

28) Bethel – an originally North Syrian deity¹⁾ — The god Bethel (*Ba-A+A-ti-DINGIR*^{mes})²⁾ is first encountered in Esarhaddon’s treaty with Baal king of Tyre, which is datable to 676 BCE or shortly later (see Parpola and Watanabe 1988:xxix). [Aššūr, Mullissu], Ištar Arbail, Gula and Sebeti (the Pleiades), who are followed by ^d*Ba-A+A-ti-DINGIR*^{mes} and ^d*A-na-ti-ba-^rA¹+A-ti-DINGI*R^{mes}, are all subsumed as the deities of Assyria, Babylonia (Akkad) and Transeuphratene (Eber-nāri). In fact, the deities of Transeuphratene are represented here only by the pair ^d*Ba-A+A-ti-DINGIR*^{mes} (male) and ^d*A-na-ti-ba-^rA¹+A-ti-DINGI*R^{mes} (female). The spelling of the initial component renders a diphthong, viz. **Bayt-*, which is the Aramaic rather than the Phoenician form.³⁾ The section of the curses has (Parpola and Watanabe 1988:27, iv, 6’-9’) “May *Ba-A+A-ti-DINGIR*^{mes} and ^d*A-na-ti-ba-^rA¹+A-ti-DINGI*R^{mes} deliver you to the paws of a man-eating lion”. These seven deities (a symbolic-typological number as usual in such lists) belong to the Assyrian party, whereas the six preserved deities of the Tyrian party are listed last. They consist of the associative triad *Ba-al-sa-me-me*, *Ba-al-ma-la-ge-e*, and *Ba-al-Ša-pu-nu* (grouped together due to their common initial component),⁴⁾ the pair *Mi-il-qar-tu* and *Ia-su-mu-nu* (the tutelary gods of Tyre and Sidon respectively),⁵⁾ as well as the only goddess *As-tar-tū* (Parpola and Watanabe 1988:27, iv, 10-18). In case of a Tyrian violation of the treaty, the curse inflicted by the triad, who were basically storm deities, is raising an evil wind and a strong wave against Tyrian ships with disastrous results on the navigation, the main branch of the Tyrian economy. The curse by *As-tar-tū* is due to her role as a warrior goddess.⁶⁾ *Mi-il-qar-tu* and *Ia-su-mu-nu* as city gods would cause loss of independence resulting in famine and deportation of the Tyrian people.

^d*Ba-A+A-ti* (text: BAL)-DINGIR and ^{<d>}*A-na-<<AN>>-ti-^rd¹Ba-A+A-ti-DINGI*R recur in a list of deities of Esarhaddon’s Succession Treaty from Tall Ta’yīnāt (ancient Kullaniya, the capital of Patin/Unqi in northwestern Syria). This treaty is datable to 672 BCE (see Lauinger 2012:87). The curse inflicted by this pair is similar to that of the treaty with Tyre. The list of 12 Mesopotamian deities in the Succession Treaty from Kullaniya is longer than that of the treaty with Tyre, but is equally of a symbolic-typological number (ten gods and two goddesses, see the Excursus below).

Syrian deities are listed after the Mesopotamian ones (Lauinger 2012:102, vi, 44-51). They amount to six (Adad & Šala of Kurbail in line 45 are intrusive as they are an Assyrian divine pair):

^d*A-ra-miš*, lord of two locales (EN URU KUR SI⁷⁾ EN URU KUR ^r*a-za-i⁷*, the latter is perhaps Rasm etanjara according to Athanasiou 1977:327, n. 7); the Queen of Ekron (*šar-rat A-am-qār-^rru-tu-na¹*, Lauinger 2012:47, see 119 *ad loc.*); and the pair ^d*Ba-A+A-ti* (text: BAL)-DINGIR ^{<d>}*A-na-<<AN>>-ti-^rd¹Ba-A+A-ti-DINGI*R; as well as Kubaba and Karhuha of Carchemish. ^d*A-ra-miš*, [^d*Ba-A+A-ti-DINGI*R] and [^d*A-na-ti-i-Ba-A+A-ti-DINGI*R] are also listed in Calah (Watanabe 1987:116:54-55, cf. Lauinger 2012:119 *ad vi*, 48).

