind, as Bartusch aptly claims by drawing parallels from anthropological studies, that boundaries in tribal societies are not always clearly defined, especially when it comes to smaller tribal groups. In tribal societies, there exists a “transitional zone, in which members of settlements peripherally associated with various tribes form relationships with one another. Where boundaries between tribes do in fact exist, these tend to follow naturally dividing features of the landscape such as coast/inland, hill country/valley, or forest/plain regions of habitation” (2003: 84). Thus, Dan’s list “poorly reflects the social

character of tribal society as recognized by cultural anthropologists” and is “better understood as the administrative means of the Davidic-Solomonic state for managing the loosely arranged pre-monarchic population settled throughout Canaan” (2004: 86). With this in mind, a date in the united monarchy seems more probable for Dan’s inheritance than a date in the 7th century BCE. After the division of Solomon’s kingdom into Israel and Judah, this liminal zone was loosely tied to Israel or Judah. Clans living there began to forge clearer allegiances, and later this bounded territory became more fixed in administrative terms based upon the political group in power.

While space does not permit a further elaboration of the Danite inheritance or migration, suffice it say that the most convincing view is that the whatever the origin of the Danite cities listed in Joshua 19, most of it was under Israelite control until the Assyrian conquest. According to Kallai, the southern allotment of Dan was taken over by the tribe of Ephraim (1986: 142-147, 364-366, and map no. 4; contra those who view its inheritance as taken over by Judah after Dan’s departure (see Hess 1996a: 275; Rainey and Notley 2006: 178). Indications that Israelites controlled this area are based upon several textual sources (see the Chronicler’s reference to Levitical cities of Aijalon and Gath-Rimmon as belonging to Ephraim [1 Chr. 6:69]). First, during the time of the Israelite kings Baasha and Zimri (in the late 10th-9th centuries BCE),⁴³⁵ the battle between Israel and Judah occurred at Gibbethon, just north of the Nahal Soreq in Dan (1 Kgs 15:27; 16:15). The implication from this event is that territories comprising the Nahal Aijalon, including Gezer up to Gibbethon before the Nahal Soreq, was under Israelite control (Demskey 2004: 283). Secondly, 2 Kings 14:8–14 mentions the Israelite King Joash meeting

⁴³⁵ That is, after Rehoboam is said to have fortified the Benjamite cities of Zorah and Aijalon (2 Chr. 11:10). According to the Chronicler, Aijalon belonged both to Ephraim (1 Chr. 6:69) and Benjamin (1 Chr. 8:13). In the latter reference, the family of Beriah is mentioned as “heads of fathers’ *houses* of the inhabitants of Aijalon.” It has already been noted that the Beriah family is originally Ephraimite from Birzaith in the hill country (1 Chr. 7:23, 30–31; note the Asherite migration to Birzaith as well). Therefore, it can be concluded that Ephraimite clans controlled certain parts of the Aijalon valley.

Amaziah king of Judah at Beth Shemesh, suggesting that the Israelites controlled most of Dan's inheritance and had unfettered access to this region during the first half of the 8th century BCE. Demsky contends that Israelites controlled the territory of Dan up until the reign of Jeroboam II (Demsky 2004: 283-284; who also notes that Ephraimites migrated to Ono and Lod). Thus, at least a small segment of the Danite clans remained in the Aijalon valley from the time of the united monarchy, but either assimilated or coexisted with the Ephraimites-Israelites. Groups living in the allotment of Dan included Israelites (Ephraim-Dan), Levites, and Judeans in Zorah and Estahol (Demsky 2004: 277). The former occupied areas closer to the Nahal Aijalon in the northern border and the latter near the Nahal Soreq in the southern border (ibid). It is likely that after the fall of Samaria, some Danite-Israelites may have remained in the area and that others migrated south of Nahal Soreq to places like Philistia and Judah.

There are some indications that Israelites migrated south of the Nahal Soreq to Ekron. In his western campaign of 720 BCE, Sargon II deported the inhabitants of Samaria, ending any Israelite control of over the area of Dan. Sargon II also captured the city of Ekron, 11 km southwest of Gezer (Gitin 2003; Na'aman 2003). But after the death of Sargon II, King Hezekiah expanded his borders to Philistia (imprisoning Padi, King of Ekron, who was loyal to Assyria) even to Gezer (as indicated by the presence of *lmlk* Judean royal stamp impressions). But his kingdom was greatly reduced after his defeat to Sennacherib in 701 BCE, along with those who sided with him at Ekron, and this territory came under the hegemony of Ekron. By the 7th century BCE, Israelite presence is evident at Ekron, possibly pointing to an Israelite migration from the area of Dan south to Philistia.⁴³⁶

⁴³⁶ After the fall of Assyria in 612 BCE, Josiah expanded Judah's hegemony to areas beyond Dan's former inheritance to the cities further north such as Yavneh and Tel Qasile, as evidenced by the discovery of several Judean Hebrew inscriptions.

Israelite-Danite presence in Ekron and environs is evident in several personal names dated to the 7th century BCE. The PN *šlmy* at Tel Azor (Zadok 2009: 670) aligns with the Asherite PN *šlmy* (Num. 34:27; note that some Asherites migrated to Ephraim, discussed under the section under Asher, so it is not surprising to find Asherite names in Dan-Ephraim). The PN *ḥmlk* at Ekron (Zadok 2009: 670; short for *ʾḥmlk* in Ashkelon 1.13 Cross 2008: 347) aligns with *ḥmlk* on an unprovenanced Hebrew seal (WSS 159), *ʾḥmlk* in the Samaria ostraca (22.2-3; 23.2; 24.1; 25.2; 26.1; 27.2; 28.2; 29.2; 48.2), and *ʾḥymlk* an Ephraimite priest (1 Sam. 14:3; 22:9). Finally, the PN *pdy* at Ekron (Ahituv 2008: 340-341; Zadok 2009: 670; 7th cent. Phoenician inscription incised on a vessel) aligns with *pdy* in *Hazor* 15 (Delavault and Lemaire 1979:12 or *pdh* Naveh 1989:347). Moreover, the name *Pa-di-i* is replicated by an Ephraimite in the Tel Hadid cuneiform tablet dated to the 7th century BCE (Naʾaman and Zadok 2000; Horowitz and Oshima 2006: 63-64).⁴³⁷

Frank Cross observes that the royal dedicatory inscription from Ekron exhibits Israelite influence. According to Cross,

[t]he fact that the Neo-Philistine script and orthography of this period stem primarily from Hebrew—and not Phoenician—is surprising. Even more striking is the script of the Ekron Royal Dedicatory Inscription, and in lesser degree the storejar inscriptions from seventh-century Ekron . . . The script of the monumental royal inscription derives directly from the early Hebrew script of the tenth–ninth century. Although it stems from a lapidary tradition, its script already shows the tendency to lengthen the vertical or lower strokes (e.g., of *ʾalep*, *bet*, *kap*, and *mem*), over against the stubby forms of tenth- and ninth-century Phoenician texts. Compare, for example, the squat Byblus and Cyprian (Honeyman) scripts over against the scripts of the Gezer, KunAjrud, and Mesha inscriptions. The Royal Ekron Inscription also preserves the “X-form” *taw* with Hebrew versus the “T-form” *taw* that evolves in Phoenician already in the ninth century (Cross 2003: 338).

Indeed, these parallels align well with the Israelite script tradition than the southern Judean

⁴³⁷ Lemaire (1977:213) reconstructs the name [*pd*]y in Arad 55:2. If his hypothetical reading is accepted, then it could be argued that this name aligns with Israelite identity.

tradition (i.e. Gezer, Kuntillet Ajrud are Israelite and the script of the Mesha inscription exhibits a post-hegemonic Israelite influence in Moab). Finally, another the letter style, with a downward tick in the Ekron inscription, is a hallmark of Israelite scribes from Samaria. The *zayin* in this inscription, “most resembles the Hebrew “z-form,” with the downward tick on the right of the lower stroke—a tick found in Hebrew also on *ʾalep* occasionally, on *zayin*, on *yod* frequently, and on *šade* regularly, appearing as early as the Samaria Ostraca,” asserts Cross (2003:337). In sum, the script of the royal Ekron inscription semiotically aligns with the Hebrew of Israel, and not Judah or Phoenicia. The presence of Israelite personal names and script complements the discovery of Israelite four-horned altars at Ekron (Gitin 1989: 61). As Schloen observes, “[t]he four-horned altars of northern “Israelite” type found at Ekron indicate the presence of refugees from the north” (2001: 146 no. 14). Indeed, the constellation of these influences point the forced migration of families, scribes, and craftsmen from Israel (Manasseh-Ephraim-Dan) to Ekron in the late 8th-7th centuries BCE.

Regarding the presence of Danite identity in Judah, this tribe is not prominently featured in exilic and post-exilic Judean sources. Of all the Judean prophets, only Ezekiel includes the tribe of Dan in its construction of a restored Israel (Ezek. 48:1–2, 32; I do not include the city of Dan in Galilee, which is referenced in Am. 8:14 and Jer. 4:15; 8:16). In the post-exilic period, the Chronicler excluded Dan’s genealogy in its configuration of Israelite national tribal history. That is not to say that the Chronicler ignored Dan all together, for this tribe is listed by name in two places (1 Chr. 2:2; 12:35; on the possible scribal gloss or error of the PN’s Shuppim and Huppim as Dan’s descendants in Chronicles, see Klein 2006: 222-223; Sparks 2008: 209-212). In fact, the Chronicler’s reference provides a hint of Dan’s social status during this period and, perhaps, the rationale for excluding their genealogy. In 2 Chronicles 2:14, a woman that is

identified with the tribe of Naphtali in the book of Kings is now reassigned to the tribe of Dan. The Chronicler's confusion over the distinction between the tribes of Naphtali and Dan indexes a larger ideological and social dilemma over Dan in the post-exilic period. As previously noted, by this time the tribe of Dan was already absorbed into Naphtali (Kallai 1986: 23). Therefore, Dan's lack all cultural and social distinction from Naphtali. Furthermore, Dan's social positioning was diffusely tied to the post-exilic contestations between Yehud and Samaria over Israelite nationalism. Hence, the Chronicler's erasure of Dan's genealogy was justifiable in his view.

There are a negligible amount of replicated Danite names in Judean inscriptions indicating that they had a minor presence in Jerusalem after the fall of the Northern kingdom. Israelian Hebrew onomasticon from the city of Dan was discussed under the heading of the tribe of Naphtali (and certainly some identities can be classified as with Naphtali). But Danite names from Israelite genealogies in Judean inscriptions have not been discussed. In this analysis, unprovenanced Judean seals, bullae, and inscriptions are excluded from this corpus.⁴³⁸ As will be discovered below, there are a small number of Danite aligned names in Judean inscriptions. This meager evidence underscores the reality that relatively few, if any, Danites migrated to Judah; evidently they were a minority group clustered in Jerusalem. Coupled with the fact that there are hardly any references to tribe of Dan in late Judean sources, it appears that Judeans had

⁴³⁸ For example, the PN *mnḥ*, derived from *nwh* 'to rest' or *mnḥ* 'to give' (Noth 1928: 228; Aufrecht 1989: 124; Renz 2012:78), is aligned with the tribe of Dan (*mnwh* Judg. 13:2). This name is replicated in one unprovenanced Judean seal dated to 700 BCE (WSS 22; HAE 13.2). The name is also attested on two unprovenanced Ammonite seals dated to the 7th cen. BCE (WSS 892; 941; Aufrecht 1989: 124) and on an unprovenanced Moabite seal dated to the 8th-7th cent. BCE purchased in Cairo in 1886 (WSS 1040). No names in Hebrew inscriptions are constructed from the root *nwh* but in Israelite genealogies the name *nwhh* is aligned with Benjamin (1Chr. 8:2; note the name *nuḥa* is possibly an Israelite exile in Kalhu from the reign of Assurbanipal? PNA 2/II 965). The Danite PN *gmly* (Num. 13:12) is found in several unprovenanced Judean seals in the form of *gmlyhw* (WSS 121:1–122:1; 123:1; 127:2; 170:2). Finally, the PN *ʿzr ʿl* (1 Chr. 27:22) is found in one unprovenanced Judean seal (WSS 623:2)

very little interest in forging political alliances with them before and after the exilic period. The following Danite aligned names are replicated in Judean text-artifacts:

Danite Identity in Judah

hl + kinship term in Danite PN *hly b* (Ex. 31:6; 35:34; 38:23; *hl* type names are aligned with coastal identities such as the Phoenician PN *hlb l*, *hlmlk*, etc. (Benz 1972: 60, 262) and *hl* PN at Tel Dor (Navch 1995: 461-2) → *hmy hl* Jerusalem (WSS Seals 35:1; HAE 8.34; fem. *hmy* “father in-law”; dated to end of the 8th cent. BCE); *whl* Jerusalem, City of David (WSS 437; HAE 1.79; late 7th cent. BCE).

bqy Danite (Num. 34:22) → *bqy* Jerusalem (*Jslm* 79:3; *HITBP*: 243; Ahituv 2008: 42; 7th cent. BCE); see also *bqyhw* Jerusalem (HAE Jer (7) 5:1; Ahituv 2008: 32; 7th cent. BCE).

smk-type PN *hysmk* Danite (Ex. 31:6; 35:34; 38:23) → *smk* Lachish (WSS 59; 8th cent. seal with IH patronymic *hmlk*); *smk* Beth Shemesh (WSS 694; patronymic on a *mlk* jar handle impression); *smk* Jerusalem, Lachish, Tell el-Judeideh (WSS 689; Vaughn 1999: 218, no. 255; first name on several *mlk* jar handle impressions); *smk* Tel Eton (Faust and Eshel 2012; late 8th cent. BCE); *smk* Tell el-Hesi (*HITBP*: 95; late 8th cent. BCE); *smk* [] Kh. Uza (Beit-Arieh 2007: 153; 7th cent. ostrakon).

šlmt Danite (Lev. 24:11; Maacah in the north [2 Chr. 11:20]) → *šlmt* Jerusalem (Byrne 2008; Byrne dates this Hebrew seal to the late 7th-6th cent. BCE, contrary to Eilat Mazar’s initial Persian period date; also note that this PN is attested an unprovenanced Hebrew seal [WSS 369]).

5.15. Ephraimite-Israelite Identity Alignment in Judean Inscriptions

The last Israelite tribe under consideration is the tribe of Ephraim. Ephraim was the second son of Joseph (Gen 41:52) and received Jacob’s patriarchal blessing of the firstborn son over his older brother Manasseh (Gen 48:14, 20). Jacob adopted both sons of Joseph as his own and they became eponymous tribal ancestors. The tribe of Ephraim comprised a heterogeneous ethnolinguistic group that lived in a fertile zone consisting of the central hill country of Palestine. This region was called the “hill country of Ephraim” (Josh. 17:15; 1 Kgs. 4:8) or the “land of Ephraim and Manasseh” (Deut. 34:2; 2 Chr. 30:10) and was divided into six geographical subunits (Finkelstein 1991). The region of the hill country stretched from Bethel in the south to Shechem in the north (Noth 1960: 59-60); we are precluded from making definitive statements about the exact territorial borders of the tribe of Ephraim since they fluctuated throughout the

Iron Age period. Included in the allotment of Ephraim is the former area of the tribe of Dan (Kallai 1986: 364-366).

The tribe of Ephraim emerged as a dominant force towards the latter part of the Iron Age period. The land of Ephraim was the heartland of early Israelite religio-political identity. Some of the earliest Israelite settlements can be found in the tribal allotment of Ephraim (Finkelstein 1988; Herrmann 1991). The book of Joshua alludes to “cities which were set apart for the children of Ephraim in the midst of the inheritance of the children of Manasseh” (Josh. 16:9), and in the Judges period, Ephraimites already lived in Fara‘tah (Judg. 12:15), north of the Nahal Qanah near Abiezer in Manasseh (Demsky 2000: 12-13). During the Israelite monarchy, certain poetic-prophetic texts use Ephraim as a metonym for the Israelite tribal kingdom, even though the capital city of Samaria was located in the tribal allotment of Manasseh (Hos. 4:17; 5-14; Is. 7:2-9; 9:9; 28:1-3; Jer. 7:15). After the Israelite exile of 732-722 BCE, Ephraim is referred to as the firstborn of Israel instead of Reuben in the prophetic discourses (Jer. 31:9, 18, 20; foreshadowed when Gen. 48:20 placed Ephraim over Manasseh). The Kingdom of Israel’s political alignment with Ephraim was certainly based upon its founder Jeroboam the son of Nebat, an Ephraimite of Zeredah (1 Kgs. 11:26).⁴³⁹

⁴³⁹ The Heb. text of 1 Kgs. 11: 26 reads *ḥprty* “Ephratite,” the same gentilic assigned to David (1 Sam. 17:12). On the confusion over Jeroboam’s tribal affiliation as an “Ephratite” or “Ephraimite” in this 1 Kgs. 11: 26 and the evocation of the latter term as a toppler of hereditary dynasties as Samuel (another Ephraimite), see Bodner (2012: 41-43). Leuchter (2006) views Jeroboam’s gentilic “Ephratite” through a Judahite lens as a way of legitimating Jeroboam as a Davidic type. However, the name Ephratite occurs in other non-Davidic legitimating contexts with a clear alignment with Israel (Judg. 12:5; 1 Sam. 1:1), thereby weakening this analogy. It must be recalled that Jeroboam came from Zeredah, a small village northwest of present-day Ramallah (Kochavi 1989), that his kingship was legitimized by an Ephraimite prophet from Shiloh (1 Kgs. 11:29–31; 12:15) and that he was made king in Shechem (1 Kgs. 12:1, 20). It is possible that the Hebrew consonants *ḥprty* were vocalized differently in Israel than in Judah (but we have no way of proving this) or that it was used to index both an Ephraimite tribe and a clan of Judah.

