GEOGRAPHICAL TERMINOLOGY

IN JOSHUA 15-19

A Thesis

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by

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PREFACE

Two forms of map reference occur in this study. Grid coordinates (of the form 1234-5678) refer to the standard Palestinian grid. These, with hill numbers (elevations of the peaks) are for use with *Israel* (1967-1974, 1:100,000). References of the form A3 or Cm refer to the sketch maps in the Appendix. The first character, a capital letter, indicates which of the four maps (A,B,C,D) should be consulted. The following number or lower case letter refers to a particular point on that map. See the appendix for a key to the maps.

Text references to Josh 15-19 are frequently cited without repeating the name of the book (e.g., 19:12 rather than Josh 19:12).

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Structure of the Boundary Lists

The present structure of the boundary lists in Joshua 15-19 is outlined in Table 1, and discussed below. Similar lists exist in Joshua 13 for the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half of Manasseh in Transjordan. But those lists do not employ the verbs which are the object of study in this paper, and so are not analyzed here.

1.1.1. *General Introduction.*

- Most of the lists open with a formulaic statement that the lot (גורל) of a certain tribe "was" (15:1; 17:1), "went up" (18:11a; 19:10a), or "went out" (16:1; 19:1a, 17, 24, 32, 40) in such and such a manner.

1.1.2. *The Border Lists.*

The border list has three elements, any of which may be omitted in a given description. However, every tribe has at least one of these elements.

1.1.2.1. The list is usually introduced by the word "border" (גבול), often in the opening words of the description itself (15:2), but sometimes in a separate statement (16:5).

1.1.2.2. The border description proper consists of a list of place names that lie along the border of the tribe, either just inside it or just outside it. The border does not run down the main street of a town, of course. Rather,

part of the border line of each of these towns is a segment of the intertribal boundary. In principle, if the border were straightforward, it would be possible to give just a list of towns in order, and expect the reader, following topographical conventions, to fill out the border. In fact, Dan's list is one such. Not all of the towns listed are in Dan's original allotment along the coast. But they all lie along Dan's border, so far as they can be identified.

More often, though, the place names are joined together by verbs which define more precisely the movements of the border from one to the other. These verbs are the central object of the present study. תצאות ("outgoings"), though not a verb, serves in the lists with a regularity and semantic force like those of a verb, and is included in our study. When we refer in general to "the boundary verbs," it is understood as included.

1.1.2.3. The border descriptions are often closed with the statement, "this is the inheritance (נחלה) of . . . ." The same statement is also used to close the town lists in 18-19 (1.1.3.3.). That the same formula has two syntactic slots in the structure of the lists is seen from the lists of Benjamin and (less clearly) Simeon, where both slots are filled.

1.1.3. *The Town Lists.*

These describe cities actually included in the tribe.

1.1.3.1. Just as the border descriptions frequently used the word "border" in their introductions, so a formulaic reference to "cities" (15:21; 19:9; 18:21; 19:35) or to the

	Jud 15:	Jos 16:	Eph 16:	Man 17:	Ben 18:	Sim 19:	Zeb 19:	Iss 19:	Ash 19:	Nap 19:	Dan 19:
General intro. 1.1.1.	1	1		1	11a	1	10a	17	24	32	40
Border list, 1.1.2.											
Intro., 1.1.2.1.	2		5	7	11b		10b	18	25	33	41
Description, 1.1.2.2.	2-12	1-3	5-8a	7-10	12-20a		10-14	18-22a	25-30a	33-34	41-46
Summary, 1.1.2.3.	20		8b		20b	1b					
Town list, 1.1.3.											
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1.1.3.3.1.	63	4	10	12-13							
1.1.3.3.2.					28b	8b	16	23	31	39	48

Table 1

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tribe as a possessor (17:11; 19:2) frequently opens the town list.

1.1.3.2. The description itself is found in its most elaborate form with Judah, where several distinct districts are listed, and each enumerated. Less complex lists (such as Zebulun) give only one series of names, and a summary number. The simplest form of the list is the number along, without place names (Issachar). The relationship of the numbers cited to the number of place names provided is problematic, and will not be discussed here.

1.1.3.3. The description is closed by one of two sorts of statements.

1.1.3.3.1. In 15-17, there is a reference to the success or failure of the tribe to appropriate its inheritance.

1.1.3.3.2. In 18-19, the formula used to close the border description (1.1.2.3.) is repeated.

1.1.4. *Implications*.

Although גבול may mean "territory" as well as "boundary," there is no need thus to understand it in Josh 15-19 when it comes at the head of a list of place names.

At times one must decide whether a given place name lies in a certain tribe. The town lists may be studied to derive this information. The boundary lists, though, may list a border town that actually lies in an adjacent tribe, not the tribe being described.