The cult of Bethel persisted in Antiochene and adjacent regions as late as the Roman period (see below). Philo of Byblos has βαιτύλος which has become a common noun in Greek. It is based on a form where the diphthong is preserved and is “offenbar aus einer nicht-phönizischen Tradition”.⁸⁾ The form originated perhaps in the north-Syrian coast where Ionians came into contact with Arameans as early as the NA period. The Biblical deity *’l Byt’l* is mentioned in Jacob’s 2nd visit to the town of Bethel (Genesis 35, 7). The passage belongs to the early Pentateuchal source E, which preserves material about the relationship of Jacob and his clan with the early Arameans. The god *Byt’l* was indeed worshipped by the Arameans in the 1st millennium BCE and as late as the Roman period. It was described by Jacob as an angel/messenger, who rescued him (cf. Genesis 48, 16⁹⁾). Other verses are less explicit.¹⁰⁾ A tradition, which has been incorporated in the Deuteronomistic History (Judges 1, 23-26) has it that the original name of the town of Bethel was *Lwz*, and that an individual from there migrated to the “Land of the Hittites” (i.e. northern Syria and southeastern Anatolia) and founded there a homonymous town.¹¹⁾ Is it an allusion to the Bethel cult in northern Syria?

The absence of *Byt’l* from the relatively long list of deities in the treaty of Sfire and that of Aššūr-nērārī V may be due to the fact that this list is very damaged. Evidence for the existence of the divine triad (father, mother and son) *Byt’l*, *’nibyt’l* (apparently Bethel’s spouse) and *’šmbyl’l*, i.e. “Bethel’s offspring”, is found in Aramaic documents from Achaemenid Elephantine in Upper Egypt. These deities are thoroughly discussed by Porten (1969:118-119, cf. Baudissin 1929:191, 197), who refers to the Greek inscriptions from Kafr-Nabu on Jabal Sam’ān in Antiochene from 224 CE, where Σομβετυλος, i.e. *’šmbyl’l* (followed by Λέων “lion”) is invoked.¹²⁾ The occurrence of the deity “Zeus Betylos of the dwellers along the Orontes” in Dura-Europos in the same century is further evidence for the worship of Bethel in northern Syria.

Porten (2014) presents a nearly comprehensive list of anthroponyms with the theophorous element Bethel. The earliest dated ones are from 571/0 BCE (perhaps from Sfire)¹³⁾ and the latest dated one is from 400 BCE (Porten 2014:225:1-4 and 230:45 respectively). Noteworthy are the filiation *Byt’l’zbd* son of *’šmrm* and *Byt’lntn* father of *’Hrmntn* (Porten 2014:230:49; 232:62), which reveal that Bethel was revered together with Eshem and Herem in the same family. The following complementary material is within the same geographical and chronological range:¹⁴⁾

^dBa- 'ti-li-ki-nu "Bethel is righteous", Babylon, 16.VI.2 Camb. = 528 BCE (Zadok 2003a:520:A/3.1.1.1.1.3);

Bit(^{dÉ})-il-šur^{1?} "Bethel is (my) wall", found at Nippur, 13.IX.3 Camb. = 527 BCE (Zadok 2003a:525:A/3.1.3.4);

