

## [יָשַׁע]

### Introduction

Grammatical Type: vb hiph and niph.

Occurrences: Total 205x OT, 6x (or 7x?) Sir, 27x Qum, 4?x inscr.

Sir (numbering according to Beentjes 1997): 4.9; add 13.6 (cf. DCH, Ges18)?; 33.1; 34.6; 48.20; 49.10; 51.3.

Qum: CD 5.19(A) (dupl. in 4Q267 2.2 and 6Q15 3.2); 9.9(A), 10(A); 1QH<sup>a</sup> 10.25; (?) 11.6 (DCH = Sukenik 3.6); 1QM 10.4, 8; 11.3; 1QS 6.27; 4Q166 2.14; 4Q171 4.21; 4Q174 1.13; 4Q183 2.3; 4Q288 1.5; 4Q365 6a ii + 6c 3; 4Q372 1.16; 4Q380 1 ii 4; 4Q381 15.2; 31.2; 4Q385a 18 ii 10; 4Q389 1 ii 3 (= 4Q387a 3 ii 11); 4Q417 22.2; 4Q511 10.9; 11QT 59.8, 11, 18; 66.8 (dupl. in 4Q524 6-10.2).

The following additional instances lack any context and so are not amenable to semantic analysis: 4Q226 5.1; 4Q372 8.3; 4Q374 2 ii 10; 4Q381 42.2.

inscr: D-1.008.4?; D-15.008.1; D-25.003.3; Naveh & Magen 1997:43?.

Text doubtful:

**A.1** The phrase at 1Ch 11.14, וַיִּשַׁע יְהוָה תְּשׁוּעָה גְדוֹלָה, ‘and the Lord saved a great victory’, corresponds to the wording at 2Sm 23.12, which differs only in the verb (2Sm reads וַיַּעַשׂ ‘and he made’). A metathesis of the two letters, ‘*ayin* and *shin/sin*, in the verb has probably occurred in transmission, but it is difficult to say which was the original reading (see Tov 1992:250). The frequency of the verb עָשָׂה, however, with the direct object תְּשׁוּעָה suggests the wording of 2Sm 23.12 is the original and that the metathesis at 1Ch 11.14 has been occasioned by the noun calling to mind the (possibly) cognate verb.

**A.2** At Is 64.4 the verb should probably be read as וַיִּשַׁע.

**A.3** MS B at Sir 34.6 reads the niphalf inf להושיע, but Bmg corrects this to the hiphil וַיִּשַׁע, the error in B being explicable by the easy loss of a *yodh*.

**B.1** Although the LXX ἐσώζετο (cf. Pesh: *zk' hw'*) at 1Sm 14.47 implies the verb [יָשַׁע] rather than the MT reading וַיִּשַׁע, there is no sufficient reason for emending.

**B.2** Although the NAB (cited by Clines 1989) reads the verb at Jb 5.11, the MT reading of the noun יָשַׁע can be regarded as correct, if understood as an adverbial accusative (GKC:§ 188 q). See יָשַׁע Text Doubtful B.3, Syntagmatics A.3.

**B.3** The reading at D-1.008.4 is badly damaged and is doubted (see Renz 1995: 429).

**B.4** The three letters יָשַׁע (with the *yodh* uncertain) appear on a late third-century/early second-century inscription from Mount Gerizim (Naveh & Magen 1997:43, text D). Since the inscription is broken off immediately before these letters, it is not possible to determine whether this is a whole word or part of it. It may be significant to note that the context suggests some form of dedicatory prayer, and the possible appearance of the word יְקוּם (denoting resurrection?) could indicate that it is a prayer or Psalm to God. This would support the reading יָשַׁע, which, if it is the noun, reflects its appearance in poetry in the OT and most often in prayers and Psalms. The verb also appears most frequently in Psalms and could be an alternative reading here to the noun.

**B.5** In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11.6 DCH and ThWQ (col. 316) read [הוּשַׁע עַתָּה נַפְשִׁי], recalling the language of 10.25. But many scholars do not adopt this conjecture (e.g. Dupont-Sommer, Lohse) and the *Study Edition* of the texts (pp. 164-65) prints as a complete word (‘Now’) preceded by a *vacat*. This ‘occurrence’ is best omitted from consideration.

Qere/Ketiv: none.

## 1. Root and Comparative Material

**A.1** [עִשָּׂ] in the OT is attested in the hiphil (184x) and in the niphil (21x). The nouns עִשָּׂ and עִשָּׂה are cognate, whilst עִשָּׂה may only be formed by analogy with עִשָּׂה and not actually be cognate (see עִשָּׂה Root and Comparative Material). There are 14 proper names in the Hebrew Bible that are probably cognate.

**A.2** The Proto-Semitic root \*yṯ' seems to lie behind Hebrew [עִשָּׂ], being attested in proper names in NW Sem and most of the ESA languages. The Ug evidence attests to the second consonant being ṯ (Sawyer 1975:78). This evidence counters some earlier interpretations (see B.1). The main arguments outlined by Sawyer (1975) are the evidence of proper names in NW Sem (A.3, A.4, B.2), the collocation of yṯ' terms with deities' names (as עִשָּׂ; see A.#), chronological evidence (see A.5,8-10) and phonological equivalence (B.1)

**A.3** Although the appearance of a root in a name is not evidence for a verbal form ever existing (cf. Sawyer 1975:77), the existence of the root in proper names with deity names may correspond to the use of עִשָּׂ in personal names in Hebrew and used as a verb with primarily God as the subject. The root-morpheme yṯ' is attested relatively frequently in proper names in Amorite. It is the only Sem language from the early second millennium B.C. in which the root appears. The earliest occurrence is the name *lašuil* in a legal document from c. 2048 B.C. (Buccellati 1966:165). The verbal form derived from this is *yašuh*, found also in eight names from Mari (Huffman 1965:215–16). The root appears to be frequent in Amorite names in comparison with some of the other NW Sem evidence.

**A.4** The verb appears in the Moabite inscription (line 4) in the expression *hš'ny mkl hšlkn* 'he delivered me from all assaults' (Segert 1961; Gibson 1971:77–78). The noun might also appear in lines 3–4 – *bmt* [y]š' 'in the high place of salvation'. For an alternative reading to *bmt* see Gibson 1971:78.

**A.5** The root yṯ' is attested in proper names in Ugaritic. It is found in the names *yṯ'd* (Gröndahl 1967:47) and perhaps *yṯ'il*, if it is a shortened form of *yṯ'il* (Sawyer 1975:78).

**A.6** In an Amarna letter the name of a leader in the revolt in southern Palestine is *yašua*, a probable example of a name with the verbal root (Knudtzon 1915: II, 319).