In 3.1. below, we will discuss further the distinction between 15-17 and 18-19 noted in 1.1.3.3. above.

1.2. The Problem

Noth (1935) attributes little geographical significance to the verbs which, in his theory, a later editor has inserted into the original bald series of names. In fact, his commentary (1953) on these passages does not comment on the verbs at all, but only on the reconstructed list of names.

But there is a growing scholarly concern over the subjectivity and lack of consensus involved in using a reconstructed *ur*-form of a text as a basis for further studies (Fokkelman 1975:1-8; Kallai 1958: 135), coupled with an awareness that the final form of the text is at least as worthy of scholarly attention in its own right as are any of its literary ancestors (Sawyer 1972: 12). And boundary lists from Ugarit, while simpler than Josh 15-19, are still not the name-only lists which Noth posits as primitive (Richardson 1969: 97-98).

The objective of this paper is not to settle the literary history of Josh 15-19, but to examine the function of the geographical terminology (and primarily the verbs) in the lists as they now stand. The exercise is one in toponymy and lexicography, rather than literary criticism, and is possible only if one accepts a position something like this: *Whenever and however the lists took their present form of place names joined by verbs and other geographical terminology, they made geographical sense to the person who thus assembled them.*

We do not seek to prove this statement, but accept it as the only basis on which a study such as this can proceed. And we invite our readers, for the sake of the discussion, to accept it with us.

One of the implications of this axiom is that the geographical terminology has not been inserted at random, simply as redactorial "glue." Rather, it is used to convey meaning, and is thus susceptible to linguistic analysis.

Another implication is that the place names in the list refer to the place that the compiler thought they represented, not necessarily to the place where the name is preserved now (or at any time other than that of the compiler).

And of course, the axiom implies that the compilation took place in Israel, or at least was done by someone who knew the land intimately.

1.3. The Procedure

Three types of data make up the boundary description part (1.1.2.2.) of the lists. One type is the coupling verbs, our main interest. A second type is the place names. A third is the other geographical terminology, such as directional nouns (north, south, east, west) in a variety of syntactical constructions; topographical formations (shoulder, valley, wadi); prepositions; and terminative $-\bar{a}h$. Before we can attack the verbs, we need to have some understanding of the other two categories of material.

The boundary verbs have been neglected for years. The place names have not. Kallai (1967) devotes an entire book

to discussing the tribes, largely on the basis of the place names. Simons (1959) is another comprehensive discussion. For individual place names, the articles in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* give full discussion and bibliography up to the time of their publication. The principles of toponymy are outlined by Aharoni (1967: 94-117), who provides a convenient listing of biblical place names and proposed modern identifications (366-85). The text of his book documents and discusses many of these.

Where we accept a place identification proposed by one of these summaries, we will not regularly give discussion or references. Interested readers can readily locate any biblical place name in these works by their indices. Only when we propose a new identification, or one which these discussions reject, will we give references to the literature.

The southern border of Judah, which passes through the desert south of the Negev, is especially difficult, since archaeological surveys and extrabiblical historical traditions of these areas are very sparse. Because of the lack of scholarly consensus on many of these place names, we will not include them in our induction. Probably our conclusions will be of more help in identifying these places, than the places will be in defining the boundary verbs.

Chapter II is devoted to the geographical terms other than verbs.

The third chapter discusses the verbs themselves. For each verb, and introductory section will outline previous study, relevant use elsewhere in the OT, and our proposed definition. A second section will survey those uses of the verb which most clearly suggest the definition. Often a third section will be necessary to discuss examples of a verb which do not seem to fit the pattern of the other uses.

The entire process involves a lot of pulling one's self up by one's bootstraps. Toponymical identifications depend largely on these very lists. But the meaning of the lists often hinges on the verbs, whose precise geographical sense must be induced from accepted place identifications! Clearly, it would be circular to try to show that the lists make sense. That is not our goal. Rather, we are assuming that they make sense, and are seeking to discover that sense.

CHAPTER II

SECONDARY GEOGRAPHICAL TERMINOLOGY

2.1. Prepositions and Directive -$\bar{a}h$

2.1.1. *Directive* -$\bar{a}h$.

This morpheme is used some sixty-eight times in the border lists. Since its usage varies throughout the OT, we must carefully observe how it behaves in our material.

2.1.1.1. Etymology.

Once considered a *mater lectionis* for a fossilized (adverbial) accusative case ending (GKC 90c), directive *he* appears clearly in Ugaritic material (*UT* 8.56) where case endings are present (as attested by third *'alep* forms) but not regularly indicated graphically. The fundamentally consonantal nature of the suffix seems thus established, and comparison with Akkadian -*iš* suggests that the morpheme follows the *š/h* contrast attested in the personal pronouns and causative stems of the various Semitic languages, and perhaps has its origin in a pronoun functioning deictically (Speiser 1954).