Ba-ti-il-la-ma- "Bethel has accompanied" and ^dBa- 'it-il(DINGIR^{mes})-ga-da "Bethel is (my) good luck", archive of the Ebabbar temple of Sippar, datable to the long 6th century BCE (Zadok 2003b:264* 1.3.10 and 266* 1.3.14, 11). The commonest anthroponym with Akkadian predicative elements is *Bīt-il-šarra-ušur* (É-DINGIR-LUGAL-ÚRU), i.e. "Bethel protect, keep safe the king!". It is borne by several individuals (Porten 2014:226-229:11, 14, 19, 21-23, 30, 33, 36, add B. father of [B]u²-la-', Babylon, 5.-.13 Dar. I = 509/8 BCE, Zadok 2018:266:3, 14') and is indicative of their link to the palatial sector. The same applies to *Šamaš-šarra-ušur* son of *Bīt*(^{dÉ})-il-ba-ha-tu (Porten 2014:226:18). The predicative element of ^dÉ-DINGIR^{mes} (<...>?, archive of the Ebabbar temple of Sippar, time of Nabonidus, Spar and Jursa 2014, 67, 1) is lost.

The vast geographical diffusion of the Bethel anthroponyms is due to the massive Assyrian and targeted Babylonian deportations from northern Syria to Babylonia. People were deported by Nebuchadnezzar II to Babylonia following his campaigns in northern and central Syria. The Bethel anthroponyms from Achaemenid Egypt refer to descendants of people who were brought from northern Syria during the short Egyptian rule there at the end of the 7th century BCE, although later waves of migrations cannot be ruled out. Generally, there is very little NB/LB material from northern Syria. NB/LB has *Bīt*(^{dÉ})-il-ha-na-nu, 1, 7; *Bīt*(^{dÉ})-il-[-...], 2 and *Bīt*(^{dÉ})-il-a-di-ir¹ from ^{uu}Am-mat, possibly Hamath (found at Nērab in northern Syria, dated to 10.II.13 Nbn. =543 BCE). More revealing is a deed from Sippar, 4.I.7 Cyr. = 532 BCE (Wunsch, *Urkunden*, 48). Both parties are Aramean (ⁱHa-mat-ia-a- vs *Zab-di-ia*). They were linked to the Ebabbar temple there, seeing that the litigation about a house was brought before the chief administrator (*šangū*) of Ebabbar of Sippar (also the *šimmāgir* royal official Nabû-šarra-ušur was involved).¹⁵ ⁱHa-mat-ia-a- (23)ⁱHa-ma-tu-ia-a- (16), whose name is a shortened form of the feminine gentilic of Hamath, was the mother of *Bīt*(^{dÉ})-il-ha-na-nu, who was dead by then. She took care of his junior son (her grandson) *Bīt*(^{dÉ})-il-ia-a-hi-ru.¹⁶ It can be argued that the family, whose three members bore Aramaic names, was of Hamathean extraction and worshipped Bethel.

Finally, it must be stressed that no exclusive Hebrew-Canaanite predicative elements are contained in the numerous anthroponyms with the theophorous element *Byt*'l. All the anthroponyms in question are explicable in Aramaic terms, except for one which has an Arabian predicative element.¹⁷

Excursus: the Mesopotamian deities (with a comparison to several pertinent lists)

I. Kullaniya = Tall Ta'yīnāt (Lauinger 2012:92, i, 22-26, see 114) - subsumed as the deities of Assyria and Babylonia (Sumer & Akkad). It is partially restored from I'. Calah (Watanabe 1987:58:§2 [= Parpola and Watanabe 1988:29, lines 16-20], see 178 *ad loc.*). The Calah list is expanded and has 17 deities: 12 male and 5 female, a typological number consisting of 10 + 7 and subsumed as deities of Assyria and Babylonia (Sumer & Akkad). The list recurs in Watanabe 1987: 59-60:§3 (= Parpola and Watanabe 1988:30, lines 25-30), where the deities are described as of Assur, Nineveh, Calah, Arbail, Kalzi and Harran, as well as of Babylon, Borsippa and Nippur (6+3).

II. follows I and fully duplicates I'. It is unfortunately damaged (Lauinger 2012:93, i, 29-45') and is subsumed as deities of Assyrian cities.