**A.7** עִשָּׂ is a loan-word in Aramaic found in the Prayer of Nabonidus (Milik 1956:413) and in the targum (Sokoloff 1990: *ad loc.*). Aramaized forms of two Biblical Hebrew names are found in the Elephantine papyri (Noth 1928:154–55, 176).

**A.8** In Sabaeen two personal names with the form *hayṯa* ' or *hayṯi* ' (Ryckmans 1934–35:I, 232; cf. 112) appear to correspond to the causative element, as in the Hebrew hiphil.

**A.9** One name with the root yṯ' is recorded in a Nabatean text (Cantineau 1930–32:II, 105).

**A.10** The root yṯ' is attested in proper names in Epigraphic South Arabian (Ryckmans 1934–35:II, 10, 75–76), some of them very common.

**B.1** A proposed Proto-Hamito-Semitic root \*ws' is apparent from Egyptian 'to be wide', Berber *usa* ' and Arabic *ws* ' 'to be wide, spacious', but any semantic connection between this and עִשָּׂ seems far-fetched. Sawyer notes that to connect this root with [עִשָּׂ] would involve two exceptional correspondences, now that the latter is seen to be cognate with yṯ'/yṯ': Egyptian *s* with Sem ṯ and NW Sem ṯ with Arb *s* (1972:94). The connection with Arab *wasi'a* 'to be spacious', which in the causative conveniently corresponds morphologically with the Heb hiphil, is made by many writers (e.g. Driver 1890; HAL:427; Müller 1963:310; Fohrer:970–71; Kraus 1988:139), although BDB (446) did express doubt in 1908. It seems to have first been proposed by Schultens (1761; see Sawyer 1968: 20, nn. 1, 2).

**B.2** It has been suggested that the Moabite name Meshah on the Moabite stone (cf. 2Kg 3.4) was probably originally *mōša* ' (cf. LXX μωσα; Segert 1961:246), but this seems unlikely. The verbal form also appears in the Moabite stone with the god Chemosh as subject.

Gibson argues for a double base in proto-Semitic, one with the first consonant *y-* and one with *w-* (1971:77).

**B.3** Although it is possible that the element *išhi-* in 10 personal names from Mari is related, some argue that it is non-Amorite (see Huffmon 1965:215).

## 2. Formal Characteristics

**A.1** A *pe-yodh* verb. See BL:229f for the form at 1Sm 17.47 and Ps 116.6.

**B.1** The form משיע is the *hiphil* participle, although Sawyer notes that it has lost its participial and verbal characteristics, being used as the object of verbs of sending or appointing (1965:477; cf. Syntagmatics A.5).

## 3. Syntagmatics (examples from narrative books, Isaiah, Psalms and Qumran)

**A.1** ישע *hiphil* has human agents as subject: משה 'Moses' (Ex 2.17), שמגר Shamgar (Jdg 3.31), איש 'a man' (1Sm 9.16), דוד 'David' (1Sm 23.2, 5), אדני 'my lord' = David (1 Sm 25.31), סכת דוד 'the hut of David' (4Q174 1.13), 3p m s denoting מלך 'the king' (Ps 72.4, 13), הגוים 'the nations' (4Q166 2.14), פסילי הגוים 'the carved images of the nations' (4Q385a 18 ii 10) qal m pl ptc 'to study astrology' (Is 47.13), יד 'hand' + 1p s suffix denoting Israel (Jdg 7.2), + 1/2p s suffix denoting David (1Sm 25.26, 33; cf. CD 9.9), + 2/3 p m s suffix denoting an unruly man (CD 9.10; 1QS 6.27; perhaps also 4Q380 11 ii 4 and 4Q417 22.2), and זרוע 'arm' + 3p pl suffix (Ps 44.4), also (with הָרַב) + 1 ps suffix (Ps 44.7), both denoting Israel. More frequently it has a divine agent as subject: יהוה 'the Lord' (Ex 14.30; Jdg 2.16; 1Sm 4.3; 7.8; 14.23, 39; 17.47; 25.26; 2Sm 3.18; 8.6, 14; 2Kg 6.27; 19.19; Is 33.22; 37.20; 49.25; Ps 6.5 + 44x with a divine subject in Pss; 4Q381 31.2; 11QT 59.11, 18; D-1.008.4?), אדני 'Lord' (Ps 86.16 [cf. 4Q381 15.2]; 1QH 10.23/25), אלהים 'God' (Is 35.4; 1QM 10.4; 4Q511 10.9), אל 'a god' (Is 45.20) or 'God' (4Q171 4.21; 4Q183 1 ii 3; 4Q 288 1.5), הֵמָּה 'they [denoting gods]' (Jdg 10.14), יד 'hand' [of the Lord] (Is 59.1), ימין 'right hand' [of the Lord] (Ps 44.4; 98.1; 138.7), and זרוע 'arm' [of the Lord] (Is 59.16; Ps 44.4; 98.1).

**A.2** ישע *hiphil* is followed by vocative יהוה 'O Lord' (D-15.008.1), and the verb ענה 'to answer' (Is 46.7).

**A.3** ישע *hiphil* has as direct objects ישראל 'Israel' (Ex 14.30; Jdg 3.31; 6.14, 36, 37; 10.1; 13.5; 1Sm 14.23, 39; 1QM 10.4; 11.3; 4Q166 2.14; 4Q174 1.13; 4Q183 1 ii 3), עם 'people [sc. Israel]' (1Sm 9.16; 2Sm 3.18; Ps 18.28; 28.9), עַם 'people [in general]' (2Sm 22.28), קעילה 'Keilah' (1Sm 23.2), יֹשְׁבֵי קַעִילָה 'inhabitants of Keilah' (1Sm 23.5), דָּוִד 'David' (2Sm 8.6, 14), מְשִׁיחוֹ 'his anointed' (Ps 20.7), הַמֶּלֶךְ 'the king' (Ps 20.10), אַמְמוֹנִי 'Ammonites' (2Sm 10.19), and בֶּן pl 'son' (Is 49.25), יִשְׂרָאֵל 'the upright in heart' (Ps 7.11), חֹסִים 'fugitives' (Ps 17.7), דְּבָאֵי־רוּחַ 'the oppressed in spirit' (Ps 34.19), אָדָם וּבְהֵמָה 'man and beast' (Ps 36.7), צִיּוֹן 'Zion' (Ps 69.36), עַנְיֵי־עַם 'the afflicted among the people' (Ps 72.4), אַבְיוֹנִים 'the lives of the poor' (Ps 72.13), כָּל־עֲנוּי־אָרֶץ 'all the humble of the earth' (Ps 76.10), עַבְדְּךָ 'your servant' (Ps 86.2), בֶּן־אֲמָתְךָ 'the son of your handmaid' (Ps 86.16 [cf. 4Q381 15.2]), נַפְשִׁי 'my life' (1QH<sup>a</sup> 10.23/25), הַיְחָד 'the community' (4Q171 4.21), יוֹסֵף 'Joseph' (4Q372 1.16).