The Ephraimite-Israelite collapse began with the defeat of Pekah by Tiglath-Pileser III and ended with the removal of Hoshea by Shalmaneser V. After Tiglath-Pileser III's elimination of the Galilean and Transjordanian tribes, King Hoshea ruled over a reduced kingdom of Israel consisting of hills of Ephraim surrounding Samaria. For a short time, Hoshea remained a loyal vassal but eventually he revolted and stopped sending tribute to Assyria. He turned to So, King of Egypt for military assistance, but to no avail. Hoshea paid an immense price for all his hubris. In the ninth year of his reign (722 BCE), Samaria fell and never regained its political independence (2 Kgs. 17:6 and 18:10). The details are provided in 2 Kgs. 17: 3-6,

Against him came up Shalmaneser king of Assyria; and Hoshea became his servant, and brought him tribute. The king of Assyria found conspiracy in Hoshea; for he had sent messengers to So king of Egypt, and offered no tribute to the king of Assyria, as he had done year by year: therefore the king of Assyria shut him up, and bound him in prison. Then the king of Assyria came up throughout all the land, and went up to Samaria, and besieged it three years. In the ninth year of Hoshea the king of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away to Assyria, and placed them in Halah, and on the Habur, the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes.

Scholars continue to debate which Assyrian king destroyed Samaria or even if Samaria was razed at all (Galil 1995; Tappy 2001: 347–348, 559–79). There is not sufficient information to assign a destruction level to Tiglath-Pileser III, Shalmaneser V or Sargon II. It is likely, however, that Shalmaneser V captured the city (based upon the Babylonian Chronicle) in 722 BCE and Sargon II deported its inhabitants after another rebellion broke out 2 years after Hoshea was deposed (Younger 1998, 1999, 2002).

Regarding the extent of the deportation of Samaria, there are scholars with maximalist and minimalist views. Some contend that Sargon II's claim to have deported 22,000 people from Samaria is exaggerated and only the elite families were deported. Others contend that Samaria was completely razed (Knoppers 2004a; 2013). As Knoppers observes, the truth lies somewhere

in between, for the Samaria hills, in contrast to Galilee and northern Transjordan, show small elements of continuity. He states, “Analysis of the material remains from the hill country of Ephraim and Manasseh suggests a mixed picture. Some sites were either destroyed or left intact, while others were destroyed and abandoned during the late eighth century; that is, they evince a long occupation gap. A few locations, showing no traces of destruction, evince continuity in occupation. Other sites, including Megiddo and Samaria itself, show only limited or minimal signs of destruction. Yet other sites evince destruction and some rebuilding. Archaeological surveys indicate a process of significant depopulation in the late eighth century. Historically, one may associate these developments with the western campaigns of Shalmaneser V and Sargon II, which overthrew the Israelite state and transformed Samaria into an Assyrian province” (2004:170).

5.15.1. Settlement Continuity, Community Cohesion, and Changes in Ephraim From Regional Archaeological Surveys

The Assyrian devastation of the land of Ephraim occurred at a time when Israel had reached the peak of settlement density in the Iron II period. By the 8th century BCE, the land of Ephraim had reached the settlement peak of 186 sites (Finkelstein 1988-1989: 151-152). According to Stern (2001: 7-9, 16, 35, 45), the Assyrians destroyed Gezer, Shechem, and Bethel and built administrative centers at Gezer and Tel Hadid to control the Northern Shephelah.⁴⁴⁰ In order to better understand settlement changes brought on by the Assyrian conquest and subsequent migration of the local population, we must evaluate regional archaeological data currently available for the territory of Ephraim.

⁴⁴⁰ Rainey and Notley (2006: 178) contend that Gezer-Tel Hadid was under Judahite control and Faust (2011: 70) contends that in the 7th century BCE Tel Hadid was under the hegemony of Philistia, not Assyria.

Information from survey maps of the coastal area and of western Ephraim is relatively meager. For example, in western Ephraim (note that Map 70 [Tel Aviv-Yafo] and Map 71 [Petah Tikva] remain unpublished), the Archaeological Survey Map 69 of Herzliyya, which overlaps with territories of western Manasseh and Dan to the coast, indicates that four Iron II settlements existed before the invasion of Assyria: nos. 11, 23, 44, and 97, but note that five other sites (nos. 10, 55, 57, 88, 98) are related to the Iron Age but no more precise date can be ascertained (Gophna and Ayalon 1998 [2012]). Only one site (no. 23) did not continue into the Persian period. Some locations are associated with Phoenicia (site 11 Tel Arshaf [Apollonia] and site 10 and 23 near Arshaf), while others are associated with Israel (Tell Qasile, Tel Gerisa, and Tel Afeq). Archaeological Survey Map 72 of Miqve Israel identified only four Iron II sites (nos. 21, 26, 38, 39). Some sites had settlement remains, but others only a rock-hewn wine press, installations, and a pottery kiln (Barda 2013). The extent of the Assyrian devastation of this area is unknown.

More settlement information is obtained from several survey maps of the western foothills of the hill-country of Ephraim. Archaeological Survey Map 77 of Kefar Sava, comprised of the fringes of the western Samaria foothills down to Yaron river basin, indicates 14 Iron II period sites (nos. 36, 37, 69, 82, 85, 104, 111, 116, 139, 145, 160 (?), 168 (?), 183, 199; see Beit-Arieh and Ayalon 2012). Communities geographically located in the southern portion of this map belonged to the tribe of Ephraim, which included sites on the western fringe of the hill-country from Dahar Zakur (Site 11) and Jaljulye (Site 82) down to the southern end of the map (104, 111 [a village], 116, 145, 160, 168, 183 [a farm]). Of the 14 sites from the Iron II period, three did not extend to the Persian period (85, 104, 160). But one must use caution in making deductions about the settlement changes in the Iron II period. The number of sites

destroyed and quickly rebuilt is not revealed (especially when it comes to surface surveys); therefore it is difficult to establish the extent of the Assyrian invasion in this region.

Further south in the territory of Ephraim, directly below Map 77, is the Archaeological Survey Map 78 of Rosh Ha-‘Ayin (Kochavi and Beit-Arieh 1991 [2013]). Approximately 30 sites are dated to the Iron II period including a major city (Tel Afeq) two fortresses, agricultural settlements, and farmsteads (nos. 6, 15, 26, 32, 43, 63, 66, 68, 79, 85, 87, 89, 102, 128, 130, 136, 142, 145, 151, 176, 180, 189, 210, 218, 235, 236, 243, 267, 268, 271, 272, 273, 290, 294; only seven sites were not continually settled in the Persian period). This survey implies that during the Iron II period Ephraimites moved from the hill country to the foothills and rocky areas and set up farmsteads that continued to be used until the Hellenistic period (Kochavi and Beit-Arieh 1991 [2013]). Some of the farmsteads in the foothills of the Yarkon basin are located in inhospitable regions. They stretch from Un-Rihan in the north to Nahal Nattuf in the south and vary in size, plan, and form (Dar 1986: 5-6, and discussion in this book). The farmsteads are small, indicating they were possibly inhabited by nuclear families (see Faust 2006b; 2011: 148-151).

Archaeologists have offered different views on the ethnic group that inhabited the farmsteads in western Samaria foothills, many of which are unconvincing (Faust 2006b: 493; 2011: 149-150). Finkelstein dates the Iron Age farmsteads to end of the 8th century BCE and contends that they were settled by Israelite refugees who sought new agricultural areas after the collapse of the Northern kingdom (1981). Dar counters that the settlers were not refugees but “an older colonisational phenomenon bound up with the social and economic character of the settlement of the Israelite tribes” (1986: 6). Faust, based upon his findings in 1994, argues that, “some of the population, however, was local, probably comprising people from the Coastal Plain

(mainly from the settlements located in or near the alluvial valley) and perhaps also refugees from the devastated (western?) Samaria, drawn to the region because of its relative prosperity” (2006b: 499). More recently, however, Faust condenses his list of potential settlers to two non-Israelite groups: settlers from the coastal plain who expanded their hinterland after the fall of Israel and also, “exiles from Mesopotamia who were settled there by the Assyrians” (2011:150). Others like Magen (citing Cross and Na’aman in support) claim that extensive, “settlement of the western slopes of Samaria started toward the end of the Iron Age, apparently after the destruction of Samaria . . . Contrary to Faust’s view, we believe that refugees from Samaria established those farms in the Late Iron Age” (2004: 23 n. 1).

Actually, the fact that these farmsteads were started in an inhospitable region suggests that the community was forced to move here, and that this involuntary change was not ideal (that is, they could not return to their homeland). This observation eliminates the settlers from the coastal plain as candidates—for they had other more ideal neighbors to choose from under the pro-Phoenician Assyrian policy, or Mesopotamian exiles—for they could be given better land under the auspices of the Assyrian government, such as the recently conquered areas of Israel. Additionally, if ethnicity is flexible, as Faust acknowledges, we cannot always fit social groups into strict categories or peg such as the four-room house, especially under situations of migration and change (Faust admits that some could be atypical four-room style farmsteads). Hence, we are left with Israelite refugees from Samaria as the best candidates for settlements in the western foothills of Samaria. This case would be one of the best examples of the demographic shifts caused by the Assyrian invasion.

Other surveys maps of Ephraim, adjacent to the foothills, show the Iron II period as a time of unprecedented settlement growth. Archaeological Survey Map 80 of Lod documents

more than 46 sites dated to the Iron II period; 19 of them do not continue into the Persian period (Gophna and Beit-Arieh 1997). Some of the sites are farmsteads, and have been identified by Finkelstein as settled by refugees after the fall of Samaria in the end of the 8th century BCE (1978; 1981). Similarly, 42 Iron II sites have been identified in the Archaeological Survey Map 82 of Gezer and the Ayalon valley (Shavit 2013). Many of them were settlements and others were cisterns, tombs, olive and wine installations. Surprisingly, many sites, 40% of them, are dated to the 7th century BCE. Consequently, Shavit reasons that the Ayalon basin experienced settlement stability under Assyrian rule, in spite of the fact that many sites did not continue into the Persian period. Shavit concludes that this detail contrasts sharply with the Shephelah of Judah after Sennacherib's campaign and implies that the Assyrians did not force an exile of the region (2013).

While Shavit is correct in his observation of the Lachish basin in the 7th century BCE, the data for the Ayalon basin can be interpreted differently. For instance, one can draw attention to the fact that Tiglath-Pileser III destroyed Gezer Stratum VI, dated to 734 or 733 BCE, and its inhabitants were forced to migrate (Gitin 1990: 16–18; Stern 2001: 9, 16; Finkelstein 2002; Dever 2007: 86; Ortiz and Wolff 2012: 6, 9; Cogan 2015). But shortly thereafter, Gezer was rebuilt and archaeologists discovered a smaller phase in Stratum V dated to the late 8th -7th century BCE (Ortiz and Wolff 2012: 16, 18). An Assyrian building was built on the western hill and Assyrian seals, a seal impression, and cuneiform documents were discovered in this stratum (Reich and Brandl 1985: 41–54; Stern 2001: 16, 35, 45; Horowitz and Oshima 2006: 55-60; Ornan et. al. 2013).

Several royal Judean *lmlk* jar handles and official stamp impressions, dated to the late 8th century BCE, were also discovered at Gezer (Vaughn 1999; Lipschits et. al. 2010; Lipschits et.

al. 2011). An unfortified Assyrian center was built at Tel Hadid near Gezer, and two Assyrian cuneiform tablets were discovered there (Stern 16, 21, 31, 45; Horowitz and Oshima 2006: 61-64). The fact that several settlements could be destroyed and rebuilt in the same century, or within 33 years, precludes us making deductions about settlement stability and lack of demographic changes under Assyrian rule. In addition, local forms of identity construction through the names found in Assyrian cuneiform sources from Gezer and Tel Hadid point to the presence of Aramean and Babylonian identities in the Ayalon valley (Becking 1981-1982; Na'aman and Zadok 2000; Horowitz and Oshima 2006: 55-64). Clearly, the Assyrians did enforce an exile of the Israelites population and the importation of a foreign population from Mesopotamia. This observation necessitates further elaboration on the identities represented in inscriptional artifacts from the region.

5.15. 2 Ephraimite Tribal Community Revitalization in Israel After 722 BCE

In spite of these demographic changes and the collapse of the Northern kingdom, some Ephraimite-Israelites were internally displaced and remained in their homeland, and those who did maintained their tribal identity during the Assyrian colonial occupation. First, one must recall that the city of Samaria is not mentioned as being razed by Shalmaneser V or Sargon II in either the Hebrew Bible or Assyrian inscriptions; rather, the city experienced some destruction, but it was mostly placed under siege and captured (Na'aman 1990: 220-225; Knoppers 2004a: 165-166; Tappy 2001; 2007; Dever 2007). While in 2 Kings 17:24, non-Israelite groups (Babylonians, Arameans, etc.) were deported to Samaria by the Assyrian empire and the Assyrians created a colonial provincial system to administer and control the region, it is clear

that these moves did not extinguish the cohesion of the Israelite community (Cogan 2013: 16-18).

The resiliency of post-exilic Samarian Israelite community is evident in several texts of the Hebrew Bible. For example, the existence of a Samarian community with a high place during the late 8th century BCE is inferred from narrative of King Hezekiah's appeal to the internally displaced Israelites from Ephraim to make a religious pilgrimage to the Temple of Jerusalem (2 Chr. 30:1, 10, 18; 31:1; 34:6, 9; Braun 1977; Williamson 1977; Japhet 1989; Vaughn 1999). This community was established by those who had "escaped from the hands of the kings of Assyria" (2 Chr. 30:6). Likewise, in the second half of the 7th century BCE, the resiliency of this remnant community is intimated in the text of 2 Kings 23:15–20, in which King Josiah of Judah removed the high places in the cities of Samaria and exterminated all of the local Israelite priests (implying that Josiah annexed Samaria-Bethel province after the collapse of Assyria; see Cogan 2004). It is also during this era that the prophet Jeremiah makes reference to a class of prophets in Samaria (Jer. 23:13). The Jeremiah tradition also refers to an incident involving religious devotees from Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria making a pilgrimage to the Jerusalem temple (Jer. 41:5). These brief examples demonstrate the presence of Israelite émigrés in Israel and Judah.

In addition, there are archaeological indications that those who internally displaced, fleeing before and during the Assyrian onslaught and deportation of Samaria— finding refuge in caves and other regions— returned sometime later to this area and formed a new remnant community (Zertal 2003). Based upon Ron Tappy's recent study (2015), it appears that community revitalization efforts in Samaria occurred in three phases. Unlike the immediate redevelopment strategies practiced further north at Hazor (Stratum IV), Megiddo (Stratum III), Taanach (Stratum V), Yoqne'am (Stratum IX), and Tell Abu Hawam (Stratum II), the Assyrian

activity at Samaria was not immediate and the “transitional phase in the region was characterized by a lull in major building activity at most sites (Tappy 2015: 327). In the first phase, after the Assyrian conquest of the Israelites (Stratums V-VI), there is an Assyrian occupation, reconstruction, and repopulation (Stratum VI) from 721–700 BCE (ibid). This is followed by phase 2 Stratums VI-VII – a period of the most intense activity- in which, “under the *pax Assyriaca*, the promotion of Assyrian interests in the north accelerated until the last third of the 7th century BCE” (ibid). The last phase, stratum VII, is “of the late 7th and the early 6th century BCE is poorly represented in Samaria” (ibid). Throughout these three phases, the material cultural representations in the pottery of Iron II C of the people who lived in the Samaria-Shechem-Far‘ah triangle in Ephraim, and the peripheral regions of Beth-Shean and Tel Amal of Manasseh in the north, and Bethel, et-Tell, Tell en-Naşbeh of Benjamin in the south, “show a continuation of most of the 8th century forms” (Tappy 2015: 328).

Further support for the notion of Israelite community continuity and revitalization derives from analysis of the Tappy’s second phase. During the 7th century BCE at Samaria and environs, there is the reestablishment of villages and smaller towns and the building of new ones (Tappy 1997: 465; 2001: 227; Stern 2001: 49-57). There is even the discovery of a late Iron Age Judahite lamp, which points to contact between Judah and Samaria (Singer-Avitz 2014: 137). The discovery of several Israelite family tombs, caves, and burials in the Samaria highlands indexes their kinship continuity during the late 8th-7th century BCE (Magen and Eisenstadt 2004; Aizik and Peleg 2009; Peleg 2009; Faust 2012: 58-64). In addition, mention should be made of a decanter that became popular in Judean tombs which first appears in Samaria during the 7th century BCE, along with the ‘bathtub’ coffins’ that make a sudden appearance in Samaria and

Judah at the same time, as indexical of community revitalization efforts and contact with Judah (Yezerski 2013).

Lastly, four Assyrian cuneiform tablets with personal names—a clear marker of ethnic identity—were discovered at Tel Hadid, Gezer, and Samaria (the former homeland of Ephraim), and they further buttress the contention that the Israelites continued to maintain their social structure and ethnolinguistic identity. First, several names aligned with Israelite tribal identity were discovered in an Assyrian cuneiform tablet from Tel Hadid dated 664 B.C.E: *ḥa-am-ma-a-a* [Heb. *‘mh*], *mu-na-ḥi-ma-a* [Heb. *mnḥmh*], and *pa-di-i* [Heb. *pdy/pdh*] (Na’aman and Zadok 2000:170-171; Horowitz and Oshima 2006: 63-64; *PNA* 2/II: 768). The first two individuals are the wife and sister-in law of the debtor whose name partially begins with ^m*ki*[-], given as antichretic pledges; an indication of the lower socioeconomic status of the local Israelite population (Cogan 2013: 23-24). One can speculate that he bore the West Semitic/Israelite PN *ki-bur-ti* (*PNA* 2/I: 614)—a reconstruction that is supported by attestation of the Israelite PN *kbrh* on a bulla from Tel Goded in Judah (WSS 536). The last individual, Padi, is a witness to the transaction—an indication of his higher status (an Israelite PN name [Arad 55:2; WSS 171:2]).

