

GIDEON KOTZÉ

Images and Ideas of
Debated Readings in the
Book of Lamentations

Orientalische Religionen in der Antike

38

Mohr Siebeck

Orientalische Religionen in der Antike

Ägypten, Israel, Alter Orient

Oriental Religions in Antiquity

Egypt, Israel, Ancient Near East

(ORA)

Herausgegeben von / Edited by

Angelika Berlejung (Leipzig)

Joachim Friedrich Quack (Heidelberg)

Annette Zgoll (Göttingen)

Beirat / Advisory Board

Uri Gabbay (Jerusalem)

Michael Blömer (Aarhus)

Christopher Rollston (Washington, D.C.)

Rita Lucarelli (Berkeley)



Gideon R. Kotzé

Images and Ideas of Debated
Readings in the Book of
Lamentations

Mohr Siebeck

GIDEON R. KOTZÉ, born 1982; studied ancient languages and theology at Stellenbosch University, South Africa; 2014-17 lecturer in ancient languages and cultures in the Department of Ancient Studies of Stellenbosch University; since 2017 research professor in the Focus Area Ancient Texts at the Faculty of Theology of North-West University, South Africa.
orcid.org/0000-0002-2488-4993

ISBN 978-3-16-159503-5 / eISBN 978-3-16-159504-2
DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-159504-2

ISSN 1869-0513 / eISSN 2568-7492 (Orientalische Religionen in der Antike)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2020 Mohr Siebeck Tübingen, Germany. www.mohrsiebeck.com

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher's written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations and storage and processing in electronic systems.

The book was printed on non-aging paper by Gulde Druck in Tübingen, and bound by Buchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier.

Printed in Germany.

Met respek en waardering opgedra aan Prof. Dr. Paul A. Kruger

Preface

This book has its genesis in a series of lectures that I presented at the Institut für Altes Testament at the University of Leipzig in 2017. The lectures did not deal with textual criticism and they did not cover the particular case studies discussed in the book, but they allowed me the opportunity to think about the images and ideas of the book of Lamentations as products of the poems' ancient Near Eastern cultural and intellectual environment. The lectures in Leipzig were made possible through the Erasmus Plus exchange program, and my participation in this program was organised by Prof. Dr. Angelika Berlejung. I am grateful to her, not only for all her help as host during my stay in Leipzig, but also for her kind invitation to submit the manuscript for publication in the *Orientalische Religionen in der Antike* series.

The book makes a contribution to the ongoing debates over the interpretation of readings in the Hebrew versions of Lamentations that modern readers find difficult or out of place. The target audience are text-critics and scholars who are interested in the ancient Near Eastern thought-world of Lamentations and other early Jewish writings. Regarding this thought-world, I have benefitted immensely from my many conversations with Prof. Dr. Izak Cornelius of Stellenbosch University. He also consistently reminds me of the motto of Max Freiherr von Oppenheim, "Kopf hoch! Mut hoch! und Humor hoch!", which is invaluable advice, especially in the study of Lamentations.

My wife, Manitza, has demonstrated her unfailing kindness by listening patiently to my ideas and interpretations, by flattering me with the fib that she finds it all very interesting, and by endlessly correcting my English.

A special word of thanks goes to Ms Hester Lombard and her staff of the Theology Library at North-West University. More than once, they went the extra mile to make otherwise unobtainable resource available to me. I greatly appreciate their friendly and professional assistance.

I have learned to look at Lamentations in new ways through the work of my teacher and now retired colleague at Stellenbosch, Prof. Dr. Paul A. Kruger. His studies, especially on the *mundus inversus* topos in ancient Near Eastern literature, have made a very positive impact on my thinking. He has also graciously given me access to his personal library, which includes a number of resources that have been very helpful in my research. As a small token of my respect and appreciation, I dedicate this book to Paul.

Princeton, February 2020

Gideon R. Kotzé

Table of Contents

Preface	VII
Table of Contents.....	IX
List of Abbreviations	XIII
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1. <i>Examples of Debated Readings in the Hebrew Versions of Lamentations</i>	2
2. <i>Debated Readings and the Textual Criticism of Early Jewish Writings</i>	7
3. <i>Guiding Presuppositions for the Explanation of Debated Readings</i>	9
Chapter 2: Resemblances between Images and Ideas in Lamentations and Other Ancient Near Eastern Cultural Products	15
1. <i>Lamentations 1:1</i>	17
2. <i>Lamentations 1:10</i>	18
3. <i>Lamentations 2:11</i>	19
4. <i>Lamentations 3:34</i>	21
5. <i>Lamentations 3:63</i>	24
6. <i>Lamentations 4:20</i>	25
7. <i>Lamentations 5:2</i>	29
8. <i>Lamentations 5:3</i>	31
9. <i>Lamentations 5:6</i>	32

10. <i>Lamentations</i> 5:7.....	33
11. <i>Lamentations</i> 5:12.....	35
12. <i>Lamentations</i> 5:13.....	37
13. <i>Lamentations</i> 5:17–18.....	39
Chapter 3: Debated Readings in <i>Lamentations</i> as Expressions of Common Ancient Near Eastern Images and Ideas	43
1. <i>Lamentations</i> 1:20.....	44
1.1 The Debated Reading in Lam 1:20	44
1.2 Interpretive Comments on Lam 1:20	47
1.3 Interpretive Comments on <i>LSUr</i> , 397–402.....	51
1.4 Correlating the Interpretations of Lam 1:20 and <i>LSUr</i> , 397–402	55
2. <i>Lamentations</i> 2:18	56
2.1 The Debated Readings in Lam 2:18	56
2.2 Interpretive Comments on Lam 2:18–19	60
2.3 Interpretive Comments on the Scene of Ramesses II Capturing a Walled City from the Beit el-Wali Temple	63
2.4 Correlating the Interpretations of Lam 2:18–19 and the Scene of Ramesses II Capturing a Walled City from the Beit el-Wali Temple	66
3. <i>Lamentations</i> 3:65	67
3.1 The Debated Reading in Lam 3:65	67
3.2 Interpretive Comments on Lam 3:65	70
3.3 Interpretive Comments on <i>Ludlul</i> I, 55–56	72
3.4 Correlating the Interpretations of Lam 3:65 and <i>Ludlul</i> I, 55–56.....	75
4. <i>Lamentations</i> 4:7	76
4.1 The Debated Readings in Lam 4:7	76
4.2 Interpretive Comments on Lam 4:7–8.....	82
4.3 Interpretive Comments on a ŠÀ.ZI.GA Incantation.....	87
4.4 Correlating the Interpretations of Lam 4:7–8 and the ŠÀ.ZI.GA Incantation	88
5. <i>Lamentations</i> 5:5	89
5.1 The Debated Reading in Lam 5:5	89
5.2 Interpretive Comments on Lam 5:5	93

5.3 Interpretive Comments on the Akkadian Victory Stela	94
5.4 Correlating the Interpretations of Lam 5:5 and the Akkadian Victory Stela.....	96
 Chapter 4: Concluding Remarks.....	 99
 Bibliography	 105
 Index of Ancient Sources.....	 125
 Index of Authors.....	 135
 Index of Subjects.....	 139

List of Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Yale Bible
ABG	Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte
AEL	Lichtheim, <i>Ancient Egyptian Literature</i>
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AHw	Von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i>
AI	Acta Iranica
AJSL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature</i>
ALUOS	<i>Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society</i>
AMD	Ancient Magic and Divination
AMI	<i>Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i>
AnBib	Analecta biblica
ANET	Pritchard ed., <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i>
AnOr	Analecta orientalia
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ArBib	The Aramaic Bible
ARE	Breasted, <i>Ancient Records of Egypt</i>
ARM	<i>Archives royales de Mari</i>
AS	Assyriological Studies
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
ATSAT	Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament
BACE	<i>The Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i>
BaE	Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca
BdA	La Bible d'Alexandrie
BDB	Brown, Driver and Briggs, <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>
BE	Biblische Enzyklopädie
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum Iovaniensium
BF	Baghdader Forschungen
BHK	Kittel ed., <i>Biblia Hebraica</i>
BHQ	<i>Biblia Hebraica Quinta</i>
BHS	Elliger and Rudolph eds., <i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i>
BI	Biblical Intersections
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BO	Biblica et Orientalia
BS	Biblical Seminar
BWL	Lambert, <i>Babylonian Wisdom Literature</i>
BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CA	<i>Curse of Agade</i>
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i>
CANE	Sasson ed., <i>Civilizations of the Ancient Near East</i>

CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CC	Continental Commentary
CH	Law Code of Hammurapi
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum
<i>CLAM</i>	Cohen, <i>The Canonical Lamentations of Ancient Mesopotamia</i>
CM	Cuneiform Monographs
<i>COS</i>	Hallo and Younger eds., <i>Context of Scripture</i>
<i>CT</i>	De Buck, <i>The Egyptian Coffin Texts</i>
<i>CTH</i>	Laroche, <i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i>
DHR	Dynamics in the History of Religions
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
<i>DNWSI</i>	Hoftijzer and Jongeling, <i>Dictionary of North-West Semitic Inscriptions</i>
<i>DSSR</i>	Parry and Tov, <i>Dead Sea Scrolls Reader</i>
<i>DSSSE</i>	García Martínez and Tigchelaar, <i>Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition</i>
<i>DULAT</i>	del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín, <i>A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition</i>
<i>EA</i>	Rainey, <i>El-Amarna Correspondence</i>
<i>ErIsr</i>	<i>Eretz-Israel</i>
<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GAT	Grundrisse zum Alte Testament
Ges ¹⁸	Gesenius, <i>Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament</i>
GKC	Gesenius, Kautzsch and Cowley, <i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i>
<i>HALOT</i>	Koehler, Baumgartner and Stamm, <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HBM	Hebrew Bible Monographs
HCOT	Historical Commentary on the Old Testament
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HSAT	Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
<i>HTAT</i>	Weippert, <i>Historisches Textbuch zum Alten Testament</i>
HThKAT	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
<i>IBHS</i>	Waltke and O'Connor, <i>An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>IPIAO</i>	Schroer, <i>Ikono-graphie Palästinas/Israels und der Alte Orient</i>
<i>JANES</i>	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JCSSup	The Journal of Cuneiform Studies Supplement Series
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hebrew Scriptures</i>
JM	Jöüon and Muraoka, <i>A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JNSL</i>	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>

<i>JRAS</i>	<i>The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland</i>
<i>JSem</i>	<i>Journal for Semitics</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
<i>JSSEA</i>	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>KAI</i>	Donner and Röllig, <i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</i>
<i>KAR</i>	Ebeling, <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts</i>
<i>KÄT</i>	Kleine ägyptische Texte
<i>KBR</i>	Kleine Bibliothek der Religionen
<i>KHAT</i>	Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament
<i>KRI</i>	Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i>
<i>KTU</i>	Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín, <i>Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani und anderen Orten</i>
<i>KUB</i>	<i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi</i>
<i>KV</i>	Korte Verklaring van de Heilige Schrift
<i>LÄ</i>	Helck and Westendorf eds., <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i>
Lam.R	Lamentations Rabbah
<i>LE</i>	<i>Eridu Lament</i>
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
<i>LN</i>	<i>Nippur Lament</i>
LSS	Leipziger Semitische Studien
<i>LSUr</i>	<i>The Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur</i>
<i>LU</i>	<i>The Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur</i>
<i>LW</i>	<i>Uruk Lament</i>
LXX	Septuagint
LXX.H	Handbuch zur Septuaginta
MSU	Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens
MT	Masoretic Text
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NSKAT	Neuer Stuttgarter Kommentar Altes Testament
Num.R	Numbers Rabbah
OBC	Orientalia Biblica et Christiana
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OBO.SA	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Series Archaeologica
OINE	Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OIS	Oriental Institute Seminars
OLA	Orientalia lovaniensia analecta
<i>OLZ</i>	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
ORA	Orientalische Religionen in der Antike
<i>OTE</i>	<i>Old Testament Essays</i>
OTL	Old Testament Library
POT	De Prediking van het Oude Testament
PT	Sethé, <i>Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte</i>
PTSDSSP	The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project
QD	Quaestiones disputatae
RIMAP	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Assyrian Periods
RINAP	The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period
SAA	State Archives of Assyria
SAACT	State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts

SANER	Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records
SANt	Studia Aarhusiana Neotestamentica
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
SB	Subsidia biblica
SBLABS	Society of Biblical Literature Archaeology and Biblical Studies
SBLAIL	Society of Biblical Literature Ancient Israel and Its Literature
SBLANEM	Society of Biblical Literature Ancient Near East Monographs
SBLRBS	Society of Biblical Literature Resources for Biblical Study
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBLSS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBLWAW	Society of Biblical Literature Writings from the Ancient World
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SSI	Gibson, <i>Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions</i>
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica
StPB	Studia post-biblica
ST	Studienbücher Theologie
STL	Studia Theologica Lundensia
SVTG	Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum
TAD	Porten and Yardeni, <i>Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt</i>
THB	Lange and Tov eds., <i>Textual History of the Bible</i>
ThT	<i>Theologisch Tijdschrift</i>
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
TUAT	Kaiser ed., <i>Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments</i>
UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
UT	Urban-Taschenbücher
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplements
Wb	Erman and Grapow, <i>Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WO	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie</i>
ZABR	<i>Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte</i>
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>

Chapter 1

Introduction

Anyone today who is interested in the languages, literary features, texts, or theologies of the five poems in the book of Lamentations faces a challenge in making sense of the wordings and subject matter of these ancient artefacts. The challenge is a formidable one. The themes and figures of speech of the poems are embedded in a cultural environment and thought-world that are not the same as our own and the wordings preserved by the different textual representatives rarely spell out the images and ideas that inform the subject matter of passages.¹ Also, during the transmission history of the poems, they have been copied and translated multiple times in antiquity. This means that the poems do not have their subject matter cemented in one language or textual mould and that the representatives of the texts do not always present exactly the same images and ideas. In addition to the many variants exhibited by the available Hebrew manuscripts and ancient translations and their different versions of the images and ideas of the poems, the wordings of the textual representatives also include an abundance of readings that, at first glance, appear to be difficult or out of place. Indeed, the texts of Lamentations are riddled with words, phrases, and sentences whose meanings are not clear to modern readers, linguistic forms that seem inappropriate to them in the literary contexts, expressions that have them at a loss, and instances where the wordings might have been corrupted during the processes of transmission. These readings continue to pose a challenge to the efforts of modern readers to understand the images and ideas they convey. The challenge is exacerbated by the fact that there exists little consensus amongst specialists on how best to mitigate the perceived problems in the passages. Such cases where scholars continue to disagree on the interpretation of the wordings of cola in the poems can be called debated readings; that is, debated readings may be defined as words, phrases, or sentences in the textual representatives of Lamentations whose forms or meanings modern readers, for various reasons, find difficult or objectionable. These words, phrases, and sentences have elicited different understandings, explanations, or emendations from scholars, and there remains disagreement over how to make sense of them. In research on Lamentations, scholars have, to a large extent, depended on comparative philology and grammatical or poetic considerations to make sense of debated readings in the Hebrew texts of the five poems. The ancient translations occasionally magnify rather than diminish the interpretative conundrum modern readers have to cope with, because they exhibit different understandings or are just as obscure as their Hebrew counterparts. Nevertheless, they do sometimes shed light on debated readings. Scholars have also

¹ By images (more specifically, literary images), I mean the figurative use of language (including, but not limited to, tropes such as metaphors, similes, metonymy, and synecdoche) to paint pictures with words. Cf. LAWRIE, *Speaking to Good Effect*, pp. 72–76.

been fond of changing debated readings into conjectural wordings that they find more intelligible or acceptable. A few examples may be mentioned to illustrate the different ways scholars have dealt with debated readings in the Hebrew texts of Lamentations.

1. Examples of Debated Readings in the Hebrew Versions of Lamentations

The first example comes from Lam 3:5, *בנה עלי ויקף ראש ותלאה*.² Some scholars see the word pair, *ראש ותלאה*, as difficult, because it only occurs in this passage, and “the specialized term for poisonous plant (*ראש* is traditionally rendered ‘gall’) is combined with the more general concept ‘trouble’”.³ Hillers notes that this combination of concrete and abstract words seems unacceptable.⁴ He therefore reads *ראש* (“poverty”) for *ראש* in the MT.⁵ Gordis also suggests that *ראש* should be understood in the sense of “poverty”,⁶ but there is no need to revocalise the MT reading, because it is a phonetic variant of *ראש*.⁷ According to Bickell, *ראש* does not fit well in the context of the bicolon: “Die Lesart in M ist unerträglich, da Gift weder zu Belagerungsbauten dient, noch als Synonym von *Mühsal* stehen kann”.⁸ He prefers to read *ראשי ותלאה*.⁹ Praetorius is of the opinion that the original reading was *ויקף ראשי תלאה* (“und er hat mein Haupt mit Mühsal umkreist”).¹⁰ Dyserinck also favours the reading *ראשי* (“my head”), over “poison, bitterness, gall” in the MT, and he rearranges the words of the two cola: *בנה עלי תלאה ויקף ראשי* (“Hij heeft tegen mij moeite opgetast en mijn hoofd er mede omringd”).¹¹ Haller goes one step further and emends the wording of the whole colon: *כבד עלי עלי ויקף ראשי* (“Schwer lastet sein Joch auf mir, mein Haupt zerschlug er”).¹² Ehrlich is more cautious and proposes that one might read *ולענה ותלאה* (“wormwood, bitterness”), instead of *ותלאה*.¹³ Guillaume, however, wants to avoid emendations and understands *ותלאה* in the light of the Arabic word *تلا* (“that which is behind”).¹⁴ Accordingly, he maintains

² In this study, I make use of the following editions of the Masoretic text (MT) and ancient translations: SCHÄFER, in SCHENKER et al. eds., *Megilloth*; ZIEGLER, *Jeremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Jeremiae*; RAHLFS and HANHART, *Septuaginta*; ALBREKTSON et al., *Jeremiah*; WEBER and GRYSOON, *Biblia sacra*; LEVINE, *Aramaic Version*; and VAN DER HEIDE, *Yemenite Tradition*; SABATIER, *Bibliorum sacrorum*; FEDER, *Biblia Sahidica*; TATTAM, *Prophetæ majores*; FIELD, *Origenis Hexaplorum*. Unless indicated otherwise, the translations of passages from Lamentations are my own.

³ GOTTLIEB, *Study*, p. 39.

⁴ HILLERS, *Lamentations*, p. 113. Cf. KOENEN, *Klagelieder*, pp. 189, 228.

⁵ HILLERS, *Lamentations*, p. 113.

⁶ GORDIS, *Song of Songs and Lamentations*, p. 176.

⁷ GORDIS, *Song of Songs and Lamentations*, p. 176.

⁸ BICKELL, *WZKM* 8, p. 112.

⁹ BICKELL, *WZKM* 8, p. 112.

¹⁰ PRAETORIUS, *ZAW* 15, p. 326.

¹¹ DYSERINCK, *ThT* 26, p. 371.

¹² HALLER, *Megilloth*, p. 102.

¹³ EHRLICH, *Randglossen*, p. 40. Cf. the critical apparatus of *BHK*.

¹⁴ GUILLAUME, *Abr-Nahrain* 4, p. 14.

that the meaning of the verse's final colon must be "he surrounded me before and behind".¹⁵ These different treatments of the debated reading in Lam 3:5 show that "scholarship has not settled the problems of the verse".¹⁶

Scholars have also not settled the debates surrounding the reading *מה אעידך* in Lam 2:13. The renderings of the LXX (*τί μαρτυρήσω σοι*), Peshitta (*ܡܗ ܐܥܝܕܟ*), and two versions of the Targum (*מה אסהד בך* [Western version]; *מה אסהיד בך* [Yemenite version]) indicate that scribes in antiquity took the Hebrew verbal form in their source texts to mean "to bear witness". Some scholars continue to argue in favour of this interpretation,¹⁷ but to others it does not seem satisfactory and they suggest different emendations of the phrase.¹⁸ Praetorius, for example, proposes that the wording of the phrase should be *מה עידך* ("was bist du noch! [d.h. du bist so gut wie nichts mehr]").¹⁹ Meinhold, however, is not convinced by this proposal and he prefers to change the reading into *מה אערוך* ("was soll ich zur Vergleichung oder zum Trost dir vorlegen?") or simply "was soll ich dir vergleichen?".²⁰ According to Daiches, these emendations are not very helpful and they even create new difficulties.²¹ In his opinion, the verb *עוד* here has the same sense as it does in the Polel forms of Pss 146:9 and 147:6 ("to help up") and the Hitpolel form of Ps 20:9 ("to help one another up, keep upright").²² On this interpretation, the phrase in question ("how can I encourage you") corresponds to the second verbal phrase in v. 13b, *ואנחמך* ("and [how] can I comfort you"), while the second verbal phrase in v. 13a, *מה אדמה לך* ("to what can I compare you"), corresponds to the first one of v. 13b, *מה אשוה לך* ("to what can I liken you").²³ The phrases therefore form a chiasm and Daiches concludes that this double parallelism supports his explanation of the debated reading.²⁴ Kraus thinks that it is possible to understand the verb *עוד* in the Hiphil stem formation in the sense "immer wieder Worte brauchen", um jmd.

¹⁵ GUILLAUME, *Abr-Nahrain* 4, p. 14.

¹⁶ SALTERS, *Lamentations*, p. 198.

¹⁷ KOENEN, *Klagelieder*, p. 154; DOBBS-ALLSOPP, in BATTO and ROBERTS eds., *David and Zion*, pp. 53–54 n. 99; BERGES, *Klagelieder*, pp. 128–129.

¹⁸ Cf. SCHÄFER, in SCHENKER et al. eds., *Megilloth*, p. 122*.

¹⁹ PRAETORIUS, *ZAW* 15, p. 146. Cf. also HALLER, *Megilloth*, p. 100.

²⁰ MEINHOLD, *ZAW* 15, p. 286. Cf. also HILLERS, *Lamentations*, p. 100 and the critical apparatuses of *BHK* ad *BHS*.

²¹ DAICHES, *ExpTim* 28, p. 189.

²² Hitpolel forms of *עוד* are also found in 1QH^a XII 23, ("[And] as for me, when I hold fast to you, I stand strong [אתעודדה] and rise up against those who despise me"), 37, ("But when I remembered the strength of your hand together with your abundant compassion, I stood strong [התעודדתי] and rose up, and my spirit held fast to [its] station in the face of affliction"); and 4Q382 23 1, ("and I held myself up [?] [ואתעודדה]"). STEGEMANN, SCHULLER and NEWSOM, *1QHodayot*, pp. 158, 165–166; OLYAN, in ATTRIDGE et al eds., *Qumran Cave 4 VIII*, p. 375. A Hiphil *yiqtol* form appears in Sir 4:11: "Wisdom has taught her children and she will support [ותעיד] all those who comprehend her"). BEENTJES, *Book of Ben Sira*, p. 25.

