History of the

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A HISTORY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE

Edited by H. H. Ben-Sasson



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PART I

Origins and The Formative Period

Abraham Malamat

Introduction

The People and Its Land

The early history of the Israelites was not confined to the borders of Palestine alone but was connected by numerous strands to the ancient Near Eastern lands lying to the north, north-east and south-west. On one flank stretched Mesopotamia, land of the Hebrews' origins, and centuries later of Israelite setbacks. For when Assyria and Babylonia eventually deprived them of national independence, the leading citizenry of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah established there a large centre of exile, from which a revitalized nation later emerged. On the other flank lay Egypt, the land of the Nile, which for generations offered a refuge for the Hebrew tribes and served, together with the bordering Sinai Peninsula, as a crucible for the maturation and consolidation of the people of Israel.

Although the history of the early Hebrews may be traced across this broad geographical expanse, it was not until the nation was ensconced within its own Promised Land – 'a pleasant land, a goodly heritage of the host of nations' (Jeremiah 3:19) – that its national image and historic activity became crystallized. The bond between the people and their spiritual mission, as well as their affinity to the Holy Land, became sanctified in the people's consciousness as a supreme religious ideal. It shaped the entire corpus of their national and religious values, set the Israelites apart from other nations and served as their expression of selfhood. Thus emerged the national synthesis to which they aspired and which, even after its disintegration, continued to be cherished in the heart of the nation as a source of inspiration and vitality throughout the long and wearisome years of exile, a strength stemming largely from the notion of their being a Chosen People belonging to a Promised Land.

The migration from their ancestral home to the Promised Land and the tribulations of their subsequent wanderings there as aliens remained ever present in the nation's memory. Indeed, according to biblical concept, a people's right to a particular land is not to be justified by its birth within the borders of that land but solely by the privilege granted by Divine Will, which determines the boundaries of nations, bequeathing lands to some and uprooting others from their abode, all as part of a master plan based on moral considerations. Here, then, was a concept that placed history in a more dynamic context.

The relationship between Israel and the Holy Land was determined by the Lord's

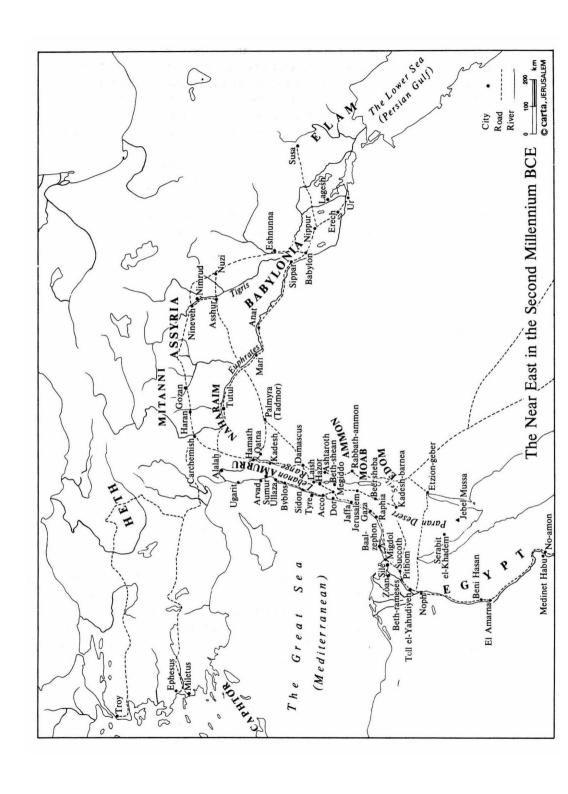
command to Abraham, the first of the Patriarchs, 'Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee' (Genesis 12:1). Abraham's obedience to this command marked a turning-point in the history of civilization and the inauguration of an historical process whose culmination still remains to be seen. It transformed the land of Canaan into the Land of Israel, engendering that complex relationship between Israel and the indigenous peoples of Canaan. It is true that originally (in the second millennium BCE) Israel was a negligible factor within the over-all play of powers in Canaan. With the passage of time, however, Israel gained in strength until, by the final quarter of the second millennium, it played a decisive role. Within the next thousand years, Israel determined the history of the area. Eventually Israel became recognized as a people who had exerted an influence on human history out of all proportion to its numerical size or to the area or natural wealth of its land.