III. Lauinger 2012:99-102:v, 78-vi, 41; altogether 14 [7x2] deities) || III'. Watanabe 1987:111-116: §§37-53 (= Parpola and Watanabe 1988:45-48, lines 414-463) has 17 deities (9 male and 8 female; 10+7). [Šamaš] is to be restored in the lacuna between v, 90 and vi, 1, but probably not Inūrta, being the main deity of Calah and Dilbat (elsewhere listed together with stars), the more so since Uraš, the tutelary god of the city of Dilbat, is listed in I = II. Therefore Dilbat appears only in III, apparently replacing Uraš. Likewise, Ištar of Nineveh (I = II) is replaced by Mullissu of Nineveh in III. Sebetti (III') is omitted in III (see Lauinger 2012:119 *ad vi*, 44).

Table 1: The lists

No.	I	I'	II	III	III'
1	Aššūr	Aššūr	Aššūr	Aššūr	Aššūr
2	Anu	Anu	Anu	Mullissu	Mullissu
3	Enlil	Enlil	Enlil	Anu	Anu
4	[Ea]	Ea	Ea	Sin	Sin
5	Sin	Sin	Sin	[Šamaš]	Šamaš
6	Šamaš	Šamaš	[Šamaš]	Marduk	Inūrta
7	Adad	Adad	[Adad]	Šarpānītu (Zarbānītu)	Dilbat
8	Marduk	Marduk	[Marduk]	Bēlet-ilī	Marduk
9	Nabū	Nabū	[Nabū]	Adad	Šarpānītu (Zarbānītu)
10	[Nuska]	Nuska	[Nuska]	Ištar	Bēlet-ilī
11	Šerūa	Uraš	Uraš	Nergal	Adad
12	Bēlet-ilī	Nergal	Nergal	Mullissu of Nineveh	Ištar

13		Mullissu	Mullissu	Ištar Arbail	Nergal
14		Šerûa	Šerûa	Gula	Mullissu of Nineveh
15		Bēlet-ilī	Bēlet-ilī		Ištar Arbail
16		Ištar of Nineveh	Ištar of Nineveh		Gula
17		Ištar Arbail	Ištar Arbail		Sebetti

Comment

I, 2-4 form an early (Sumerian) triad. Regarding the pair of the astral deities Sin and Šamaš, this is the traditional order, as the Moongod was initially more popular than the Sungod. The inverted order in Assurbanipal's treaty with the Babylonians (VI below) is exceptional.

Pairs of deities (a god and his female spouse) are a minority here: Aššūr and Mullissu as well as Marduk and Šarpānītu (both in III). Inūrta and his spouse Gula appear in the same list but are not juxtaposed (they are paired together in IV where pairing is the norm). Aššūr and Mullissu are not paired in I = II, where Aššūr's spouses Mullissu and Šerûa are listed together. On the other hand, the majority of the Mesopotamian deities in Mati'īl's treaties (IV and V below) are arranged in no less than 15 pairs in IV (2-31, generally a god and his female spouse). V has at least six preserved pairs. Nabû immediately follows Marduk (= Bēl), who is considered his father according to the Babylonian theology current in that period. IV, 32-34 and presumably 36, who are Assyrian deities, are exceptionally listed individually. IV, 39-40 (Phoenician) are exceptionally a pair of male gods. The deities of Carchemish (IV, 41-42) are also paired, but this is the only case where the female spouse precedes the god. The last preserved section of IV seems to list deities of Inner Syria (like V), but is very damaged.