**A.4** The direct object of ישע *hiphil* may also be denoted by אָח + 2p m pl suffix (Dt 20.4; Jdg 7.7; 10.12, 13), + 3p m s suffix (Jdg 6.31), + 1p s suffix (Jdg 12.2), + 1p pl suffix (1Sm 11.3); and by 1p s suffix (Ps 3.8, + 18x in Pss; 4Q381 31.2), 2p s suffix (4Q380 1 ii 4), 3p m s suffix (Ps 34.7; 11QT 59.18), 1p pl suffix (Ps 44.8; 106.47), 3p m pl suffix (Ps 37.40; 106.8, 10, 21; 107.13, 19; 145.19; 11QT 59.11).

**A.5** ישע *hiphil* participle is the object of the verbs קום *hiphil* 'to raise up' (Jdg 3.9, 15), נתן 'to give' (2Kg13.5), and שלח 'to send' (Is 19.20).

**A.6** *hiphil* is followed by the preposition מן ‘from’ + הַמָּס ‘violence’ (2Sm 22.3), צָרָה ‘trouble’ (Is 46.7; Ps 34.7; 4Q166 2.14), רֹדֵף pl ‘pursuer’ (Ps 7.2), פִּי אַרְיָה ‘the mouth of the lion’ (Ps 22.22), צָר pl ‘foe’ (Ps 44.8), אֲנָשֵׁי דָמִים ‘men of blood’ (Ps 59.3), מְצוּקָה pl ‘distress’ (Ps 107.13, 19), שֹׁפְטֵי נַפְשׁוֹ ‘the judges of one’s life’ (Ps 109.31); or יָד + מֵן + the nouns מִצְרַיִם ‘Egypt’ (Ex 14.30), אוֹיֵב pl ‘enemy’ (Jdg 2.18; 2Sm 3.18; 11QT 59.11), שׂוֹנֵא ‘hater’ (Ps 106.10), pl (11QT 59.18), מְבַקֵּשׁ נַפְשׁוֹ pl ‘seeker of one’s life’ (11QT 59.18), מִדְיָן ‘Midian’ (Jdg 8.22), פְּלִשְׁתִּים ‘Philistines’ (Jdg 13.5; 1Sm 7.8; 9.16; 2Sm 3.18), and + 3p m pl suffix (Jdg 10.12; 12.2; 4Q372 1.16), + 3p m s suf (2Kg 19.19; Is 37.20); or the participle שָׁסָה qal m pl ‘plundering’ (Jdg 2.16).

*hiphil* is followed by the preposition מֵן + רֵף + the nouns מִדְיָן ‘Midian’ (Jdg 6.14, 15), אוֹיֵב pl ‘enemy’ (1Sm 4.3), מֶלֶךְ ‘king’ (2Kg 16.7).

**A.7** *hiphil* is followed by the preposition לְ (Josh 10.6; Jdg 10.14; 2Sm 10.11; Ezk 34.22; Ps 72.4; 86.16; 116.6; Prov. 20.22; 1Ch 18.6; 4Q385a 18 ii 10; D-25.003.3) or לְ with suffix + מֵן ‘from’ + pl noun רָעָה ‘evil’ (1Sm 10.19). In Jdg 7.2; 10.14; 1Sm 25.25, 31, 33; Is 59.16; 63.5; 44.4; Ps 98.1; Job 40.14; CD 9.9-10; 1QS 6.27 the attached pron. suffix is reflexive. The appearance of לְ after the verb is sometimes taken as evidence of an original intransitive sense (Sawyer 1965:481, n. 3; HAL: 428), which may also be indicated by the collocation with certain verbs of saying (cf. A.2).

**A.8** *hiphil* is followed by the preposition בְּ ‘by means of’ + יָד ‘hand’ (Jdg 6.36, 37; 7.7; 2Sm 3.18; 2Kg 14.27; 1QM 11.3); or by the preposition בְּ ‘in’ (2Sm 8.6, 14; Ps 106.21).

*hiphil* is followed by the preposition בְּ in the expressions אוֹ בְּמַעַט ‘by great or by little’ (1Sm 14.6), בְּחֶרֶב וּבִסְפֵר ‘by sword and by spear’ (1Sm 17.47), בְּחֶסֶדְךָ ‘by your loyalty’ (Ps 31.17; pl in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 10.23/25), בְּצִדְקָתְךָ ‘by your righteousness’ (Ps 71.2) and בְּבְרִית ‘by covenant’ (4Q183 1 ii 3).

**A.9** *hiphil* is followed by the prepositions בַּעֲבוּר ‘for the sake of’ (1QM 11.3-4), בְּ ‘according to’ (Ps 109.26) and לְמַעַן ‘for the sake of’ (Ps 6.5; 106.8).

**A.10** *hiphil* participle forms a clause with אֵין (Dt 22.27; 28.29, 31; Jdg 12.3; Is 43.11; 47.15; Ps 18.42; 4Q389 1 ii 3; 11QT 59.8; 66.8), יֵשׁ (Jdg 6.36) and הֵמָּה ‘they’ (4Q226 5.1); it is the predicate of יהוה ‘the Lord’ (Is 43.3; 60.16; 4Q365 6a ii + 6c 3), and in apposition to אֱלֹהִים ‘God’ (Is 45.15), אֵל ‘God’ (Is 45.22), יהוה ‘the Lord’ (Is 49.26).

**A.11** *hiphil* is followed by *waw* + עָזַר (Josh 10.6).

**A.12** *hiphil* is joined by *waw* to בּוֹא ‘to go’ (Is 35.4), גָּאֵל participle (Is 60.16).

**A.13** *niphil* has as subjects עַם ‘people’ (Dt 33.29), יִשְׂרָאֵל ‘Israel’ (Is 45.17; CD 5.19: implied Ps 80.4, 8, 20; 1QM 10.8 [citing Nu 10.9]), the king (Ps 18.4; 33.16) or the psalmist (Ps 119.117).

**A.14** *niphil* is followed by מֵן ‘from’ + אוֹיֵב pl ‘enemies’ (Nu 10.9 [and hence 1QM 10.8]; 2Sm 22.4=Ps 18.4), and בְּ + יהוה ‘the Lord’ (Dt 33.29; Is 45.17 [תְּשׁוּעָה+]) and רַב־הֵיָל ‘greatness of strength’ (Ps 33.16).

**A.15** *niphil* is joined by *waw* to פָּנָה ‘to turn’ (Is 45.22), עָמַד ‘to stand’ (Is 47.13: cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 10.22-23).