²³ DAICHES, *ExpTim* 28, p. 189.

²⁴ THOMAS, *Poetry*, p. 150; GORDIS, *Song of Songs and Lamentations*, p. 164; GORDIS, *JTS* 34, pp. 162–163; RUDOLPH, *ZAW* 56, p. 108. Cf. also GOTTLIEB, *Study*, p. 32.

zuzureden, aufzumuntern".²⁵ Albrektson disagrees with this interpretation.²⁶ He follows the suggestion of Ehrlich that *מה אעידך* is synonymous with *מה אדמה לך*²⁷ and argues that the Hiphil of *עוד* means "to repeat", that is, "to produce another case of, name a parallel to".²⁸ The first three verbal phrases of the verse, *מה אעידך*, *מה אדמה לך*, and *מה לך אשוה לך* would then be parallel in meaning.²⁹ All three phrases are introduced by the interrogative *מה*, while the fourth verbal phrase, *ואנחמך*, is joined to the others by the conjunction *waw*. Albrektson claims that this 3+1 structure of the passage supports his proposed interpretation of the debated reading.³⁰

The second bicolon of Lam 4:9, *שהם יזוּבו מדקרים מתנובת שדי*, is another good example of a debated reading. The syntax of this line and its relationship with the first bicolon of the stanza are problematic.³¹ Scholars have also regarded the *yiqtol* verb *יזוּבו* and the Pual participle *מְדַקְרִים* in the MT with suspicion. This version of the bicolon has therefore often been judged to be corrupt.³² In fact, Robinson thinks that the wording of the MT is corrupt beyond repair.³³ Although some commentators have attempted to wrest some sense from the sentence, Rudolph rightly remarks that "dieser Relativsatz [bleibt] grammatisch und sachlich unbefriedigend".³⁴ He relates the line to *חללי חרב* in v. 9a and rewrites the sentence as *שהם יזוּ במקר דמם מתו בחש* ("weil jene, den Quell ihres Blutes verspritzend, eilends starben").³⁵ Ehrlich also interprets *חללי חרב* as the referent of the suffix of *שהם*, but he only emends *יזוּבו* into *יזוּנו*, a Niphal *yiqtol* form of *זון* ("feed").³⁶ Accordingly, he translates the verse as follows: "Besser daran waren die vom Schwerte Getroffenen als die vom Hunger Gemarterten; denn jene, verwundet wie sie waren, konnten sich nähren von den Früchten im Felde".³⁷ In view of the cannibalism mentioned in Lam 4:10, Cohen suggests that *חללי רעב* in v. 9a should be understood as those who were slain in order to provide food. In addition, he replaces *יזוּבו* with *יזוּדוּ*, a Hophal *yiqtol* form of *זיד* ("boil up, seethe").³⁸ He then offers the following rendering of the verse: "They that be slain with the sword are better than they that be slain because of famine; for these are sodden, pierced through for want of the fruits of the field".³⁹ For his translation ("Gelukkiger zijn de gevallen door het zwaard dan de gevallen door den honger; die versmachtten, verschroeid als veldgewas"), Dyserinck accepts De Hoop

²⁵ KRAUS, *Klagelieder*, p. 38.

²⁶ ALBREKTSON, *Studies*, pp. 107–108.

²⁷ EHRLICH, *Randglossen*, p. 37. Cf. SALTERS, *Lamentations*, pp. 152–153 and the reading *cui comparabo te* ("to what shall I compare you") in the Vulgate.

²⁸ ALBREKTSON, *Studies*, p. 108.

²⁹ Cf. BARTHÉLEMY, *Critique textuelle*, p. 807.

³⁰ ALBREKTSON, *Studies*, p. 108.

³¹ Cf. SALTERS, *Lamentations*, p. 306; BERGES, *Klagelieder*, p. 232.

³² SCHÄFER, in SCHENKER et al. eds., *Megilloth*, p. 132*.

³³ ROBINSON, *ZAW* 51, p. 259.

³⁴ RUDOLPH, *ZAW* 56, p. 118. Cf. also KRAUS, *Klagelieder*, p. 72.

³⁵ RUDOLPH, *ZAW* 56, p. 118.

³⁶ EHRLICH, *Randglossen*, p. 47.

³⁷ EHRLICH, *Randglossen*, p. 48.

³⁸ COHEN, *AJSL* 27/2, p. 191.

³⁹ COHEN, *AJSL* 27/2, p. 191.

Scheffer's change of מְדַקְרִים into מוֹקְדִים, and reads כְּתִנּוּבֹת in the place of מְתִנּוּבֹת.⁴⁰ Van Selms, however, reads מְדַבְּרִים instead of מְדַקְרִים, and translates the final part of the bicolon as "die uitteerden, weggedreven van de opbrengst van de akker".⁴¹ Driver has difficulty making sense of the root of מְדַקְרִים and explains it with the help of the Arabic word دَقَرَ ("barred [a door], detained, hindered [a person]").⁴² Finally, Guillaume maintains that זוּב, which usually means "flow" or "gush", "is hardly an appropriate word where a quick and comparatively merciful death is described, and doubtless it is to be explained from the Arab. *sāba* 'went quickly'".⁴³ He also claims that מְדַקְרִים cannot here have the sense "pierced", which it has elsewhere. "Once more Arabic comes to the rescue with its verb *daqira* 'was surfeited'".⁴⁴

Not only Arabic, but cognates in other Semitic languages have contributed to a better understanding of obscure Hebrew words, or ones whose prototypical meaning appears to be out of place in particular passages of the poems. The wording of MT Lam 1:11c, רָאָה יְהוָה וְהַבִּיטָה כִּי הִייתִי זוּלָלָה, preserves an example of the former. "The etymology and precise nuance of the last word in this verse have perpetually perplexed commentators".⁴⁵ Hurowitz mentions two major interpretations of זוּלָלָה.⁴⁶ Some readers relate the form to זוּלַל ("glutton"). This interpretation is found in the renderings of the Western and Yemenite versions of the Targum of Lamentations: הוּיִיתִי גִרְגְרִינִיחָא ("I have become a glutton").⁴⁷ The translations of the LXX, ἐγεγῆμεν ἡτιμωμένη ("I have become dishonoured"), Peshitta, ܐܘܨܘܬܐ ܘܠܘܠܐ ("I have become worthless"), and Vulgate, *facta sum vilis* ("I have become worthless"), reflect the second interpretation whereby זוּלָלָה is derived from the root זָלַל ("to be cheap, worthless, base"). According to Hurowitz, both of these interpretations are problematical: "The first one requires too much imagination, and reads too much into the text. The second conveys a very pale image and ignores the best attested biblical Hebrew meaning of the participle at hand which is 'glutton'".⁴⁸ As an alternative, he suggests that זוּלָלָה should be related to the Akkadian noun *zilulû* ("peddler, vagrant, tramp").⁴⁹ This word is used, for example, by the sufferer in the *Babylonian Theodicy* when he speaks to his friend about the unfairness in society to describe

⁴⁰ DYSERINCK, *ThT* 26, p. 377. Interestingly, Paffrath retains the debated reading מְדַקְרִים of the MT, but, in view of the wording of the Vulgate (*consumpti ab sterilitate terrae*), he changes מְתִנּוּבֹת into מְתִלְאָבוֹת: "durchbohrt von der Dürre des Feldes". PAFFRATH, *Klagelieder*, p. 45.

⁴¹ VAN SELMS, *Jeremia deel III en Klaagliederen*, p. 141.

⁴² DRIVER, in BAUMGARTNER et al. eds., *Festschrift Alfred Bertholet*, p. 141.

⁴³ GUILLAUME, *ALUOS* 4, p. 47.

⁴⁴ GUILLAUME, *ALUOS* 4, p. 47.

⁴⁵ HUROWITZ, *VT* 49/4, p. 542. It is noteworthy that the wording of the bicolon in 4QLam differs substantially from that of the MT only in the final word: רָאָה יְהוָה וְהַבִּיטָה כִּי הִייתִי זוּלָלָה. Cf. CROSS, in ULRICH et al. eds., *Qumran Cave 4 XI*, p. 234. All that has survived of the verse in 3QLam is the *tetragrammaton*, which, in this manuscript, is written in paleo-Hebrew letters. Cf. BAILLET, in BAILLET, MILIK and DE VAUX eds., *Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumrân*, p. 95.

⁴⁶ HUROWITZ, *VT* 49/4, pp. 542–543.

⁴⁷ Cf. BRADY, *Targum*, p. 73.

⁴⁸ HUROWITZ, *VT* 49/4, p. 543.

⁴⁹ CAD 21, p. 118; *AHW*, p. 1528; BLACK, GEORGE and POSTGATE eds., *Concise Dictionary*, p. 447; OSHIMA, *Babylonian Poems*, p. 371.

an heir who is destitute, while a younger son has more than enough and can even feed the needy (lines 249–250):⁵⁰

i-na su-qi zi-lul-li[š] i-ša-a-a-ad ap-lum (While) the (first) son stalks around the
i-šar-ra-ak ter-den-nu a-na ka-ti-i ti-ú-ta plaza like a vagrant,
 the second (son) will be giving food to
 the needy.

Hurowitz concludes that זוללה in MT Lam 1:11c is a Hebrew form of the Akkadian word, and, therefore, that personified Jerusalem calls herself a beggar in this passage.⁵¹ Thomas, however, maintains that it is not necessary to follow this explanation of זוללה, because the poetics of the text points to a different interpretation possibility.⁵² It is conspicuous, he contends, that the verbal root זלל appears in Lam 1:8b and again in 1:11c.⁵³ הזילוה in v. 8 is a Hiphil *qatal* form and זוללה in v. 11 is a Qal participle. The repetition of the root with a shift in stem formation can be taken as an instance of antanaclassis.⁵⁴ This means that זלל does not express the same nuance in the two verses. Whereas the Hiphil indicates that Jerusalem was despised, Thomas argues that here, as in Deut 21:20 and Prov 28:7, the Qal participle means “thoughtless”.⁵⁵ Understood in this way, the city confesses to YHWH that she has become thoughtless or rash in MT Lam 1:11c.⁵⁶

The precise sense of *hapax legomena* and other rare lexemes are often difficult to determine with certainty. It is therefore not surprising that scholars do not agree in their treatment and interpretation of such words in the poems of Lamentations. הכפישני in Lam 3:16 is a case in point. It can be parsed as a Hiphil *qatal* form of a root כפש with a first-person singular object suffix. Peiser thinks that כפש is most probably a by-form of כבש (“to tread down”).⁵⁷ In this regard, he notes that, in the Amarna letters, the verb *kabāšu* (“to tread, trample”) is sometimes written as *kapāšu*.⁵⁸ Gordis does not mention Peiser’s proposal, but likewise regards כפש as a phonic variant of כבש.⁵⁹ Given the evidence in textual representatives for the interchange of the labials *beth* and *pe* on account of their phonological similarity,⁶⁰ it is possible that the form הכפישני resulted

⁵⁰ LAMBERT, *BWL*, p. 84; OSHIMA, *Babylonian Poems*, pp. 162, 163.

⁵¹ HUROWITZ, *VT* 49/4, p. 544.

⁵² THOMAS, *VT* 61, pp. 491–492.

⁵³ THOMAS, *VT* 61, p. 491.