Table 2: Alphabetic arrangement and preliminary classification

No.	DN (alphabetic)	I	II	III	male	female	Assyrian/Babylonian (Bab. unmarked)
1	Adad	+	+	+	+		
2	Anu	+	+	+	+		
3	Aššūr	+	+	+	+		Assyrian
4	Bēlet-ilī	+	+	+		+	
5	Dilbat			+		+	
6	Ea	+	+		+		
7	Enlil	+	+		+		
8	Gula			+		+	
9	Inūrta			+	+		
10	Ištar Arbail	+	+	+		+	Assyrian
11	Ištar of Nineveh	+	+			+	Assyrian
12	Marduk	+	+	+	+		
13	Mullissu	+	+	+		+	Assyrian
14	Mullissu of Nineveh			+		+	Assyrian
15	Nabû	+	+		+		
16	Nergal	+	+	+	+		
17	Nuska	+	+		+		
18	Sebetti			+	+		
19	Sin	+	+	+	+		
20	Šarpānītu			+		+	
21	Šamaš	+	+	+	+		
22	Šerûa	+	+			+	Assyrian
23	Uraš	+	+		+		

Substantial comparative lists are contained in the treaties of Mati'īl of Arpad with IV. Aššūr-nērārī V and with V. Brg'yh of Ktk (found in Sfire, Donner and Röllig 2002, 222A, 7-13) as well as in VI. the treaty of Assurbanipal with the Babylonians. The treaty of Mati'īl with Aššūr-nērārī V has at least 46 deities (Parpola and Watanabe 1988:13(2), vi, 6-26, see xxvii-xxviii):

Table 3: IV compared with V

No.	IV	V
1	Aššūr	
2-3	Anu and Antu	
4-5	Enlil and Mullissu	5 = A. 2. Miš
6-7	Ea and Damkina	
8-9	Sin and Nikkal	13. S[n and 14. Nkl]
10-11	Šamaš and Nūr	11. Šmš and 12. Nr
12-13	Adad and Šala	
14-15	Marduk and Zarpānītu	3. Mrdk and 4. Zrpnt

16-17	Nabû and Tašmētu	5. Nb' and 6. T[šmt]
18-19	Ninūrta and Gula	
20-21	Uraš and Ninegal	
22-23	Zababa and Ba'u	
24-25	Nergal and Laš	9. Nrgl and 10. Lš
26-27	Madānu and Ningirsu	
28-29	Humhummu and Išum	
30-31	Girra and Nuska	7. ['r() and 8. Nš]k
32	Ištar of Nineveh	
33	Ištar Arbail	
34	Adad of Kurbail	
35	Adad of Aleppo	B. 1. [Hdd H]lb
36	Pāilil	
37-38	Dagan and ^d [M]u ² -šur-u-na	
39-40	^d M[i-il-qar-tu] and ^d Ia-s[u-mu-na]	
41-42	^d Kù-b[a-ba] and [^d Kar]-hu-ha	
43	Adad	
44	^d [x] x	
45	^d Ra-ma-nu of [Damascus]	
46	^d Zir-...	

V. Sfire

A.1. ['sr] and 2. Miš

3. Mrdk and 4. Zrpnt

5. Nb' and 6. T[šmt]

7. ['r() and 8. Nš]k

9. Nrgl and 10. Lš

11. Šmš and 12. Nr

13. S[n and 14. Nkl]

[...]

15. Nkr and 16. Kd'h (apparently Mesopotamian, cf. Zadok 1984:530);

Subsumed as *kl 'lhy rḥbh w'dm[h]* (cf. Zadok 1984:530-531).

B. 1. [Hdd H]lb

2. Sbt

3. 'l

4. 'lyn

5. Šmy[n and 6. 'rq]

7. Š(w)]lh and 8. M'ynn

9. Ywm and 10. Lylh

Subsumed as *[kl 'lhy 'rpd?]* "all the gods of Arpad"? (see Donner and Röllig 1968:243-244 with lit.).