**B.1** [nil].

#### 4. Versions

a. LXX:

*Hiphil* – ἀμύνομαι (Is 59.16);

ἀνασώζω (Zc 8.7);

[[ἀπόλλυμι]] (Jb 5.15);

βοηθέω (Dt 22.27; 28.29, 31; Pr 20.22; 1Ch 19.19);

βοηθός (2Sm 22.42);  
 διασώζω (Dt 20.4; Ho 13.10; Zc 8.13);  
 [[εἰσακούω]] (Ps 55[54].17);  
 ἐλεέω (Sir 33.1);  
 ἐξαιρέω (Josh 10.6; Sir 4.9);  
 λυτρόω (Sir 48.20; 49.10);  
 ποιέω [+ σωτηρίαν = נַצְּרִי] (1Ch 11.14);  
 ῥύομαι (Ex 2.17; 14.30; Josh 22.22; Is 49.25, 26; 63.5; Ezk 37.23);  
 σωτήρ (Jdg 3.9, 15; 1Sm 10.19; Is 45.15, 21; Neh 9.27);  
 σωτηρία (2Sm 22.3; 2Kg 13.5; 14.27; Is 38.20; 47.15; 63.8);  
 σωτήριον (Is 63.1);  
 σώζω (Jdg 2.16, 18; 3.9, 31; 6.14, 15, 31, 36, 37; 7.2, 7; 8.22; 10.1, 12, 13, 14; 12.2, 3;  
 13.5; 1Sm 4.3; 7.8; 9.16; 10.27; 11.3; 14.6, 23, 39; 17.47; 23.2, 5; 25.26, 31 [+χεῖρα], 33;  
 2Sm 3.18; 8.6, 14; 10.11, 19; 14.4; 22.3, 8; 2Kg 6.26, 27 [2x]; 16.7; 19.19; Is 19.20; 33.22;  
 35.4; 37.20, 35; 43.3, 11, 12; 45.20 [pl]; 46.7; 47.13; 59.1; 60.16; 63.9; Jr 2.27, 28; 11.12  
 [1x]; 14.8, 9; 15.20; 17.14; 31[38].7; 42[49].11; 46[26].27; Ezk 34.22; 36.29; Ho 1.7 [2x];  
 13.4; 14.4; Ob 1.21 [passive]; Hb 1.2; Zp 3.17, 19; Zc 9.16; 10.6; 12.7; Ps 3.8; 6.5; 7.2, 11;  
 12[11].2; 17[16].7; 18[17].28, 42; 20[19].7, 10; 22[21].22; 28[27].9; 31[30].3, 17; 34[33].7,  
 19; 36[35].7; 37[36].40; 44[43].4, 7, 8; 54[53].3; 57[56].4; 59[58].3; 60[59].7; 69[68].2, 36;  
 71[70].2, 3; 72[71].4, 13; 76[75].10; 86[85].2, 16; 98[97].1; 106[105].8, 10, 21, 47;  
 107[106].13, 19; 108[107].7; 109[108].26, 31; 116[114].6; 118[117].25; 119[118].94, 146;  
 138[137].7; 145[144].19; Jb 22.29; 40.14; La 4.17; Neh 9.27; 1Ch 16.35; 18.6, 13; 19.12;  
 2Ch 20.9; 32.22);  
 Omitted: 2Kg 19.34; Is 25.9; Jb 26.2?; Sir 34.6.  
 Large omission: Jr 30.10, 11.

Niphal – βοηθέω passive (Pr 28.18);  
 διασώζω passive (Nu 10.9; Jr 8.20);  
 [[πλανάομαι]] (Is 64.4);  
 σώζω active (Zc 9.9);  
 σώζω passive (Dt 33.29; 2Sm 22.4; Is 30.15; 45.17, 22; Jr 4.14; 17.14; 23.6; 30[37].7;  
 Ps 18[17].4; 33[32].16; 80[79].4, 8, 20; 119[119].117);  
 Large omission: Jr 33.16.

**A.1** Although the primary translation of נִצְּרִי in the LXX is σώζω and its compounds (for both the hiphil and the niphal), there are some equivalents that express various other nuances corresponding to some of the translations for the cognate Hebrew nouns. ἀμύνομαι ‘to ward off [danger etc.]’ at Is 59.16 indicates that נִצְּרִי can denote protection from danger and not merely ‘deliverance’. Likewise βοηθέω ‘to help, assist’ and its cognates indicate another connotation of the verb.

**A.2** The choice of the verb ἐλεέω at Sir 33.1 corresponds to the use of the noun ἔλεος in the LXX for translating the nouns נִצְּרִי (Is 45.8) and נַצְּרִי (Sir).

**A.3** For the active of σώζω to translate the Niphal at Zc 9.9, see Targum.

**B.1** ἀπόλλυμι at Jb 5.15 is probably an attempt to explain a difficult syntax, or arose from a corruption to נָגַי ‘to let perish’ (Lust *Lexicon*:53).

**B.2** The MT reading of נִצְּרִי at Is 64.4 has been confirmed by the text of 1QIs<sup>a</sup> (cf. Pesh, Tg and Vg), although the LXX πλανάομαι ‘to wander, stray’ could imply the reading נִצְּרִי ‘we have erred’ (Lust *Lexicon*:378). Some scholars have indeed suggested the

emendation גרשע 'we have become wicked' (e.g. Cheyne; Elliger; Westermann), although others have followed the MT (e.g. Watts 1987:238)

b. Peshitta:

Hiphil –

*ṭābā* (Is 43.11);

*'bad pōrqānā* (2Sm 3.18);

*'bad* [+*neṣhānā* = נֶשְׁחָנָה] (1Ch 11.14 [cf. LXX]);

*'dar* (2Sm 10.11, 19; 1Ch 19.19);

Aphel *npq* (Ps 107.19);

*pš*' (Dt 22.27; 28.31; Jdg 6.31; 2Sm 22.3; Hb 1.2; Ps 34.7; 119.94; 1Ch 19.12);

*praq* (Ex 2.17; 14.30; Dt 20.4; 28.29; Josh 22.22; Jdg 2.16, 18; 3.9, 31; 6.14, 15, 36, 37; 7.7; 8.22; 10.1, 12, 13, 14; 12.2, 3; 13.5; 1Sm 4.3; 7.8; 9.16; 10.19, 27; 11.3; 14.6, 23, 39; 17.47; 23.2, 5; 25.26, 33; 2Sm 8.6, 14; 14.4; 22.3, 28; 2Kg 6.26, 27 [2x]; 14.27; 16.7; 19.19, 34; Is 25.9; 33.22; 35.4; 37.20, 35; 38.20; 43.12; 45.20; 46.7; 47.13, 15; 49.25; 59.1, 16; 63.1, 5, 9; Ezk 34.22; 36.29; 37.23; Ho 1.7 [2x]; 13.4, 10; 14.4; Ob 1.21; Zp 3.19; Zc 8.7, 13; 9.16; 10.6; 12.7; Ps 3.8; 6.5; 7.1; 10; 12.2; 18.28, 20.7, 10; 22.22; 28.9; 31.3, 17; 34.19; 36.7; 37.40; 44.4, 7, 8; 54.3; 55.17; 57.4; 59.3; 60.7; 69.2, 36; 71.2, 3; 72.4, 13; 76.10; 86.2, 16; 98.1; 106.8, 10, 21, 47; 107.13; 108.7; 109.26, 31; 116.6; 118.25; 119.146; 138.7; 145.19; Jb 5.15; 22.29; 26.2; 40.14; Pr 20.22; 1Ch 16.35; 18.6, 13; 2Ch 20.9; 32.22);

