

The Old Testament in its Context: 2 From Egypt to the Jordan

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This paper continues Mr Kitchen's appreciation of the Old Testament books and data in the context of their world of origin, i.e. the ancient Near East, with whose usages and forms the outward form of their divine message shows affinity, so speaking to men in comprehensible terms; the principles and necessary succinctness of the first article¹ operate also here.

1. Structure of Exodus

Unlike Genesis, Leviticus and (less obviously) Deuteronomy, Exodus and Numbers do not manifest a characteristic literary profile marked by an explicit framework. However, the main line structure of Exodus may be viewed in terms of its practical contents much as follows:

1. Travel from Egypt to Mt. Sinai, 1: 1 - 19: 25
Mainly narrative, but incorporating genealogical data (6: 14-28), Passover rites (in 12; 13) and Song of the Sea (15: 1 - 18, 21).
2. Institution of the Covenant at Sinai, 20: 1 - 31: 18
Covenant on historical base with many distinctive features.
3. The Covenant Broken, 32: 1 - 33: 23
Narrative of Israel's idolatry and punishment; Moses' intercession.
4. The Covenant Renewed, 34: 1 - 36: 1
In narrative and renewed stipulations.
5. Cultic stipulations of Covenant implemented, 36: 2 - 40: 35
Narrative of construction and erection of the tabernacle.
6. Additional Notes (a) 16: 34-36; (b) 40: 36-38
Manna for forty years; guidance in journeyings.

Here, sections 1 - 5 are all linked with Sinai, presupposing nothing later than the Hebrews' sojourn there. All the basic material in them could have been first written down at Sinai² (*cf.* § 5 below). Section 6 — two brief notes on manna for 40 years and on the journeyings — would date at earliest to the time of Israel's arrival in the Plains of Moab, and belong to the post-Sinai phase of the history of the book of Exodus (*cf.* § 5 below).

2. Structure of Leviticus

Leviticus completes Exodus and its covenant (*cf.* just below), while itself remaining a distinctive entity, as follows:

1. Prescribed Offering-rites from People and by Priests, 1: 1 - 7: 38

Burnt-, meal-, peace-, sin-, guilt-offerings — what the people give (1: 1 - 6: 7) and how the priests offer them (6: 8 - 7: 38).

2. Inauguration of Priesthood and Ritual; Rules, 8: 1 - 10: 20
Of priests (8), of tabernacle-offerings (9); rules for priests (10).
3. Rules and Rites for Clean and Unclean, 11: 1 - 15: 33
In five sections (one per present-day chapter).
4. Ritual for Day of Atonement, 16: 1-34
5. Injunctions upon people and priests; feasts and jubilee, 17: 1 - 25: 55
Social and religious rulings, national feasts, jubilee.
6. *a.* Blessing and Curses, 26: 1-46
b. Appendix on Vows, 27: 1-34.

The tabernacle and priesthood provided for in Exodus are brought into function in Leviticus, after the basic kinds of offerings are prescribed (1 - 7). The provisions of Exodus 28 - 29 are fulfilled in Leviticus 8 - 9 with induction of the priests and inauguration of the tabernacle offerings. In the second half of the book, priests and people are integrated in the rules for clean and unclean (11 - 15) and the injunctions defining holiness for both (17 - 22), all centred round the rite of the Day of Atonement (16). Festivals, other rulings and the jubilee occupy the last prescriptive section of the book (23 - 25). The real tailpiece of the book is the blessings and curses (26); the vows of chapter 27 thereafter are thus kept apart (as 'voluntary?') from the mandatory provisions of the rest of Leviticus.

The content of Leviticus supplements and completes that of Exodus in the religious and social spheres — and particularly the religious and ritual aspects of the covenant as made, broken and renewed actually at Sinai; this would be reflected by the terminal blessings and curses of Leviticus 26. Nothing in Leviticus attaches to any phase of Hebrew history later than Sinai; it could have been written up at any time from then on.

3. Structure of Numbers

Numbers has little formal structure; by content, it falls into three recognized sections:

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1. Preparations for leaving Sinai, 1: 1 - 10: 10
2. Journeyings to the Plains of Moab, 10: 11 - 21: 35
3. In the Plains of Moab, 22: 1 - 36: 13

Narrative, laws and sundry documents (*e.g.* census-lists, itinerary, *etc.*) are all combined to carry the story and laws of Israel through the 40 years' discipline to Moab.

4. Deuteronomy

1. Chapters 1 - 33 give the renewal of the Sinai covenant in the Plains of Moab, and reflect in full the features of such a covenant: preamble, historical prologue, stipulations (basic and detailed), deposition and reading of text, witnesses, solemn ceremony, and blessings and curses.

2. Chapter 34, the sole indubitable post-Mosaicum, is a twelve-verse account of the death and burial of Moses.

The first thirty-three chapters form a basically unitary whole (*cf.* § 7 *c* below); chapter 34 could be added at any time from soon after Moses' death onwards.

5. Content, composition and role of Exodus to Deuteronomy

a. Content. Genesis enshrines the historical heritage of, and promises of a land to, the Hebrews up to the time of their exodus from Egypt.³ Exodus and Leviticus together stand at the mid-point — Sinai — of their journey from Egypt to Palestine, to enter on fulfilment of the promises. As from Sinai, Israel are no longer an overgrown family, but a tribal nation. By the Sinai covenant, they came under a divine Sovereign. That covenant shows the essential features of a late-second-millennium covenant (*cf.* § 7 *c* below) — but unlike a mere political treaty extracting troops and tribute, it enjoined the norms to which Israel must hold in social and religious life to conform to their Sovereign's will and show forth His character in theirs.

The narrative of Exodus 1 - 19 links the distant patriarchs to their oppressed descendants, and records the escape from Egypt experienced by all present at Sinai. The covenant in Exodus plus Leviticus provided the foundation of norms for everyday life plus the service of the Sovereign — His worship. Numbers covers the period from Sinai to Moab, and as already noted, Deuteronomy was the renewal of the covenant with some appropriate supplementary data.

b. Composition. That Moses was already writing both at Sinai and before it has been noted above (§ 1 end and note 2); his activity in the Plains of Moab is reflected in Deuteronomy 31: 9, 24 and Numbers 33: 1, 2. Exactly when, where and by whom were Exodus-Deuteronomy written? Strictly, there is no mechanically-proven answer. Throughout all four books, Moses is irrefutably prominent and very closely connected not only with the course of events but also with large sections of their contents. The question of his authorship, in practical terms, turns on the *nature* of his connexion with the large sections alluded to and on the significance of his appearing usually in the third person (rarely in the first person beyond Deuteronomy, except in 'historical' quotation).⁴ Here, there is legitimate room for varying estimates of his possible role — extensive or quite limited — as effective author of any or all of Exodus-Deuteronomy, *i.e.* as the man who actually composed and wrote down (or dictated) the text or a proto-text of the existing books.