2.1.1.2. Usage in general.

The morpheme, with spatial significance, is variously used to indicate direction of motion or location, and sometimes appears otiose. There is wide agreement on this

three-fold classification (Speiser 1954: 108-9; GKC 90c,d,e;
Margain 1969; Kallai 1967: 171-72, n.217). Meek's insistence
(1940) that the morpheme is only directive/terminative appears
overdrawn, though Margain's diachronic study (1969) argues
convincingly that the directive use is original, and that the
local and otiose uses represent later degeneration of the
form as some nouns became specialized as prepositions and took
over the semantic load.

2.1.1.3. Usage in Josh 15-19.

2.1.1.3.1. Of the sixty-eight cases of the morpheme in
Josh 15-19, thirty-nine are clearly terminative-directive.

2.1.1.3.2. Twenty cases, all appended to nouns of
direction, might be construed as local uses. These are:

ימה	15:8
צפונה	15:5,8; 17:10; 18:12,16,18,19,19
קדמה	15:5; 18:20
מזרחה	16:1,5
נגבה	17:9,10; 18:13,14,15,16,18

Such a classification is suggested by the use of these forms
to indicate a place or modify a noun, rather than to modify
a verb. However, three considerations inclue us to consider
them, after all, as directive rather than local.

First, nouns of direction are intrinsically directive,
not local. They do not refer to places (except perhaps in
mythic contexts, which Josh 15-19 surely is not). One never
arrives "at"the north. The most that can be said with
clarity is that one arrives at a place which lies in a northerly

direction with reference to another place. But this is a directive usage, not a local one.

Second, the local usage of the suffix would be expected to appear, if anywhere, on place names or common nouns descriptive of topographical features. Though the suffix does appear twenty-three times with such words, it never bears local meaning in those cases, in the boundary lists. It would be very strange if the local meaning should then surface with nouns of direction.

Third, the syntactical observation which suggested positing a "local" nuance for the suffix with nouns of direction should be made more precise. Our corpus suggests an ellipsis of a verb by which the basically adverbial directive nuance of -$\bar{a}h$ may be applied to superficially nominal constructions (2.3.1.2. below).

2.1.1.3.3. Finally, there are six to nine cases where the morpheme is otiose.

In מצפונה(15:10); בנגבה (15:21); לימה (19:11); and מינוחה (16:7) the sense of direction is conveyed by the preposition, the -$\bar{a}h$ contributing nothing to the sense of the passage.

הימה הגדול in 15:12 is predicate nominative, like ים המלח in 15:5, with no semantic load for the suffix.

כתף לוזה in 18:13 seems clearly to be the shoulder of Luz, not the shoulder toward Luz. In fact, the only form in which this place name occurs in Joshua is with the final ה. This observation, together with the substantial identi-

fication throughout the biblical tradition of Luz with Bethel, makes it unlikely that 16:2 should be rendered "from Bethel to Luz." We propose, with Kallai, to understand the suffix here also as otiose, and recognize in לוזה either a gloss for Bethel, or half of a double name.

תמנתה occurs in 19:43 in the midst of the list of the border cities of Dan. The form need not be otiose. We have already argued, against Noth, that Dan's list is in fact a border list, not a town list. Within such a list an occasional linking element would be quite possible. Asher's boundary list, for instance, varies between simple listing of border towns, and sites joined by linking elements in the tradition of Zebulon and the southern tribes. But there is no clear reason why only Timnah should have the directive element in Dan's list. Perhaps it is otiose.

אכזבה in 19:29 may be the terminus of the תצאות from a place called חבל. But the common use of the latter word to indicate a territory associated with a tribe (17:14; 19:9) or place (Deut 3:4,13,14; Zeph 2:5,6) suggests that the MT is correct in pointing it as construct and understanding that the border, on reaching the limits of Achzib's territory, goes out from there to the sea. The ending on the place name would then be otiose.

2.1.2. *Prepositions.*

We propose in this section to discuss only salient problems. In general, prepositions are sufficiently discussed in standard lexicons and grammars to allow understanding of the lists.

2.1.2.1. An ablative sense for על, ל, ב?

The virtual absence of מנ- from Ugaritic has highlighted
the occasional need to translate על, ל, and ב in that
language occasionally by "from" in English. The felicitousness
of such renderings of Hebrew, in places, as well, has
gained new attention, largely in the works of M. Dahood (1953;
1954; 1955; 1962; 1963; 1966a,b; 1968), though noted also by
others (Driver 1964; Chomsky 1970; Sarna 1959). As Sarna
notes, the interchangeability in some cases of ב and מנ-
was fully recognized by medieval Hebrew grammarians long
before the advent of Ugaritology. Sutcliffe's caution (1955)
that the phenomenon is one of translation necessity rather
than strictly of meaning is well taken.