Palestine Among the Lands of the Ancient Near East

The land that experienced the vicissitudes of Israelite history during the biblical period was a narrow strip some 130 kilometres wide at the most, bounded by the Mediterranean Sea on the west and the Arabian Desert on the east. It is located at the south-western extremity of a series of lands stretching like a crescent from the Persian Gulf to the Sinai Peninsula. This area is known as the Fertile Crescent, a term that aptly expresses its geophysical superiority to the Arabian Desert and the encompassing barren heights. To the south-west of Palestine is the productive Nile Valley and the intervening Sinai Peninsula, while to the north the country constitutes a physical extension of Syria. Syria and Palestine comprise a geographical entity of sorts - and, to a lesser degree, an historical unit - extending from the bend of the Euphrates to the 'River of Egypt' (the present-day Wadi el-Arish), a region referred to in cuneiform sources from the seventh century on as ēbir nāri, 'beyond the [Euphrates] river'. Palestine thus constituted a bridge or corridor joining Asia and Africa. The Mediterranean to the west and the desert fringes to the east served as a window onto the Aegean world and onto the nomadic tribes of the Arabian Desert, respectively. Palestine, moreover, actually nestled between two seas, for the Gulf of Eilat in the south-eastern corner provided access to the Red Sea and thence to the lands washed by the Indian Ocean.

This geographical location at an intersection of the ancient world gave rise to turbulent changes in the destiny of the land's inhabitants. It left its impress on all aspects of life, spiritual and material, economic and demographic, and affected most of all the political and military spheres.

From the cultural viewpoint the country was primarily exposed to continued influences emanating from the oldest centres of civilization in the Near East – Mesopotamia and Egypt – centres that had emerged into prominence towards the end of the fourth millennium. Moreover, the cultural forces of Anatolia also penetrated into Palestine via Syria, as did those of the Aegean Basin, sweeping in from the west specifically in the Mycenaean phase. These major cultures of the day often came into conflict there, but even more frequently clashed with the various local



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cultures, foremost among these being that of the Canaanites. At times, however, symbiosis was attained. The net result was the engendering on the soil of Palestine of a dynamic spiritual and material creativity that expressed itself in continual change and renewal and never lapsed into tranquil passivity.

Palestine and Syria, in their dual capacity as areas of transit and junction, served as a nodal point for a complex of intersecting roads. On the one hand were the trade caravans plying the international transport routes between the Nile Valley and the Euphrates, as well as Asia Minor. There were also the caravan routes extending further afield to Arabia and even to the land of Sheba and the sea lanes leading towards busy seaports, notably those of Phoenicia. The commercial significance of Syria and Palestine, however, did not lie solely in their role as lands of transit - a circumstance exploited to the full by their inhabitants - but lay also in their various natural resources. Pre-eminent among these were the forests, the cedars of Lebanon in particular. The timber from these forests was in great demand among the rulers of Mesopotamia and Egypt, where such essential material was lacking, and its import became a matter of personal prestige. Canaan was famed as the land of the seven species - wheat, barley, grapes, figs, pomegranates, olives and honey (Deuteronomy 8:8) – and these blessings of nature find expression both in ancient Egyptian accounts (the Sinuhe tale of the twentieth century BCE) and in lists of goods destined for export to Egypt (see, e.g., page 15) and to Mesopotamia, as witnessed by the Mari documents (on these texts see pages 37ff.).