⁵⁴ THOMAS, *VT* 61, p. 494.

⁵⁵ THOMAS, *VT* 61, pp. 495–496.

⁵⁶ THOMAS, *VT* 61, p. 497; THOMAS, *Poetry*, pp. 115–116.

⁵⁷ PEISER, *ZAW* 17, p. 351. Cf. also, e.g., KOENEN, *Klagelieder*, p. 191; BERGES, *Klagelieder*, p. 174; MCDANIEL, *Bib* 49, p. 44; DAHOOD, *Bib* 46, p. 331.

⁵⁸ PEISER, *ZAW* 17, p. 351. Cf. RAINEY, *Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets* 1, p. 13; and BÖHL, *Sprache der Amarnabriefe*, p. 21: “Derselbe Lautwechsel zwischen dem ursprünglicheren *b* und dem sekundären (infolge partieller Assimilation an das *š* eintretenden) *p* findet sich beim selben Stamm auch im Hebräischen”. HAELEWYCK, *Grammaire comparée*, p. 72 notes that *b* often changes into *p* in the vicinity of *š*, *š*, and *n* in Akkadian.

⁵⁹ GORDIS, *Song of Songs and Lamentations*, p. 177.

⁶⁰ TOV, *Textual Criticism*, p. 234; WÜRTHWEIN and FISCHER, *Text*, p. 173.

from a scribal error. Some scholars, however, prefer to emend this reading in the MT. Praetorius, for instance, wants to read הפלישני (“he rolled me”) in the place of הכפישני,⁶¹ while Haller favours a reading האכילני. He assumes that this verb was in the source text on which the rendering in the LXX, ἐψώμισέν με σποδόν (“he fed me with ashes”), was based. The reading in the Vulgate, *cibavit me cinere* (“he fed me with ashes”), agrees with the Greek text.⁶² The Peshitta, however, has a different image: ספלג כמלח (“and he sprinkled me with ash”). So do the Western and Yemenite versions of the Targum. They read כנע יתי קטמא (“he has pressed me into ashes”)⁶³ and כנעיני באפרא (“he has pressed me into dust”),⁶⁴ respectively. These renderings are not far removed from the interpretation of הכפישני by scholars who see כפש as an alternative form of כבש.

These handful of examples illustrate how scholars continue to disagree over the interpretation of the debated readings preserved by the Hebrew textual representatives of Lamentations. This lack of agreement calls for fresh attempts to make sense of such readings. In this study, I join the ongoing discussion of the interpretation of debated readings in the Hebrew versions of Lamentations and aim to make a positive contribution to their explanation. To this end, I adopt a text-critical approach to the explanation of debated readings in Lamentations and frame the discussion of their interpretation around the question whether they are potentially meaningful or probably corrupt.

2. Debated Readings and the Textual Criticism of Early Jewish Writings

I understand textual criticism here as an area of research in the larger cultural study of early Judaism.⁶⁵ It examines the available textual representatives of literary works, such as Lamentations,⁶⁶ which existed and were transmitted in writing during the period in question.⁶⁷ Text-critics analyse these textual representatives, focusing especially on

⁶¹ PRAETORIUS, *ZAW* 15, p. 326.

⁶² On the basis of the readings in the LXX and Vulgate, as well as the meaning of an Akkadian cognate (*kasāpu*), Paffrath postulates a form הכשיפני (“he fed me”) to replace הכפישני in the MT. PAFFRATH, *Klagelieder*, p. 36.

⁶³ Cf. BRADY, *Targum*, p. 132.

⁶⁴ Cf. ALEXANDER, *Targum*, p. 198.

⁶⁵ Cultural study is a term for the examination of written, iconographic, and other material artefacts of the ancient Near East “in order to reconstruct the behavior, beliefs, culture, values, and worldview of the people”. WALTON, *Ancient Near Eastern Thought*, p. 7. In this connection, “Judaism” is “a designation for the entire phenomenon of the Jewish way of living and believing”. VANDERKAM, in COLLINS and HARLOW eds., *Early Judaism*, p. 70. Early Judaism refers to this phenomenon during the span of time from the late sixth century BCE to the late first century CE; in other words, it is the Judaism of the Second Temple period. VANDERKAM, *Introduction*, p. xii.

⁶⁶ The textual representatives of the poems of Lamentations include Hebrew witnesses (the Qumran manuscripts, medieval Masoretic manuscripts, quotations in rabbinic writings), as well as manuscripts of the ancient translations, primarily the Greek, Syriac, Latin, and Aramaic translations that were based on Hebrew source texts. (The daughter translations should, however, not be ignored.) Cf. KOTZÉ, in LANGE and TOV eds., *THB* 1C, pp. 357–359.

⁶⁷ Almost all of the extant textual representatives of Lamentations date from much later times, but I proceed on the assumption that they preserve the wordings and subject matter of the poems in more or

ancient scribal practices in copying and translating literary compositions, how the textual representatives embody the wordings and subject matter of the literary compositions as a result of scribal transmission, and the development of the wordings and subject matter of the literary compositions during their histories of copying and translation. The analyses entail reading the textual representatives apart and together. Text-critics study textual representatives individually to grow familiar with each one's wording and expression of the subject matter. They also collate and compare the textual representatives to identify similarities and differences between them. Features of the wordings and presentation of the subject matter in one or more of the textual representatives may help to comprehend details in others. Indeed, the main task of textual criticism is to understand and explain variants and readings that seem wrong or out of place,⁶⁸ that is, to make sense of the (similarities and differences in the) wordings of the available textual representatives. This means that text-critics endeavour to determine why the wordings of the available textual representatives look the way they do and how the similarities and differences in the wordings of textual representatives influence the subject matter of the passages in the literary compositions. In order to accomplish this task, text-critics draw on information about languages, literature, ancient cultures, and scribal practices. In cases of debated readings, where there are no substantial variants in the textual representatives, text-critics may resolve the difficulty or questionable aspect of a passage's wording by various linguistic or literary explanations: "perhaps the grammar should be recognized as an anomaly; perhaps we have a case of poetic licence, an unusual meaning for a word, an ellipse of something usually expressed explicitly, a metaphor, or an allegory with a hidden meaning".⁶⁹ Alternatively, text-critics can elucidate the wording of a passage by applying evidence from cognate languages and the semantic development of words in Classical Hebrew⁷⁰ to suggest a new-found meaning for a particular form in

less the same forms that were available in writing during the period of early Judaism. This assumption goes hand in hand with the presuppositions that guide my attempt in this study to explain debated readings in the Hebrew textual representatives of Lamentations. I mention these presuppositions below.

⁶⁸ Although much text-critical work is devoted to the understanding and explanation of variants (the differences in wording between the available textual representatives), the task of interpreting debated readings is equally important. WORTHINGTON, *Principles*, p. 45 notes that, in Akkadian textual criticism, "[o]ne of the chief working concerns of textual critics is to identify oddities (aberrations, inconsistencies, discrepancies, exceptions, unidiomatic formulations, non-sequiturs, incongruities, etc.). Once identified, attempts can be made to account for them, and in the process they may be mined for information about the mechanisms of textual change ... Some oddities turn out to have *bona fide* justifications, and, when properly understood, not to be as odd as they first seemed; others turn out to originate through errors by transmitters. Either way, they can prove very informative on many fronts. This is as true for Babylonian and Assyrian writings as of those in other ancient languages". He goes on to identify three main types of oddities that are of interest for text-critics: oddities of grammar and/or orthography, oddities of style and idiom, and oddities of sense. WORTHINGTON, *Principles*, pp. 45–54.

⁶⁹ BARR, *Comparative Philology*, p. 3.

⁷⁰ I use "Classical Hebrew" here as a catch-all term for the language represented by available Hebrew inscriptions and documentary writings, the Hebrew Bible writings, the Dead Sea scrolls, and Ben Sira. Rezetko and Young use the phrase in a similar way to refer to the language of the premishnaic Hebrew texts. REZETKO and YOUNG, *Historical Linguistics*, p. 10. Groom includes the Mishna, that is, the evidence for the Hebrew language until ca. 200 CE. GROOM, *Linguistic Analysis*, p. 15.

the text that is different from the meanings that are normally ascribed to it.⁷¹ There is also the possibility that the passage may have been wrongly transmitted and that its wording in the available textual representatives is corrupt. When text-critics suspect that this is indeed the case, they emend the text to remove the error from it. These emendations are often conjectural with no readings in the textual representatives to support them.

Even a conjectural emendation, however, will point out some kind of relation between the reading conjectured and the text actually found. There may be some features in common; or it will be possible to show how the conjectured text, once misunderstood or miswritten, could naturally have led to the text actually found; or some other such relation will be suggested. In other words, even conjectural emendations are seldom *purely* conjectural in nature; they normally take departure from, or have some logical link with, some aspect of the existing text.⁷²

With regard to the debated readings in the textual representatives of Lamentations, I suggest that text-critics should first attempt to make sense of the readings in question before they accept the conjectural emendations that scholars have proposed in the past or put forward new ones. The conclusion that the transmitted wording of a passage is corrupt should be a last resort after all possibilities for establishing its meaningfulness have been exhausted. This suggestion implies that the meaningfulness or corruption of debated readings is not a matter of fact, but a matter of interpretation. That is to say, as I see it, the outcomes of debates over the readings in the textual representatives of Lamentations that modern readers find difficult or out of place and the positions text-critics take on their meaningfulness or corruption rest on interpretations of the textual data and, therefore, the linguistic, literary, and cultural information, as well as the arguments that are employed to account for the wordings of the passages in question.

My own efforts in this study to make sense of debated readings in the Hebrew versions of Lamentations and the information and arguments I adduce to explain the formulations of passages in the textual representatives are informed and guided by a number of related presuppositions. I elaborate them briefly in the following paragraphs.

3. Guiding Presuppositions for the Explanation of Debated Readings

We know precious little about the circumstances surrounding the transmission of the five poems in the book of Lamentations during the period of early Judaism. The evidence from the Qumran manuscripts and ancient translations suggests that early Jewish scribes followed different approaches to the copying and translation of literary compositions. Some scribes were creative in transmitting the wording and subject matter of writings and made small- and large-scale changes to the texts, while others were more conservative in this regard and endeavoured to reproduce the wordings of the writings

⁷¹ BARR, *Comparative Philology*, p. 6.

⁷² BARR, *Comparative Philology*, pp. 3–4.

as closely as possible.⁷³ Given that we do not know the identity of the scribes who transmitted the poems of Lamentations, their level of training or expertise, how they conducted the textual transmission (copying from a source text, through dictation, or writing down what was known by heart), who commissioned new copies of the texts in Hebrew or other languages, how many times the texts were transmitted, when the copies were made, and for which audiences, it is very difficult to determine precisely when a particular change to the wording was made and whether there might have been a specific reason for the change in wording. For the discussion of debated readings where there are no substantial variants in the textual representatives, it is equally important that the wordings of the passages in which they appear were not significantly changed when new copies of the poems were made. For some manuscripts, the wordings were not altered because their scribes followed a conservative approach to transmission. Such an approach, however, cannot explain all the unchanged wordings of passages with debated readings in the available textual representatives of Lamentations. We can say with confidence that not all the variant readings in the available textual representatives are scribal errors; many were made by scribes who did not transmit the wordings and subject matter of the poems in a mechanical manner.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, even creative scribes did not alter or revise the wording and subject matter of every passage they copied or translated. A number of these passages feature readings that modern readers find difficult or questionable. I therefore assume that the wordings of some debated readings were left unchanged, because they made sense to ancient scribes and audiences at more than one stage during the transmission history. In other words, in cases of readings that modern readers find difficult or questionable, but where no substantial variants are preserved by the textual representatives,⁷⁵ I assume that we should at least entertain the possibility that the readings could have been meaningful to ancient scribes and audiences and that the problem for interpretation lies not with the ancient readings, but with the gaps in the knowledge of modern readers.