Thus while it is technically impossible to state dogmatically and precisely all that a Moses wrote ('this much — no more, no less'), yet one can suggest realistic upper and lower limits to his possible activity; his actual activity may then be considered to have fallen somewhere within the limits determinable.

First, we may look for the minimum required by the Old Testament evidence.⁵ Here, there are two classes of data. First comes the specific references to Moses writing. Exodus 17: 14 has him record God's coming punishment of Amalek in a document;⁶ Exodus 24: 4, 7 has him write 'all the words of the Lord' — in this context, surely Exodus 20: 1-17, 22 - 26 and 21: 2 - 23: 33 (*i.e.* most of the basic Sinai covenant matter); Exodus 34: 27, 28 would seem to order Moses to write the immediately-preceding covenant-renewal (34: 10-26) *and* to record a rewriting out on new tablets of the original decalogue. So, in Exodus, the minimum for Moses seems to be at least part of one extra-biblical document (on Amalek), and the basic body of

the Sinai covenant (20 - 23) and its renewal after breach. Leviticus has nothing in this category. Numbers 33: 1, 2 indicate that Moses wrote out an itinerary of Israel's journeyings from Egypt to Moab, a document that underlies the itinerary of Numbers 33: 3-40. Then, Deuteronomy 31: 9, 24 ('this instruction/law') indi-

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cate that Moses wrote a body of 'law' or 'instruction' for Israel — most likely to be the directly-spoken material of Deuteronomy 1: 1 - 4: 40 (with colophon, 4: 44-49); 5: 1 - 26: 19; of 27 (excluding narrative headings, verses 1a, 9a, 11a); of 28: 1 - 31:8 (including colophon, 29: 1, but excluding narrative headings). And Deuteronomy 31: 19, 22 indicate that Moses also wrote Deuteronomy 32: 1-43, the 'Song of Moses'. Thus, the whole of Deuteronomy 1 - 32 would in the first instance be attributable not only to the mouth but also to the pen of Moses, except for a small handful of third-person narrative-scrap (e.g. 4: 41-43; 31: 9-30 *passim*; 32: 44-52) and similar introductory headings (especially in 27).

Then, for our minimum estimate of Moses, there is a second class of data. This consists of material explicitly said to have been spoken or given by Moses to Israel and/or the priests, usually God's commands. Its status is similar to the first class of data, but not provenly identical. That is, it *could* also have been written as well as spoken by Moses — but it is not so described; it may, therefore, have been written down directly by someone else (as spoken), or was remembered orally and could later (soon after Moses' death?) have been written down. This second group of Mosaic-originating data includes the following. In Exodus, much of 1 - 11 would have to come from the memory and lips of Moses, his parents (1; 2: 1-10) and associates; instructions for the people, 12 - 14 *passim*; the Song of the Sea, 15: 1-18; the instructions for the cult, 25 - 31; God's dealing with Moses, *etc.*, in 32 - 34; and Moses' words in 35: 1-19, and 35: 30 - 36: 1. In Leviticus, all of 1 - 7; elements of 8 - 10; all of 11 - 23; much of 24; and all of 25 - 27 (including colophons at 26: 46 and 27: 34). In Numbers, one may see similar data (the Lord to Moses, Moses to Israel or Aaron, *etc.*) in 5: 5 - 6: 27; 8 - 9; 15; 19; 28 - 30; 34: 1-15 and 35: 9-33; here, the actual wording to Israel is reproduced in our extant record. God's word to Moses without a direct record of words, but simply the subject-matter and related events is also material originating with Moses but whose form goes back less transparently from the present book to the occasions themselves; such is to be seen in Numbers 1: 1 - 5: 4; 10: 1-10; 13; 14; 16; 17; 20 - 21; 25: 10ff.; 26; 27; 31; 32; 34: 16 - 35: 8; and 36. In Deuteronomy Moses' further words (without specification of writing) occur in 32: 46-47, and his 'Blessing' in 33; God's last word to him is 34: 4.

A minimal view of Moses' scope of production as an author may, therefore, be summarized as follows. In Exodus, he wrote the basic covenant and its renewal; he was source of his own early life-history, probably composed the Song of the Sea, and gave instructions for the Passover and first-born rites before the exodus as well for the details of the tabernacle, its cult and priesthood in the wake of the Sinai covenant. Absolutely minimally, this material (not said to have been written by him) could have been written at the time by an associate, or transmitted orally and later written out and combined with Moses' own personal writings (soon after his death?). Less minimally, one may suggest that much of the data in the second class was *also* written down first by Moses (especially all directly-quoted instructions to Israel, priests, *etc.*), and the rest by others or later. The whole of the book of Leviticus is given through Moses (barring undesignated bits of narrative in 8 - 10; 24; and plus or minus third-person headings); minimally, written down by (an)other(s) or transmitted orally, then written; less minimally, Written as well as issued by Moses, plus or minus the headings, and

minus the narratives (post-mortem?). In the book of Numbers, a document underlying 33: 3-49 was written by him; about ten or eleven chapters' worth of instruction stems directly from him (whether orally or in writing); and about another 16/17 chapters' worth had its origin with him and in specific occasions during his leadership of Israel, whether written up by Moses or someone else. Finally, virtually all of Deuteronomy is directly his: the main body of 1 - 31: 8 and the Song of 32: 1-43 all in writing, and the Blessing of 33 (plus minor bits) is his, whether then written by him or by others. Only minor narrative bits in 4: 41-43 and parts of 31; 32; 34 are undesignated, while alone 34: 5-12 is indubitably post-Mosaic (either immediately or later). Over-all, and especially if the undesignated book of Genesis were also his, Moses would in fact, on this minimal showing, be the effective author (written and oral in proportions that can be variously estimated) of a very considerable amount of the present contents of the Pentateuch. The proportion obviously could be still higher, if one theoretically credited him with all, some or any of the 'unauthored' narrative sections in these books. Outside the Pentateuch, his writings include a divine curse-to-come on Amalek (Exodus 17: 14), and he is credited with Psalm 90 (whether orally or written).