Two 7th century Assyrian cuneiform tablets from Gezer, dated to 651 BCE and 649 BCE, list two individuals aligned with Israelite identity: *zak-ki-i* [Heb. *zky/zk ʔ*] and *na-tan-ia-u* [Heb. *ntnyw*] (Becking 1981-1982: 78, 83-84, 87).⁴⁴¹ The latter individual, *na-tan-ia-u*, was the owner of the Israelite being sold and, “suggests that the original property rights of the resident Israelites were not abrogated under the Assyrian rule” (Cogan 2013: 27). Consequently, this tablet provides us a window into the social structure of those who were internally displaced post-721

⁴⁴¹ For a different reading of *zak-ki* in the first Gezer tablet, see *COS* 3.117; Horowitz and Oshima 2006: 58-59; Cogan 2013: 26 [Zaggi]. The PN *na-tan-ia-u* is also read *ntnyhw* (*COS* 3.118; Horowitz and Oshima 2006: 58-59; *PNA* 2/II: 937; Cogan 2013:28).

BCE and quickly returned home (or who were refugees and returned to their homeland to reestablish ties with their extended family in the early 7th century) had, by the year 649 BCE, reestablished ownership of their land.

The last example from Samaria merits more elaboration, considering that it was discovered in the capital city of the Northern kingdom before the fall of Assyria and provides the best evidence for the continuity of an Israelite ethnolinguistic community. An undated judicial Assyrian cuneiform from Samaria, concerning a debt to be paid, was inscribed with the Israelite name *aya-ahhe* or *aia-ahi*– or the Israelite PN ^y^y^{hy} (Na’aman and Zadok 2000: 176-177; Horowitz and Oshima 2006: 113; *PNA* 1/I: 89).⁴⁴² The most surprising element about this artifact, however, is that it bears a broken impression of a Hebrew seal with a name beginning with ^b[] (Horowitz and Oshima 2006: 113; Cogan 2013: 20-21). Several Israelite identities in the Samaria ostraca bear names beginning with the prefix ^b “father”: ^{bb}ʿl (Samar. 2:4); ^bʿzr (*Samar* 28:1); and ^{byw} (*Samar* 52:2). This is the only example of post-exilic Samaritan Hebrew alphabetic writing and language community revitalization under Assyrian hegemony—all other instances are attested later in the Persian period.⁴⁴³ Secondly, this Israelite served as a witness to the transaction or in some capacity of power and authority unbeknown to us.

⁴⁴² Na’aman and Zadok note that ^{yhy}, attested in an unprovenanced Hebrew seal (*WSS* 289), is a possible by-form of ^y^y^{hy} (2000: 176-177). Coogan’s recent publication incorrectly renders the PN *Aya-ahhe* as Akkadian not West Semitic (2013: 21). For more discussion on the various forms of this West Semitic PN, such as *Aia-aha*, *Aia-ahi*, *Aia-ahuni*, cf. *PNA* 1/I: 89.

⁴⁴³ Religious community maintenance is also evident in the Persian period. In the Samaria papyri, Yahwistic theophoric names continue to be reproduced among Samaritan Israelites (Zadok 1998; Cross 2006; Dušek 2007). From the Persian-Hellenistic period, Paleo-Israelian Hebrew or Neo-Hebrew script revitalization (or continuity) efforts are found among the Mt. Gerizim inscriptions dated to the 3rd century BCE (Magen, Haggai, and Tsfania 2004: 32-34; for another hypothetical date, see Dušek 2012: 53; note that archaic script revitalization also occurs on stamp seals and coins in Judah during the Persian period, cf. Magen, Haggai, and Tsfania 2004: 31). Regarding the Mt. Gerizim inscriptions and their connection to religious community maintenance, two priestly names with priestly titles are found in this corpus—Eleazar and Phinehas— that illuminate this feature (Magen, Haggai, and Tsfania 2004: 26; note that only the

In the end, what can one say is the significance in finding Iron II C material culture at Samaria and environs? First and foremost, these artifacts show that there was some form of community resiliency of displaced indigenous Israelite groups, who remained in the land of Ephraim and returned, and that they were not only owners of property and in positions of power but also maintained their language-naming identity and scribal cultural community.⁴⁴⁴ This

priestly name Phinehas is attested in the Neo-Hebrew script— as opposed to Eleazar which is found in the Proto-Jewish script, cf. Magen, Haggai, and Tsfania 2004: 255 no. 384; 259 no. 389). In Biblical priestly genealogies, Eleazar was the son of Aaron and served as a Levitical priest at Shiloh (Ex 6:23, 25; Josh. 19:51; 21:1-2). Phinehas was the son of Eleazar, and grandson of Aaron, who served at Bethel and was buried in Ephraim (Ex 6:25; Num. 25:7; Josh. 24:33; Judg. 20:26-28). Phinehas is the last priest of the generation of the wilderness period in the Pentateuch and Conquest and his patronymic concludes the priestly genealogy in both Ex. 6:25 and Judg. 20:28; therefore his patrimonial household must have preserved this tradition. Another priest named Phinehas was the son of Eli and he served at Shiloh (1 Sam. 1:3; 2:34; 4:4, 11, 17, 19; 14:3). Thus, in the pre-exilic period, the name Phinehas is aligned with Levitical scribes in Ephraim-Benjamin— with their emphasis on the pre-Jerusalem Temple traditions of Shiloh and Bethel. The replication of the name Phinehas and his father Eleazar in the Mt. Gerizim inscriptions indexes identity maintenance with his priestly patronymic house. That is to say, the legacy of the pre-exilic Levitical scribes of the house of Phinehas are reclaimed in the post exilic period by the priests of the Samaritan community and thus provide first-hand insights in the role that names played in indexing a cultural ideology of empowerment and identity alignment. Interestingly, the rival priestly class of Jerusalem also reclaimed their alignment with Phinehas's lineage in the post-exilic period (cf. Jerusalem priests named Phinehas in Ezra 8:2, 33). Whether the priestly genealogies of Eleazar and Phinehas in Judah's canon (spanning the books of Exodus, Numbers, Joshua, and Judges) were created in Judah during the post-exilic period— as argued by source critics such as Dozeman (2009: 169-173; 2015: 354); see also Hieke's (2011:187-190) argument that post-exilic endogamous concerns can be found in the reference to Phinehas's wife even though her tribal identity is not mentioned)— cannot be resolved. One could question this school of thought largely because Judah's post-exilic version includes the tradition of Phinehas's ties to Bethel (an Israelite not Judahite shrine) and burial inheritance in Ephraim (also reserved for non-Aaronide Kohathites, Josh. 21:20-21), not Judah (Josh. 24:33; note that the Samaritan community identifies the "Hill of Phinehas" with the village of Awarta, south of Shechem, cf. Magen, Haggai, and Tsfania 2004: 29). The northern Phinehas tradition may have come to Judah during the time of David— that is to say, before his son Solomon banished the Shiloh priest Abithar from Jerusalem— or to the time of Hezekiah when a new division of Levites were appointed and northern traditions were incorporated into Judah's canon (2Chr. 31:2; Friedman 1997: 210-211; Schniedewind 2004: 78-84).

⁴⁴⁴ The tablet from Samaria is the only example of Hebrew scribal culture functioning in Samaria during the Neo-Assyrian period. Other cuneiform administrative documents in Israel were discovered at Tel Keisan and Khirbet Kusiya, but due to the fragmentary nature of this document, very few names can be reconstructed (Horowitz and Oshima 2006: 98-101). Zilberg's (2015: 92) recent reconstruction of two names from Tel Keisan can be possibly linked with Israelite identity: line 3' ^m *Ahu-nu[ri]* and line 6' ^m *Hamadinnu* (see the discussion above regarding the Asherites). Other names are aligned with Mesopotamian identities and Na'aman contends that Esarhaddon or Ashurbanipal deported them to this

observation has important implications in articulating coeval practices among Israelite refugees who remained permanently in Judah— particularly, how existing kinship networks embody the agency of the reversal of language-naming shift.

Of course, it must be remembered that we are dealing with limited evidence (only four cuneiform documents and a few archaeological finds), and this prevents us from making any broad scale conclusions about the percentage and strength of community among the Israelites that remained in the land. What we do know, besides what was mentioned above, is that Ephraimites lived in a post-collapse multicultural environment. Arameans and Babylonians were identified in several cuneiform artifacts (some are listed above), meaning that the Assyrian provinces of the former territories of Israel were essentially a heterogeneous population (2 Kgs. 17:24). As limited and unsatisfactory as the sources for reconstruction are, they nevertheless provide a general sample of a broader cultural phenomena. And the trend is this: Ephraimites reinforced and embodied their collecting group identity through the performance of local naming practices in a colonial multicultural environment. In the end, the evidence from the Ephraimite homeland demonstrates that despite population loss and displacement, due to war and exile, Ephraimites living in this area organized themselves and engaged in activities to ensure the survival of their language and culture.

5.15. 3 Ephraimite Refugee Identity in Judah

Several Judean sources reveal that Ephraimites migrated to Judah and maintained their tribal identity after the collapse of the Northern Kingdom. It has been argued that after the fall of Israel, Ephraimites were assimilated into Judah and lost their identity. For example, according to

region (1993:117).

van der Toorn, “ Many inhabitants of the country fled to Judah for political, economic, or religious reasons. Though they may not have intended to stay there, most refugees remained in the South for generations. They had children and grandchildren, and as the one generation succeeded the other, they mingled with the Judahite population, eventually lost their Ephraimite identity and became Judahites or Jews” (1996: 339). However, direct and indirect sources point to the maintenance of Ephraimite identity in Judah.

One of the main sources for the perseverance of Ephraimite identity derives from the Hebrew Bible. The prophet Jeremiah delivers several oracles directed to Ephraimites residing in Jerusalem about their restoration (Jer. 4:15; 31:6, 9, 18, 20; 50:19). The exilic prophet Ezekiel, in speaking to his audience, envisions the restoration of the tribe of Ephraim (Ezek. 37:16, 19; 48:5–6). The post-exilic Chronicler mentions that in “Jerusalem lived of the children of Judah, and of the children of Benjamin, and of the children of Ephraim and Manasseh” (1 Chr. 9:3). These sources point to Ephraimites migrating to Judah and maintaining their collective identity after the fall of Israel in 722 BCE and the fall of Judah in 586 BCE.

Besides explicit references to Ephraimites in Judean prophetic and historical sources, names are also an important source for locating migrant Ephraimite identity after the fall of the Northern Kingdom. As language is a key to group differentiation, enregisterment, and the semiotic process of iconization, names index a certain class, network, and regionalization within post-collapse and Diaspora communities. Several inscriptions discovered in the territory of Ephraim and Israelite genealogies provide us with names that index Ephraimite tribal identity (which form the basis of comparison for their identity and tracking Israelite refugees). Among the tribal names discovered within the territory of Ephraim and in Israelite genealogies, several align with names in Judean inscriptions after the fall of the Northern Kingdom in 721 BCE. But

other sources, outside of the Ephraimite homeland and Israelite genealogies, add to the onomastic corpus.

Names aligned with the tribe of Ephraim are drawn from two primary categories. The first category, as noted above, originates from inscriptions from the tribal homeland of Ephraim and Israelite genealogies in the Hebrew Bible. The inscriptions from the land of Ephraim include those written in an alphabetic writing system dated to the Iron Age period (including *lmlk* jar handle impressions) and cuneiform documents under the Assyrian period (Becking 1981-1982).⁴⁴⁵

The second category includes names discovered from text-artifacts outside the Ephraimite homeland. Given the political association of tribe of Ephraim with the northern kingdom of Israel (1 Kgs. 12:25), all Israelite names found on any provenanced inscription located outside the geographical homeland of Israel will be included under the tribe of Ephraim. There are two principal locations, inextricably linked to the Israelite monarchy, that fall under this heading: Kuntillet Arjud and Mesopotamia.

Kuntillet Arjud (Ḥorvat Teiman) is an archaeological site located approximately 50 kilometers south of Kadesh-barnea in northern Sinai. Dozens of text-artifacts with personal names were discovered that date to the 9th-8th centuries BCE. The political-religious link between Kuntillet Arjud and Israel stem from several points of analysis. First, a few Hebrew inscriptions explicitly make reference to the northern kingdom of Israel, such as the title “Yahweh of Samaria” (Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel 2012: 87 [letter]; 98 [“Samaria barley”]). Secondly,

⁴⁴⁵ I have also decided to include, with an asterisk, unprovenanced seals and bullae with Israelite theophoric *yw*; one of the most distinct orthographic markers of the northern kingdom of Israel. If these unprovenanced artifacts are authentic, and given the growing skepticism over their authenticity in the scholarly community (Vaughn and Dobler 2006) they may not be, they add to the limited corpus of Ephraimite-Israelite kingdom seals and bullae.

Hebrew writing-system and orthographic conventions are aligned with Samaria-Ephraim (Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel 2012: 126; note that these scholars reject the hypothetical reconstruction of the Israelite king name Joash in one inscription [see 135 note 3, 10]).

Israelite tribal identity maintenance is also evident in Assyrian cuneiform documents and inscribed objects from Mesopotamia. Israelites were exiled and deported from their homeland by the Assyrians and settled in Halah (northeast of Nineveh), Habur River and Gozan in Mesopotamia, and the cities of the Medes (2 Kgs. 17:6; 18:11; 19:12; 1 Chr. 5:26; Oded 1979; Younger Jr. 1999). The earliest documents originate from Calah Nimrud, the capital city of Tiglath-Pileser III (Helzter 1978). Several Israelite names appear in cuneiform documents, inscribed ivories, and bronze bowls dated to the 8th century BCE; these bowls were either given as tribute or brought there as booty to either Tiglath-Pileser III or Sargon II (Lemaire 1976; Helzter 1978). Additionally, one ostrakon, dated to the late 8th century BCE (Naveh 1979-80), is written in Aramaic script, but several names are aligned with the Israelite Hebrew speech community (ND 6231; *CAI*, no. 47; Segal 1957). Personal and family names like Menahem, Elisha, and Haggai are of Israelite identity (Albright 1958; Becking 1988; 1992: 80-83; Oded 2000: 92-93; but see Naveh 1979-80 and Bordreuil 1979).

As noted above, Judean royal (*lmlk*) jar handle impressions with personal names from Gezer are also included in the corpus of Ephraimite identity (Vaughn 1999: 200 no. 22, 210 no. 149). The rationale for the inclusion of Gezer inscriptions merits elaboration. According to ancient Israelite tribal geography, Gezer, located in the valley of Aijalon Valley, was Levitical city that belonged to the tribe of Ephraim and was situated on the southern border of the Kingdom of Israel (Josh. 16:3, 10; 21:21; Judg. 1:29; on the role of Gezer in Solomon's district, see Kallai 1986: 365-367). The capture of the city is not mentioned in any Assyrian annals or

summary inscriptions, but a palace relief from Calah/Nimrud contains a scene of the capture of the city with an epigraph in the upper register reading “the city of Gezer” (Cogan 2008:73; Tadmor and Yamada 2011: 146 no. 57). Despite the fact that no Assyrian sources tie the 8th century destruction to a specific king, the general consensus is that Tiglath-Pileser III destroyed Gezer either in 734 (Rainey and Notley 2006: 230; Cogan 2015) or 733 (Ortiz and Wolff 2012: 16). Excavators have identified three locations on the site that experienced violent destruction: Field II, Field III (city-gate), and Field VII (Finkelstein 2002: 286; Dever 2003: 270).

Recently, Steven Ortiz and Samuel Wolff argue that Gezer belonged to Judah in the 8th century BCE. According to Ortiz and Wolff, Gezer’s revival in the early to mid 8th century BCE (Stratum VI), with major public buildings, large four room houses and an industrial complex, “should be associated with Uzziah’s westward expansion” (2012:18). Stratum VI is mixed with Judahite (*lmk* type storage jars with no impression and a storage jar fragment, Phoenician, and Israelite material culture (Ortiz and Wolff 2012:15-16). Interestingly, 2 Chron. 28:20 preserves a tradition that Tiglath-Pileser III attacked Ahaz of Judah, but no reference is found in II Kings; therefore, this late source is not useful in determining if Gezer belonged to Israel or Judah. This statement is surprising in view of the fact that 2 Kings 16:7-10 describes Ahaz as a vassal of Tiglath-Pileser III.

Given the fact the Assyrians only destroyed the cities of rebels, and not loyal vassals like Judah, and transformed some of their cities into administrative centers, this lends support to the idea that Gezer was under Israelite and not Judean hegemony. According to Na’aman, the tribe of Ephraim had expanded to the northern Shephelah from the time of Solomon (included in his second district), and this city continued to belong to the Northern Kingdom (1986: 111, 115 181, 184, 221). Recently, Cogan (2015: 98) contends that Gezer was an Israelite stronghold and was

destroyed during Tiglath-Pileser III's first campaign to Philistia in 734 BCE (and not in 733 BCE or after the campaign to Transjordan, as is commonly assumed, as it would have required them to back-track a long distance to the Shephelah) because the Assyrians did not want to leave a rebel city behind. Subsequently, Gezer was under the province of Samaria, and an administrative building was built on the western side of the mound that dates to the late 8th-7th century BCE (Stratum V) (Finkelstein 2002: 287; Ortiz and Wolff 2012: 18).⁴⁴⁶ Indeed, if Gezer belonged to Judah or Ahaz, a loyal Assyrian vassal, then it would be incomprehensible for Assyrians to destroy a vassal city and erect an administrative building built on top of the western hill. A more likely scenario is that Gezer belonged to Israel on the eve of Tiglath-Pileser invasion and was not spared because of its ties to the anti-Assyrian coalition of Tyre, Israel, and Philistia. Furthermore, Becking observes that Assyrians were likely interested taking over the Israelite city of Gezer in order to control the entrance to the Judean hillside (1992: 10-11). Thus, one can conclude with certainty that Gezer was under Israelite control on the eve of Tiglath-Pileser III's invasion in 734/733 (Dever 2007: 86).