Table 4: Alphabetic arrangement of IV and V

No.	DN	No.	No.	DN	No.
1	'l	V,B.3	31	^d [M]u ² -šur-u-na	IV.38
2	'lyn	V,B.4	32	Nabû	IV.16
3-3a	Adad	IV.12,43	32a	Nb'	V,A.5
4	Adad of Aleppo	IV.35	33	Nergal	IV.24
5	Adad of Kurbail	IV.34	34	Nikkal	IV.9
6	Antu	IV.3	35	Ninegal	IV.21
7	Anu	IV.2	36	Ningirsu	IV.27
8	Aššūr	IV.2	37	Ninūrta	IV.18
9	Ba'u	IV.23	38	Nkr	V,A.15
10	Dagan	IV.37	39	Nr	V,A.12
11	Damkina	IV.7	33a	Nrgl	V,A.9
12	Ea	IV.6	40	[Nš]k	V,A.8
13	Enlil	IV.4	39a	Nūr	IV.11
14	Girra	IV.30	40a	Nuska	IV.31
15	Gula	IV.19	41	Pāilil	IV.36
4a	[Hdd H]lb	V,B.1	42	^d Ra-ma-nu of [Damascus]	IV.45
16	Humhummu	IV.28	43	Sbt	V,B.2
17	^d Ia-s[u-mu-na]	IV.40	44	Sin	IV.8
18	Ištar Arbail	IV.33	44a	S[n]	V,A.13
19	Ištar of Nineveh	IV.32	45	[Š(w)]lh	V,B.7

20	Išum	IV.29	46	Šala	IV.13
21	[^d Kar]-hu-ha	IV.42	47	Šamaš	IV.10
22	Kd'h	V,A.16	47a	Šmš	V,A.11
23	^d Kù-b[a-ba]	IV.41	48	Šmy[n]	V,B.5
24	Laš	IV.25	49	Tašmētu	IV.17
24a	Lš	V,A.10	49a	T[šmt]	V,A.6
25	Lylh	V,B.10	50	Uraš	IV.20
26	M'yinn	V,B.8	51	Ywm	V,B.9
27	Madānu	IV.26	52	Zababa	IV.22
28	Marduk	IV.14	53	Zarbānītu	IV.15
29	^d M[i-il-qar-tu]	IV.39	54	^d Zir-...	IV.46
30	Mlš	V,A.2	53a	Zrpnt	V,A.4
28a	Mrdk	V,A.3	55	^d [x]x	IV.44
30a	Mullissu	IV.5			

VI. Assurbanipal's treaty with the Babylonians

Aššūr
Marduk
Nabû
Šamaš
Sîn
Ea
Adad
Ninūrta
Nergal
Zababa
Pālil
Zarbānītu
Nanā
Ištar Arbail

The list (if it is complete) has 14 deities, i.e. a multiplicative of the symbolic number seven. All the deities are common Mesopotamian, apart from Aššūr and Ištar Arbail, who are typically Assyrian and are listed first and last respectively. Several deities were tutelary gods of both Assyrian and Babylonian cities, viz. (N)inūrta (of Calah and Nippur), Sîn (of Harran and Ur), Nergal (of Cutha and Tarbišu). Pālil is Nergal's equivalent (of Udannu, but also popular in Assyria). Zababa was the tutelary god of Kish, but was worshipped also in Assyria, while Adad (tutelary god of Kurbail) was worshipped in Babylonia as well (without the local specification). Nanā was the main goddess of Uruk. She was also associated with Nabû in Borsippa. Here she follows Zarbānītu/Šarpānītu, Marduk's spouse, like Nabû who follows Marduk in this list. Nabû and Šamaš were the main gods of Borsippa and Sippar respectively, but very popular in Assyria as well. Marduk, the head of the Babylonian pantheon, immediately follows Aššūr. On the whole, the attribution of the deities to cultic centres here is implicit, but it can be compared with I above, where the deities are explicitly associated with Assyrian and Babylonian temple cities. This list has a short but representative coverage, and is not devoid of sophistication.