Secondly, is it possible to delimit a realistic maximum view?⁷ This really turns about the question of Moses appearing in the third person in the narratives of Exodus-Deuteronomy. At one extreme, some may argue that such narratives are most naturally understood as coming from another's pen (regardless of whether that pen wrote in the Plains of Moab or at any later epoch). At the other extreme, some may incline to suggest that Moses wrote all the narratives, *etc.*, in the third person — Young referred in this matter to the example of Caesar's *Commentaries*.⁸ In that case, non-Mosaic elements in these books⁹ would virtually be limited to any indubitable post-

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Mosaica, and to any subsequent minor textual revision (*e.g.* of orthography).^{9a}

Is it possible to lift this point from mere discussion in a vacuum into the realm of objective evidence? In some measure, yes. But two aspects are best considered separately, each with its relevant evidence. First, headings and colophons. Headings in the third person are common in the biblical Near East and are standard usage in wisdom literature, for example. In Egypt autobiographical texts commonly begin with the titles and name of the man concerned followed by *djed* or *djed-ef*, '(he) says/ said', and then a narration in the first person.¹⁰ Praise of the gods by individuals begin with headings like 'Praising (this or that deity) by so-and-so (titles, name); he says, "Hail to thee ...!"' (or the like, praise or prayer to deity in second person).¹¹ Wisdom books began with 'Beginning of the Instruction made by ... (titles, name); he says "...'" in the third, second and first millennia alike.¹² Nor is this confined to Egypt; similar phenomena recur in varying classes of writing in Mesopotamia, with the Hittites and in Syria-Palestine itself. Suffice it to mention, *e.g.*, the headings that commonly open cuneiform letters (as in the second millennium BC, our period) from all three regions, using such phrases as 'thus speaks X' (name and/or title¹³). Likewise from the same range of regions, the headings of treaties and covenants of this period.¹⁴ Identical in nature are very formal headings like (*e.g.*) Deuteronomy 1: 1 or 33: 1, which the present writer would attribute to Moses exactly like the Near Eastern formal headings to their respective authors. One could possibly also clarify here the innumerable pentateuchal headings of the form 'And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying "...", although this is not mandatory.

A considerable role in documents of the biblical Near East is played by colophons — statements appended to texts (or instalments of texts, on tablets) which give the subject or title of the work, or the name of the scribe responsible, or often both; sometimes further details are included (date, collation, original, dictation, *etc.*).¹⁵ These are throughout given in the third person, when a scribe or author is named; a typical colophon runs, 'First tablet of the ritual of uncleanness and the ritual of the river; it is (the rites) by Tunnawia, the old woman. Complete; (the scribe) Pikku wrote (it).'¹⁶ Precisely this kind of usage was noted in the first article of this series for sectional or subsectional endings in Genesis.¹⁷ And it recurs in Exodus to Deuteronomy. Thus, such a colophonic tailpiece is Exodus 6: 26-27, ending the genealogical document Exodus 6: 14-27, and in terms of Near Eastern scribal usage its third-person reference to Moses and Aaron does not imply their being long dead and gone as *Altestamentler* have at times naively assumed, but rather it is simply an identifying tag,¹⁸ Such colophons are seen to best advantage in Leviticus, where they end individual rites, whole sections, or even the whole book. All of 1 - 7 is summed up by subject-matter and authorship in a colophon at 7: 37, 38, covering the types of offering prescribed through Moses; each of the five ritual topics on (un)cleanness in the five chapters 11 - 15 ends with an appropriate descriptive colophon (11: 46, 47; 12: 7b followed by a rider; 13: 59; 14: 54-57; and 15: 32, 33). The entire book and its vows-supplement ends with colophons at 26: 46 and 27: 34. Most of these are just like those attested throughout the Near East. For a collection of several rituals in one document provided with a common colophon — as with Leviticus 7: 37, 38 (or the whole book, as cited) — one may compare (*e.g.*) a collection of five different rituals grouped in one document with a common colophon at the end, known from the Hittite archives of the fourteenth/ thirteenth centuries BC.¹⁹ In Numbers, an internal colophon at 30: 16 qualifies the laws of 30: 1-16, and the whole book ends with a colophon in 36: 13. Deuteronomy 29: 1 is probably the colophon to the main bulk of the renewed covenant in Deuteronomy²⁰. Thus, third-person headings and colophons present no authorship problem when viewed in context.

The second aspect is that of third-person narratives. Here, both the Old Testament and the Near East may offer a sufficient indication, together, of a

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feasible view. In Jeremiah 36: 1-3, that prophet receives the divine command to write in a scroll all the words that God had spoken to him up to that time. However, Jeremiah himself does not pick up the pen; instead, he dictates to Baruch who acts as his scribe — and that, twice, for the scroll that Jehoiakim burned and for the scroll that replaced it (Je. 36: 4, 6, 18, 27, 32). Thus, when Moses wrote, he doubtless wrote; he also could have dictated, not least the matter that Exodus-Deuteronomy say he spoke — and possibly also narrative-matter.

However, Jeremiah 36 is but one passage and over 600 years after Moses. Here, our Near Eastern data bridge the gap. From Syria-Palestine itself, from Ugarit in the fourteenth century BC, a tablet of the Baal Epic bears the following colophon:²¹

'El-melek the Shebnite wrote (it); Attani-puruleni, high-priest and chief of (temple) herdsman, dictated²² (it); Niqmad (II), king of Ugarit (plus two other titles) donated (it).'