Sometime after the death of Sargon II, which left a political vacuum over this region for a brief period of time, Hezekiah expanded Judean hegemony to Ephraim prior to his defeat at the hands of Sennacherib in 701 BCE.⁴⁴⁷ Over 37 Judean royal *lmlk* jar handle impressions were found at Gezer Stratum V, along with several private Judean stamp impressions (Vaughn 1999:

⁴⁴⁶ Two Assyrian documents discovered were discovered at Gezer, but they date to 651 BCE and 649 BCE. That is, they refer to a period after Sargon II and Hezekiah and are of no help in determining the occupation of Gezer during the late 8th century BCE. The identities represented are Israelite, Aramean, and Babylonian, leading us to conclude that in the 7th century BCE Gezer was part of the Assyrian provincial system.

⁴⁴⁷ There is a reference to Gezerites in Babylonia during the reign of Darius I (Heltzer 2002). They were probably Israelites who reoccupying Gezer (Stratum V) or who maintained their toponymic identity and were deported by Nebuchadnezer in 605 BCE.

200; Lipschits, Sergi, and Koch 2011: 11-12). Judean royal *lmlk* impressions were also discovered at Bethel (Eshel 1989) and more recently at Tel Hadid (Torge 2010). Some names found on the Judean *lmlk* stamp impressions from Gezer- *hwš ʿ* (Hoshea) and *ʿzr* (Ezer), for example- align with Ephraimite identity. Linguistic semiotic resources are used to index beliefs and ideologies within this specific community and they project an alignment with Ephraim.

Exploring how the name Hoshea comes to index Ephraimite identity, for example, is important not only in establishing an Israelite presence in Ephraim but also in understanding the maintenance of heritage identity within public and private spaces in the Israelite homeland and abroad. Tracing this development, as a *pars pro toto* construction, will help in the broader shift of redefining naming from mere references to a dynamic process of voicing contestation and making ideological claims to the past.

5.15. 4. Hoshea as an Iconic Name of Ephraimite Tribal Identity Among Israelite Refugees

The name *hwš ʿ* (from the verbal root meaning “salvation”) had been replicated and enregistered as an iconic name in the Ephraimite tribal community for centuries prior to the fall of the Northern kingdom. Early memories of the Israelite settlement period single out Hoshea son of Nun of the tribe of Ephraim as an iconic politico-religious tribal leader (Num. 13:8,16; in Num. 13:16, Moses renames him *yhwš ʿ*).⁴⁴⁸ Memories of the early monarchic period recognize the name Hoshea the son of Azaziah as an Ephraimite officer under King David (1 Chr. 27:20). By the 8th century BCE, the name Hoshea son of Beerī is iconic of an Ephraimite prophet under Jeroboam II (750s BCE) (Hos. 1: 1). Finally, Hoshea son of Ela was an Israelite king who

⁴⁴⁸ The respelling of the name Hosea as *yhwš ʿ* (Ex. 17:9; Num. 14:6; Deut. 1:38 ; 1 Chr. 7:27) is adopted by a Judean in the post-exilic period (Neh. 12: 1,7,10).

reigned from 731-722 BCE. As a result, this name gets transformed into a royal prestige marker and stereotyped with the elite class (2 Kgs. 15:30). Based upon the foregoing ethno-textual survey, the name Hoshea was reproduced and enregistered in the Ephraimite tribal speech community as a form of symbolic alignment among those belonging to this dominate clan group. By contrast, members of the Manassite tribal speech community, in an effort to distinguish between individuals and forge relationships among themselves, selected a different set of personal name-types derived from this verbal root to represent their identity, such as *ywyš* ' with *yw* theophoric prefix (Samar 36:3; 111:1) and *ʾlyš* ' with *ʾl* theophoric prefix (Samar 1:4, 7; 41:1). In brief, socially locating the tribal identity of the name Hoshea involved determining which tribal group enregistered and iconized this name. Of all the Israel tribal groups, this name was compartmentalized to Ephraimites, thus establishing an iconic link between language, population, and territorial boundaries.

The strength of Ephraimite kinship ideology among exiled Israelites in Mesopotamia is evident through the replicating of the iconic name Hoshea as a solidarity-based linguistic practice (on this concept, see Gal 1989). Language, as a marker of ethnic identity, is a social site where ideologies of contestation, resistance and solidarity are projected. Anti-Assyrian cultural ideologies and oppositional agency is evident through naming choices among exiled Israelites living in Halah, Gozan, and the Habur (2 Kgs. 17:6; 18:11; 1 Chr. 5:26). Assyrian cuneiform documents indicate that some Israelite exiles were of low social status, but others experienced social mobility by appearing as witnesses in contracts and judicial cases and holding positions in the Assyrian army (Becking 1992: 92-93). Those who received preferential treatment included priests, merchants, military and administrative personnel, but those under hardship included agricultural workers and forced laborers (Younger 2003). What is interesting is that despite the

social class of the exiled person, Israelite oppositional agency to Assyrian culture was still practiced. Replicating iconic Ephraimite names among those in both higher and lower strata of Mesopotamian society point to the importance of family networks in language maintenance and the transmission of heritage culture. These factors contribute to the inscribing of Ephraimite identity on texts of everyday life in Assyria.

The earliest example of Ephraimite oppositional agency to Assyrian culture through replicating the name Hoshea comes from the late 8th century BCE (that is, before Judeans were exiled to Assyria by Sennacherib). In an administrative text from Calah/Nimrud from the time of Sargon II (ND 2629), an Israelite exile named *U-se-ʾ* held a military post (Parker 1961; Becking 1992: 84; Oded 2000: 93; Zadok 2002: 21). There are no references to any “Samaritans” or those among the Samaritan charioteers stationed in Calah (implying “Israelites” from capital city of Samaria) that bore this Ephraimite name. It is interesting that this name occurs with a contracted diphthong /U/ in Assyrian transcription (Rainey 1972: 186-189), as against the spelling of King Hoshea’s name with an uncontracted diphthong *A-u-si-ʾa* (occurring once, along with other names, see Zadok 1977: 255), possibly pointing to regional differences within Ephraim-Manasseh during the late 8th century BCE.⁴⁴⁹

Other examples of the replicating of the name Hoshea are dated to the 7th century BCE. In a bilingual economic tablet from Nineveh dated to 680 BCE, a certain Israelite exile named *U-si-ʾ*, head of a household of seven, retained the Ephraimite spelling of his name in Aramaic as *hwšʿ*; pointing to an awareness of the orthographically appropriate grammatical spelling in

⁴⁴⁹ It is difficult to tell in what situations diphthongs merged into long vowels in Israelian Hebrew (see the discussion below). The retention of the diphthong in the Assyrian transcription of the name Hoshea, the Ephraimite king of Israel, correlates with the occurrence of diphthongs in the Ephraimite dialect of the inscriptions from Gezer: *yyn* on an ostrakon (Dever and Yonker 1991; dated to 732 BCE) and the PN *hwšʿ* (several *lmlk* seals dated to 701 BCE).

Hebrew (Fales 1986: 142-144; Zadok 2002: 22; *PNA* 3/II: 1421).⁴⁵⁰ A slave boy is purchased by Milki-nuri, possibly an Israelite, during the reign of Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal (*PNA* 3/II: 142). Lastly, an Ephraimite named *U-se-ʾ* purchased an Israelite woman named Dinah (Israelite PN, Gen 30:21; 34:1) in an Assyrian cuneiform economic text from Tel Halaf/Gozan dating to the late 7th century BCE (Becking 1992: 68-69; Oded 2000: 97; Zadok 2002: 25).⁴⁵¹ Indeed, this sample is very small (considering that Sargon II mentions the deporting of over 27,000 people from Israel [Becking 1992: 92]), but they signify an important aspect of agency and social identity.

The reproduction of the name Hoshea in Mesopotamia is indexical of an ethnic self-conscious identification with the past and the voicing of nostalgia and among Ephraimite exiles. As already noted, the last king of Israel who ruled over the last sovereign piece of Israelite real estate was an Ephraimite named Hoshea, who may have been an Ephraimite descendant of the first king of Israel, Jeroboam II. Irrespective of Hoshea's claim to have assassinated the Israelite king Pekah in 732 BCE (2 Kgs. 15:30) or Tiglath-Pileser's making a similar claim and declaring that he installed Hoshea as a puppet king (Tadmor and Yamada 2011: 106 no. 42:17), his Ephraimite lineage may have played a political role in both his assassination of, in his view, an

⁴⁵⁰ The fact that in this bilingual document, the **aw* diphthong is contracted in the Assyrian transcription but not in Aramaic (*hw-*) leads to several questions regarding modern reconstructions of Iron Age Hebrew-Aramaic vocalization: 1) that we misunderstand the pronunciation of the Hebrew names and the Aramaic rendering of the Hebrew name with the *hw-* prefix, 2) the *waw* is functioning as vowel letter in Aramaic, or 3) there is no way to determine if the medial **aw* diphthong contracted in the Hebrew and Aramaic writing system.

⁴⁵¹ Hoshea in Assyrian transcriptions shows variation from the diphthong *aw* being uncontracted in late 8th century BCE sources to being contracted in mid-7th century BCE. Zevit attributes the variation in vocalization to different Israelite communities pre-732 BCE (1980: 25, n. 43.).

illegitimate king or in the Assyrian king installing him as a legitimate heir.⁴⁵² But all this was short lived, for Shalmaneser V captured Hoshea in Samaria in his ninth year (722 BE). Since Hoshea was potentially the last legitimate Ephraimite heir to the throne (even though dynastic succession was not always practiced in Israel), nostalgia was displayed by replicating this name as indexical a hope of national restoration. That is, among members of the Ephraimite Diaspora, the retention of ethnic language purism through naming practices was a discursive style symbolic of cultural memory, community, and yearning for the restoration of the kingdom of Israel or passed periods of Israelite prosperity. The desire for a return to the homeland was manifested in the resistance toward assimilation into Assyrian dominant culture (such as rejecting the adoption of Assyrian names).

Comparably, nostalgia discourse strategies are evident among Ephraimite refugee elites in Judah who resisted Judahite culture and expressed the hope of national restoration through name choices. One of the earliest attestations of the name Hoshea (*hwš* ⁴⁵³) in Hebrew

⁴⁵² It has already been noted that the PN Hoshea is aligned with Ephraim. However, his patronym Elah is aligned with the tribe of Issachar (1 Kgs. 15:27; 16:6). This leads to the possible conclusion that Hoshea was of Ephraimite-Issacharite lineage.

⁴⁵³ One cannot tell if the diphthong **aw* was contracted in the PN *hwš* ⁴⁵³ (*HITBP*: 383; the form is either a Hiphil imperative or infinitive absolute, see Gogel 1998:130, 338). Generally, in Hebrew orthography the /w/ letter sign is used to represent the uncontracted diphthong **aw* (not o, see Cross and Freedman 1952: 51-52; Scaglierini 1990:136, 146). In Judean Hebrew the diphthong **aw* remains uncontracted and appears with full or *plene* spelling (*ʿwpy Qom* 1:1; 2:1; *HIP*: 406; *ʿwd Siloam* 1:1–2; *mwš* ⁴⁵³ Siloam 1:5 [for other see Scaglierini 1990:136]; possibly *šlw[m]* Jerusalem Ketef Hinnom 2:11–12; Schüle 2000: 41; though several Judean Hebrew inscriptions preserve the contracted form *ym* (*Siloam* 1:3; *MHsh* 1:5, 7, 9; *Arad* 1:4; 2:3; 24:19; 40:11; *Lachish* 2:3; 4:1, 8; 5:3, 9; 8:2) like Israelian Hebrew (*KAjr* 14:1; 15:2–3). The contraction of diphthong from **aw* > o is not represented in the orthography and it is called “defective” spelling. This is usually the case in Israelian Hebrew and Phoenician (Garr 1986: 38-39; monophthongization is assumed to have originated in Phoenician and spread to Israelian Hebrew). It is only in unaccented syllables, as in personal names with the theophoric *yaw*, that the /w/ is uncontracted in Israelian Hebrew as in the PN *ywyš* ⁴⁵³ in the Samaria ostraca (Samar 36:3; 111:1, and possibly 85; Zevit’s [1980: 11-12] reading of *ywyšb* in Samar 36, based upon McCarter’s 1974 article, is no longer accepted). Yet, one cannot be so sure that spelling practices accurately reflect vocalization practices in epigraphic Hebrew (which is a separate issue all together) and there existed both dialectal diversity and diachronic

inscriptions are the Judean royal *lmlk* jar handles, including one that was found at Gezer (dated to the time of Hezekiah's uprising against Assyria in 704-701 BCE). The same royal stamp impression was also discovered at other sites such as Kh. 'Abbad, Lachish, and Tel Goded (Vaughn 1999: 200-201). Certainly, the find spot in Gezer does not automatically indicate an Ephraimite identity. This person could have worked for the Judean court and his jar handle impressions ended up at Gezer, Kh. 'Abbad, Lachish, and Tel Goded. But, as noted above, the

differences in Israelian Hebrew. The verbal form of this lexeme with the loss of the diphthong is evident in Mesha's post-colonial 9th century BCE Moabite inscription (after being under the hegemony of Omri king of Israel): *hš'ny* "he saved me" (*KAI 181*: 4; Garr 1986: 37; Hiphil perfect 3 ms. But notice several anomalous forms with the diphthong uncontracted in the Mesha inscription: the nominal *šwh* "reservoir" [*KAI 181* 1:9, 23; Schüle 2000:40], *dwdh* and *bt [d]wd* "House of David" [*KAI 181* 1:12, 31; Schüle 2000:40], and the geographic name *hwrnn* with uncontracted diphthong represented in the writing system with medial /w/ [*KAI 181* 1:31–32; Gogel 1998: 49 n. 54]. Perhaps invoking the Judahite spelling in the discourse about "Horonaim" (a non-Moabite place name, Beyer 2012:113) that "the House of [Da]vid had dwelled in" is a performance of southern Judean ethnicity in Moabite story-telling). The only example of monophthongization of the diphthong **aw* in unaccented syllable is in a disputed "Israelian Hebrew" ostrakon from Tell Qasile. The geographical name Beth Horon is spelled *hrn* (*Qas* 2:1; Garr 1986: 38; *HITBP*: 404 instead of *hwrn*). Tell Qasile, a coastal site, is geographically aligned with Israel and Beth Horon is in the district of Ephraim (Zevit 1980:12; Gogel 1998: 49 n. 54). But some scholars note that the ostrakon could be Philistine because the numbers are not written in the Egyptian system, a standard in epigraphic Hebrew, but Phoenician-Aramaic (Naveh 1985). If this be the case, then the epigraphic evidence for contraction of **aw* is relatively weak. Our only recourse is to the Assyrian inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III wherein the name of the king of Samaria, Hoshea, is spelled *A-ú-si*. Accordingly, the Assyrian scribes of the late 8th century heard this name pronounced with the diphthong uncontracted (note that there is evidence for other names contracted, see Rainey 1972: 187). By contrast, two different spellings, *U-se* and *U-se-a*, is used for Israelite exiles in Assyria in the 7th century BCE; an indication that the diphthong became contracted. These examples have prompted some scholars to posit that either two different regional pronunciations existed in Israel prior to the exile (Zevit 1980) or that the evolution to the contracted form occurred in different periods (Israel 1989: 48). These examples show linguistic diversity as the norm, as opposed to a 'monoglot' imaginary standard, and reinforce the idea that we know very little about what was actually spoken during the Iron Age period. The lack of the monophthongization of the diphthong in the name *hwš'* at Gezer is either due the fact that: a) Gezer was an Ephraimite town and reflects its own linguistic tribal community and since it was a border town then one would expect linguistic hybridity with Judah; as opposed to the Hebrew writing system used in the tribal community of Manasseh as reflected in the Samaria ostraca (see unpublished ostrakon from Gezer inscribed with *ynn*, Dever and Yunker 1991:283, or b) *hwš'* derives from *wš'*, Verbs I- initial weak root. As Gogel observes, the form *hwš'* "may stand for the original root consonant, and may not be a *m.l.* It is also possible that by the end of the eighth century B.C., the shift from *aw* > *o* in unaccented syllables had taken place in Judah, as was already common practice in Phoenicia, Moab, and Israel. Where this contraction took place, originally consonantal *waws* were retained in the orthography, and were eventually taken as *matres lectionis* for long *o* in the medial position" (1998: 62 n. 98).

case for an Ephraimite personal identity of this name rests on its enregistered ethno-geographical alignment in Israelite genealogies and the fact that Israelites still resided at Gezer.

There are two other inscribed artifacts with the name Hoshea that are dated to the late 8th century BCE, but they are restricted to the city of Jerusalem. One is a Judean *lmk* jar handle impression found in excavations near the southern wall of the Temple Mount and reads *hwš' n ḥgy* (WSS 668; Vaughn 1999: 200 no. 21).⁴⁵⁴ The other is a seal reading *mtnyhw bn hw[š']* (with the reconstructed patronym based upon the available space and prefix *hw-*), discovered in an excavation led out by Eli Shukron (2012) of the southern end of the Western Wall of the Temple. In both artifacts, the iconic name Hoshea was replicated the same way as was done in the Ephraimite homeland: without the Judean theophoric suffix *yhw* or change in the lexical, grammatical, or consonantal form. Despite Judah's unstable political climate, Ephraimites serving in an official capacity under king Hezekiah projected a discourse of nostalgia by rejected language mixing (Judean *yhw* theophoric index or other changes to the name). Like the Ephraimite exiled in Calah dated to this same period, they express the nostalgia of exiles for their place of birth in Israel. Moreover, Hoshea-names were commemorative sites for the display of beliefs, hopes, and values of the immigrant Ephraimite community in Judah. Finally, with

⁴⁵⁴ The final letter on the top register of the seal impression could be read as a *mem* (*hwš'm*) or *nun* (*hwš'n*). Nadelman (1989: 130) supports the first reading, but as Cross points out, "A suffix or enclitic *mem* in the onomasticon of this period is difficult" (*apud* Nadelman 1989: 130; the function of the archaic enclitic *mem* in Biblical Hebrew has yet to be fully comprehended). Avigad and Sass (1997: 246) prefer the reading *hwš' n* with a final *nun* and a *b* omitted by error. However, if the spelling of the name were correct then final *-m* would be the first example of archaism or enclitic *mem* morpheme in epigraphic Hebrew. The naming-style with mimation and enclitic *-m* was performed by Amorite and Canaanite social and cultural groups of the Bronze Age period (Layton 1990: 155-196). Hence, by the Iron Age period the naming style with final *-m* had fallen into disuse (it is rarely attested in a few late West Semitic names [Layton 1990: 193-197]). If the final *-n* were correct then this suffix is also common feature of Amorite and Ugaritic identities of the Bronze Age period (Huffman 1965: 236; Zadok 1988: 159-161; Streck 2000: 304-305; Golients 2010: 448-449, 453-456; as either an imperative, precativ form, or [nutation] suffix *-ān*). This suffix would represent an archaic feature on an Israelian Hebrew name.