Notes

- Abbreviations as in CAD unless otherwise indicated. Rulers' names: Camb. = Cambyses; Cyr. = Cyrus; Dar. = Darius; Nbn. = Nabonidus.
- The evidence for the cult of this deity is summarized by Röllig 1995 and Niehr 2014:153.
- The diphthong /ay/ was preserved in the NA toponyms *Ba-na-A+A-bar-qa*, which refers to a place in Palestine, located in a region which belonged to the periphery of Philistia, very close to the Israelite border (cf. Zadok 1978:60). It was under Phoenician (Sidonian) control much later (in the Achaemenid period).
- See Lipiński 1995:79-90, 243-251.
- See Lipiński 1995:226-243 and 154-168 respectively.
- On this aspect cf. Lipiński 1995:131-132.
- See Zadok 2018:262, with n. 944. EN ...SI < b'l qrn is analogous to the much later Latin gentilic *Balcaranensis* which is based on Pun. *B'l qrm (cf. Friedrich et al. 1999:148:226).
- Friedrich et al. 1999:169:241 (see Zuntz 1946).
- See Rofé 1979:236f.
- Notably *rw'h 'bn Ysr'l* ("the shepherd of the rock of Israel") in Genesis 49, 24 (Pentateuchal source J). It possibly alludes to the stele erected by Jacob in Bethel (see Luther 1901:70-72; Danell 1946:39 and the commentaries). *'bn Ysr'l* is synonymous with *šwr Ysr'l*. For the suggestion that *Byt 'wn* < *Byt 'bn* "the place, precinct of the sacred stone, stele" was the name of the Bethel temple see Na'aman 1987.
- Mazar (1981:146) suggested to identify the new foundation *Lwz* (MT *Lūz*) with *Lawazantiya* of Kizzuwatna (Cilicia), but the forms are far from identical and *lūz* "almond" (a common West Semitic lexeme) is productive in Syro-Palestinian toponymy.
- See Jalabert and Mouterde 1939:216-217 ad 376. The original diphthong is monophthongized (-βετ-) in this occurrence from late antiquity. For association of Syrian betyl with a lion (in Baalbek and Emesene which borders on Antiochene and the Hamath region) see Seyrig 1929:236-237 and Ronzevalle 1937-38:56-57, 125.
- NA *Bēt-ilāyu* (É-DINGIR-A+[A]) from Assur (undated, but definitely pre-612 BCE) does not necessarily belong here, but may be a gentilic (see N. Alhadef, PNA 1:342a). ^dBa-'ti-še-zib does not belong here. The emendation by Porten (2014:226:13) is unjustified as its theophorous element is *Bayt* "temple" (cf. Zadok 1978:59), like that of OT *Btw'l* (cf. Meyer 1906:240; defective for **Bytw'l*) "Bayt is god"; for the type DN ending in the nominative suffix -w + l see Zadok 1988:46:1141.
- ^dBa-'it-il-da-la-a₁, *Bū(É)-il-[da]-la-a₁* can be read *-da-la-a-an* in view of Aram. *Byl'ldny* (Porten 2014:225:8 compared with 3-5).
- See Wunsch, *Urkunden*:177. A later *simmāgir* official, named Nargīya, is recorded in Babylon on 21.V.25 Dar. I = 497 BCE ([Jursa,] Paszkowiak [and Waerzeggers] 2003-04:255-259, 6, 7). He had his own judge named *Ga-ar-ga-a*, who bore a non-Babylonian name like many judges after Darius I's reform.
- 18, 24, 25; ^dÉ-il-ia-hi-ru (11); [...-i]a-hi-ru (7); [...-ru] (3), [...-r]u (16) "Bethel will rouse, awake, stir up to activity".
- Bū(É)-il-ba-ha-tu₁* (Porten 2014:226:18, see Zadok 1978:61, 227, 234). *Bū(É)-il-a-di-ir'* ends with an anaptyctic form

of Aram. 'adr (< 'adr) "support" rather than with Phoen. 'dr "mighty" which is a *qattīl*-formation (cf. Friedrich *et al.* 1999:136:199).

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