Geopolitical Factors

Throughout the ages Palestine and Syria constituted a challenge to the rulers of the ancient Near Eastern powers, as hegemony over these areas ensured both economic and political advantages of the first order. As a result, these lands were caught up for lengthy periods in repeated struggles between various nations intent on subjugating them, and they enjoyed relatively few periods of tranquillity or autonomy. Thus the region west of the Euphrates was a bone of contention between Egypt and the continually changing powers to the north and north-east. Command over the region was essential to these monarchies, primarily in order to establish their status as international powers or full-fledged empires. Without such control they were relegated to a purely local framework, whether in Africa, Mesopotamia or Asia Minor. In addition, Palestine was strategically important as a bridge-head, and its conquest was a prerequisite for any attack by one power upon another. It is not surprising, therefore, that Palestine and Syria served as international battle-grounds more often than any other area in the ancient world. In addition, there were stubborn enemies to the east and west, in the form of desert marauders and seafaring peoples. However, these could not compare in sheer power to the mighty forces that had come into being beyond the northern and southern frontiers.

In the geopolitical sense, then, Syria-Palestine found itself caught between the imperial or political forces to the north and south whose ambition it was to gain control of the region's routes. These geographically opposed powers differed appreciably in the degree of their internal uniformity and stability and in the extent

of their physical and demographic intervention in the affairs of Palestine. Throughout the biblical period there lay south of Palestine a single country with a single people inhabiting it – namely, Egypt. There was, true enough, a succession of dynastic changes among the rulers there, as well as differences in their degree of aggressiveness. Palestine and extensive portions of Syria suffered from Egypt's heavy hand during the Twelfth, Eighteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties – that is, throughout the second millennium – as well as from attempts at renewed conquest by the Twenty-second and Twenty-sixth Dynasties during the following 500 years. Yet never once during all these conquests was any attempt made to settle an Egyptian populace within Palestine.

The relative uniformity of Egypt in ethnic and political composition was in decided contrast to the regions north of Palestine, which presented a patchwork of peoples and states, several entering upon the stage of history at one and the same time, others following upon each other in rapid succession. Unlike the south, this northerly area had, throughout the ages, sent massive population groups into Syria and Palestine, thereby altering the character of these lands. Archaeological finds in Palestine have made it possible to distinguish an influx of population from the north during the latter part of the fourth and the early third millennia and once again during the twenty-fourth century (the so-called Beth-yerah culture). For the period of the second millennium, historical sources bear additional witness to incursions from the north. It was at the turn of the third and second millennia that the country was flooded with West Semitic tribes (known to scholars as Amorites), followed by Hurrians and even some Indo-Aryan elements. Finally, at the end of the second millennium, Syria and northern Trans-Jordan were infiltrated by Aramean tribes and Syria – and to a lesser extent Palestine – by Anatolian elements as well. Every power that rose in the northern regions made attempts to occupy parts of Syria or to deepen its penetration there. It was not until the first millennium, however, that any ventured as far south as Palestine proper, when the empires of Assyria, Babylonia and Persia extended their conquests into that country, thereby impeding any reversion to Egyptian hegemony.

The military history of Syria and Palestine represents, on the one hand, a continuous chain of conquests and oppression directed by the various powers against the local population. On the other hand, struggles were being waged simultaneously among the would-be conquerors, each aiming to enhance his own power status. It is apparent that these international squabbles and the 'cold war' being waged by the powers created an atmosphere of political and economic insecurity in Palestine. The recurring campaigns of subjugation and plunder sapped the country's vitality and natural resources. A side effect of this rivalry among the various powers of the day and of their struggle for hegemony was a series of severe disputes among the local forces within Syria and Palestine, which in any case had previously been at loggerheads with each other. It is a picture that emerges with decided clarity in the second half of the second millennium, at the time of the clash between Egypt and the Kingdom of Mitanni and, subsequently, the Hittites, when Syria-Palestine was broken up into scores of diminutive kingdoms. But severe differences also erupted during the second quarter of the first millennium, this time among the people of