Sir 34.6; 48.20; 49.10);

*pārōqā*' (Jdg 3.9, 15; 2Sm 22.42; 2Kg 13.5; Is 19.20; Is 43.3; 45.15, 21; 49.26; 60.16; 63.8; Zp 3.17; Ps 17.7; 18.42);

*šzb* (Sir 51.3);

*zkā*' (Jdg 7.2);

Omitted: 1Sm 25.31; Josh 10.6

Niphal –

*pārōqā*' (Zc 9.9);

*pōrqānā*' (Dt 33.29; Is 45.17);

Ethpe. *prq* (2Sm 22.4; Is 30.15; 45.22; 64.4; Ps 18.4; 33.16; 80.4, 8, 20; 119.117; Pr 28.18);

Ethpe. *pš*' (Nu 10.9);

**A.1** The Pesh, as the Tg (see below), has a preference for the verb *praq*. The rendering *šzb*, popular with some lexemes in the semantic field, is found only once (Sir 51.3). *pš*' appears slightly more frequently, but is still an infrequent equivalent.

**A.2** The Aphel *npq* 'to bring forth' (Ps 107.19) denotes some movement in the action of the verb, but this equivalent also appears only once.

**A.3** The meaning of bringing assistance is found in the translations *zkā*' (Jdg 7.2) and *'dar* (2Sm 10.11, 19; 1Ch 19.19).

**A.4** The translation *pārōqā*' 'saviour' is found frequently, for the most part to render the ptc. מוֹשִׁיעַ.

c. Targum:

Hiphil –

פָּרַק (O – Ex 2.17; 14.30; Dt 20.4; 22.27; 28.29, 31; Josh 10.6; 22.22; Jdg 2.16, 18; 3.9 [2x], 15, 31; 6.14, 15, 31, 36, 37; 7.2, 7; 8.22; 10.1, 12, 13, 14; 12.2, 3; 13.5; 1Sm 4.3; 7.8; 9.16; 10.19, 27; 11.3; 14.6, 23, 39; 17.47; 23.2, 5; 25.26, 31, 33; 2Sm 3.18; 8.6, 14; 10.11, 19; 14.4; 22.3, 28, 42; 2Kg 6.26, 27; 13.5; 14.27; 16.7; 19.19, 34; Is 19.20; 25.9; 33.22; 35.4;

37.20, 35; 38.20; 43.3, 11, 12; 45.15, 20, 21; 46.7; 47.13, 15; 49.25, 26; 59.1, 16; 60.16; 63.1, 5, 8, 9; Jr 2.27, 28; 11.12 [1x]; 14.8, 9; 15.20; 17.14; 30.10, 11; 31.7; 42.11; 46.27; Ezk 34.22; 36.29; 37.23; Ho 13.4, 10; 14.4; Hb 1.2; Zp 3.17, 19; Zc 8.7, 13; 9.16; 10.6; 12.7; 1Ch 11.14; 16.35; 18.6, 13; 19.12, 19; 2Ch 20.9; 32.22);

Af פרק (Ho 1.7);

פורקנא (2Sm 22.3?);

שיזב (Ob 1.21);

Niphal –

פרק (2Sm 22.4; Zc 9.9);

Af פרק (O – Nu 10.9; Is 30.15; 45.17, 22; 64.4; Jr 4.14; 8.20; 17.14; 23.6; 30.7; 33.16);

פורקנא (O – Dt 33.29);

**A.1** There is nothing exceptional in the renderings of the Pesh or Tg, both translating the verb by the same words as they do for many others in the semantic field.

**A.2** There is a clear preference in the Tg for the verb פָּרַק. Only once do we find the equivalent שיזב (Ob 1.21), which is more frequent as a translation for other lexemes in the semantic field.

**A.3** At Tg Ho 1.7, the Targumist avoids presenting God as acting as a warrior, and therefore turns the verb into a third person passive (Cathcart & Gordon 1989:30; Smolar & Aberbach 1983:148–49).

**A.4** In the Tg to Zc 9.9 MS V, printed in Sperber's edition, has the Peal active, although MS Z posits a passive participle, corresponding to the Niphal in the MT. LXX, Pesh and Vg all render as active too. Comparison may be made with Ps 33.16 where in the Tg נושע is rendered מתפריק (Cathcart & Gordon 1989:205).

*d. Vulgate:*

Hiphil – *adiuvo* (Dt 28.31; 1Ch 18.6);

*auxilior* (2Sm 10.11);

*custodio* (Josh 22.22);

*do* [+ *salutem* = תְּשׁוּעָה] (1Ch 11.14);

*defendo* (Ex 2.17; Jdg 3.31; 1Sm 11.3);

*dux* (Jdg 10.1);

*eruo* (Dt 20.4; Jdg 10.12);

*libero* (Ex 14.30; Dt 22.27; 28.29; Josh 10.6; Jdg 2.16, 18; 3.9; 6.14, 15, 37; 7.2[pass], 7; 8.22; 10.13, 14; 13.5; 2Sm 22.3; Jr 2.27, 28; 11.12; Pr 20.22);

*praebeo auxilium* (Jdg 12.2; 2Sm 10.19; 1Ch 19.19);

*pugno* (Jdg 6.31);

*salvator* (Jdg 3.9, 15; 2Sm 22.3; 2Kg 13.5; 14.27; 16.7; Is 19.20; 43.3, 11; 45.15; 63.8; 14.8; Ho 13.4; Ob 1.21; Ps 17[16].7; 106[105].21; Neh 9.27);