The extant textual representatives of Lamentations, notably the Qumran scrolls of Lamentations, the manuscripts of the MT, and the manuscripts of the LXX translation, indicate that more than one version of the poems coexisted at the same time during the period of early Judaism.⁷⁶ I do not imagine that the different versions of the poems were

⁷³ Cf., e.g., WHITE CRAWFORD, in DÁVID, LANGE, DE TROYER and TZOREF eds., *The Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, pp. 60–69; TOV, *Textual Criticism*, pp. 184–186. Cf. also LANGE, in LANGE and TOV, *THB* 1A, pp. 110–111.

⁷⁴ The variant readings in the wordings of the Qumran manuscripts of Lamentations, for example, provide ample evidence of creative transmission. KOTZÉ, *Qumran Manuscripts*, *passim*.

⁷⁵ To be sure, when there are variants in the textual representatives, this does not necessarily mean that they were created because scribes found the reading difficult or questionable. This might very well have been the case, but there could also be other possible explanations for the textual data. Even if it is the best explanation, this does not imply that all ancient scribes and audiences were puzzled by the readings in question.

⁷⁶ Cf., e.g., LANGE, in LANGE and TOV, *THB* 1C, pp. 360–361; SCHÄFER, in LANGE and TOV, *THB* 1C, pp. 362–367, 367–373; and KOTZÉ, *Qumran Manuscripts*, pp. 179–180 regarding the different versions represented by Qumran manuscripts and the MT. As far as the LXX is concerned, there is some consensus amongst scholars that this Greek translation, very generally speaking, endeavoured to

Index of Ancient Sources

Hebrew Bible

<i>Genesis</i>		<i>2 Kings</i>	
7:13	78	14:14	19
14:20	69	24:13	19
49:26	78	25:13–17	19
<i>Exodus</i>		<i>Isaiah</i>	
12:17	78	5:25	50
12:51	78		
39:29	79	<i>Jeremiah</i>	
<i>Leviticus</i>		9:20	50
23:21	78	9:21	50
		14:18	45
<i>Numbers</i>		27:11	90
6:1–8	77	31:29	33
6:6–12	84	52:17–23	19
6:6	84	<i>Ezekiel</i>	
6:8	77	7:15	45
<i>Deuteronomy</i>		18:2	33
21:20	6	23:14	86
32:25	44, 45, 49	24:2	78
32:48	78	40:1	78
33:16	78	<i>Hosea</i>	
33:29	69	11:8	69
<i>Joshua</i>		<i>Nahum</i>	
5:11	78	2:4	86
<i>1 Samuel</i>		<i>Zechariah</i>	
7:6	62	2:9	59
30:20	92		
<i>2 Samuel</i>		<i>Psalms</i>	
23:35	69	20:9	3
		28:4	69
<i>1 Kings</i>		78:52	92
14:26	19	110:1	23
		146:9	3
		147:6	3

<i>Proverbs</i>		3:16	6–7
6:11	68	3:34–36	23
28:7	6	3:34	21, 23
		3:35	23
<i>Song of Songs</i>		3:36	23
5:10	85	3:41	62
		3:52–54	70
<i>Lamentations</i>		3:52	70
1:1	17, 18, 48	3:53–54	75
1:2	48	3:54	75
1:8	6, 19, 48	3:55–58	75
		3:55–57	70
1:9	47, 48, 57	3:58	70
1:10	18, 19	3:59	70, 71
1:11	5–6, 47, 57	3:60–62	70
1:12–16	47	3:62	24
1:12	19	3:63	24, 69, 70
1:13	19, 48	3:64–66	70, 71
1:14	48	3:64–65	69
1:16	48	3:64	70
1:17	47, 48	3:65	43, 67, 68, 69, 70, 75, 76,
1:18–22	47		97, 100, 102
1:18	47, 48, 49	3:66	67, 68, 71
1:19	47	4:1	82, 84
1:20	20, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 55, 56, 97, 100, 102	4:2	82
		4:3–4	82
1:21–22	47	4:3	82, 83
1:21	47, 48	4:4	83
1:22	19, 48, 68	4:5	82
2:1–12	61	4:6	83
2:1	66	4:7–8	76, 82, 83, 84, 88, 88–89, 97
2:2	66	4:7	43, 62, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 84, 85, 86, 88, 97, 100, 102
2:3	66	4:8	78, 83, 84
2:4	66	4:9	4–5, 78
2:6	66	4:10	4
2:8	58, 59, 60	4:20	25, 28, 29, 74
2:11	19, 20	5:1	92
2:13–17	61	5:2–18	93
2:13	3–4, 57, 59	5:2	29, 30
2:17	57, 58	5:3	31, 32
2:18–19	56, 58–59, 61, 62, 66, 67	5:4–5	92
2:18	43, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 97, 100, 102	5:4	90, 92
2:19–21	61	5:5	43, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 96, 97, 100, 102
2:19	56, 61, 62, 66	5:6	32, 91
2:20–22	61	5:7	33, 34
2:21	54, 66	5:12	35, 37, 42
2:22	66	5:13–14	37
3:2	92		
3:5	2, 3, 67		

5:13	37, 39, 42, 93	<i>1 Chronicles</i>	
5:15	41	11:37	69
5:16	33, 34		
5:17–18	39, 41	<i>2 Chronicles</i>	
5:17	40	12:9	19
5:18	39	25:24	19
		36:7	19
<i>Daniel</i>			
7:9	77		

Dead Sea Scrolls

1QH ^a		4QPs ^c	69
XI 38	59		
XII 23	3	4QLam	5
XII 37	3		
		4Q382	
1QM		23 1	3
XVIII	13 69, 70		
		5QLam ^a	29, 31, 33, 35, 37, 76, 84, 89
3QLam	5		

Other Early Jewish Literature

<i>1 Maccabees</i>		Elephantine Papyri	
1:21–24	19	<i>TAD A4.7, 5–6</i>	19
<i>2 Maccabees</i>		<i>TAD A4.7, 9–13</i>	19
5:15–16	19	<i>TAD A4.7, 9–12</i>	19
<i>Ben Sira</i>		<i>TAD A4.7, 12–13</i>	19
4:11	3	<i>TAD A4.7, 20–21</i>	31
<i>Wisdom of Solomon</i>		<i>TAD A4.8 4–6</i>	19
13:14	85	<i>TAD A4.8, 8–11</i>	19
		<i>TAD A4.8, 11–12</i>	19
		<i>TAD A4.8, 19–20</i>	31

Rabbinic Literature

Babylonian Talmud		<i>Numbers Rabbah</i>	
		6:26	46
<i>b. Sot.</i> 10a	37	<i>Pesiqta Rabbati</i>	
<i>Lamentations Rabbah</i>		28	92
3:65 §9	69		
5:13 §1	37		

Akkadian Literature

Amarna Letters		<i>ARM</i>	
		I 39:7	74
<i>EA</i> 102:8	26	Assyrian prayers	
<i>EA</i> 106:5	26	<i>KAR</i> 39, 11–14	35
<i>EA</i> 138:1	26	<i>Atraḥasis</i>	
<i>EA</i> 141:2	25	III iii 47	20
<i>EA</i> 141:7	25	<i>Babylonian Theodicy</i>	
<i>EA</i> 141:10	25	249–250	6
<i>EA</i> 141:13	25	<i>Erra and Išum</i>	
<i>EA</i> 141:37	25	II C 37–41	40
<i>EA</i> 142:1	25	<i>Fable of the Fox</i>	
<i>EA</i> 143:1–2	25	VAT 13836	
<i>EA</i> 143:9	25	obv. line 15	20
<i>EA</i> 143:15	25	rev. line 25	20
<i>EA</i> 143:17	25	BM 55470	
<i>EA</i> 143:33	25	obv. line 3	20
<i>EA</i> 144:2	25	<i>Gilgamesh Epic</i>	
<i>EA</i> 144:6–7	25	VII, 71	81
<i>EA</i> 144:8	25	X, 301–307	51
<i>EA</i> 149:6	26	X, 321–322	51
<i>EA</i> 155:6	26	Inscriptions	
<i>EA</i> 155:47	26	Anubanini 1	
<i>EA</i> 159:8	26	I, 2	22
<i>EA</i> 205:6	26	RIMAP 1	
<i>EA</i> 211:16	26	A.0.78.5, 3	27
<i>EA</i> 232:1	26	A.0.78.19, 2	27
<i>EA</i> 232:7	26	RIMAP 2	
<i>EA</i> 232:18–19	26	A.0.99.2, 10	27
<i>EA</i> 233:2	26	A.0.101.1, i 10	27
<i>EA</i> 233:11	26	A.0.101.3, 18	27
<i>EA</i> 234:2	26	A.0.101.19, 22	27
<i>EA</i> 234:7–8	26	A.0.101.28, 8	27
<i>EA</i> 260:5	26	A.0.101.56, 2	27
<i>EA</i> 298:2–3	26	A.0.101.2004,	
<i>EA</i> 298:10	26	36–37	82
<i>EA</i> 298:22–24	32		
<i>EA</i> 298:24–25	32		
<i>EA</i> 298:26–27	32		
<i>EA</i> 300:28	26		
<i>EA</i> 314:2–3	26		
<i>EA</i> 314:6–7	26		
<i>EA</i> 314:16	26		
<i>EA</i> 314:22	26		
<i>EA</i> 319:23	26		
<i>EA</i> 320:25	26		
<i>EA</i> 322:23	26		
<i>EA</i> 323:22	26		
<i>EA</i> 324:19	26		

RIMAP 3		no. 6, 377–396	31
A.0.102.59, 45–46	33	no. 6, 397–409	31
		no. 6, 410–413	31
RINAP 3/1		no. 6, 429–430	31
no. 4, 46–47	35	no. 6, 513–662	83
no. 4, 46	36	no. 6, 585–587	84
no. 15, iii 27'–iv 1	35		
no. 16, iii 61–69	35	SAA 3	
no. 17, iii 23–32	35	no. 32, r. 10	84
no. 18, iii 2–10	35		
no. 22, iii 7–14	35	CH	
no. 23, iii 7–12	35	i, 27–49	27
no. 32, ii' 6'–9'	35	v, 3–9	27
		xlvi, 40–58	29
RINAP 4			
no. 1 iv 85–v 1	20	<i>Ludlul bēl nēmeqi</i>	
no. 33, II i 22	38	I, 1–40	72
no. 33, II ii 18–23	39	I, 2	73
no. 33 left edge 1	42	I, 4	73
no. 33 left edge 3	42	I, 5–6	73
no. 48, 34	27	I, 7–8	73
		I, 13–14	73
SAA 2		I, 37–39	73
no. 2, r. v 13–15	34	I, 41–42	73
no. 6, 41–61	30	I, 43–46	73
no. 6, 62–72	30	I, 55–56	72, 73, 74
no. 6, 73–82	30	I, 56	74, 75, 76
no. 6, 83–91	30	I, 57–70	74
no. 6, 92–100	30	II, 84–94	83
no. 6, 101–107	30	II, 92–93	83
no. 6, 108–122	30	II, 92	83
no. 6, 123–129	30	II, 93	83
no. 6, 130–146	30	II, 114–115	83
no. 6, 147–161	30	III, 51–61	75
no. 6, 162–172	30	IV, 5–9	75
no. 6, 173–179	30	IV, 12–17	75
no. 6, 180–187	30	IV, 69–70	75
no. 6, 188–197	30	IV, 71–76	75
no. 6, 212–228	30		
no. 6, 229–236	30	<i>Maqlû</i>	
no. 6, 237–258	30	I, 1–36	71
no. 6, 259–265	30	I, 8–11	41
no. 6, 266–282	30	I, 12	41
no. 6, 283–301	31	I, 13–14	71
no. 6, 302–317	30	I, 15–17	71
no. 6, 318–327	30	I, 18	71
no. 6, 328–335	30	I, 29–30	71
no. 6, 336–352	30	I, 90	71
no. 6, 353–359	30	II, 105–116	71
no. 6, 360–372	30	II, 127–134	71
no. 6, 373–376	31	IV, 11	71