Here, as with Jeremiah, and as early as Moses, the chief man dictates and another writes. There is, therefore, no reason why an Eleazar or a Joshua should not have similarly served a Moses.²³ If, for example, he was recounting the narrative of the exodus, Moses can be

conceived of as speaking in the first person and being written down in the third person. He could have said, 'Now I was keeping the flock of my father-in-law ... and I led my flock ... to Horeb ...' (*etc.*), while his scribe would correspondingly write 'Now Moses was keeping the flock of his father-in-law ... and he led his flock ... to Horeb ...' (*etc.*; *cf.* Ex. 3: 1); and so, *passim*, in much of Exodus-Deuteronomy. Such a scribe could have inserted rare explanatory comments such as Numbers 12: 3 that commentators do not always wish to attribute to Moses himself. Other third-person narratives and comments may more easily represent the work of others other than by first/third person dictation, *e.g.* Deuteronomy 32: 44f. For the first/third person shift in dictation suggested here, one or two supporting hints may be noted. Thus, while various Hittite rituals, for example, report their authors' (or authoresses') words in the first person,²⁴ others as transmitted to us describe their author(esse)s' ritual activities in the third person²⁵ — surely, a transference effected by the original scribe as suggested above for Moses. Evidence in favour of this suggestion is perhaps directly provided by yet other rituals. Here, after the third-person title which identifies the author, he/she will say 'If such-and-such trouble occurs, then I act/ make offering as follows.' After this first-person initial statement, the text then proceeds to recount the appropriate activities with the author *in the third person*.²⁶ In other words, after the initial pronouncement, the scribe has turned the whole into a third-person narrative, just as is here suggested to be a possibility for Moses. Hence, one may suggest that, on a maximal view, there is nothing in the Old Testament text and its Near Eastern cultural content to prevent attribution to a Moses of much third-person narrative, via the use of a scribe, and some evidence — both biblical and extra-biblical — that indicates the currency of such a procedure over a long span of time.

To finish with the 'who' of the Pentateuch, one may thus suggest that the actual literary work of Moses lies somewhere in between the 'minimal' and 'maximal' general limits offered above. As for 'when' and 'where', one may suggest that Genesis (with or without Dan for Laish in 14: 14 and mention of kings/Israel in 36: 31b) was composed on the eve of the exodus, with much use of existing records and traditions. En route to Sinai, Moses obediently jotted down the doom of Amalek (Ex. 17: 14). At Sinai, he wrote the basic covenant-document and its renewal, and possibly other items underlying the later book of Exodus. What he did write at Sinai (Ex 24: 4, 7; Ex. 34: 27, 28) plus some of these, one might call 'proto-Exodus', and (as Exodus even now has no final colophon) consider it merely the first half of a whole. Also at Sinai, one may suggest that Moses had recorded (dictated?) all of what is now Leviticus 1 - 7; 11 - 23; 25 - 27, at first partly in separate documents or sections (*cf.* colophons), and later (still at Sinai) as one whole, with

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final colophons — this would be 'proto-Leviticus'.²⁷ Some record of what is now in Leviticus 8 - 10; 24 was doubtless also retained. Other recording-work had been done at Sinai or soon after, of which we know nothing except for the allusion in Numbers 11: 26 ('those written', RSV 'registered'). So much, at least, was done at Sinai.

During the journeyings, other records accumulated prior to arrival in Shittim by Moab (within Nu. 1 - 21), perhaps at Moses' dictation or by his hand, as in 5: 5 - 6: 27; 8 - 9; 15; 19, and finally the itinerary written by him (*cf.* Nu. 33: 2). This material plus other of the contents of Numbers may have formed a 'proto-Numbers', including the matter of 28 - 30; 34: 1-15 and 35: 9-33, with final colophon (Nu. 36: 13). Following renewal of the covenant with the new generation of Israel, Moses wrote most of Deuteronomy 1 - 30, plus the Song of 32, and

perhaps other small bits, forming 'proto-Deuteronomy'.²⁸ At some time he also produced Psalm 90; and at Shittim, finally the Blessing now Deuteronomy 33.

After Moses' death, it is perhaps possible to suggest that the four books 'proto-Exodus' to 'proto-Deuteronomy' were defined and completed by an Eleazer or a Joshua adding in the final connecting pieces of explanatory narrative, *etc.*, to produce virtually the present books. Minor additions may have been made later (Dt. 34: 5-9 by Joshua; verses 10-12 then or later?), with perhaps orthological or other minor revision (? Gn. 14: 14; 36: 31b) by, or in, the time of the United Monarchy.

c. Role. The total heritage of the pentateuchal (or, if one will, 'proto-pentateuchal') books possessed by the Hebrews on the eve of crossing the Jordan was at once a statement of their origins and destiny (Genesis, with history and promises), and a normative foundation defining the main limits of right and wrong as subjects of their divine Sovereign whose covenant was not a mere political instrument but governed the purpose and conduct of their life as a nation of people who were to show forth God's ways on earth in practical obedience and a didactically-orientated worship. Sinai and Moab had seen the revelation, crystallization and confirmation of a given foundation and way of life for the emergent tribal nation to live by, and in God's time to build on.

6. Other data

Outside the Pentateuch and Psalm 90, other records doubtless had begun to accumulate, whether as written documents or traditions of the people. These would include additional non-pentateuchal genealogical matter which later found its way into 1 Chronicles 1 - 8. Of a 'Book of the Wars of the Lord', nothing now survives beyond an allusion and quotation such as Numbers 21: 14-16. And none can currently know whatever may have passed into oblivion with not even so fleeting a notice as that work enjoys.

7. Near-Eastern contextual background to Exodus-Deuteronomy

a. Introductory. That so much consideration has so far been given to the biblical record as such, with practically no reference to various 'modern' views of Moses as a shadowy entity (if ever extant at all) and of those records as constructed much later from quite different 'documents' allegedly 'detected' by various criteria (not to mention much later dates for the whole) — this may puzzle some and exasperate others. For this, there are two basic reasons. First, the only *extant* documents are those we *now* have in the present Old Testament (all else is just guesswork, no matter how eruditely dressed up), while the reasons normally offered (and the presuppositions assumed) in advocating other versions of Israel's history and different 'histories' of her literature are at best inadequate and at worst plain wrong. The usual shibboleths about rival 'codes' of laws and on their supposed order in time have been refuted repeatedly over the years.²⁹ The conventional forms of literary criticism ('J,E,P,D', *etc.*, oral tradition, *Gattungsforschung*) were evolved in a vacuum and their criteria can be proven to be non-significant and just plain wrong when compared with the ways in which people *really* wrote in the biblical world.³⁰ The evolutionary scheme of concepts (retained in practice as often as it is denied in principle) by which guilt and 'elaborate' priestly usages are 'late' is wholly illusory when measured against the entire biblical world of the Near East. And so on. The second reason is that when the Old Testament writing and the theoretical re-evaluations of them are finally measured against the visible, tangible yardstick of the Near East — the Old Testament world — then it is the extant documents that match with their Near Eastern context, and not the reconstructions based on false premises and false criteria. In what

follows, some of that background is briefly presented, and mere cross-reference given for more of it when covered elsewhere, under space-limits here.