Hezekiah's aspirations of expanding Judah's borders into the Northern kingdom and possibly restoring the united monarchy through tribal alliances (as the numerous *lmlk* jar handles in Israel can attest) in the face of looming threats from Assyria, there was less inclination for Ephraimites to assimilate to Judean culture and a stronger desire to restate and reassert their national identity.

Similar nostalgia discourse strategies through solidarity-based language practices of the Ephraimite community in Judah recur in the 7th century BCE. The earliest example of replicating the name Hoshea is in a papyrus belonging to a private archive in a cave from Wadi Murabba'at in the Judean Desert that is dated to the early 7th century BCE (*hwš' Mur 2:1 [HITBP: 383]*; that is, still under the reign of Hezekiah's reign but after the Assyrian devastation in 701 BCE). The last indication of replicating this Ephraimite name in the Judean monarchy is in an ostrakon from Ramat Beth Shemesh dated to the late 7th century BCE (1:5; Milevski and Naveh 2005). This find is important because, like the papyrus from the Judean desert, it is an accounting document from the private realm regarding the cultivation of olive or wine fields for tax purposes. The owners stored these records (3 ostraca) in the northeast section of the cave complex. In all in all, the key element in both examples is the voicing of a discourse of nostalgia outside of the religious center of Jerusalem and in the private-domestic (non-royal or urban) setting. That is to say, in both artifacts, a purist discourse is encountered by the avoidance of code-mixing: spelling the name the same way (*hwš'*) without the Judean theophoric element and with no lexical, grammatical, or consonantal change. To summarize, the over-arching pattern in this survey is this: during the late 8th-early 7th century BCE, the constellation of *hwš'* names (as material forms

of inscription) on seals, ostraca, and a papyrus in Judah indexed descent, affiliation, and memory of tribe of the Ephraim in the post-exilic period of Israel.⁴⁵⁵

This observation is especially important because a new form of discourse with the Ephraimite name Hoshea among provenanced inscriptions emerges at the end of the 7th century BCE. For the first time among provenanced Judean Hebrew inscriptions, the name Hoshea is respelled or code-mixed with the Judean theophoric suffix *yhw*. The name variation of Hoshea as Hoshayahu (*hwšyhw*) is projected among urban identities of the late 7th century BCE at Jerusalem (WSS 459; 474; *hwšy* [*hw*] WSS 482; *hwš* *yh* Jer. 42:1; 43:2), Yavneh Yam in the coastal region (*MHsh* 1:7; with possible Transjordan or Judean patronym *šby* [2 Sam. 17:27; Ezr. 2:42; Neh. 7:45]), Horvat Uza in the Negev (*Uza* 1:3; *HITBP*: 595), and Lachish in the Shephelah (3:1; though dated to the early 6th cent. BCE). Were these people Ephraimite refugees or where they native Judeans involved in replicating a popular name?⁴⁵⁶

To answer this question, one must understand the cultural and social structural changes that took place between the time periods of Hezekiah and Josiah. First, the Assyrian devastation of the Shephelah and deportation of thousands of Judeans in 701 BCE dissolved traditional kinship ties (Halpern 1991; 1996). Between the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah, migration, demographic increase, and economic changes took place in Judah, resulting in hybrid forms of

⁴⁵⁵ Naming patterns of famous Israelite Biblical figures in Judah (*ʾlyš* *ʿ*, *hwš* *ʿ*, etc.) may have implications on the historical argument regarding the reception history of Biblical books and their cultural memory among literati in Judah during the late 8th-6th centuries BCE. Surprisingly, the social significance of the naming patterns of Biblical figures in epigraphic Hebrew inscriptions is not discussed or considered in the recent volume edited by Edelman and Ben Zvi (2013).

⁴⁵⁶ Is unlikely that native Judeans would have adopted the Hoshea with Yahwistic theophoric. They formed other names such as *yš* *ʿyhw* (Jerusalem *HITBP*: 224; 7th cent. BCE; the famous Judean prophet named Isaiah [Is 1:1]). During this period, this a growing number of divine salvation names among Judeans, Moabites, Ammonites, and Arameans (Albertz and Schmidt 2012: 311, 541-542).

culture and a complex multilingual community. Under King Manasseh (mid-7th century BCE), Jerusalem continued to grow along with cities in other regions, such as the Negev of Judah (Na’aman 2007; Thareani-Sussely 2007; Thareani 2014; Faust 2008). Therefore, the sociolinguistic consequence of these factors in Jerusalem and related environs was language or name variation and change. Additionally, scholars generally agree that the closer one gets to the exile, the more the use of the divine theophoric *yhw* increases in urban areas, particularly in Jerusalem (Callaway 1999; Zevit 2001; Hess 2007).⁴⁵⁷ But one question remains unanswered: what were the social factors that contributed to the rise of the *yhw* theophoric in personal names (from provenanced inscriptions) amidst growing cultural hybridization and sociolinguistic variation?

Several social factors produced the need for Judeans to create boundaries and restate their identity, and the use of the *yhw* theophoric was an iconic way to do so. According to the theorist Bhabba (1994), colonialism and migration brings on “cultural collisions” that result in hybrid forms. Migration, demographic changes, and Assyrian colonialism were factors that made Judah a heterogeneous cultural and linguistic community from the late 8th to the late 7th century BCE.⁴⁵⁸ The cult centralization of Yahwism under Josiah was a reaction to this cultural hybridity. The increased projection of *yhw* in personal and family names among Judean urbanites was a way to restate their identity around unique religious elements of their speech community (2 Kgs. 22:19 ff.; 23:16, 19, 23–24). Moreover, with the fall of the Assyrian empire in 612 BCE,

⁴⁵⁷ This point is not to deny the popular use of *yhw* theophoric in personal names from periods prior to the Josiah or the exile, but to emphasize that an increase is most notable in the second half of the 7th century BCE; that is, the period closer to Josiah.

⁴⁵⁸ On late Iron Age Judah as a heterogeneous linguistic community based upon Hebrew inscriptions, see: Sarfatti 1982; 1992; Garr 1985; Israel 1989; Briquel-Chatonnet 1992b; Young 1997, 2003; Rendsburg and Schniedewind 2010; Schniedewind 2013.

the grip of colonialism collapsed, as well as outside threats, thereby creating a power vacuum in the Levant. Consequently, Josiah's push for religious homogeneity under Yahwism was even more forceful.

Renaming signifies an avenue for the establishment of new relationship between the past and present circumstances. The appearance of the variational code-mixed form Hoshayahu in the late 7th century BCE is not indexical of native Judeans adopting a popular name, but rather Ephraimites evolving in response to new competing notions of uniformity and power. The new reality confronting Ephraimites in Judah was the cult centralization of Yahwism in Jerusalem under Josiah (or a call to return to Yahwism in its purism form according to the traditions in power).⁴⁵⁹ This religious ideology was interwoven with competing notions of ancestral authenticity versus Judahite purism and uniformity. Those in power may have been discouraged the voicing of counter-discourses (through exclusion of *yhw*-name forms, for example) among urbanites in Jerusalem or other locations under the sphere of Josiah's hegemony. Ephraimites feeling social pressure to honor and maintain their ancestral roots (or return to them) and, at the same time, signify their fidelity to Jerusalem cult, conformed by adopting the southern Judean spelling *yhw* to their iconic tribal name *hwš*'. These displaced Ephraimites, living in a complex heterogeneous Judean community and under these circumstances, modernizing their name in a

⁴⁵⁹ Again, this point is not to restrict the use of the *yhw* theophoric in provenanced artifacts to Josiah's time and the Deuteronomistic movement of 621 BCE (contra Norin 1979, 1980; see Millard 1980 and most recently 2014). Identities constructed with *yhw*-type names are found among Hezekiah's officials stamped on several *lmk* jar handles, such as: *yhwḥyl* (Jerusalem; Ramat Rahel; Lachish), *ypyhw* (Jerusalem; Lachish), *hšlyhw* (Jerusalem; Ramat Rahel; Lachish; Gibeon), *špnyhw* (Jerusalem; Lachish; Tel Goded), *ʿzryhw* (Lachish; Tel Goded; Ramat Rahel; Gibeon), and *šbnyhw* (Jerusalem). But statistics show that there is steady growth of personal identities constructed with *yhw*-type in both Biblical and provenanced Hebrew inscriptions from the second half of the seventh century BCE to the end of the Judean monarchy (Zevit 1983; Norin 1986; 2013; Hess 2007).

hybridized way. As renaming reshapes identity, this was their way to negotiate their individuality in light of a changed environment, but at the same time, maintain elements of their heritage.

In précis, the thrust of this survey is this: the reoccurrences of the name *hwšʿ* in circulated inscribed Hebrew artifacts in Judah are commemorative sites of nostalgia and cultural memory among refugees or displaced persons connected to the historical narratives of the tribe of Ephraim. This notion is apparent in several ways. First, ethnohistorical examination of names, as they appear in inscriptions and the Hebrew Bible, signaled a perceived alignment with the tribe of Ephraim among users. Second, though the provenance of these Hebrew artifacts are Judean, there is a particular metadiscourse and language ideology that can be lifted out of this setting that suggest that a connection with the past is being construed through the particular performance of replicating iconic Ephraimite names. That is, naming is a central means of cultural transmission, and Israelite speaker's public display (via inscription) of the Ephraimite names indexed the struggle for autonomy from the religio-political structures of Judean authority. Another indexical meaning that speakers and users sought to communicate about their social identities and relationships is a nostalgia discourse about their former homeland and hope for the restoration of the kingdom of Israel; they produce forms that embody a particular alignment with a tribe and region. This collective behavior (even with the variational codemixed form of the name under Josiah) is ideologically interpreted as strategy to reinforce and embody solidarity with one's own native kinship group, which is undeniably Ephraimite.

The historical sociolinguistic patterns of an Ephraimite migration to Judah in the late 8th century BCE will be indicated below through the reproduction of the following iconic names of cultural and ancestral alignments, and nostalgia discourses among refugees. Approximately 41 names are listed below, far more than any other Israelite tribe; this supports the contention that

the majority of refugees who sought asylum in Judah were displaced from Ephraim, the closet border region to Judah.

Ephraimite Tribal Identity in Judah ⁴⁶⁰

ʔby Gezer (Gezer ostrakon 1:8; *HITBP*: 163; 10th cent. BCE); ʔbyh the son of Samuel the Ephraimite (1 Sam. 8:2; 11th cent. BCE); ʔbyw Samar. 52:2; ʔbyw (*WSS* 185; Sass 1993: 235; [could be read as yw ʔb] late Carthage tomb with an 8th cen. Israelite seal) → ʔby Murabaʔat (Mur 2:2; early 7th cent. BCE); [ʔ]byhw Bethlehem? (*WSS* 428); ʔbyhw Arad (27:6; *HITBP*: 56)

ʔhyhw Ephraim (1 Kgs. 14:4, 6, 18; 1Chr. 11:36; 2 Chr. 10:15; a Shilonite prophet is also spelled ʔhyh (1 Kgs. 11:29–30; 12:15; 14:2, 4).⁴⁶¹ Another similar spelled PN aligned with Shiloh-Ephraim is ʔhyh the priest (2 Sam. 14:3, 18); ʔhyw Nimrud (Nim 4; *HITBP*: 396) → ʔhyhw Jerusalem bulla (*WSS* 450; Shoham 2000 : 301 7th cent. BCE); Ramat Rahel (1; Renz 1995: 287–288; *HITBP*: 421; 7th cent. BCE); Jerusalem (*Jslm* 1:2; *HITBP*: 207; 7th cent. BCE); Lachish (3:17; *HITBP*: 309; early 6th cent. BCE)

ʔhl Kh. Raddana (Cross and Freedman 1971; like the PN ʔhly, it is a short form of ʔh ʔl)⁴⁶² → ʔhy ʔl Jerusalem (*Jslm* 25:1; *HITBP*: 230); Jerusalem ʔhy ʔl (*Jslm* 26:4; *HITBP*: 231–232)

ʔlyhw ʔ Ephraim (1 Sam. 1:1); ʔlyw Kunt.Ajrud (21:4; *HITBP*: 297; Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel 2012: 128)⁴⁶³ → ʔlyhw Jerusalem (*Jslm* 10:1; *HITBP*: 221; late 8th cen. BCE); ʔlyhw Beth Shemesh seal (Sass 2008:1; late 8th cen. BCE)

⁴⁶⁰ In the list of Ephraimite identity in Judah some names are omitted. For example, in an ostrakon discovered in the Upper City of Jerusalem, one assert that the title [ʔl]qn ʔs[], “El Creator of Earth” in a Jerusalem ostrakon (with a list of personal names, see Aḥituv 2008: 40–41) can be reconfigured as a first name and patronym: ʔlqn son of ʔs (for the date of this artifact, see Vaughn 1999: 65–67). The former, ʔlqn, is aligned with Ephraim (1 Sam. 1:1) and the latter, attested in the Hebrew Bible as ʔs (the patrimonial house of Arza in Tirzah), is aligned with Manasseh (1 Kgs. 16:9). But this reconstruction remains speculative. On another note, some Ephraimite names are replicated in unprovenanced Judean bullae, but they have not been included in this list. For instance: šknyw Kun. Ajrud (Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel 2012: 128) → šknyhw (*WSS* 358; 516; 630; *HAE* 10.15; 17.29; 21.24, 25, 26; Deutsch and Heltzer 1995: nos. 92.79:10; Deutsch 1999: nos. 79, 86; Deutsch 2011: nos. 604,690; and g ʔl (Judg. 9:26, 28) → g ʔy (*WSS* 471; 472).

⁴⁶¹ Khirbet Seilun (Shiloh) stratum IV dated to the Iron II B period of 8th century BCE was nothing more than a cluster of scant villages (Laughlin 2006: 212).

⁴⁶² This inscription from Khirbet Raddana, an Iron I village located in the central hill country of Ephraim, is dated to the 12th–11th cent. BCE (Lemaire 2012). In Israelite genealogies, the PN ʔhly is a short form of ʔh ʔl (“the brother is my god” *HALOT*, 1:34). Although the PN ʔhly is aligned with Judah (1Chr. 2:31), note that Ephraimites and Judeans intermarried (Judg. 19:1). Also, a warrior of uncertain genealogy in the army of King David from the 10 century BCE is named Zabad the son of Ahlai (1 Chr. 11:41). The first name Zabad is aligned with Ephraim (1 Chr. 7:21; along with other tribes), so one cannot rule out that in Israelite lineages ʔhly is an Ephraimite name.

⁴⁶³ A seal with the PN ʔlyhw is allegedly from Gezer (*WSS* 67).

ʔlyšʿ Israelite deportee Nimrud 2 (*HAE* I: 131; *HITBP*: : 394; ivory plaque); Nimrud Ostrakon 1 rev 11 (*CAI*: no. 47); ʔlyšʿ Samar 1:4, 7; 41:1 (*HITBP*: 430 ff.) → [ʔ]lyšʿ Jerusalem (Mazar and Ben-Arie 2015: 306-307; 7th cen. BCE); ʔlyšʿ Arad 24:15, 19–20 (Renz 1995: 391-2; *HITBP*: 48-50; Aḥituv 2008: 128-132; late 7th or early 6th cent. BCE)

ʔlntn Israelite deportee? Nimrud Ostrakon (1: rev 15; patronym of Hebrew name *kbr*; Segal 1957; Albright 1958; Becking 1988) → ʔlntn Lachish (*WSS* 679; *lmlk* jar handle impression); Gibeon (*WSS* 680; *lmlk* jar handle impression); Jerusalem (*WSS* 440, 441; 7th century BCE); Arad 110:1 (Renz 1995: 401; early 6th cent. BCE); Lachish 3:15; 11:3 (*HITBP*: 309, 312, 328; early 6th cent. BCE)

ʔlʿdh Ephraim (1 Chr. 7:20) → ʔlʿdh Mur 2:3 (*HITBP*: 383; Aḥituv 2008: 215)

ʔlšmʿ Ephraim (Num. 1:10; 2:18; 7:48, 53; 10:22; 1 Chr. 7:26);⁴⁶⁴ Moabite inscription from Khirbet El Mudeiyineh (Ahituv 2008:424; 9th cent. BCE; of Israelite-Phoenician identity?, see Rainey 2002: 85-86) → Jerusalem (Vaughn 1999: 202 no. 37; Shoham 2000: 82 no. P2; late 8th cent. *lmlk* stamp impression with the Ephraimite first name *hšy*); Ramat Rahel (Vaughn 1999: 202 no. 39; late 8th cent. *lmlk* stamp impression with the Ephraimite first name *hšy*); Ramat Rahel (Lipschits 2010; late 8th cent. *lmlk* stamp impression with first name *šmh* [see also *šmh* Arad 49:11]); Jerusalem (Shoham 2000: 36 no. B.7; 40 no. B. 18; 43 no. B. 26; 46 no. B. 35; *WSS* 447, 448, and 588; several 7th cent. BCE bullae); Khirbet Uza (Beit-Arieh 2007: Nos. 12:4,18:8 34:14; several PNs on a late 7th cent. ostrakon); ʔlšmʿ Tel Malḥata (Beit-Arieh 2015: 488; 7th cent. BCE).