V, 58	71	<i>KAR</i> 236, 19–24	87
VII, 75	71	<i>KAR</i> 236 r., 1	87
ŠÀ.ZI.GA Texts		<i>KAR</i> 236 r., 2–4	87
		<i>KAR</i> 236 r., 7	87
<i>KAR</i> 236, 18	87	<i>KAR</i> 236 r., 8	88

Egyptian Literature

Coffin Texts		Inscriptions	
<i>CT</i> II 99a–b	24	<i>KRI</i> II 326, 13	25
<i>The Cow of Heaven</i>		<i>KRI</i> II 327, 4	25
Tomb of Seti I		<i>KRI</i> II 354, 2	28
col. 2	81	<i>KRI</i> II 354, 4	28
Didactic Literature		Hymns	
<i>Ani</i>		BAe 8	
18, 3–4	50–51	no. 8, 10	27
<i>Ipuwer</i>		no. 20, 14	28
P. Leiden I 344 r.		no. 20, 19	28
3, 1	40	no. 108, 2	27
<i>Kagemni's Father</i>		no. 108, 7	27
P. Prisse 2		Love Songs	
6–7	24	P. Chester Beatty	
7	24	I C1, 4	81
<i>Neferti</i>		Pyramid Texts	
P. Petersburg 1116B		PT 223 § 214b–c	24
29–30	40	<i>Shipwrecked Sailor</i>	
35–37	40	P. Hermitage 1115	
47	30	cols. 64–66	81
<i>Ptahhotep</i>			
BM 10409	24		
P. Prisse			
5, 2	24		
8, 2–3	24		

Elamite Inscriptions

DBelam II 57–58	36	DBelam II 57	36
-----------------	----	--------------	----

DBelam III 17–19 36

DBelam III 44–46 36

Hittite Literature

CTH
372 i 11 81

378.2 A rev.
10'–19' 34–35

Old Persian Inscriptions

DB II 76–78 36
DB III 49–52 36

DB III 89–92 36
DBb 22

Semitic Inscriptions

Deir 'Allā
Combination II 13 50

KAI
10, 2 17
10, 3–4 17
10, 7–8 17
10, 15 17
14, 15 17
17, 1 17
33, 3 17
48, 2 17
78, 2 17
79, 2 17
81, 1 17

85, 1 17
86, 1 17
87, 1 17
88, 1 17
94, 1 17
97, 1 17
102, 1 17
105, 1 17
222 41
309 82

Sefire stela
I A, 29–30 41
I A, 32–33 41

Sumerian Literature

balags
a-še-er gi₆-ta
b+155–156 19

10–11 41
64 54
104 41

City-Laments

LE
1.20 54

LN
1–2 41
5–6 41

LSUr
3–55 53
32–33 30
55 30
75–76 54
107–111 54
108 54
142–143 41

169–170	18	61	58
222	41	62	58
304	82	227–228	54
340–356	53	239	18
346–347	41	275–281	18
360–370	52	355–360	41
367	53		
371–377	52, 53	<i>LW</i>	
378?–396	52	4.27	54
389	53		
394–396	53	<i>CA</i>	
394	54	136–145	18
397–402	51, 52, 53, 55, 61	249	82
398	54	254–259	41
399–402	54		
399–401	45	<i>Enki</i>	
399	54	376	80
400–401	54	377	81
400	54		
401	54	<i>Lugale</i>	
402	54	10 80	
403–448	55		
		<i>šu-íl-la prayer</i>	
<i>LU</i>		10	80
40–41	58		
44	58	<i>Šulgi D</i>	
48	58	7	81
49–62	58		
53	58	<i>Sumerian King List</i>	
56	58	i 1 41	53
59	58	viii 21–22	53

Ugaritic Literature

<i>KTU</i>		1.4 iv 53	17
1.3 v 40–41	17	1.4 v 2	17
1.4 i 13–14	17	1.6 i 44	17
1.4 i 21	17	1.6 i 45	17
1.4 ii 28–29	17	1.6 i 47	17
1.4 ii 31	17	1.6 i 53	17
1.4 iii 25	17	1.14 i 7–25	85
1.4 iii 27	17	1.14 i 26–35	85
1.4 iii 28–29	17	1.14 ii 7–26	86
1.4 iii 34	17	1.14 iii 4–5	18
1.4 iii 38	17	1.14 iii 30	18
1.4 iv 1–2	17	1.14 iii 41–42	81
1.4 iv 3–4	17	1.14 iii 43–44	81
1.4 iv 31	17	1.14 iii 52–iv 8	86
1.4 iv 40	17	1.14 iv 47–48	18

1.14 vi 11–12	18	1.169 16	17
1.14 vi 26–28	81	2.16 7–10	26
1.14 vi 29–30	81	2.39 1	26
1.15 iv 8–9	18	2.39 3	26
1.15 iv 19–20	18	2.39 5	26
1.16 i 36–37	18	2.39 11	26
1.16 i 37	18	2.39 13	26
1.19 i 34–35	20	2.39 15	26
1.19 iv 22–25	86	2.39 18	26
1.19 iv 41–42	86	2.39 21	26
1.23 8–9	49, 50	2.39 28	26
1.23 10–11	50	2.76 7	26
1.23 54	18	2.76 8	26
1.161 19	18	2.76 13	26

Index of Authors

- Aalders, G.C. 35, 57, 91
Abegg, M.G. 69
Abelesz, A. 77
Abou-Assaf, A. 82
Abusch, T. 41, 71, 87
Adams, S.L. 29, 38
Albertz, R. 16, 30, 72
Albrektson, B. 2, 4, 37, 38, 44, 45, 47, 48, 58, 59, 67, 68, 69, 79, 91, 92
Alexander, P.S. 7, 35, 37, 46, 60, 69, 70, 77, 92
Allen, J.P. 24, 81
Al-Rawi, F.N.H. 40, 74
Ames, F.R. 78, 86
Andrason, A. 47
André-Salvini, B. 26
Annus, A. 72, 73, 74, 75
Asher-Greve, J. 93, 94, 96
Assan-Dhôte, I. 11, 37, 47, 67, 69, 78
Assmann, J. 25, 27, 28, 30
Avigad, N. 95
- Bahrani, Z. 26
Baillet, M. 5
Baines, J. 25
Baker, H.D. 38, 39
Bandstra, B.L. 45
Barr, J. 8, 9
Barthélemy, D. 4, 47, 48, 57, 71, 85
Bartlett, J.R. 101
Bauer, H. 37, 67, 68
Beckman, G. 26
Beentjes, P.C. 3
Benito, C.A. 80, 81
Berges, U. 3, 4, 6, 19, 38, 48, 59, 69, 71, 72, 78, 79, 83, 89
Berlejung, A. 12, 13, 43, 70, 75, 80
Berlin, A. 16, 17, 30, 35, 38, 45, 49, 57, 58, 59, 62, 78, 79, 91
Bickell, G. 2, 57, 59, 78, 79
Bier, M.J. 19, 33
Biggs, R.D. 87, 88
Black, J. 5, 11, 20, 39, 40, 73, 87, 88
- Blackman, A.M. 81
Blum, E. 50
Boase, E. 19, 33
Böhl, F.M.T. 6
Bordreuil, P. 82
Börker-Klähn, J. 21, 94, 96
Borowski, O. 40
Brady, C.M.M. 5, 7, 35, 46, 60, 67, 92
Breasted, J.H. 25
Briant, P. 22
Brosius, M. 22
Bryce, T. 26
Budde, K. 38, 45, 57, 59, 78, 79, 89
Burke, A.A. 65
- Cagni, L. 40
Cañas Reillo, J.M. 11
Carr, D.M. 16
Ceriani, A.M. 67, 90
Cogan, M. 11, 35, 36
Cohen, A. 4, 69
Collins, B.J. 26
Collins, J.J. 100, 101
Collins, T. 19, 20
Cook, E.M. 69
Cooper, J.S. 41, 52, 82
Cornelius, I. 12, 13, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28, 40, 64
Cross, F.M. 5, 44, 45
- Dahood, M. 6, 45, 71, 90, 102
Daiches, S. 3
David, A. 21
Deist, F.E. 29, 38
Delitzsch, F. 58, 89
Delnero, P. 11
Demange, F. 94, 96
Derchain, P. 65
Dietrich, J. 52
Diller, C. 16, 47, 48, 49
Diringer, D. 95

- Dobbs-Allsopp, F.W. 3, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 24,
 41, 47, 57, 59, 83
 Dogniez, C. 11
 Driver, G.R. 5, 27, 29, 38, 48, 58, 78, 79, 89, 90
 Duhaime, J. 70
 Dyserinck, J. 2, 4, 5, 44, 47, 57, 59, 71, 89

 Edzard, D.O. 22
 Ehrlich, A.B. 2, 4, 44, 57, 71, 78, 89
 Ellenbogen, M. 85
 Emerton, J.A. 82
 Enmarch, R. 40
 Eph'al, I. 38
 Ewald, H. 57

 Falkenstein, A. 41
 Faulkner, R.O. 81
 Feder, F. 2
 Feldman, M.H. 22
 Fensham, F.C. 31
 Field, F. 2
 Fischer, A.A. 6, 11
 Fitzgerald, A. 17
 Fitzmyer, J.A. 41
 Flint, P.W. 69
 Ford, J.N. 26, 81, 85
 Foster, B.R. 20, 40, 73, 74
 Fox, M.V. 81, 85
 Frevel, C. 13, 17, 19, 35, 39, 40, 56, 59, 69, 71,
 78, 79, 91, 101

 Gadd, C.J. 16
 García Martínez, F. 70
 Gardiner, A.H. 24, 28
 Gauthier, M.H. 25
 Gentry, P.J. 11
 George, A.R. 5, 20, 51, 74, 81, 87, 88
 Gibson, J.C.L. 17
 Gitin, S. 101
 Goelet, O. 93
 Gordis, R. 2, 3, 6, 38, 45, 47, 48, 58, 68, 79, 91
 Gordon, C.H. 81
 Görg, M. 27
 Gottlieb, H. 2, 3, 45, 47, 56, 71, 78, 79, 82, 90
 Gottwald, N.K. 59
 Grabbe, L.L. 100, 101
 Gradwohl, R. 83, 84
 Grapow, H. 51
 Green, A. 39, 73
 Green, M.W. 15, 52, 54
 Greenfield, J.C. 17, 18