b. Oppression and exodus (Ex. 1 - 19). The final theatre of the Hebrew oppression in the Egyptian east Delta was bounded by Pithom and Raamses (Ex. 1: 11). Pithom is not yet finally fixed on the map; it may be the site now called Tell er-Retaba

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(or Rotab), otherwise it would be simply the religious name ('Domain of (the god) Atum') for Tell el-Maskhuta, ancient Succoth, Egyptian Tjeku. However, in the case of Raamses, there seems little doubt that we here have Pi-Ramesse, the famous Delta residence of the Ramesses-kings, the 'Estate of Ramesses'. After much discussion, it now seems practically certain that Pi-Ramesse/Raamses is to be located not at Tanis but further south in the geographically far more suitable area of Khata'na-Qantir.³¹ It should be remembered that from c. 1100/1080 BC, with the fall of the Ramessides, Tanis replaced Pi-Ramesse as royal Delta residence. Thus the mention of Raamses in Exodus 1: 11 accurately reflects the facts of the thirteenth and at latest twelfth century BC. As late as the Hebrew Monarchy (whether united or divided), the correct equivalent is the 'field of Zoan' as in Psalm 78: 12, 43, same as Egyptian *Sekhet-Dja* 'net, 'fields of Tanis'.

The names of the midwives (Ex. 1: 15), far from being 'purely artificial',³² are both genuine early West-Semitic names from the fourteenth/thirteenth centuries BC and earlier. 'Shipra' is found as early as c. 1750 BC in an Egyptian list of Asiatic slaves long before the Exodus,³³ while Pu'ah (as *P'gt*) is well attested in the texts from Ugarit both as a word for 'girl' and as a proper name.³⁴ References to people making their stint of bricks and to lack of straw and men for brickmaking are well known in thirteenth century Egyptian papyri;³⁵ likewise, the relevance of putting chaff and grit into Nile mud for bricks.³⁶ And the wealth of background on foreigners and education in New Kingdom Egypt for Moses' upbringing is sufficiently sketched elsewhere.³⁷ Similarly, the lively background to Exodus 5 provided by records of surveillance of royal workmen, and holidays for cultic and other reasons (Deir el Medineh ostraca).³⁸ The plagues of Exodus 7 - 12 reflect closely a realistic sequence of phenomena linked with a too-high inundation of the Nile and the account forms a unitary whole.³⁹ The Song of the Sea (Ex. 15) is a triumph-hymn of victory over the Egyptians, using precisely that literary category so proudly flaunted by the pharaohs of the fifteenth to twelfth centuries BC over their foes.⁴⁰ The first day's travel from Raamses to Succoth (Ex. 12: 37) corresponds to the same stint for a day's travel from 'the Palace' (of Pi-Ramesse) to the 'keep' at Succoth (Tjeku) in Papyrus Anastasi V, 19: 3-8 of the late XIXth Dynasty, c. 1220 BC.⁴¹ The route followed by the Hebrews went roughly south-east, east-south-east to Succoth, then east to Etham, back north (Ex. 14: 1 ff.) and finally due east through the 'Sea of Reeds' (*Yam Suph*)—to the discomfiture of the pharaoh's troops⁴² — before turning again south-east into Sinai, along its west coast and then inland to Mt. Sinai. Such a route is entirely consistent with our still-limited knowledge of east Delta historical geography and topography.⁴³

c. The covenant and its renewal in Sinai and Moab. The form and content of the Sinai/Moab covenant has been intensively studied in the light of Near Eastern data ever since Mendenhall's pioneer study of 1955 drew attention to affinities between the Sinai covenant and treaty-forms of the fourteenth/thirteenth centuries BC.⁴⁴ This objective dating criterion applies not only to Exodus (or, here, Exodus-Leviticus) and data in Joshua 24 (renewal at Shechem) but even more strikingly to Deuteronomy. In the light of such a tangible yardstick

(especially first-millennium forms are entirely different), dating Deuteronomy to c. 621 BC or the Exodus-Leviticus material) to the Monarchy (J,E) and Exile (P,H) is simply a grotesque error with no basis in reality. Details can be found elsewhere.⁴⁵

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However, the Sinai covenant is uniquely an overarching form to contain no ordinary treaty of politics, but also the basic norms for a people (customary law, *etc.*) and the acceptance rites of their worship (the tabernacle and its rituals). Ever since the discovery of Hammurabi's Babylonian law-collection almost seventy years ago, various affinities have been often noted between the laws of the Pentateuch and those of the Near-Eastern collections (Ur-Nammu, Lipit Ishtar, laws from Eshnunna, Hammurabi, Hittite laws, and Middle Assyrian laws).⁴⁶ The remarkable fact is that four of these collections are of *patriarchal* age and even earlier, with the Hittite laws originating c. 1700/1600 BC, and only the Assyrian laws being as late as the period of a Moses. Thus, with such comparisons,⁴⁷ such parts of the pentateuchal books are *already* of archaic origin in Moses' time.⁴⁸