*salvo* (1Sm 4.3; 7.8; 9.16; 10.19, 27; 14.6, 23, 39; 17.47; 23.2, 5; 25.26; 2Sm 3.18; 22.42; 2Kg 6.26, 27[2x]; 19.34; Is 25.9; 33.22; 35.4; 37.20, 35; 43.12; 45.20, 21; 46.7; 47.13, 15; 49.25, 26; 59.1, 16; 60.16; 63.1, 5, 9; Jr 11.12; 14.9; 15.20; 30.10, 11; 31.7; Ezk 34.22; 36.29; Ho 1.7; 13.10; 14.4; Hb 1.2; Zp 3.17, 19; Zc 8.7, 13; 9.16; 10.6; 12.7; Ps 6.5[4]; 7.2[1], 11[10]; 12[11].2; 18[17].28, 42; 20[19].7, 10; 22[21].22; 28[27].9; 31[30].3, 17; 34[33].7, 19; 37[36].40; 44[43].4, 7, 8; 54[53].3, 17; 57[56].4; 59[58].3; 60[59].7; 69[68].2, 36; 71[70].2, 3; 72[71].4, 13; 86[85].2, 16; 98[97].1; 106[105].8, 10, 47; 107[106].13, 19; 108[107].7; 109[108].26, 31; 116[114].6; 118[117].25; 119[118].94; 138[137].7; 145[144].19; Jb 22.29 [passive]; 40.14[9]; La 4.17; Neh 9.27; 1Ch 16.35; 18.13; 2Ch 32.22);

*salvus* (Jdg 6.36);  
*salvum facio* (2Sm 22.28; 2Kg 19.19; Is 38.20; Jr 17.14; 42.11; 46.27; Ezk 37.23; Ps 3.8[7]; 36[35].7; 76[75].10; 119[118].146; Jb 5.15; 2Ch 20.9);  
*servo* (2Sm 8.6, 14; 14.4);  
*sum in praesidium* (1Ch 19.12);  
*sustineo* (?Jb 26.2); ‘to preserve’?  
*ulciscor* (1Sm 25.31, 33);  
 Omitted: Jdg 12.3

Niphal – *eruo* passive (Nu 10.9);  
*salvator* (Zc 9.9);  
*salvo* passive (Dt 33.29; 2Sm 22.4; Is 30.15; 45.17, 22; 64.4; Jr 8.20; 23.6; 30.7; 33.16; Ps 33[32].16; 80[79].4, 8, 20; 119[118].117; Pr 28.18);  
*salvus fio* (Jr 4.14);  
*salvus sum* (Jr 17.14; Ps 18[17].4);

**A.1** Although *salvo* and *libero* are to the two most frequent renderings for ישע, other translations (e.g. *adiuvo* ‘to help’) indicate various shades of meaning.

**A.2** In Jdg 2.18 the translation is free and rearranged, but *et liberabat* will be the rendering of והושיעם (cf. v. 16).

#### B.1 [nil]

### 5. Lexical/Semantic Field(s)

**A.1** Both in the Bible and at Qumran ישע is often found in parallelism or close association with other members of the ‘deliverance’ group: e.g. נצל (Ps 7.2; 4Q171 4.21), פלט (Ps 37.40), עזר (Ps 37.40), פדה (Ps 55.17; 11QT<sup>a</sup> 59.11), גאל (Is 49.26; Ps 106.10), מלט (Ps 107.19; 4Q183 1 ii 3), and also חליץ (Ps 6.5; 34.7; 60.7=108.7).

**A.2** Related words which are not strictly synonyms are also associated with ישע, such as שפט and דין (Ps 7.11; 54.3; 72.4; 76.10), שמר (Ps 12.2; 17.7; 34.19; 86.2; 145.19), זכר (1QM 10.8), and אור פנים (Ps 31.17; 80.4, 8, 20).

**A.3** Other words specify the action denoted by ישע in particular cases more precisely, such as שלח (Ps 44.4), קבץ (Ps 106.47), רפא (Ps 107.19), סעד (Ps 119.117), עלה (4Q381 31.2) and more surprisingly ירש (Ps 44.4; 69.36) and בנה (Ps 69.36).

**A.4** ישע Hiphil is found in parallelism with נתן ביד ‘to give into the hand’ (Jdg 7.7). The Hiph ptc is in parallelism with ‘refuge’ מנוס (2Sm 22.3), and with the verb ענה ‘to answer’ (2Sm 22.42).

**B.1** One of the most common words to occur with ישע in the Psalms (also in Is 46.7) is ענה, ‘answer’, and synonyms such as שמע, ‘hear’ and און high + נטה, ‘incline the ear’ (Ps 31.3; 71.2; 86.2). These should probably not be regarded as members of the lexical field, as their use is related not to the meaning of ישע as such but to the fact that, in the Psalms at least, it is so frequently used (21x) in the imperative form to express a request.

### 6. Exegesis

**A.1** ישע appears to denote primarily the bringing of help to someone rather than the actual rescuing or removal of them from danger. Its agent is primarily God or a religious/military leader. The meaning, however, of rescuing or removal from danger may be possible in some prose military contexts.



**A.2** In prose *ישע* denotes God's acts in history, including God's saving Israel from Egypt (Ex 14.30). It is also used in the time of the Judges of the protection from foreign nations (e.g. Jdg 2.16, 18). Such military contexts apply the verb both to the acts of God (1Sm 17.47) and to those of military heroes (e.g. Jdg 6.14–15; 1Sm 9.16).

**A.3** *ישע* is found in forensic contexts, but this need not be the original meaning (see B.1 below). Although it is primarily found with the noun *מוֹשִׁיעַ* (e.g. Dt 28.29, 31) it may be implied with this sense in the appeal of the women of Tekoa to David to help her in her case (2Sm 14.4) (Hubbard 1997:557) and in some Psalms. The implication is that the King can dispense justice in the same manner that God does in the Psalms. The examples are few and the argumentation is tentative. In each of these instances one could argue that the verb *ישע* means merely 'to save' and that the context indicates the saving will be forensic. Certainly when an appeal to a king is made it denotes acquittal, but this is probably a developed sense from the general meaning.