 Greenstein, E.L. 16, 33, 52, 86
 Grillot-Susini, F. 36, 37
 Groom, S. 8
 Gryson, R. 2
 Guest, D. 19
 Guillaume, A. 2, 3, 5
 Gulde, S.U. 49, 50
 Gwaltney, W.C. 16

 Haas, V. 22, 26
 Hackett, J.A. 50
 Haelewyck, J.-C. 6
 Haller, M. 2, 3, 7, 38, 45, 57, 59, 78, 79, 89
 Hallo, W.W. 51, 62
 Hamblin, W.J. 93
 Hanhart, R. 2, 46, 67, 92
 Harris, J.S. 85
 Hays, C.B. 16
 Helck, W. 30, 40
 Herrenschmidt, C. 36, 37
 Hillers, D.R. 2, 3, 16, 38, 45, 47, 51, 52, 57, 59,
 60, 68, 78, 79, 90
 Hirsch-Luipold, R. 11, 47, 67, 69, 77
 Hoffmeier, J.K. 23, 28
 Hoffner, H.A. 34
 Hoftijzer, J. 50
 Hornung, E. 81
 House, P.R. 57, 71, 78, 90, 91
 Hrůša, I. 26, 39, 73
 Hughes, G.R. 63, 64
 Hurowitz, V.A. 5, 6, 27

 Ikram, S. 27

 Jacobsen, T. 39, 52, 53, 80
 Janowski, B. 61

 Kaiser, O. 57, 59, 89
 Kartveit, M. 20
 Keel, O. 20, 23, 25, 28, 29, 33, 62, 64, 65, 70,
 75, 84, 85, 94, 95
 Keller, S.R. 93
 Kennicott, B. 33
 King, P.J. 39
 King, P.D. 48
 Kipfer, S. 48
 Klein, J. 81
 Koch, H. 22, 26
 Koenen, K. 2, 3, 6, 16, 23, 24, 30, 35, 38, 45, 47,
 48, 49, 57, 67, 68, 69, 71, 78, 80, 82, 91

- Kotzé, G.R. 7, 10, 31, 35, 36, 37, 39, 51, 77, 78, 82, 85
 Kraft, R.A. 101
 Kramer, S.N. 15, 16
 Krašovec, J. 33
 Kraus, H.-J. 3, 4, 16, 30, 38, 45, 47, 48, 58, 59, 68, 71, 78, 82, 89
 Kreuzer, S. 11
 Kruger, P.A. 18, 20, 31, 32, 35, 38, 40, 41, 54, 83, 86
 Krüger, T. 61

 Labahn, A. 11, 40
 Lachs, S.T. 35
 Lambert, W.G. 6, 20, 72, 74, 75
 Lane, E.W. 79
 Lange, A. 10
 Lawrie, D.G. 1
 Leander, P. 37, 67, 68
 Lebrun, R. 35, 81
 Lemaire, A. 95
 LeMon, J.M. 29
 Lenzi, A. 72, 73, 74, 75
 Levine, É. 2, 35, 67
 Lichtheim, M. 24, 27, 30, 40, 81
 Linafelt, T. 18, 19, 57
 Lipiński, E. 82
 Liwak, R. 26
 Löhr, M. 57, 59, 78, 79, 80, 84
 Lushey, H. 22
 Lux, R. 50, 61

 Magdalene, F.R. 89
 Maier, C.M. 11, 47, 67, 69, 77
 Malbran-Labat, F. 36, 37
 Margalit, B. 20
 Matthiae, P. 95
 Maul, S.M. 26
 McCarthy, H.L. 63
 McDaniel, T.F. 6, 16, 17, 44, 45, 57, 59, 90
 McKeon, J.F.X. 94, 95
 Meek, T.J. 68, 89
 Meinhold, J. 3
 Michalowski, P. 15, 30, 45, 51, 52, 53, 54, 82
 Michel, E. 27
 Middlemas, J. 57
 Miles, J. 27, 29
 Milik, J.T. 29, 31, 33, 35, 37, 76, 89
 Millard, A.R. 20, 82
 Mintz, A. 19
 Müller, H.-P. 50

 Mullo-Weir, C.J. 35

 Nägelsbach, C.W.E. 91, 92, 93
 Newsom, C. 3, 59
 Nguyen, K.L. 17, 33
 Nickelsburg, G.W.E. 101
 Niehr, H. 29, 40, 86
 Nigro, L. 94, 96

 Olyan, S. 3
 Ornan, T. 28, 29
 Oshima, T. 5, 6, 72, 73, 74, 76

 Paffrath, T. 5, 7, 57, 80
 Pardee, D. 26
 Parkinson, R.B. 11, 30
 Parry, D.W. 69
 Payne Smith, J. 68, 90
 Peiser, F. E. 6
 Perles, F. 46, 69, 90
 Pham, X.H.T. 57, 59
 Pongratz-Leisten, B. 26, 39
 Pope, J. 35
 Postgate, N. 5, 20, 87, 88
 Praetorius, F. 2, 3, 7
 Provan, I.W. 35, 38, 59, 80, 91

 Qimron, E. 69
 Quack, J.F. 50, 51

 Radner, K. 36
 Rahlfs, A. 2, 46, 67, 92
 Rainey, A.F. 6
 Randriambola-Ratsimihah, H. 33
 Renkema, J. 16, 30, 35, 38, 45, 47, 57, 59, 68, 71, 78, 79, 83, 91
 Rezetko, R. 8
 Richelle, M. 101
 Ricke, H. 63, 64
 Riede, P. 40
 Robins, G. 23, 27
 Robinson, T.H. 4, 37, 78
 Rohrmoser, A. 31
 Römer, W.H. 15, 18, 41, 54, 58
 Root, M.C. 22
 Roth, M. 27, 29
 Rudolph, W. 3, 4, 37, 38, 46, 47, 48, 58, 59, 68, 71, 78, 89
 Rühlmann, G. 21, 25

 Sabatier, P. 21

- Salters, R.B. 3, 4, 16, 23, 30, 31, 35, 38, 44, 47,
 48, 56, 57, 67, 69, 71, 78, 82, 89, 92
 Samet, N. 15, 41, 52, 54, 58
 Sass, B. 95
 Schäfer, H. 62, 64
 Schäfer, R. 2, 3, 4, 10, 47, 48, 57, 60, 67, 71, 78,
 90
 Schellenberg, A. 31
 Schmid, K. 29, 33
 Schmitt, R. 22, 36, 37, 95
 Schorch, S. 37
 Schroer, S. 18, 21, 22, 27, 29, 61, 62, 64, 85, 86,
 93, 94, 95
 Schuller, E. 3, 59
 Schuster-Brandis, A. 88
 Schwemer, D. 41, 71, 81, 87, 88
 Scurlock, J.A. 84
 Seow, C.L. 48, 49
 Shonkwiler, R.L. 28, 29
 Singer, I. 34, 35, 81
 Sjöberg, A. 80
 Skehan, P.W. 69
 Slanski, K.E. 26
 Smith, M.S. 18, 19, 29, 49, 50, 61
 Sokoloff, M. 68
 Spalinger, A.J. 65
 Stager, L.E. 39
 Staubli, T. 18, 25, 61, 62, 64, 93, 94
 Stegemann, H. 3, 59
 Stevens, M.E. 19
 Suter, C.E. 21, 22, 95
 Sweeney, D. 93, 94, 96
 Swete, H.B. 92

 Tate, W.R. 12
 Tattam, H. 2
 Thiselton, A. 99
 Thomas, A. 48
 Thomas, H.A. 3, 6, 17, 57, 78
 Tigchelaar, E.J.C. 70
 Tinney, S. 15, 52, 54
 Torczyner, H. 69
 Tov, E. 6, 10, 11, 58, 69
 Trimm, C. 65, 86, 93
 Tsumura, D.T. 49

 Ueberschaer, F. 11
 Uehlinger, C. 13, 23, 29, 94, 95
 Ulrich, E. 11, 69

 Van der Heide, A. 2, 77

 VanderKam, J.C. 7
 Van der Kooij, A. 11
 Van der Kooij, G. 50
 Van der Merwe, C.H.J. 99
 Van der Toorn, K. 39
 Van Dijk, J. 80
 Van Selms, A. 5, 79
 Veldhuis, N. 41
 Vermes, G. 70
 Vieweger, D. 101
 Von Soden, W. 74, 84

 Wagner, A. 21, 62
 Wagner, M. 67
 Wagner, T. 33, 89
 Walton, J.H. 7, 40
 Waters, M. 22
 Weber, R. 2
 Wehr, H. 68
 Weippert, H. 25, 62, 65, 66
 Weippert, M. 17, 25, 35, 62, 65, 66
 Weiser, A. 59, 78, 79
 Wenthe, E.F. 63, 64
 Westermann, C. 47, 48, 57, 59, 71, 78, 79, 89
 White Crawford, S. 10
 Wiesehöfer, J. 22
 Wilcke, C. 52
 Wildung, D. 28, 29
 Wilkins, L.L. 35, 38
 Wilkinson, R.H. 21
 Williams, R.J. 24, 25
 Winter, I.J. 21, 26, 80, 84, 85, 88
 Wise, M.O. 69
 Wolff, H.W. 20, 61
 Worthington, M. 8, 11
 Wunsch, C. 89
 Würthwein, E. 6, 11
 Wyatt, N. 20, 49, 81

 Xella, P. 84

 Young, I. 8
 Youngblood, K.J. 11

 Žába, Z. 24
 Zandee, J. 25
 Zangenberg, J.K. 101
 Ziegler, J. 2, 37, 46, 67, 92
 Zorell, F. 48
 Zwickel, W. 64, 65

Index of Subjects

- Ahuramazda 22
Akhenaten 27
Akkad 27, 29, 53
Amarna letters 6, 25, 27
An 27, 30, 53, 54, 55
Anat 81
Ancient Near East 12, 17, 18, 26, 28, 38, 39, 80, 82, 85, 94
– Artefacts 7, 13, 15, 42, 43, 62, 100, 102
– Cultural products 13, 14, 15, 43, 97–98, 99, 100, 102
– Images and ideas 13, 14, 15, 42, 43, 97, 100, 103
– Literature 11, 14, 16, 40, 41, 54, 88
– Material images 13, 14, 93
– Pictorial material 16, 17, 44
– Texts 13, 15, 17, 30, 44, 45, 49, 79, 93
– Visual media 15, 21, 93, 94
Ancient translations 1, 2, 7, 9, 37, 44, 46, 60, 67, 69, 71, 77, 78, 84, 92, 101, 102, 103
Anger 33, 52, 58, 66, 67, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76
Anubanini 21, 22, 94
Anunna gods 52, 55
Aqhat 19, 86
Ashurbanipal 30, 83
Asseverative particle 45, 49
Assyria 32, 38, 39
– Crown prince 84
– Iconographic record 36
– King 20, 23, 26, 27, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 74
Athirat 17, 81

Baal 17, 64, 86
Babylon 26, 27, 36, 75
– Babylonians 29, 30, 91
– Babylonian exile 16
– King 90
balag 15, 16, 18
Beit el-Wali temple 62, 63, 64, 66

Captives 22, 23, 39, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96
Chaos 23, 27, 30, 40, 63, 75, 95, 96