bnyhw Ephraim (2 Sam. 23:30; 1Chr. 27:14) → *bnyhw* Jerusalem (*WSS* 459; Shoham 2000: 30; 7th century BCE); Arad (39:9; *HITBP*: 68-69; dated to the 6th century BCE ostrakon)

gab-be-e Samaritan Nimrud (*PNA* 1/II: 416; reign of Tiglath-Pileser III); *gab-bi* (Fales 1991:104; 1993:145); also *ga-bi-a* Nineveh (*PNA* 1/II: 416; reign of Assurbanipal) → *gb[y]?* Arad (60:5-6; *HITBP*: 85-86; late 8th cent. BCE)

gad-il exiled Israelite (*PNA* 1/II: 418; reign of Sennacherib) → *gdʾ* Arad (Arad 72:3; *HITBP*: 93-94; 8th cent. BCE)

gdy Israelite king (2 Kgs. 15:14; patronym mid-8th cent. BCE); *ga-di-a* exiled Israelite Nimrud (*PNA* 1/II: 417; reign of Tiglath-Pileser III or Sargon II) → *gdy* [] Arad 71:3 (*HITBP*: 92-93; late 8th cent. BCE); *gdʾ* Arad 72:3 (*HITBP*: 93; late 8th cent. BCE); *gd* Tel Malḥata (Beit-Arieh 2015: 502; or *gd[y]?*); 7th cent. BCE); *gdw* Kh. Uza (Beit-Arieh 2007:176; 7th cent. BCE); *gdyhw* City of David (*WSS* 467; late 7th cent. BCE)

gi-ri-i exiled Israelite Nimrud (*PNA* 1/II: 425; reign of Assurbanipal); *gir-ia-u* Nimrud (*PNA* 1/II: 425; “Client of Yahweh” from the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III) → *gry* Arad 64:1 (*HITBP*: 89; 8th cent. BCE)

hwšʿ iconic PN Ephraim national leader (Num. 13:8,16); King of Israel (2 Kgs. 15:30); Ephraimite prophet (Hos.1:1); Ephraimite officer (1 Chr. 27:20); Gezer (*WSS* 667; *lmlk* jar handle) → Lachish, Khirbet Abbād, and Tel Goded (*WSS* 667; Vaughn 1999: 200, Nos. 23-30; Barkay and Vaughn 2004: 2160; these are the same *lmlk* jar handle impressions with possible Ephraimite patronym *špn*); Jerusalem (*WSS* 668; Nadelman 1989: 88; Vaughn 1999: 200 no. 21; *lmlk* jar handle with the Ephraimite patronym *hgy*); Jerusalem (Shukron 2012; *hw[šʿ]*, a

⁴⁶⁴ Although this PN is found among the sons of King David (2 Sam. 5:16; 1 Chr. 3:6–8; 14:7), one cannot overlook the role of political marriages in the rearticulation of agency relating to the tribal identity alignments of the sons of David’s royal household (Levenson and Halpern 1980). In this context, David employed non-Judean tribal marriages to stabilize his political structure. By rendering more visible the power hierarchies at play in discursive formation during this period, we conclude that the PN Elishama indexes a political alliance with the tribe of Ephraim (Num. 1:10; 1 Chr. 7:26). Sometime thereafter, this name became replicated in the royal family lineage, possibly as a prestige name, at the close of the monarchy in Judah (2 Kgs. 25:25; Jer. 41:1; 36:12, 20, 21; 1 Chr. 2:41).

reconstructed patronymic on a late 8th century BCE seal); *hwš*‘ Murabba‘at Judean Desert (2:1; Aḥituv 2008:215; early 7th century BCE papyrus with the Benjamite first name *nmtr*); *hwš*‘ Ramat Beth Shemesh (1:5; Milevski and Naveh 2005; late 7th cent. BCE ostrakon)

zk’ or *zky* Gezer 1 (Becking 1981-1982: 83-84; Assyrian cuneiform tablet) → *zk*’ Beth Shemesh (WSS 674a-b)

zkry Ephraim (2 Chr. 28:7; Zichri, a mighty man of Ephraim); *zkr* Samaria (Samar 31a:3; 31b:3; 37:3; Aḥituv 2008: 290, 292; *b*’*l*’ *zkr*, patronymic) → *zkr* Arad (Arad 48:3; 67:5; *HITBP*: 76-77, 90-91; both late 8th cent. BCE; Arad 38:7; *HITBP*: 66-67; Aḥituv 2008: 139; late 7th cent. BCE); *zkr* Tel Masos (Mesh 1:1; *HITBP*: 377; Aḥituv 2008: 164; mid-7th cent. BCE); *zkr* Jerusalem (Shoham 2000: 34-35 no. 4-6; 7th cent. BCE bullae); *zkr* Horvat Uza (Uza 1:2; *HITBP*: 518; Aḥituv 2008: 166; late 7th cent. BCE)

zkryhw (2 Kgs. 15:8) or *zkryh* son of Jeroboam II, King of Israel (2 Kgs. 14:29) → *zkryhw* Jerusalem (Kletter 1998:210); Khirbet Uza (Uza 3:4; Beit-Arieh 2007 : 129); Tel Masos (Mesh 3.4; *HITBP*: 378; late 7th cent. BCE)

hgy Israelite deportee at Nimrud (Ostr 1: rev 13; Albright 1958; Becking 1988; [a patronymic with the Israelite first name *ʾyndb*, see Segal 1957: 142; Albright 1958]); Gezer (WSS 691; *lmlk* jar handle-impressions patronym with possibly a Ephraimite first name *ʾzr*) → *hgy* Azekah (Tel el-Zakariyah) (WSS 691; same *lmlk* jar handle as the one from Gezer); Jerusalem (WSS 668:2; Shoham 2000: 82, No. P2; *lmlk* jar handle-impression); Jerusalem (Nadelma 1989: 88; *lmlk* jar handle-impression); Jerusalem seal (WSS 147; Ophel late 8th-7th cent. BCE); Jerusalem seal (WSS 150; late 8th-7th cent. BCE)

hdly Ephraim (2 Chr. 28:12) → *hdln* Tel Sera‘ (Tel Sera‘ 1:3; Cross 2003: 158; Israelite identity in a Philistio-Hebrew ostrakon dated to the 7th cent. BCE)

hz’*l* Israelite deportee in the Nimrud Ostrakon (Nimrud 1:5; Segal 1957; Albright 1958; Becking 1988); *hzy*’*l* Israelite Levite 1Chr. 23:9 (Gershon clan from Issachar, Naphtali and Manasseh in Transjordan [Josh. 21:6, 27]); also of Aramean royal identity (*hz*’*l* 1 Kgs. 19:15; *hzy*n 1 Kgs. 15:18) → *yhz*’ Tel ʾErani (Aren 1; *HITBP*: 109; late 8th- early 7th cent. BCE)

hlš Ephraimite warrior (2 Sam. 23:26; 1 Chr. 11:27; 27:10; Japhat 1993: 249); *hlš* Ephraimite enregistered and iconic in the Samaria ostraca (Samar 22:4; 23:3; 30:2; 31a:2; 31b:2; 32:2; 33:2; 34:2; 35:2; 49:2); *hlš*’ Ephraimite exile at Nimrud (Heltzer 1978:3) → [*h*]’*hlš* Jerusalem (Mazar and Ben-Arie 2015: 314 no. B12; 7th cent. BCE)⁴⁶⁵

hšy Archite clan in Ephraim (2 Sam. 15:32; *HALOT* 1:89; the Archites lived in the vicinity of Ataroth in Ephraim

⁴⁶⁵ This personal name is found among several unprovenanced inscribed seals/bullae: *hlš b[n]* ʾh ʾb (WSS 494; Manassite patronym Ahab); ʾlyhw *hlš* (WSS 603; Israelite first name Elijah); and *hlš* (Deutsch 2015: 66 no. 6). In Judean contexts, the lexical form *hlš* is found with the *yhw* theophoric on several unprovenanced seals (WSS 154:1; 236:1; 446:2; 483:2; 534:3; 624:2). If these artifacts with *yhw*-religious names are authentic, then they show that a new form of the name (not attested in the Hebrew Bible or inscriptions) was introduced in the late 7th century BCE- possibly as a modernization of the name under the influence of the royal Judean religious reform ideology of King Josiah. The only reference to a Judahite with the name Helez is found in the post-exilic Chroncler’s genealogy of the clans of Caleb (1Chr. 2:39). However, this genealogy could represent Judah’s kinship claims to Northern Israel and Transjordan (de Vaux 1979: 588). Helez was a descendant of Jarahmiel the son of Hezron (1 Chr. 2:18–25). The Hezron clan had established kinship ties with Reuben, Machir, and Gilead and adopted some independent tribes of Caleb (Aharoni 1979: 208, 244; Rainey and Notley 2006: 152). Moreover, Helez’s son name was Eleasah and this name-type appears also among the Benjamite clans of Saul (1 Chr. 8: 37; 9:43). Lastly, the Eleasah is connected with the settlement named Eleasah in Ephraimite territory (Khirbet el-ʿasa; Yeivin 1971:11, 191 no. 32). Therefore, the lexical elements *hlš* is iconic of Israelite identity in both the Hebrew Bible and inscriptions prior to the late 7th century BCE.

(Joshua 16:2–3; Kallai 1986:126, 131-132) → *ḥšy* Jerusalem (Shoham 2000: 82, No. P2; *lmlk* jar handle impression; note patronymic *ʾlšm* is aligned with Ephraim in Num. 1:10 etc.)

mbn Shechem (WSS 224:1; from *bnh*) → *bnh* Jerusalem (Uziel, Eshel, and Szanton 2015; 7th century BCE patronymic); *bn[h?]* Lachish 34 (Lemaire 2004: 2129; *HITBP*: 347)

mykyhw Ephraim (Judg. 17:1; 1 Kgs. 22:8–9); related form *mykh* (Judg. 17:5, 8; 18:2) → *mkyhw* Jerusalem (*Jslm* 78:2; *HITBP*: 240- 241)

mlkyw Nimrud 5 (Lemaire 2007: 11); see *mlk* PN occurs in Hazor 6:2 *ʾlm[lk]* (*HITBP*: 189) → *mlk[y]*? Beersheba (7:1; *HITBP*: 121); *mlky* Jerusalem (WSS 463; late 7th century BCE bulla); *mlkyhw* Arad (39:2; 40:3; *HITBP*: 68, 70; two late 7th century BCE ostraca); Arad (24:14 or 24: Rev.3; *HITBP*: 48; early 6th century BCE)

mnḥm Samaria (Samar 110:5); King of Israel (1 Kgs. 15:14-22); Israelite deportee in Nimrud Ostrakon (1:3, 6, 11; Segal 1957; Albright 1958; Becking 1988; *mnḥm bn ʾlyš* is not Ammonite); see also *mu-na-ḥi-ma-a* Tel Hadid (Naʾaman and Zadok 2000:170-171; a Ephraimite female from the 7th cent. BCE) → *mnḥm* Jerusalem and Tel Goded (WSS 676; Vaughn 1999: 204 nos. 69-70; *HAE* 13.55; *lmlk* jar handle impressions with patronymic *ybnh*); *mnḥm* Beth Shemesh and Ramat Rahel (WSS 677; Vaughn 1999: 203 nos 56-57; *HAE* 13.56; *lmlk* jar handle impressions with patronymic *wyḥbnh*); Adullam, Gibcon, Kh. Abbad, Lachish, and Ramat Rahel (WSS 678; Vaughn 1999: 204 nos. 60-67; *HAE* 13.57; *lmlk* jar handle impressions with patronymic *ywbnh* [IH theophoric prefix *yw*]); Jerusalem tomb (WSS 35; *HAE* 8.34; patronymic of seal dated to the end of the 8th cent. BCE); Arad (72:1; 8th cent. BCE); *mnḥm* Khirbet Uza (Uza 1:1; 4:2; Beit-Arieh 2007: 140, 176; Aḥituv 2008:166, 177; late 7th cent. BCE)

mqr Nimrud (Barnett 1967, 6*) → *mwqr* Tel Ira (Ira 1:3; *HITBP*: 197-198; first half of 7th cent. BCE)

na-tan-ia-u Gezer cuneiform tablet 2 (Becking 1981-82: 87, 89; Horowitz and Oshima 2006: 58-59; Israelite seller of a field at Gezer under the Assyrian province of Samerina in 649 BCE [reign of Assurbanipal]) → *ntnyw* Tel Naṣbeh (*HAE* Nasb(8)1:1; late 8th cent. BCE Israelite *yw*-theophoric in Benjamin); *ntnyhw* Arad (56:1–2; late 8th cent. BCE); Khirbet El- Qom (nos. 2-6; Aḥituv 2008: 224, 227; late 8th cent. BCE); Jerusalem seal (Ornan et. al. 2008:126; late 8th cent. BCE); Khirbet Uza (Uza 4:5; *HITBP*: 536; Beit-Arieh 2007: 153-154; 7th century BCE); Arad 23:9 (*HITBP*: 47; 7th -6th century BCE)

ʿbdyw Kuntillet Ajrud 9 (Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel 2012); *ʿbdyw* Samar 50:2 (*HITBP*: 471); *ʿbdyhw* (1 Kgs. 18:3) → *ʿbdy* Lachish, Tell el-Judeideh and Naḥal Arugot (WSS 684; Vaughn 1999: 207 nos. 103-117; *lmlk* jar handle impression with the first name *nḥm*); *ʿbdy* Lachish (WSS 690; Vaughn 1999: 210 no. 148; *lmlk* jar handle impression); *ʿbd[]* Arad 49:8 (*HITBP*: 78; 8th cent. BCE); *ʿbdyhw* Beersheba bullae (WSS 661; 8th cent.); Lachish (31:3; Lemaire 2004: 2126; late 8th or early 7th cent. BCE); *ʿbdyhw* Yavneh Yam (MHsh 4:7; *HITBP*: 342; late 7th cent. BCE); Arad 10:4; 27:2 (*HITBP*: 26-27, 56; early 6th cent. BCE).

ʿdh Kuntillet Ajrud (KAjr 3:1; also *ʿdnh* KAjr 9:1; Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel 2012); *ʿdh* Canaanite PN (Gen. 36:2); *ʿdn* an exiled Israelite from Pahath-moab in Judah (Ezra 10:30) → *ʿdyhw* Arad (58:1; late 8th cent. (Ahituv 2008: 150; or late 7th cent. BCE; *HITBP*: 84); Beth Shemesh (WSS 293; late 7th-6th cent. BCE with Israelite patronymic *ʾḥmlk*)

ʿz Israelite deportee at Nimrud (Ostrakon 1:4; Segal 1957; Albright 1958; Becking 1988); also Samaria (Samar 1:5; *HITBP*: 428) → *ʿz[]* Tell Beit Mirsim (Nadelman 1990:390; *HITBP*: 135; late 8th cent. BCE); *ʿz* Arad (72:4; Renz 1995: 114; 8th cent. BCE); *ʿz* Tel Ira (7:1; Beit-Arieh 1999: 410-411; Stratum VII [late 8th cent. BCE])

ʿzr Ephraim (1 Chr. 7:21); *ʿzr* Kuntillet Ajrud (KAjr 10:1; Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel 2012); Gezer (WSS 691; Vaughn 1999: 210 no. 149; a first name on *lmlk* jar impressions) → *ʿzr* Azekah (Tell el-Zakariyah) (WSS 691; Vaughn 1999: 210 nos. 150; same *lmlk* jar impressions from Gezer); *ʿzr* Beth Shemesh (WSS 696; Vaughn 1999: 212 no. 168; with first name *špn*); Lachish (WSS 697; Vaughn 1999: 212 nos. 169-171; a different *lmlk* seal impressions with the same with first name *špn*); Azekah (WSS 691; Tell el-Zakariyah); Arad (51:2; *HITBP*: 81; patronymic, late 8th cent. BCE); Arad (58:3; *HITBP*: 84; a first name, late 8th cent. BCE); Jerusalem (WSS 467; 7th

century BCE); Tel Masos (*Mesh* 1:2; 7th century BCE); Arad (22:2; 23:8; *HITBP*: 46-47; late 7th-early 6th century BCE); Lachish (19:1; *HITBP*: 333; late 7th-early 6th century BCE); also see *ʿzr* reconstructed on a 6th century BCE ostrakon from Transjordan (Tall Hīsbān A3 (XII) line 9 [*ʿzr* ; Aufrecht 1999)

ʿly Ephraimite priest (1 Sam. 1:3 [Shiloh]; 1 Kgs. 2:27) → *y ʿly* Jerusalem (Naveh 2000: 8; 7th cent. BCE); *ʿlyhw* Kh. Uza (Beit-Arieh 2007: 150-152;

pn̄yh Gezer ostrakon (*HITBP*: 157; 10th cent. BCE); *pnnh* Ephraimite PN (1 Sam 1:2, 4; note the PN *pn̄y ʿl* [*pnw ʿl*] Benjamite/Ephraimite in 1 Chr. 8:25; Ephraim clan member in 1 Chr. 4:4; see Demsky 1986; possibly tied to Jeroboam the Ephraimite [Leuchter 2006]) → *pn ʿl* Beersheba (Lemaire 1977: 271-271; Renz 1995: 232-233; or *kn ʿl* *HITBP*: 116); *pn̄yh* Jerusalem (Mazar and Ben-Arie 2015: 318; 7th cent. BCE)

šl ʾ Nimrud 3 (*HAE* I: 132; *HITBP*: 395); *šll* Samar 81 (*AHI*: no. 3.081); *šlphd* Manassite-Gileadite (Num 26:33; 27:1; Josh 17:3); *šll* –type PN enregistered in Transjordanian Israelite-Ammonite identity:⁴⁶⁶ *bšl ʿl* Tall Jalul (Ostraca 1:5; Gane 2008:79); *hšl ʿl* Tel Siran (*CAI*: no. 78); Tall Umayri (Ostrakon II:2; *CAI*: no. 211; Aufrecht 1999); Tall al-Mazār (Ostrakon VII:6 Ahituv 2008: 382) → *bšl* Arad 49:1 (*HITBP*: 77-78; 8th cent. BCE)⁴⁶⁷

špn Gezer ostrakon (Isaac and Lemaire 2015; [*š*] *pn* no. 2227 line 1); Zaphon, a West Semitic deity in the Ugaritic god list (*DDD*: 928); *špn* Gezer (WSS 667; Vaughn 1999: 200, No. 22; *lmlk* impressions with a IH first name *hwš ʿ*)⁴⁶⁸ → *špn* Khirbet Abbad, Lachish, and Tel Goded (WSS 667; Vaughn 1999: 200-201 nos. 23-30; Barkay and Vaughn 2004: 2160; same seal impression discovered at Gezer); *špn* Tel Batash, Azekah, Jerusalem, Tel Batash, Tell es-Safi (WSS 695; Vaughn 1999: 211 nos. 156-160; Avigad and Barkay 2000: 249; *lmlk* jar handle impression with the Issachar-Manassite patronymic *ʾbm ʿš*); *špn* Beth Shemesh (WSS 696; Vaughn 1999: 212 no. 168; with an Ephraimite patronymic *ʿzr*); Lachish (WSS 697; Vaughn 1999: 212 nos. 169-171; a different *lmlk* seal impressions with the same patronymic *ʿzr*); *špn* Lachish (WSS 698; Vaughn 1999: 211 nos. 161-165; different seal with patronymic *ʿzryhw*); *špn* Gibeon and Ramat Rahel (WSS 699; Vaughn 1999: 212 nos. 172-173; fragmentary *lmlk* seal impression with patronymic *ʿzryhw*); *špn* Jerusalem (Prignaud 1978:136; late 8th cent. BCE); *špn* [Arad 59:5; *špn* Motza 7th cent. (Vainstub 2009: 137-138)

rgm Nimrud (Heltzer 1978:7) → *rgm* Ira 4 (*HITBP*: 201; Beit-Arieh 1999: 408 reads the secondary scratch incorrectly as /*š*/ instead of /*r*/)

š ʾwl Kohathite Levite (1 Chr. 6:24; these priests served in tribal regions of Ephraim, Dan, and half-tribe of Manasseh in Josh. 21:5, 20); Deir Alla *š ʾwl* (Lemaire 1984: 255); Wadi-Daliyeh papyri (Cross 2006); Phoenician inscription of Kilamuwa (*KAI* 24:4); → *š ʿl* Jerusalem (Ronny Reich and Eli Shukron 2009: 359; late 8th cent. BCE seal); *š ʿl* Horvat Uza (Beit-Arieh 2007: 146; late 7th century BCE); *š ʿl* Horvat Uza (Ahituv 2008:351-354; 6th cent. BCE Edomite ostrakon)

šlm Ephraim (2 Chr. 28:12 patronym) → *šlm* City of David seal (Reich and Shukron 2009; late 8th cent. BCE)

⁴⁶⁶ The root is either *šll* “shadow” or *nšl* “deliver,” “rescue” (Avigad and Sass 1997: 515).