**A.4** The idiom *ישע* hiphil + *קָ* + *לְ* is used in the context of bloodguilt (1Sm 25.26) and refers to taking revenge. It denotes specifically exercising justice oneself (with the implication that someone else has done or should do it). In Jdg 7.2 God warns the Israelites that they might boast of executing the victory on their own part rather than giving credit to God (cf. Jb 40.14). As already noted (Syntagmatics A.7) *ישע* hiphil is quite frequently followed by *לְ* instead of the more common direct object. This does not generally seem to be because the texts concerned are late (GK §117n), though the substitution of *לְ* for *הָ* in 1Ch 18.6 (cf. 2Sm 8.6) could be explained in this way. More likely the variation is related to the use of *לְ* with Hiphils of some intransitive verbs, where it has been suggested that the expression is 'properly (as it seems) a *dat. commodi*' (BDB, p. 511). Alternatively (or additionally), one might associate it with the exceptional frequency of nouns cognate with *ישע* (such as *יִשְׁע* and *יְשׁוּעָה*), which is a distinctive feature of *ישע* among the words for 'deliverance': the verb may in these cases have been thought of as a kind of denominative equivalent to 'bring *יִשְׁע/יְשׁוּעָה* to a person or group (see further 7. Conclusion). A special group is constituted by instances where the subject of the verb is *קָ* (or a similar word like *קָרֹעַ* or *קָמִין*) with a pronominal suffix and the 'beneficiary' is denoted by *לְ* with the same suffix. The meaning is thus reflexive: someone's own 'hand' brings him the success or victory denoted by *ישע* hiphil. A sequence of examples occurs in 1 Sm 25.26, 31 (where many commentators insert *י* before *אֲדָנִי* with LXX) and 33, in the dialogue between Abigail and David about how David is to respond to Nabal's insults (vv. 10-11). The fact that in all three places the phrase is associated with incurring bloodguilt could be taken as evidence, in isolation, that it means specifically a judicial misdeed (so Sawyer, *TDOT* 6, pp. 454, 457). But this is improbable in the light of the full range of occurrences of this idiom, especially those in which it is applied to God in a wholly positive sense (Is 59.16; 63.5 and probably Ps 98.1). The data were assembled already by Driver (*Samuel*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 200-02), who concluded that *י* (and its synonyms) referred to the use of one's own power ('force') to achieve one's aims. When God does this, it redounds to his glory. But human beings must, in a widespread biblical view, rely on God to help them, for they cannot succeed on their own. Using one's own human power is therefore viewed negatively (so also in Jdg 7.2; Ps 44.4 and Jb 40.14). Two clear occurrences of the idiom at Qumran fit well into this picture. CD 9.9-10 (the duplicate 4Q267 i 4-5 preserves a few letters of the context) cites 1Sm 25.26 freely as the basis for not using force to make someone swear an oath; 1QS 6.27 uses the phrase of aggressive, arrogant behaviour towards a more senior member of the community (cf. 6.10-11). In neither case does it have a specifically legal character. The same idiom may also have been present in 4Q380 1 ii 4 and 4Q417 22.2.

**A.5** Appeals to one's ally on the basis of a treaty imply that *ישע* may in these instances have a meaning of providing assistance (e.g. Josh 10.6; 2Sm 10.11–12).

**A.6** In Wisdom literature the verb only appears twice in Proverbs and four times in Job. In Proverbs it denotes the assistance provided by God (Pr 20.22) against one's enemy (cf. A.5) and the prolonged state of well-being given to those who follow the way of God (Pr 28.18). In Job it is three times used of saving the weak (Jb 5.15; 22.29; 26.2) and once used of winning victory (Jb 40.14).

**A.7** The verb is most frequent in Isaiah of all the Prophets. In the Prophets the verb often denotes in oracles of salvation God's future deliverance from the Exile (e.g. Is 49.25; Jr 30.7; cf. acts of history in A.2). It often seems to be a call for help when in danger (Is 37.20) or for healing from sickness (e.g. of Hezekiah at Is 38.20).

**A.8** יָשַׁע appears most frequently in the book of Psalms (57x) in addition to 13 psalm-like passages elsewhere in the OT (for the latter see Sawyer, *TDOT*, 6, p. 459). The occurrences in the Psalms relate to all the varied kinds of situation that have already been mentioned: history (Ps 44.4 [cf. vv. 2-3]; 98.1; 106.8, 10, 21; 107.13, 19), war (18.4, 28, 42; 20.7, 10; 33.16; 44.7-8; 60.7=108.7; 76.10 [cf. vv. 6-7]; 80.4, 8, 20), legal disputes (7.2, 11; 69.2; 71.3 [cf. v. 13]; 109.26, 31), future deliverance of Zion/Israel (69.36; 106.47), the support of the needy (17.7; 34.19; 72.4, 13; 76.10), the righteous and devout (7.11; 37.40; 86.2, 16; 145.19) and the king (18.4; 20.7, 10), as well as intervention in times of a breakdown in society (12.2; 36.7), protection in undefined circumstances against personal 'enemies' (3.8; 22.22; 28.9; 31.3, 17; 54.3; 57.4; 86.2, 16) and sickness (107.19; perhaps 6.5). Here especially the generality of the word is very evident. Most often it presupposes a situation of distress, but it is accompanied by מָן in only about one-fifth of its occurrences and the military uses do not all arise out of the danger of defeat (note 118.28, with the parallel צָלַח, 'succeed'). יָשַׁע hiph overlaps with עָזַר in the breadth of its usage (and they are associated in 109.26 [cf. Josh 10.6; Is 63.5; Job 26.2]), but they are complementary rather than synonymous: עָזַר is more focused on the relational aspect of the action, while its effect and result is more prominent in יָשַׁע hiph, whether it refers to deliverance or the bestowal of success and victory. The subject in the great majority of cases is God and his wonderful, mighty power is sometimes explicitly mentioned (98.1; 106.21). But so is his חֶסֶד, 'loyalty', in associated prepositional phrases (6.5; 31.17; 109.26: cf. 57.4), as are related words like צְדִיקָה, 'righteousness' (71.2), and שֵׁם, 'name' (54.3; 106.8). The most distinctive feature of the use of יָשַׁע hiph here is the high frequency of the imperative, often in its emphatic form, in the appeals to God which are so characteristic of the numerous laments in the Psalter (3.8; 6.5: over twenty times in all).

**A.9** In expressing God's action to his people by יָשַׁע Niphal the Lord is described as 'shield of your help' (Dt 33.29), which is interesting considering the use of the noun יָשַׁע with such expressions.

**A.10** At Qumran יָשַׁע appears three times in the War Scroll, reflecting perhaps the biblical usage in military contexts (A.2), and four times in the Temple Scroll, mainly in historical references. These also appear elsewhere (CD 5.19; 4Q372 1.16; 4Q385a 18 ii 10; 4Q389 1 ii 3). The reuse of the idiom discussed in A.4 suggests its continued use in everyday speech, but יָשַׁע hiph is not a prominent expression of contemporary prayer or liturgy: there is only one secure occurrence in 1QH<sup>a</sup> and three more in other texts (4Q380 1 ii 4; 4Q381 31.2; 4Q511 10.9). The contrast with the biblical psalms could not be greater, and perhaps reflects its infrequency in LBH and as a loan-word in Aramaic other than Samaritan Aramaic (Sawyer 1975:80). But the seven occurrences preserved in the Heb. of Sirach (if 13.6 is included) give a rather different impression, especially when compared with the rarity of יָשַׁע hiph in the biblical wisdom literature.

**B.1** Whilst יָשַׁע can be found in forensic contexts in the Hebrew Bible (see A.3 above), its origin as a forensic term, later developing from this technical to a non-technical sense, as

advocated by Sawyer (1972: ; 1975:80), is uncertain. Scepticism regarding this origin was first expressed in 1970 by participants at the conference where Sawyer presented his findings (recorded in Sawyer 1975:83–84), and Sawyer himself admits that the question must remain open until a wider range of contexts is available (1975:80). The main pieces of evidence marshalled by him are:

- a) its use in forensic situations in the Bible (see A.3 above);
- b) a forensic origin explains the use of מוֹשִׁיעַ (e.g. at Dt 22.27), if it means originally ‘counsel for the defence’ (see Sawyer 1965; B.2);
- c) the verb’s parallelism with other words that may denote legal terms (see Lexical/Semantic Field(s) A.2);
- d) the appearance of legal terms in proper names in Semitic languages.