Chiasm 3, 68
Children 3, 49, 51, 55, 56, 57, 61, 62, 65, 66, 82, 83
City-laments 15, 16, 18, 19, 41, 51, 52, 54, 58, 100
City walls 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 74, 97
Classical Hebrew 8, 17, 20, 45, 61, 69, 71
Cola 1, 2, 3, 19, 20, 31, 33, 38, 44, 46, 48, 49, 56, 58, 62, 67, 71, 77, 78, 79, 80, 83, 84, 85, 86, 89, 91, 97
– Bicolon 2, 4, 5, 29, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 61, 79, 80, 82, 84, 86
– Monocolon 61
– Tricolon 61
Comparative philology 1, 68, 97, 102
Conjectural readings 2, 9, 14, 37
Coptic translations 35, 92
– Bohairic 35, 46, 92
– Sahidic 35, 46, 92
Curses 31, 33, 34, 41, 67, 72, 82, 83

Daniel 19, 86
Darius the Great 22, 35, 36, 37
Death 5, 21, 40, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 54, 55, 56, 65, 71, 75, 81, 83, 84, 86, 88, 97
Debated readings 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 42, 43, 49, 51, 61, 69, 84, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103
Distress 19, 20, 44, 47, 48, 49, 54, 55, 75
Dittography 58, 59, 90

Early Judaism 7, 100
– Artefacts 11
– Cultural and intellectual environment 12
– Cultural study 7, 99, 101
– Period 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 29, 99, 100, 101, 103
– Scribes 9, 11, 13
– Texts 54
– Writings 11, 12, 13, 19, 43, 58, 77, 99, 101
Egypt 12, 23, 25, 28, 29, 32, 34, 35, 38, 40, 49, 63, 65, 66

- Artefacts 65
- Iconographic record 62, 65, 94
- King 25, 26, 27, 32, 63, 64, 65, 66
- Visual media 28, 29, 95
- Ekron 35, 36
- El 81, 85, 86
- Elamite weapons 54, 55, 56
- Elephantine temple 19, 31
- Ellipsis 49
- Emendations 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 11, 14, 38, 42, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 51, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 69, 71, 78, 79, 80, 84, 89, 97, 100, 102
- Emotions 19, 20, 48, 49, 61
- Enemies 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 28, 30, 31, 39, 47, 48, 53, 54, 55, 57, 61, 63, 66, 69, 70, 75, 91, 92, 94, 95, 96
- Enki 30, 80
- Enkidu 51, 81
- Enlil 27, 30, 41, 52, 53, 54, 55
- eršemma* 15, 16
- Esarhaddon 20, 27, 30, 38, 39, 41, 83
- Ešmunazar II 17, 18

- Famine 4, 45, 46, 54, 55, 56, 61
- Foreigners 18, 25, 29, 30, 63, 94
- Foxes 39, 40, 41, 42

- Gilgamesh 51, 81

- Hammurapi 26, 27, 28
- Hand-mill 37, 38, 39
- Hands
 - Clasp/shake 32
 - Outstretched in prayer/supplication 21, 62, 64, 65, 66, 86, 97
 - Bound/tied 22, 94, 95, 96
- hapax legomena* 6, 37, 67, 68, 76, 84
- Heart 19, 20, 41, 44, 48, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 67, 68, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 87, 97
- Hebrew Bible 8, 11, 12, 16, 43
- Horus 28, 29

- Iconography 17, 26, 101, 102
- Ideas 1, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 40, 42, 43, 44, 51, 53, 55, 62, 65, 66, 71, 73, 76, 91, 93, 95, 96, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103
- Images 1, 5, 7, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 48, 49, 50, 54, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 70, 71, 72, 75, 76, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103
- Impalement 35, 36, 37
- Impotence 87, 88
- Inanna 18
- Inscriptions 8, 12, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 35, 36, 37, 50, 82, 95, 101, 102
- Isin
 - City 52, 53
 - Dynasty 52, 53
 - Period 52
 - Rulers 52, 55
- Israel 12, 16, 29, 60, 91, 92, 101
- Ištar 22, 34, 87, 88, 95

- Jerusalem 17, 18, 29, 47, 58, 60, 61, 66, 91, 97
 - Inhabitants 47, 49, 51, 55, 59, 61
 - Personified 6, 17, 19, 47, 48, 49, 55, 57, 60, 61, 97
 - Temple 18, 40, 61, 77
- Judah 29, 30, 61, 66, 91
- Justice 26, 27, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76

- Kirta 17, 18, 62, 81, 85, 86
- Kush 12, 35

- Languages, words, and texts
 - Akkadian 5, 6, 7, 11, 16, 17, 46, 58, 62, 72, 82, 90
 - Arabic 2, 5, 37, 68, 79
 - Aramaic 7, 17, 37, 58, 68, 78, 82, 84
 - Assyrian 8, 35, 37, 43
 - Babylonian 8, 43, 51, 81
 - Egyptian 11, 17, 24, 25
 - Elamite 17, 22, 36
 - Greek 7, 10, 37, 46, 47, 67, 77, 78
 - Hebrew 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 24, 37, 38, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 55, 56, 58, 60, 61, 62, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, 75, 77, 78, 82, 84, 85, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 96, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103
 - Latin 7, 37, 60, 78, 91
 - Old Persian 17, 22, 36
 - Phoenician 17
 - Punic 17
 - Sumerian 11, 15, 16, 17, 39, 45, 55, 56, 62, 82
 - Syriac 7, 37, 47, 48, 60, 67, 68, 78, 89
 - Ugaritic 17, 19, 26, 45, 49, 81, 85
- Lapis lazuli 76, 79, 80, 81, 82, 85, 86, 87, 88, 97
- Levant 12, 16, 35, 49, 64, 94, 95

- Liver 19
- Marduk 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 83
- Marduk-zākir-šumi 32, 33
- Masoretic text 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 19, 31, 32, 33, 37, 38, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 56, 57, 58, 59, 67, 69, 76, 77, 78, 80, 84, 89, 90, 99, 101
- Mati'ilu 34, 41
- Menacing pose 64, 95
- Merism 24, 30, 49, 54, 62
- Mesopotamia 12, 26, 28, 49, 65
- Artefacts 65
 - Iconographic record 94
 - Texts 16, 18, 71, 83
- Metaphor 1, 8, 11, 12, 20, 31, 38, 40, 48, 70, 80, 82, 85, 88
- Metonym 1, 19, 20, 48, 49, 61, 66, 72, 97
- Mishnaic Hebrew 24, 68
- Mot 49, 50
- Motif 12, 16, 17, 21, 22, 23, 40, 43, 51, 54, 55, 56, 58, 61, 64, 65, 66, 82, 94, 95, 97
- Mother 17, 18, 31, 35, 50
- Mother city 49, 51
- Mourning 18, 31, 32, 41, 58, 66, 83, 85, 86
- mundus inversus* 32, 38, 83, 88, 97
- Muršili II 34
- Nanna 41, 52, 53, 55, 80
- Naram-Sin 21, 22, 41
- Narrator 53, 54, 57, 61, 62, 66, 97
- Nazirites 76, 77, 78, 84, 85, 86, 88, 89, 97
- Neferti 30, 40
- Ningal 52, 55, 81
- Ninurta 39, 80
- Old Latin 35, 47, 92
- Order 22, 25, 26, 39, 40, 46, 64, 66, 80, 96
- Orthostats 12, 23
- Paghit 19, 20, 86
- Parallelism 3, 20, 31, 33, 38, 48, 49, 59, 68, 79, 80, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88
- Persia 12, 23, 28, 36
- Personification 17, 48, 49
- Peshitta 3, 5, 7, 35, 37, 47, 48, 49, 60, 67, 68, 69, 71, 77, 78, 92
- Pharaoh 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 32, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66
- Powerlessness 30, 32, 33, 34, 36, 39, 56, 63, 93, 94, 95, 96
- Prisoners 22, 23, 63, 65, 89, 93, 94, 95, 97
- Child prisoner 65, 66
 - Prisoners of war 34, 39, 92, 93, 95, 96
 - Prisoner transport scene 93, 94, 95, 96
- Punishment 33, 34, 47, 48, 55, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 83, 91, 97
- Purity 77, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 97
- Ramesses II 25, 28, 62, 63, 66
- Reliefs 12, 21, 22, 25, 26, 32, 62, 63, 64, 66, 94
- Ring 22, 26
- Ritual laments 15, 52
- Scarab beetle 29
- Scribal error 7, 10, 11, 58, 77
- Seals 13, 21, 29, 64
- Sennacherib 35, 36, 37
- Septuagint 3, 5, 7, 10, 35, 37, 46, 47, 51, 60, 61, 69, 70, 71, 76, 77, 78, 92, 103
- Shalmaneser III 27, 32, 33, 36
- Simile 1, 31, 32, 47, 56, 62, 70, 83, 88, 97
- Sin 33, 34, 35, 73, 75, 76
- Source text 3, 7, 10, 11, 46, 47, 60, 67, 77, 90, 101
- Stelae 12, 21, 26, 27, 28, 64, 94, 95, 96, 97
- Victory stela 21, 94, 95, 96
- Stem formations
- Hiphil 3, 4, 6, 68, 90
 - Hitpolel 3
 - Hophal 4
 - Niphal 4, 59, 93
 - Piel 49, 68, 69
 - Polel 3
 - Pual 4
 - Qal 6
- Stanza 4, 23, 47, 49, 55, 67, 70, 82
- Statues 12, 23, 38, 39, 52, 80, 81, 82
- Storm-god of Hatti 34
- Strophe 77, 78, 84, 85, 86, 88
- Šubria 38, 39, 42
- Šubši-mešrê-Šakkan 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 83
- Sumer 27, 29, 53, 54
- Sun-disk 27, 28, 29
- Sun-god 25, 26, 27, 71, 73, 74, 80, 81
- Šamaš 26, 74
 - Utu 80
- Šuppiluliuma 26, 34
- Symbolic inversion 18, 86
- Symmachus 38, 79, 90
- Synecdoche 1, 19, 59, 60, 85
- Syntax 4, 23, 60, 71
- Syro-hexapla 38, 67, 79, 90

- Targum 3, 5, 7, 35, 37, 46, 60, 61, 67, 69, 77, 78, 92
- Western version 3, 5, 7, 37, 46, 60, 77, 92
 - Yemenite version 3, 5, 7, 37, 46, 47, 60, 77, 92
- Textual criticism 7, 8, 11, 99, 100
- Text-critics 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 42, 98, 100, 101, 102, 103
- Textual representatives 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 42, 43, 58, 60, 97, 99, 100, 102, 103
- Thought-world 1, 12, 13, 15, 40, 61, 97, 99, 100, 101
- Trampling underfoot 21, 22, 23
- Treaty 30, 31, 33, 34, 41, 83
- Ugarit 49, 64
- King 26, 86
- Ur 30, 45, 52, 53, 54, 55, 58, 81, 95
- Ur III dynasty 52, 53, 55
- Variants 1, 2, 6, 8, 10, 11, 24, 35, 46, 64, 99
- Verbal conjugations
- Imperative 47, 48, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62
 - Infinitive absolute 45, 48
 - Infinitive construct 23, 38
 - Participle 4, 5, 6, 59
 - *qatal* 6, 47, 48, 56, 57
 - *yiqtol* 3, 4, 90
- Vulgate 4, 5, 7, 37, 46, 48, 60, 61, 67, 69, 70, 71, 76, 77, 78, 92, 93
- Winged disk 22, 28
- World upside down 18, 29, 30, 32, 38, 40, 82, 96, 97
- YHWH 6, 24, 25, 29, 32, 40, 44, 47, 48, 55, 57, 59, 61, 62, 66, 67, 70, 71, 72, 75, 77, 88, 92, 93, 97
- Zion 56, 57, 60, 61, 82
- Daughter Zion 59
 - Mount Zion 39, 40