d. Religion and ritual. The tabernacle should in no way be dismissed as a mere figment of later priestly imagination; its constructional techniques were familiar in Egypt for over fifteen centuries prior to Moses and Bezalel.⁴⁹ The careful enumeration of materials and furnishings (Ex. 25 - 30; 36 - 40) is in no respect too 'advanced' for the thirteenth century BC. Long before, in the third millennium BC, we find extensive inventories (detailed and summarizing) of temple-possessions in Vth-Dynasty Egypt, elaborately tabulated in red and black ink.⁵⁰ In the fourteenth/thirteenth centuries BC (especially King Tudkhalia IV in thirteenth century), the Hittites produced numerous such inventories.⁵¹ For such lists within a larger document (as in Exodus), one may note (*e.g.*) the Ritual by Ulippi to resettle the Black Goddess in a new temple.⁵² It lists at length (§§ 2-5, 6-8) some forty items of ritual furnishings for the new temple of the goddess and a series of things to be presented on the first day of the rites. As for elaborateness of ceremonial for a new shrine, Leviticus 8 - 9 records that consecration of Aaron's priesthood was seven days (rites are given for the first only, but for all seven *cf.* Ex. 29: 35 - 37), with an inauguration of the altar on the eighth day. The ritual of Ulippi for a new temple was for either six or seven days, with a far greater elaboration of cultic activity throughout. 'Priestly' much of Leviticus may be by subject-matter; but it is no more needfully 'late' than the innumerable Hittite rituals of the fifteenth-thirteenth centuries BC, not to mention Ugaritic rituals of the same epoch, or Egyptian and Mesopotamian material of far greater elaboration going back far earlier. The same ritual of Ulippi also exemplifies the antiquity in practice of other concepts and usages seen operative in Leviticus. It includes a total burnt-offering of a sheep whose blood was used to smear the new image, temple and furnishings of the Black Goddess as final rite,⁵³ several other animals having been sacrificed in preceding rites.⁵⁴ Compare the sacrifices with use of blood from sin- and burnt-offerings. Leviticus 8 - 9 *passim*. Generally speaking, the Hebrew offerings and rites of sacrifice are altogether simpler and *not* elaborate when compared with most of the rites known from the entire Near East in the last three millennia BC, and this is particularly true of the calendar of festivals. One may, for example, contrast barely a dozen annual feasts (individually, never longer than seven or eight days) in Exodus-Leviticus-Numbers with over sixty annual festivals in the calendar of the Medinet Habu temple of Ramesses III in Thebes, a document almost 1,500 lines long, where a given festival may be of one, or more, day's length up to thirteen (Sokar) or even twenty-seven (Opet-festival of Amun), with suitable provisions, sometimes running to thousands of loaves, hundreds of cakes and jugs of beer, and a variety of animals.⁵⁵ The rest of Egypt and the Near East would show the same general contrast.⁵⁶

Among individual concepts, that of sin and guilt is sufficiently attested not only in Moses' time (Egypt, Ugarit, Hatti, *etc.*),⁵⁷ but far earlier. The principle of symbolical substitution shown by laying hands on and

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confessing sins over a goat then sent into the wilderness (*cf.* Lv. 16: 20-23) is firmly attested for the fourteenth/thirteenth centuries BC in the Hittite rituals of Uhhamuwa and Ashkhella⁵⁸ by which (respectively) plague or death are warded off by presenting to a deity and then driving forth a sheep or a sheep and a woman captive to carry off plague/death into enemy lands. Again, the humanitarian provision sometimes found in Leviticus (*e.g.* 5: 7, 11; 12: 8) allowing a smaller sacrifice from a poor person is reflected at this same epoch in Hittite data, where a poor person may offer one sheep rather than nine.⁵⁹ And what is blemished is no more popular there⁶⁰ than in (*e.g.*) Leviticus 22: 17 ff. To banish all such usages and concepts for another 700 years or more until the Exile or after is both futile and erroneous.

e. The wilderness journeyings. Various features in the account of this period correspond directly to known features and phenomena of the regions concerned, *e.g.* water-supplies, mud-flats, season incidence of quails, *etc.*⁶¹ Israelite numbers may seem high,⁶² but are internally consistent;⁶³ whatever their origin, they are hardly just arbitrary. Such details as the use of long silver trumpets (Nu. 10: 1-10), a rectangular encampment around the tabernacle (Nu. 2), and ox-wagons (Nu. 7: 3, 6, 7) again make sense in a fourteenth-twelfth century BC context.⁶⁴ Itineraries like that of Numbers 33 are no more 'late' than the Syro-Palestinian route-lists of Papyrus Anastasi I (thirteenth cent. BC), or Old Assyrian merchants' itineraries to Asia Minor as early as Abraham.⁶⁵

f. Literary and linguistic aspects. The combination of several literary *genres* in one work, as with Exodus and Numbers (narrative, covenant/laws, poems, lists, genealogies, *etc.*) is characteristic of the ancient Near East and cannot determine authorship.⁶⁶ In linguistic matters, it is not good enough to dub a word or construction 'late' merely because it occurs (even solely) in passages termed 'late' on *a priori* grounds; and much so termed is now attested early, or for long timespans — examples and essential principles are accessible elsewhere.⁶⁷ The entire text and contents of the pentateuchal books are ripe for re-study in the full context of the world in which they were written.

Notes

¹ See *TSFB* 59 (spring 1971), pp. 2-10.

² One may note the references to Moses writing in Exodus (17: 14; 24: 4; 34: 27), with R. K. Harrison, *JOT*, p. 569, and E. J. Young, *IOT*, pp. 42-45, who adds other biblical references to the role of Moses.

³ *Cf.* *TSFB* 59 (1971), p. 9.

⁴ I make no apology whatever for treating Moses (like the patriarchs) as a historical character — just as most people would accept the real existence of a David or a Solomon, a Hesiod or a Herodotus, even though none of these is any more directly attested by contemporary inscriptions, *etc.*, than Moses or the patriarchs.

⁵ For a convenient summary of what is actually attributed to Moses, *cf.* Young, *IOT*, pp. 42 ff., or *NBD*, p. 849b.

⁶ The word *spr* both in biblical Hebrew and in West Semitic generally can mean not only 'book' but also a letter, or list, or almost any kind of document, long or short; for Hebrew, *cf.* Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1907 and reprs.), pp. 706-707, and for Ugaritic and other West

Semitic, C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (Pont. Bib. Institute, Rome, 1965), p. 451, no. 1793, and C.-F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire des Inscriptions Sémitiques de l'Ouest* (Brill, Leiden, 1965), pp. 196-197, respectively.

⁷ By 'realistic', I mean a view that does not include such assumptions as that Moses wrote beforehand the account of his death and others' estimate of his greatness in past narrative as now found in Dt. 34: 5-12.

⁸ Young, *IOT*, p. 86.

⁹ *I.e.*, other than pre-Mosaic data, used by Moses and hence his secondarily.

^{9a} Indubitable post-Mosaic (other than Dt. 34: 5-12) are very few and hard to prove; in Genesis, conceivably Dan in 14: 14 and the kings in Israel clause in 36: 31b, and in Ex.-Dt. little else that will bear much scrutiny (*cf.* *PCI*, pp. 41-47 *passim*, with reference to Young and others).