⁴⁶⁷ The name *bšl* is reconstructed in *Lach* 29.2 and the reading is unconvincing. Note the other variations of the names formed with *-šll* include: *hšlyhw* on several *lmlk* seal impressions from Jerusalem, Gibeon, Lachish, and Ramat Rahel (WSS 681-683; Nadelman 1989: 131); Uza 1:4, 14:2 (Beit-Arieh 2007:146); Lachish 1:1.

Note the post-Exilic returnees from Mesopotamia: *bšlyt* (Neh 7:54) and *bšlwt* (Ezra 2:52) may be of hybrid Transjordanian Israelite-Judean lineage.

⁴⁶⁸ The etymology of name *špn* is either “protected” (Noth 1928: 178) or “hidden” (Rechenmacher 2012:158 no. 403). This PN is also attested at Ashkelon (Cross, 2003: 165-166).

smkyw Nimrud (Barnett 1967; Heltzer 1978: 31; Israel 1989); *smkyw* (Samar 110:3)→ *smkyw* Tel en-Naşbeh (*AHI*: no. 30.002; Renz 1995: 221; Nasb(8):1, 1; *HITBP*: 242; late 8th cent. BCE with Israelite theophoric); *smk* Lachish (WSS 59; 8th cent. seal with IH patronymic *ʾhmlk*); *smk* Beth Shemesh (WSS 694; patronymic on a *lmlk* jar handle impression); *smk* Jerusalem, Lachish, Tell el-Judeideh (WSS 689; Vaughn 1999: 218, no. 255; first name on several *lmlk* jar handle impressions); *smk* Tel Eton (Faust and Eshel 2012; late 8th cent. BCE); *smk* Tell el-Hesi (*HITBP*: 195; late 8th cent. BCE); *smk*[] Kh. Uza (Beit-Arieh 2007: 153; 7th cent. ostrakon)⁴⁶⁹

šmryw Ephraimite at Kuntillet Ajrud (*KAjr* 21.3; Samar 1:1–2; 13:2; 14:2; 21:1–2; Samaria? WSS 377)→ *šmryhw* Judah (Arad 18:4; *HITBP*: 38; early 6th cen. BCE)

špṯn Ephraim (Num. 34:24; note the final *-an* ending that is common in Amorite and Ug names, see Streck 2000); *špṯ* Tyre (Sader 2005: 46 no. 20; end of 7th cent. BCE; *PPD*: 478); Ugaritic *tpṯ* (*PTU*: 199; *DULAT*: 927) Ugaritic *ytpṯ* (*PTU*: 200; *DULAT*: 969)→ *špṯn* Tel Masos (Mesh 3:3; the letters of this name is faint, cf. Renz 1995: 336; *HITBP*: 378; 7th cent. BCE); related to *yšpṯ* Arad (Arad 53; Renz 1995: 53; *HITBP*: 81; late 8th cent. BCE)

5.16 Refugee Identity Alignment and Community Cohesion in Judah: A Summary of the Data

The following is a complete list of the tribally aligned first and family names in Judah:

Table 3. A Tribal List of the Replicated Israelite Names in Judean Text-Artifacts

Tribal Group	Number of Aligned Names
Manasseh	38
Naphtali	16
Transjordan (Half-Tribe of Manasseh, Gad, and Reuben)	32
Zebulun	4
Issachar	8
Asher	33
Dan	4
Ephraim	42
National yw	7
Total	184

⁴⁶⁹ *Smk*-type names are also attested among unprovenanced Aramaic and Ammonite seals therefore their contribution to this discussion is limited (Albertz 2012: 547-548). The name *smkyhw* may index an Israelite hybrid Judean identity. It is only found in several provenanced Judean inscriptions dated to the 7th-early 6th cent. BCE at Motza (Vainstub 2009); Horvat Uza (Beit-Arieh 1999); City of David (Shoham 2000: no. 7; Vainstub 2000: 303); Lachish (4:6; 11:5; 13:2; 22:5 as *smk[yhw]*; *HITBP*: 195); and as a Judean deportee listed with king Jehoiachin in a cuneiform document (Weidner 1939: 928).

A few observations are in order regarding how I arrived at the number of Israelite aligned first and family names in this corpus. First, there are a few names that appear after the reign of Hezekiah— that is, only in the second half of the 7th century BCE. They are included in the corpus because it is assumed that refugees fled from their beleaguered cities, arrived in Judah before 701 BCE, and permanently resettled there until 605 BCE. The Israelite names occurring in artifacts dated from 650-605 BCE were arguably the descendants and/or the second and third generation of refugee families that were displaced half a century before this time. Second, patronymic Israelite names were included in the evidence for refugees in the late 8th century BCE; a decision that assumes that a person's father lived in Judah in 701 BCE. Given the fact that the average displacement time is 18 years before refugees move on from the host community or go home (i.e. an entire generation according unhcr.org), then it is possible that many Israelite fathers referred to on seals, ostraca, or bullae were in fact living in Judah during the years of 722- 701 BCE. If they were not alive, which is impossible to verify, then their inclusion in the corpus only serves to indicate their lineage alignment. Third, there are some overlapping names between tribes represented in the corpus— meaning that one name in Judah can have multiple alignments in Israel. Therefore, a name that is listed as a refugee in Judah can be replicated once or multiple times between Israelite tribes; and given the kinship ties between the tribes of Manasseh and Ephraim, a pan-House of Joseph naming style may have been practiced among some elites in the urban communities. Consequently, I have not included in my final tally the number of times an IH name is replicated in Judah. So even if one IH name is replicated two or three times in Judean artifacts (indicating 2 or 3 separate elite refugees), then it is only treated as one example. In other words, I have focused on the different number of name-types in my final tally and not the number of times the same name was replicated in Judah. Perhaps, one explanation for the similar

naming styles among elite Israel refugee tribesmen may be attributed to the creation of fictive kinship ties in the symbolic Diaspora community in Judah (for similar practice, see Chatty 2010: 301).

The foregoing are the guidelines that were followed to arrive at the total sum of 184 different Israelite first and patronymic names—mostly from the late 8th century BCE and a few from the 7th century BCE. If this number represents 10% of the total of sum of the elite of who migrated to Judah (assuming a figure of 1,800), then it implies that elite refugees were significantly incorporated into the administrative infrastructure of Judah.⁴⁷⁰

The data presented above has implications about the contiguity of Israelite material culture and the debate over a “flood” of refugees in Judah. The results of this research support theories advancing the continuity of kinship ties in Israel after 720 BCE and the existence of an Israelite remnant community in Judah (Schniedewind 1999; 2003; 2004; Finkelstein 2008; 2015). Whereas Burke’s study (2011; 2012) contributes to finding marginalized and underprivileged Israelite refugees in Judah, this study has sought to uncover elite Israelite refugee identity in urban Judean contexts during the late 8th-7th century BCE.

⁴⁷⁰ Another fruitful avenue of study would be to examine Israelite names in Judean sources in the Hebrew Bible. For example, Levitical or priestly clergy have been noted to endure force migration. Israelite Levites were forced to migrate to Judah under the reign of Jeroboam I because the Israelite king removed them from office (2 Chr. 11:14). After the fall of Samaria, a North Israelite priest was displaced to Bethel in Ephraim/Benjamin (2 Kgs. 17:28). Certain Levitical identities during Hezekiah’s reign are aligned with Israel and we can infer that they were forced to migrate from Israel after 732 BCE. For example, there are five Levites mentioned in the Chronicler’s history of Hezekiah that fit this pattern: Jerimoth (2Chr. 31:13) is aligned with Naphtali (1 Chron 27:19); Jeuel (2Chr. 29:13) is aligned with Reuben (1Chr. 11:44; 1Chr. 5:7 [with *yod*]; Ezra 10:43 [from Nebo]); Azaziah (2Chr. 31:13) is aligned with Ephraim (1 Chr. 27:20); Benaiah (2 Chr.. 31:13) is aligned with Ephraim (2 Sam. 23:30; 1 Chr. 11:31; 27:14); Mahath (2 Chr. 31:13) is aligned with Samuel’s Ephraimite priestly line (1 Chr. 6:33-35). Again, this is not surprising given the fact the Chronicler refers to North Israelites from Asher, Manasseh, and Zebulun coming to Jerusalem to celebrate the Passover during Hezekiah’s reign (2 Chr. 30:11).

Israelite community resiliency after the 8th century BCE Assyrian invasion is evident in the archaeology of Israel. As previously stated, the Assyrians destroyed and rebuilt a number of urban settlements (Megiddo Stratum III-II, Samaria V, Dor, Gezer, Akko, etc.) and Israelites may have instrumental in this endeavor. Secondly, the material culture of Israel did not change much after the Assyrian invasion, thus a form of Israelites social structure and kinship unity continued in the 7th century BCE (Dan, Tel Kabri E2b /E2a; Tell Keisan 5/4; Tel En Zippori and Horvat Hftahel; Ta'anach 5; Yoqne'am Stratum XI; Tell el-Far'ah (N) VIIe; Beth-shean; Shechem; Bethel; Samaria highland tombs (i.e. Kh. el-Lauz) and farmsteads; 2 Kgs. 17:28; 2 Chr. 30:18; 34:6; Jer. 4:15; 31:18, etc.). These observations factor in Hezekiah's use of auxiliary troops from Israel in his uprising against Sennacherib in 701 BCE (Na'aman 2000; 2007: 38 n. 16; Fales 2014:243)—their involvement in the preparation is evident in the numerous *lmk* jar handle impressions discovered at Khirbet Sharta (Kefar-Ata) in Asher, Nahal Tut in Manasseh, Jezreel in Issachar, and Bethel and Gezer in Ephraim. It appears that community revitalization in Israel during the late 8th-7th century BCE was coeval with building cohesion with extended families in Judah.

The Israelite tribes with the highest statistical representation in number of names analyzed in Judah were Ephraim, Manasseh, Asher, and Naphtali. From the perspective of cultural prestige, the Israelite regions of lower Galilee, the Coast, and the hill country of Ephraim were politically, culturally, and economically more prosperous than Judah before the Assyrian invasion. Hence, it is safe to assume that many Israelite refugees in Judah were wealthy, educated, and highly skilled émigrés who escaped the terrifying situations in their tribal region of origin. Higher prestige levels, along with their richness in human and ideological capital, contributed to pride of pedigree and a continued desire to maintain membership in particular

Israelite tribes. These émigrés were embedded in the socioeconomic structure of Judah and may have been instrumental to its reorganization and transformation.

From a different perspective, the tribe of Ephraim had the highest statistical representation in Judah. The name ‘Ephraim’ was a metonym for the kingdom of Israel. The tribe of Ephraim shared a frontier zone with Judah, and had the closest geographical proximity to Judah of any Israelite tribe. Therefore, it is not surprising that 42 names in Judean inscriptions are aligned with the tribe of Ephraim— thereby forming the largest tribal segment of refugees who escaped from calamities that befell the kingdom of Israel. Moreover, this finding corroborates in many ways with arguments in favor of a population of refugees arriving from southern Ephraim, including the writer of the Siloam Tunnel inscription (Finkelstein 2008; 2015; Rendsburg and Schniedewind 2010). It appears that upon hearing of the threat of Assyrian army in 722 BCE, people living in the frontier zones, including but not limited to members of the tribe of Ephraim, either hid in caves and returned home or sold their possessions and fled south to Judah. Literary and poetic images of the Assyrian campaign as a time of terror and fear, one that led local inhabitants to flee to inaccessible regions such as caves to save their lives, are invoked in Isaiah 2:10, 19, 21 and found in numerous Assyrian texts (Aster 2007). Some of the Israelite refugees in Judah during the late 8th century BCE may have lived through the experiences described in the book of Isaiah.

The fact that many names on the *lmlk* stamp impressions align with Israelite identity has several implications. The official stamps are linked with the names of the four cities that were also stamped on the jars: Socoh, Hebron, Ziph, and unknown city named *mmšt*. On the theories regarding the function of the four cities, Barkay notes, “ [a] theory holds that the four cities indicate a military division, and the jars conveyed provisions to units posted by Hezekiah

throughout the kingdom in preparation for the rebellion against Assyria” (1992: 349). He goes on to assert that, “it is clear that the lamelekh jars were linked to the royal or military administration of Hezekiah. The four cities appear to represent the four regions of the Kingdom of Judah at this time; Hebron represents the southern highlands, Socoh the Shephelah, Ziph the southern and eastern desert margins, and *mmsht*, not mentioned in the Bible or in other sources, must represent northern Judaea and the region of Jerusalem” (1992: 349). Indeed, if the official stamps and *lmlk* stamp impressions were for the four divisions of Hezekiah’s military, then it is interesting that Hezekiah’s military was composed of officers and units from Israel.⁴⁷¹ If so, it is safe to assume that these Israelites who came to Judah seem to have arrived under different circumstances. Some may have been part of the elite military troops (or the “Urbi”) that were involved in Hezekiah’s battle with Sennacherib in 701 BCE. These Israelite troops were highly skilled and may have been recently stationed in Judah, or may have been made up of refugees in Judah who had been incorporated into Hezekiah’s army after the fall of Samaria.

There is another implication concerning the royal *lmlk* Judean stamp impressions bearing Israelite names. There are a total of 187 private *lmlk* official stamp impressions in Judah and many of them bear names aligned with several Israelite tribes. From a statistical perspective, the main concentration of the *lmlk* private stamp impressions is in the Shephelah of Judah. Of the provenanced impressions, 132 out of 187 derive from the Shephelah and only 51 were discovered in Jerusalem and its vicinity (Lipschits et. al. 2010: 26). Scholars agree that private stamps were made in a short period of time, heavily distributed in the Shephelah and Jerusalem,

⁴⁷¹ The incorporation of military and bureaucratic officials into an existing state administration was not novel. For example, the Assyrian kings Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon II incorporated exiled Samarian charioteers into the Assyrian army (Dalley 1985). And in the modern Middle East, Circassians became the royal guard of the Jordanian King in the 19th- 20th century (Chatty 2010).

and belong to period of Hezekiah's preparation for war against Sennacherib, King of Assyria.

This statistical distribution means that many elite Israelite officials (on *lmlk* private stamps) were employed to serve in the Shephelah and Jerusalem under Hezekiah's administration; the distribution also coincides with the settlement density and demographic growth in this region during the late 8th century BCE (Dagan 2011).

Three important factors were part of Hezekiah's rationale for accepting refugee elites into Judah, and into Jerusalem in particular. First, Hezekiah needed to bolster his fighting agnates in his political uprising against Sennacherib king of Assyria. Prior to the Assyrian invasion, Israel had reached its settlement peak and the population of Israel was greater than that of Judah. There were many Israelites who were not deported but remained in their homeland, while others fled to Judah; these are the groups that Hezekiah appealed to in order to increase his army and build up his administrative infrastructure in the lead up to Sennacherib's invasion. The second was the trust factor. Hezekiah could trust Israelite elites in the court because they were not a threat to his throne. That is, elite refugees were not legitimate heirs to the throne of David, and, therefore could not compete for rulership over Judah.