The last of these is the weakest. For a) the evidence can be interpreted in either direction. It may have had a non-technical sense and developed its use to include the technical sense, especially since the cases of parallelism (c) are not conclusive. Likewise, the meaning of מוֹשִׁיעַ, as well as not denoting exclusively a ‘counsel for the defence’ in synchronic Hebrew, could have derived from the technical sense after it had itself developed from the non-technical sense.

**B.2** In his study of מוֹשִׁיעַ Sawyer is careful not to read too much into one word (1965:486), but expresses conviction that the evidence points to his interpretation. He sees the form מוֹשִׁיעַ (which he takes to be a noun; see Formal Characteristics B.1) as denoting a specific legal office of ‘advocate’ or ‘witness for the defence’, for which there is no other word in Hebrew but there would have been a need for one.

## 7. Conclusion

**A.1** It now appears that the root should not be related to the Arabic ‘to be spacious’, and that little semantic evidence can be gained from tracing the verbal root. The frequency of the root in personal names may suggest that it is a verb used of God, but that much may already be derived from the Hebrew evidence.

**A.2** יִשַׁע denotes the bringing of assistance to someone in need, whether in military, civil or judicial contexts. It may also denote the actual saving of someone in battle or in history in general. From this a meaning of being in a prosperous state appears to have developed (especially in Wisdom literature).

**A.3** On a few occasions יִשַׁע might denote the provision of defence from enemies.

**A.4** In its breadth of application יִשַׁע is particularly close to עֲזָרָה among the words studied in this project and as a result the translation ‘help’ has sometimes been preferred (compare Exegesis A.8). But יִשַׁע also remains close to other words in the group such as הִצִּיל, as the (moderate) frequency of its use with מִן attests, hence the continuing popularity of the rendering ‘save’ (and compare the Versions). The following account may clarify the synchronic relationship, whether or not its possible diachronic implications (for which there is no proof) are valid. In the Exegesis section of the entry for עֲזָרָה (A.3) it is suggested that its use in the majority of its biblical occurrences (especially in the Psalms) for ‘help’ where deliverance was involved led to its occasional association with מִן like other members of the group. With יִשַׁע there seems to be an extension in the opposite direction. One might envisage a continuum of human experience extending from distress at one pole to equilibrium at the centre and to victory and success at the other pole. יִשַׁע like other members of the ‘deliverance’ group mainly represents a movement from the negative pole to equilibrium, but it was natural for it also to be applied to the movement in the same ‘direction’ from equilibrium to the positive pole of success and victory. As such it came to occupy the original domain of עֲזָרָה, ‘help’, as well.

**A.5** It has also been suggested above (Exegesis A.8) that, while עָוַר refers to the action done in its relational aspect, עָשָׂה refers to its effect or result.

**B.1** Although Sawyer has argued that the origin of עָשָׂה lies in forensic contexts, the evidence is inconclusive. It is perhaps better to consider the synchronic evidence more than the diachronic.

## Bibliography

- Buccellatti, G. 1966. *The Amorites of the Ur III Period* (Naples).
- Cantineau, J. 1930–32. *Le nabatéen*, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux).
- Cathcart, K.J. & Gordon, R.P. 1989. *The Targum of the Minor Prophets, translated, with a critical introduction, apparatus, and notes*. [The Aramaic Bible; v. 14] (Edinburgh: T&T Clark).
- Clines, D.J.A. 1989. Commentary on *Job 1–20*. [WBC 17] (Dallas, Tex.: Word Books).
- Dohmen, C. 2013. Article on עָשָׂה yš' in *ThWQ*, vol. 2, 309-18.
- Driver, S.R. 1890. *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel* (Oxford Clarendon Press).
- Gibson, J.C.L. 1971. *Textbook of Syrian Semitic inscriptions: vol.1, Hebrew and Moabite inscriptions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Gröndahl, F. 1967. *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit*. [Studia Pohl 1] (Rom: Päpstliches Bibelinstitut).
- Hubbard, R.L. 1997. Article on עָשָׂה in W.A. VanGemeren (ed.). *The New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*. Carlisle: vol. 2, 556–62.
- Huffmon, H.B. 1965. *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts: A structural and lexical study*. (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press).
- Knudtzon, J.A. 1915. *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln, mit Einleitungen und Erläuterungen*, 2 vols. [Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, 2/1, 2] (Leipzig).
- Sawyer, J.F.A. 1965. What was a *mošia*? *VT* 15:475–86.
- . 1968. Spaciousness (An important feature of language about salvation in the Old Testament). *Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute* 6:20–34.
- . 1972. *Semantics in Biblical Research: New Methods of Defining Hebrew Words for Salvation*. [Studies in Biblical Theology, Second Series, 24] (London: SCM Press).
- . 1975. A historical description of the Hebrew root yš'. In J. & T. Bynon (eds). *Hamito-Semitic. Proceedings of the Colloquium of the Historical Section of the Linguistics Association of Great Britain, March 1970 London University* (Patua Janua Linguarum; The Hague), 75–84.
- . 1982. Article on עָשָׂה in *TWAT*, vol. 3, 1035-59 (ET 1990 in *TDOT*, vol. 6, 441-63).
- Milik, J.T. 1956. 'Prière de Nabonide' et autres écrits d'un cycle de Daniel: fragments araméens de Qumran 4. *RB* 63: 407–15.
- Naveh, J. & Y. Magen. 1997. Aramaic and Hebrew inscriptions of the second-century BCE at Mount Gerizim. *Atiqot* 32:37–56 [Hebrew], 9\*–17\*.
- Noth, M. 1928. *Die Israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der Gemeinsemitischen Namengebung*. [BzWAT 3/10] (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer).
- Ryckmans, G. 1934–35. *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques*. [Bibliothèque du Muséon 2] (Louvain: Bureaux du Muséon).
- Segert, S. 1961. Die Sprache der moabitischen Königschrift. *Archiv Orientalni* 29:197–268.
- Smolar, L. & Aberbach, M. 1983. *Studies in Targum Jonathan to the Prophets*. [The Library of Biblical Studies] (New York: Ktav Pub. House: Baltimore Hebrew College).

- Sokoloff, M. 1990. *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period*. (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University).
- Tov, E. 1992. *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press; Assen: Van Gorcum).
- Watts, J.D.W. 1987. *Commentary on Isaiah 34–66*. [WBC 25] (Waco, Tex.: Word Books).

James K. Aitken and Graham Davies  
University of Cambridge