¹⁰ *E.g.* Khnumhotep II, c. 1900 BC in Middle Egypt (text, A. de Buck, *Egyptian Readingbook*, I (Brill, Leiden, 1948), pp. 67 ff.; ET, J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, I (Chicago, U.P., 1906), §§ 622-624, ff.), and innumerable others at all periods of history.

¹¹ *Cf.* A. Barucq, *L'expression de la louange divine et de la prière dans la Bible et en Egypte* (IFAO, Cairo/Paris, 1962) especially pp. 47 ff.

¹² Several examples, *cf.* *ANET*, pp. 412 ff., and under the United Monarchy later in this series.

¹³ Examples are legion; a selection, *cf.* *ANET*, pp. 480, 482 ff.

¹⁴ *E.g.* *ANET*, pp. 202a, 203b, to cite only the most accessible.

¹⁵ Akkadian examples, H. Hunger, *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone* (Kevelaer, Neukirchen, 1968); Hittite, see E. Laroche, *Archiv Orientalni* 17 (1949), pp. 7-9; at Ugarit, *cf.* C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature* (Pont. Bibl. Inst, Rome, 1949), pp. 49, 83.

¹⁶ Hittite; published by A. Goetze and E. H. Sturtevant, *The Hittite Ritual of Tunnawi* (Amer. Or. Soc., New Haven, 1938), pp. 24-25.

¹⁷ *Cf.* *TSFB* 59 (1971), p. 10.

¹⁸ *Cf.* Young, *IOT*, p. 72, with further remarks on verses 26, 27.

¹⁹ Tablet in two bits (*KUB*, VII, 1 plus *KBo*, III, 8), edited by H. Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7 (1961), pp. 140-167, 169, and *ibid.* 8 (1962), pp. 108-113.

²⁰ As it refers back to what precedes; it should therefore probably be omitted from sub-section 1 C of *AO/OT*, p. 96 (c).

²¹ Best translation, H. L. Ginsberg, *ANET*, p. 141; *cf.* also Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature*, p. 49 top.

²² Lit., 'taught'.

²³ In Egyptian literature of much earlier date (c. 1900 BC—patriarchal age!), one recalls also the introductory narrative in the Prophecy of Neferty, where the king himself reaches for pen and papyrus to take down the words of the sage Neferty as he speaks them (*e.g.* *ANET*, p. 444b; there called 'Neferrohu'). And the Hittite rituals with named authors must in most cases have ultimately been written down by scribes at the dictation of the authors and authoresses of the rituals concerned. *Cf.*, also the Mesopotamian colophon cited but misapplied by E. Nielsen, *Oral Tradition* (SCM, London, 1954), pp. 28-29 (with corrective, *AO/OT*, p. 136).

²⁴ *E.g.* those of Hatiya (published by O. Carruba, *Das Beschwörungsritual für die Göttin Wishurijanra* (Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1966), pp. 2ff.), and Pissuwattis, Goetze in *ANET*, pp. 349-350.

²⁵ *E.g.* those of the god Tarpattassi (*ANET*, pp. 348-349), and by the 'old woman' Tunnawi (Goetze and Sturtevant, *Hittite Ritual of Tunnawi*) where the 'old woman' appears in third person throughout; likewise that of the *hattili*-priest Papanikri, in which the *hattili*-priest also appears in the third person throughout (publ., F. Sommer and H. Ehelolf, *Das hethitische Ritual des Papanikri von Komana* (Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1924), pp. 2* ff.).

²⁶ Clearest is the ritual by Mastigga (*ANET*, pp. 350-351), plus that of Anniwiyanis (E. H. Sturtevant and G. Bechtel, *A Hittite Chrestomathy* (Linguistic Soc. of America, Philadelphia, 1935), pp. 100 ff., 106 ff.). Likewise that of Uhamuwa (*ANET*, p. 347b).

²⁷ The second half of the early whole made up of Exodus—Leviticus.

²⁸ Ex. 16: 34-36 and 40: 36-38 were perhaps added in now.

²⁹ At random, *cf.* (e.g.) A. H. Finn, *Unity of the Pentateuch* (Marshall Bros., London, c. 1928), pp. 149-254, 294-328, *etc.*; G. T. Manley, *The Book of the Law* (Tyndale Press, London, 1957); *cf.* *PCI*, pp. 17 ff.

³⁰ For basic facts and principles involved, *cf.* *AO/OT*, pp. 112-138, *PCI*.

³¹ Earlier bibliography and main views, *cf.* *AO/OT*, p. 58 with notes 5-9. From the area of Khata'na-Qantir come the remains of a palace, of houses of high officials of Ramesses II and later reigns, of a royal colossus, small objects *in situ*, *etc.*—enough *in situ* evidence of a very major Ramesside centre. On the other hand, the large quantity of broken-up Ramesside stonework found at Tanis (of stelae, statues, obelisks, walls and pillars) is all of it *re-used* material, carted off and re-employed by the XXIst-XXIIInd Dynasty kings; no original remains of Ramesside foundation-structures have ever yet been found at Tanis. *Cf.*, conveniently, J. Van Seters, *The Hyksos* (Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, 1966), pp. 128-137, also pp. 137 ff. *Cf.* Uphill, *JNES* 27 (1968), p. 314f.

³² So M. Noth, *Die Israelitischen Personnamen* (1928), p. 10.

³³ Papyrus Brooklyn 35. 1446; *cf.* W. F. Albright, *JAOS* 74 (1954), pp. 229, 233.

³⁴ Albright, *op. cit.*, p. 229 n. 50; term, Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, p. 469, no. 2081.

³⁵ *Cf.* *AO/OT*, p. 156; also 'the 'Apiru who drag stone for the pylon' of a building of Ramesses II (R. A. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (Oxford, 1956), p. 493).

³⁶ See *NBD*, p. 168a.

³⁷ See *NBD*, pp. 343-344, 844-846; Semites in Egypt, W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Aegyptens zu Vorderasien* (Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1962), pp. 369 ff.

³⁸ *Cf.* *AO/OT*, pp. 156-157.

³⁹ *Cf.* *NBD*, pp. 1001-1003 (following Hort).

⁴⁰ References, see *PCI*, p. 48 (ii), (a), 9, i-iii.