Lastly, the presence of royal Judean *lmlk* jar handles in Israel and Israelite names in Judah point to the political unification of Israel and Judah before Hezekiah's rebellion against Assyria in 701 BCE. From approximately 789 BCE to 722 BCE, Israel had a hostile relationship with Judah, but this situation turned around once Israel was no longer a kingdom and Hezekiah rebelled against Sennacherib (704-701 BCE).⁴⁷² In order to successfully defeat Assyria,

⁴⁷² During the early 8th century BCE, Israel defeated Judah at the battle of Beth-Shemesh (2 Kgs. 14:13) and reduced Judah to a vassal status. With the rising threat of Assyrian under Tiglath-Pileser III, Pekah king of Israel sought to forge an alliance with Ahaz king of Judah, but was rebuffed (2 Kgs. 16:5–7). Pekah had forged an alliance with Rezin king of Syria and both made war with Ahaz of Judah. In response, Ahaz hired Assyria to defeat both Israel and Syria (Miller and Hayes 2006).

Hezekiah sought the assistance of Israelite émigrés (priests, religious scholars, scribes, officials, and military personnel) who had migrated to Judah and were the extended family members of Israelites living in the Assyrian provinces. Another possibility is that Israelite émigrés were the catalyst for Hezekiah's political unification of Israel and Judah and subsequent rebellion against Assyria. It follows that Israelites were socially involved in the politics of Judah under Hezekiah.

The findings presented in this chapter demonstrate that language played an important part in community unity, as name reduplication and enregisterment was an ideological discourse that indexed nostalgic ties to the past, a symbolic tribal community, and hopes for return. Based upon the metalinguistic structures of names, language ideologies can be seen to be important components of name reproduction as a social practice both in the ancient and modern Middle East. While the sizeable number of Israelite names in Judah do not effectively eradicate all arguments for or against the "flood" of refugees in Judah (since the sum total of names in this corpus are small in comparison to the overall population estimates of Judah during the late 8th – 7th century BCE), the findings discussed here move beyond this debate into other categories of social life that are important to documenting how elite social agents in the past used naming as a semiotic resource to construct their identity and forge a symbolic community in colonial spaces.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The Neo-Assyrian invasion and hegemony over the Levant from 733-612 BCE brought unprecedented changes to Israel and Judah, including deportations, internally induced displacement, refugee migration, globalization, and the creation of heterogeneous communities. These fluid social circumstances resulted in a complex and fascinating relationship between language, agency, identity, and politics. The creation of a refugee population of asylum seekers in the hosting state of Judah had significant consequences for personal and tribal identities in both Israel and Judah.

This study began with the debate over Israelite refugees in Judah and whether or not the growth of Jerusalem could be attributable to natural growth, one wave of migration, or two waves of migrations. Generally, scholars agree that Israelite traditions arrived in Judah after the fall of the northern kingdom of Israel. However, a significant area of disagreement was accounting for Jerusalem's transformation into the largest city in Judah (with a net population of 26,000 people) during the late 8th century BCE. Admittedly, calculating the exact nature of the demographic changes in Jerusalem is difficult to quantify because of the limited number of excavations in the Upper City and the lack of destruction layers. Nevertheless, the new excavations of the Givati Parking Lot in the Western Hill of Jerusalem provided some answers to this problem; publications on the recent finds suggest that this area began to be occupied during the late 9th or early 8th century BCE. However, this discovery did not answer the question of when the acceleration of settlement density began to take place in the Givati Parking Lot. It was argued that the acceleration process occurred after the mid 8th century BCE, after the arrival of Israelite refugees, based in part on the erection of the Broad Wall and the demographic changes

that took place in other areas of Judah, specifically the Shephelah. While textual references to refugees in Judah and the archaeological settlement patterns in Jerusalem are open to debate, there were specific methodological flaws in finding Israelite identity in Judah through personal names; namely, the narrow focus on the presence or absence of the theophoric *yw* (Na'aman 2007; 2009a; 2014; Finkelstein 2008; 2015). A more convincing approach was to broaden the selection of habitual Israelite naming styles—as performed in inscriptional artifacts and Israelite genealogies—viewed through the lens of cultural and linguistic anthropology. When the archaeological and textual evidence is combined, it became clear that the best explanation for Jerusalem's growth in the 8th century BCE is the two waves of migrations consisting first of Israelite refugees that sought asylum there after the fall of the kingdom of Israel, and secondly of displaced persons from the Judean Shephelah that sought shelter there after the invasion of Sennacherib in 701 BCE.

Chapter 1 framed a new anthropological paradigm for understanding refugee identity, one based upon Chatty's notion of community cohesion among refugees that have been displaced in the modern Middle East. Histories of forced migration and accommodation in both the ancient and modern Middle East demonstrate strategies of survival and resilience among involuntary migrants. These strategies include the creation of multicultural communities, in which each ethnic group speaks their native language and practices their specific religious beliefs. In other words, the symbolic forms of community among displaced persons and refugees are not necessarily based upon territory and state affiliation, but are instead based on shared beliefs, experiences, and ritual practices. The naming practices of refugee and Diaspora communities in the modern Middle East show the ways that they value community cohesion. A semiotic grounding for ways communities are conceptualized in situations of statelessness and

landlessness was seen to be especially appropriate, given that Israelite refugees endured similar conditions during the late Iron Age period. The data presented in this dissertation serves as evidence of similar strategies of resilience among present-day Middle Eastern refugees and Israelite refugees in Judah during the late 8th -7th century BCE.

In Chapter 2, anthropological methods and theories were brought to bear on the consequences of Israelite refugee migration and displacement. Most useful to an analysis of the ways refugee status affects personal and tribal identity are the methods and theories of linguistic anthropology – in particular, language ideologies, which was used to explain naming practices in ancient Israel and Judah. Linguistic anthropologists argue that language is not neutral and that the spread of linguistic forms has indexical significance; that is, the language forms that spread through social interactions have cultural, political, and ideological associations. The theory of language ideologies articulates how people have language biases, show an awareness of language use, mediate to change language structure, and engage in identity construction (including tribal, ethnic, or national identity), using language. Social groups and subgroups use shared or recognized linguistic forms such as names in the creation and maintenance of their ethnic, tribal, or national identity and community.

Chapter 3 stressed the importance of agency, discursive consciousness, indexicality, and identity alignment of names in written artifacts. Using modern day Middle Eastern ethnographies, the replication of names was shown to be a semiotic resource culturally embedded in ideologies about clan alignment, solidarity, and community. In addition, patronymics were seen to be sites of indexical meaning associated with residential living quarters, political affiliation, and symbolic communities. At both the micro and macro levels, the agency of identity alignments through replicating naming patterns was demonstrated in both

present day and Iron Age Near Eastern agro-pastoral cultures. Identity alignment theory showed how complex practices that were embedded in Diaspora community cultures allowed refugees to construct an attachment to their pre-displacement lives as well as their new environment. In particular, name replication and language mixing in text-artifacts was seen to be one of the clearest forms of alignment with pre-displacement places and symbolic communities. Names in ancient Israel and Judah indexed what a person was, as well as what a person was not. Their use could index multiple ideologies including domination, resistance, maintenance, or group solidarity.

Chapter 4 examined the importance of tribalism as a symbolic structure that co-existed with the monarchies of Israel and Judah during the Iron II period. During the 8th century BCE, the extended family was a vital part of the social fabric of Israel and Judah. Most importantly, this chapter advanced the idea that Israel and Judah during the Iron II B-C period were segmentary tribal states, and that genealogies (inscriptional and Biblical) were not simple references of information but were political idioms and semiotic signs that communicated symbolic communities, relationships, organizations, structures, and values such as honor. Israelite and Judean genealogies were shaped by the social conditions of the people in power, who used them to construct place, status, and rank during the Iron Age II period. Caton's semiotic theories of tribal practices in the modern Middle East were used to illustrate how names indexed symbolic structures in the Samaria Ostraca. Clan names were replicated in these ostraca as prestige markers that fulfilled tribal symbolic goals of honoring the clan ancestor. Lastly, the reliability of the Chronicler's genealogies was evaluated, and it was determined that the genealogies of the tribes of Israel were reliable: some genealogies were based upon archival sources and others on oral sources.

Chapter 5 applied the linguistic anthropological foundation established in the previous chapters – in particular, using theories of language ideologies to interpret name replication – and evaluated Israelite refugee identity in Judah from provenanced text-artifacts. The replication of names was seen to be a cultural practice embedded in West Semitic cultures of the Bronze Age and Iron Age periods (among elites at Ugarit and non-elites in the agro-pastoral societies of Emar, Israel, and Judah). This chapter evaluated the data that has emerged with the discovery of hundreds of inscribed Hebrew artifacts and archaeological material culture from ancient Israel and Judah over the last four decades and used this data to generate theories of agency, indexicality, iconization, and personal identity alignment for Israelite and Judean speech communities of the Iron Age period. The epigraphic and text-artifact discoveries from the destruction levels of 732-722 BCE in Israel and 701 and 605 BCE in southern Judah provide a snapshot of social agency and cultural discourse among elites in these communities. By the 8th century BCE, elite Israelites socially and culturally constructed and replicated iconic names of their identity. A model was presented for replicating tribal names in ancient Israel within two specific speech communities: the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. It was discovered that replicating names was a cultural value in Israel and it indexed the solidarity of the clan. This model framed our understanding of the language ideological dimensions of naming and the voicing of ancestral identity alignments (based upon ethnographic studies).

While we do not know the exact vocalization/pronunciation of every name presented in this dissertation, as the consonantal structure was the only indication of name replicating currently at our disposal, there is still ample naming data available for analysis. We can certainly assume that variation in vocalization of names existed during the Iron II period, which would allow contemporaneous speakers to differentiate overlap in the consonantal structure of names.

But the question of how can we interpret the overlap of names between Israelite tribal communities, especially in relation to Judah, can only be resolved by appealing to the linguistic anthropological theories of indexicality, iconization, and enregisterment. These theories are essential tools that allow us to understand agency, identity construction, and political orientation among refugee communities in Judah. There was a pattern of names aligned with each of the tribes of Israel; at the same time there was flexibility and variation within and between regions (based on an individual's negotiation with their social circumstance). The theories of linguistic anthropology let us understand that naming patterns as a social practice, as seen in the corpus of Israelite genealogies and text-artifacts, were context-dependent.

Chapter 5 also set the criteria for finding Israelite refugee identity in the corpus of Judean inscriptions. Israelite elite refugee identities in personal names in Judah were drawn from extensive archaeological, epigraphic, and Israelite genealogical sources. The criteria for finding Israelite refugee identity were broadened to include all Israelite naming styles beyond the *yw* theophoric. Approximately 184 first and family names (patronyms) from the late 8th -7th century BCE texts and artifacts in Judah were identified as aligned with Israelite tribes. Some names indexed linguistic purism—with an IH name or theophoric form *yw*—and others were of the mixed variety—partially Israelite with an IH lexeme combined with the *yhw* theophoric. The *yhw* theophoric was understood to be code-mixing, in which an allegiance to certain lexical features aligned with IH were retained and the theophoric *yhw* was used to construct a heterogeneous identity. An analysis of the data of names, when combined with other archaeological evidence, suggests that after the fall of Israel and consequent migration across the Judean Shephelah, Highlands, Negev, and Desert, elite refugees remained loyal to their pre-displacement Israelite ethnic and cultural pedigree and aligned their personal identities with their kinship groups and

households. The inscribed identities found on durable surfaces such as seals, bullae, and ostraca in Judah could be seen as expressive of an individual's cultural values of tribal alignment with Israelite collective identity amid statelessness, dispossession, loss, and other societal shifts and transformations. The Israelian Hebrew names listed in each case study of the tribes of Manasseh, Naphtali, Issachar, Zebulun, Transjordan (Gad and Reuben), Dan, Naphtali, and Ephraim signaled non-Judean stances and expressed a form of oppositional identity. Reproducing family heritage names was a way for Israelite refugees to preserve memories, resist cultural shifts, and forge a symbolic community. These naming practices were one way that refugees performed identity maintenance within the political host space of Judah.

The discovery of Israelite identity in Judean text-artifacts reveals a different layer of the politics of Judah under King Hezekiah. As shown in the Chronicler's source, Hezekiah recruited some Israelite tribalism factions and elites to join him in rebelling against Assyria. The Israelite names of officials on seals, bullae, and *lmlk* jar handle impressions point to an educated class that had been recruited to be part of the Judean administration in their rebellion against Assyria. A case can be made that Hezekiah's attempt to reunite the tribes of the Northern kingdom of Israel and rebel against Assyria was actually the self-conscious creation of a group of Israelite nobles and intellectuals who had migrated to Judah under Hezekiah.

Lastly, the incorporation of refugee elites into Hezekiah's Judahite administration was a catalyst for extending social network ties into Israel and generating powerful nostalgia discourses for a unified Israelite and Judahite kingdom. Since the split of the United Monarchy of Israel after Solomon, there were only a few attempts to create a unified national movement between Israel and Judah. After the fall of Israel, tribal community ties within Israel and Judah continued to exist in the late 8th century BCE. The resiliency of Ephraimite and Manassite communities,

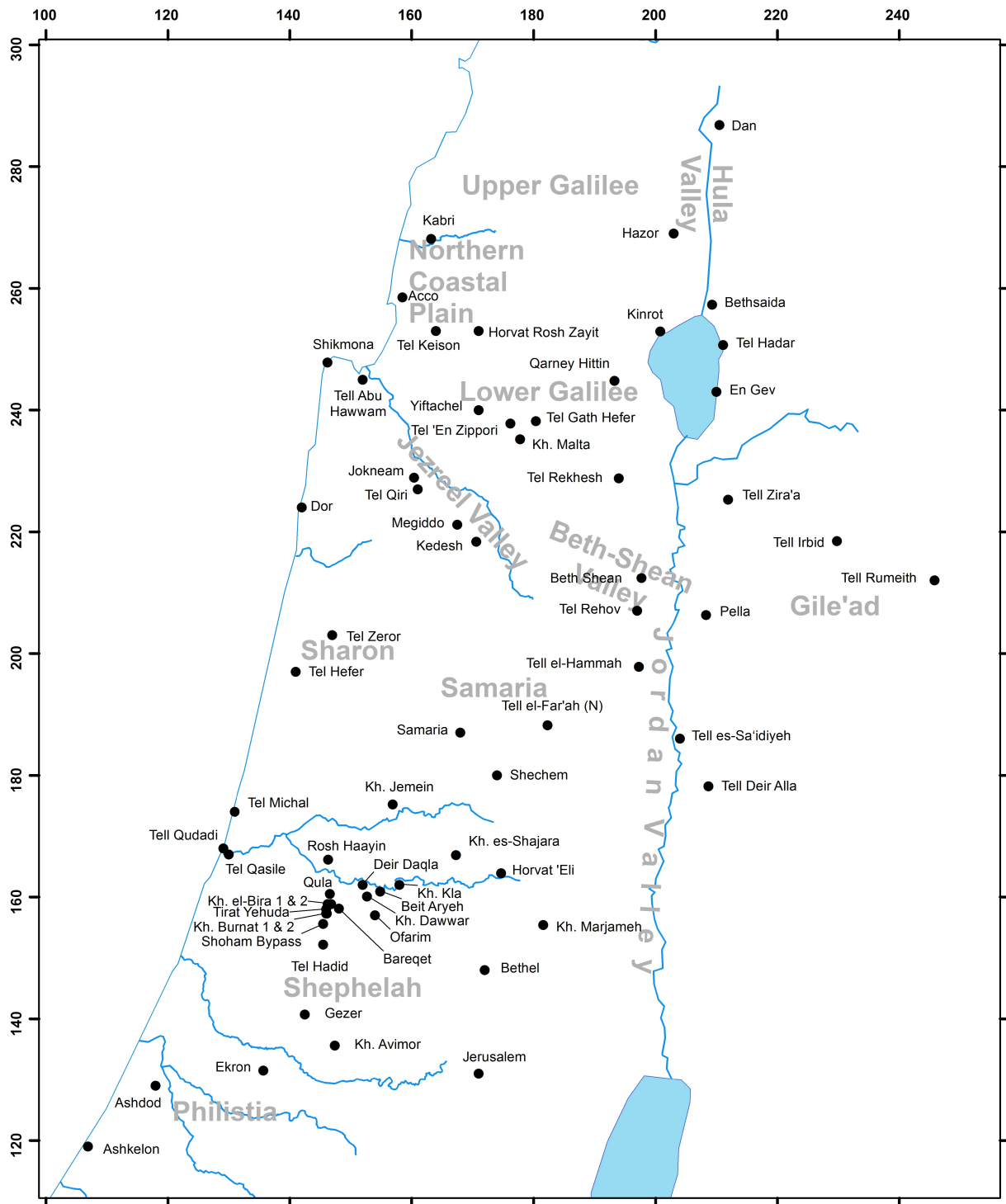
potentially out of practical necessity, was ostensibly stronger; this is evident in the narrative of Hezekiah and Josiah's overtures to the internally displaced tribes of Israel in Ephraim and Manasseh. This can also be seen, for example, in the discovery of several royal Judean *lmlk* jar handle impressions in the Israelite territories of Ephraim, Manasseh, and Asher. (The majority of personal and family naming alignments in Judah were actually derived from these three tribes.) The 8th century BCE Judean royal impressions found in Israel index kinship and patronage networks operating across the national borders of Israel by those who had migrated to Judah and were now employed in the Judahite kingdom. The royal impressions also index nostalgic aspirations for a united segmentary tribal state and military. On that account, Israelite émigrés (priests, religious scholars, scribes, officials, and military personnel) attested on inscribed artifacts in administrative centers, fortress cities, and store cities in Judah were the catalyst for Hezekiah's political unification of Israel and Judah and subsequent rebellion against Assyria.

Ultimately, using the methods of linguistic anthropology to examine ancient naming practices in Israel and Judah lets us understand community practices in a new way. We can now better comprehend how Israelite names encoded cultural ideologies, values, and beliefs in the 8th century BCE. This dissertation has identified Israelite naming as a strategy of resilience and community cohesion; as such, it was one of the factors that reduced the threat of cultural erasure and helped shape Israelite identity amid the changing social circumstances of statelessness, landlessness, displacement, forced migration, and resettlement in the late 8th-7th century BCE.

MAP 1
The Tribal Territories of Israel and Judah



MAP 2
Archaeological Sites in Israel during the 8th century BCE (Faust 2015)



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