⁴¹ Translated, Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, p.255; the report concerns two runaway slaves, heading south-east then back north, much as Moses may have done (Ex. 2: 15) and the Hebrews certainly did (Ex. 12: 37; 13: 20 - 14: 2, *etc.*).

⁴² With the 600 charioteers of Ex. 14: 7, *cf.* figures for other Near Eastern forces (*TSTB* 41 (spring 1965), p. 18 f), to which add the 2500 Hittite chariots at the Battle of Qadesh, c. 1300 BC (Sir A. H. Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II* (Oxford, 1960), pp. 9, 10, 39), and 924 Canaanite chariots taken by Tuthmosis III (*ANET*, p. 237b), plus 730 and over 1032 chariots captured by Amenophis II (*ibid.*, pp. 246b, 247b).

⁴³ See Kitchen, *sub verbo* 'Exodus, The', in *Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible* (in press); the 'literary-critical' solution of H. Cazelles, *Revue Biblique* 62 (1955), pp. 321-364, is superfluous.

⁴⁴ G. E. Mendenhall, *Biblical Archaeologist* 17 (1955), pp. 26-46, 50-76.

⁴⁵ See *AO/OT*, pp. 90-102, 128, and full references there; also, *NPOT*, pp 3-5.

⁴⁶ Introduction to these collections, R. Haase, *Einführung in das Studium Keilschriftlicher Rechtsquellen* (Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1965).

⁴⁷ *Cf.* (e.g.) the relevant footnote refs. to Exodus, Deuteronomy, *etc.*, *ANET*, pp. 166 ff., and tables in Manley, *Book of the Law*, *passim*.

⁴⁸ Suggested in *Christianity Today* 12/19 (1968), p. 921; *cf.* W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (Athlone Press, London, 1968), pp. 88-92. On differing attitudes of Old Testament and Near Eastern laws, *cf.* Greenberg as cited in *AO/OT*, p. 148, and Manley, *Book of the Law*, p. 81 *etc.*, on Kornfeld.

⁴⁹ Kitchen, *THB* 5/6 (April 1960), pp. 7-13.

⁵⁰ Hieratic texts transcribed in P. Posener-Krieger and J. L. de Cenival, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, 5th Series* (Br. Museum, London, 1968), plates 20-32, *cf.* pp. xiv, B, 8-13.

⁵¹ Listed by E. Laroche, 'Catalogue des textes hittites, III', *RHA* 15/60 (1957), pp. 30-33, nos. 292-307.

⁵² H. Kronasser, *Die Umsiedlung der schwarzen Gottheit* (Böhlau, Vienna, 1963), for edition. Following Riedel, he already has noted possible comparisons with items in Exodus (pp. 57-58), including use of a tent alongside the new shrine as in Ex. 33: 7-11 (*cf.* Finn, *Unity of the Pentateuch*, pp. 275-276).

⁵³ Kronasser, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-33.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 17, 19.

⁵⁵ For the Hebrew calendar, *cf.*, conveniently, *NBD*, p. 177, table with references. The Madinet Habu calendar was published in the Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu III* (Chicago, Univ. Press, 1934), hieroglyphic texts only. For details, *cf.* H. H. Nelson, U. Hölscher and S. Schott, *Work in Western Thebes*, 1931-33 (Chicago, U.P., 1934), especially pp. 2, 18-23, and 52-90 *passim*. On Sokar, also G. A. Gaballa and K. A. Kitchen, *Orientalia* 38 (1969), pp. 1-76.

⁵⁶ Egyptian feasts, *cf.* S. Schott, *Altägyptische Festdaten* (Steiner, Wiesbaden, 1950); Ugarit, *cf.*, briefly, Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature*, pp. 107-115 *passim*; Hittite festivals, *cf.* lists of texts, Laroche, *RHA* 15/60 (1957), pp. 65-77, nos. 473-532 (also, p. 63f., nos. 463-7).

⁵⁷ Note, *e.g.*, *ANET*, p. 381b (Egypt), Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature*, pp. 109-111 (offerings for sin); for Mursil II (Hittite) and others, *cf.* *TSTF* 41(1965), p. 11. Earlier, *NPOT*, p. 18 and refs.

⁵⁸ *ANET*, p. 347b, or Friedrich, *Der Alte Orient* 25/2 (1925), pp. 10, 11-13.

⁵⁹ Goetze, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 6 (1952) p. 101, and Kronasser, *Die Sprache* 7(1961), p. 152.

⁶⁰ *E.g.* *ANET*, pp. 207-210 (especially §§7, 19); on excluding foreigners as in Lv. 22: 25, *cf.* *ANET*, p. 208, § 6.

⁶¹ *Cf.* *NBD*, pp. 1328-1330, and *cf.* remarks of Manley, *Book of the Law*, pp. 92-93.

⁶² On possible interpretations, *cf.* (*e.g.*) J. W. Wenham, *TB* 18 (1967), pp. 27-40.

⁶³ *Cf.* Finn, *Unity of the Pentateuch*, pp. 264-274.

⁶⁴ *Cf.* *NBD*, p. 847; also in Harrison, *IOT*, pp. 622-623.

⁶⁵ *Cf.* respectively *ANET*, pp. 476-8, and refs. in *AO/OT*, p. 50 n. 75.

⁶⁶ *Cf.* (*e.g.*) *AO/OT*, pp. 125 f. for but two examples of many.

⁶⁷ See *AO/OT*, pp. 139-146, for relevant principles.

Abbreviations used

ANET J. B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton Univ. Press, New Jersey, 1950-69).

AO/OT K. A. Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and Old Testament* (Tyndale Press, London, 1966).

IOT *Introduction to the Old Testament*, (a) by E. J. Young, 3rd ed., 1964, (b) by R. K. Harrison, 1970 (both Tyndale Press, London).

JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.

JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*.

NBD J. D. Douglas *et alii* (eds.), *The New Bible Dictionary* (Inter-Varsity Press, 1962 and reprs.).

NPOT J. B. Payne (ed.), *New Perspectives on the Old Testament* (Word Books, Waco, 1970).

PCI K. A. Kitchen, *Pentateuchal Criticism and Interpretation*, Notes of Lectures, Dec. 1965 (TSF, London, 1966 and repr.).

RHA *Revue Hittite et Asianique*.

T(H)B *Tyndale (House) Bulletin*.

TSTF *Theological Students' Fellowship Bulletin*.

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