Obviously, such fluidity in the directional idiom of a
language could strongly affect geographical studies. We
believe that in studying lists where so many variables (such
as place names) are unknown or disputed, it is methodologically
uncontrollable to allow every occurrence of a preposition its
full range of possible nuance. Accordingly, we have not
systematically analyzed what would happen if, say, every ב
were to be read as "from." Rather, we have consistently read
the prepositions in their usual meanings. Several considera-
tions may be offered in defense of this restriction.

First, in the vast majority of cases, the usual senses
yield good understanding of the boundaries, and consistent
meanings for the verbs.

Second, in a technical document of the sort represented

by the boundary lists, it is unlikely that ambiguous ter-
minology would be used, especially when a distinct ablative
particle, ‫מ‬-, is available (and widely used in the lists).

Third, the regular and technical usage of other terms
in the lists suggests that the prepositions here have
technical, and thus more than usually restricted, meanings.

2.1.2.2.   ‫על פני‬

A crucial detail in the boundary of Zebulun concerns
the wadi described as ‫על פני יקנעם‬ (19:11). Albright (1922)
sought to identify this with the Wadi el-Malik. But there
are three closer candidates: Wadi el-Milh, which flows out
of the Yoqneam pass; the Kishon; and Wadi Musrarah (Naḥal Beth-
Leḥem).

Dorsey (1973: 131) notes that it is unlikely that the
Kishon, which "flows near a number of Late Bronze--Early Iron
Age cities in its long course," would be exclusively designated
by the name of Yoqneam. But a decision between the other two
candidates depends on the meaning of ‫על פני‬.

In several cases (Num 33:7a; Josh 13:25; Judg 16:3; 1 Sam
24:3; 26:1,3; 1 Kgs 7:6,6; 17:3,5), lack of precise site
identifications precludes any conclusion about the meaning of
the phrase.

It has long been recognized that in topographical appli-
cation, the phrase frequently means "to the east of" (Moore
1897; BDB). But in most cases (see BDB for references), the
derivation from the custom of facing the east to define direc-
tions is clearly reflected.

Two cautions should be noted about ascribing a uni-
versal meaning "to the east of" to the phrase.

First, twice when it is used in this sense (Num. 21:11;
Zech 14:14),a directional phrase "toward the sunrising" or
"on the east" is added. This reinforcement suggests that
the bald phrase was not enough, in the usage of these
writers, to convey unequivocally the sense, "to the east."
(There are, of course, many other cases where the eastward
orientation occurs without this reinforcement.)

Second, there are three cases, all in Joshua, where
the phrase obviously does not mean, "to the east of." In
18:14, a mountain על פני בת הרן is expressly said to be
south of the city. In 15:8, a mountain על פני גי בן הנם
is further defined as to the west. 18:16 repeats this seg-
ment of the border, but without the use of the qualifying
noun of direction.

Having noted these exceptions, we observe that in
the only cases where the phrase clearly does not mean "to
the east of," a qualifying noun of direction is included.
18:16 is no real exception to this, since the border de-
scription of Benjamin bears marks of dependence on that of
Judah (see 3.1.4. below). Thus 18:16 never had an existence
out of the context of Judah's border description, where the
specifying noun is included. Furthermore, in 17:7, the
unqualified phrase is used with the sense, "to the east of."

We conclude that the most straightforward reading of
19:11 identifies the wadi in question as one to the east of

Yoqneam. If this is correct, then Wadi el-Milh, which lies
to the north and west of the tell, is not nearly so likely
a candidate as Wadi Muṣrarah (Naḥal Betḥ-Leḥem), to the north
and east of Yoqneam.

2.1.2.3. נכח

This quasi-preposition occurs twice in the border lists.
In 15:7, and again in the parallel 18:17, it describes the
relative locations of Gilgal/Gililoth and the Red Ascent.

The word frequently carries the notion of oppositeness.
Used to describe the locations of the lampstand and table of
showbread on opposite sides of the tabernacle (Exod 26:35;
40:24), it can also be applied to two opposing camps of
soldiers (1 Kgs 20:29), or to military opposition in general
(1 Kgs 22:35 = 2 Chr 18:34).

In composition with עד, it occurs in two identifiable
topographical contexts. In Judg 19:10, a Levite, traveling
from Bethlehem north on the ridge route toward Ramah, comes
into view of Jebus. At that point he is said to be עד נכח
יבוס. He will have been viewing Jebus across the upper
drainage of the Kidron and Hinnom valleys, and in fact across
the Hinnom itself, looking across the intervening lowlands
to the Ophel.

In Ezek 47:20, a point on the Mediterranean shore is
defined as being עד נכח לבוא חמת, over fifty kilometers
inland. Contrast the idiom in Josh 19:46, where the border
of Dan, following the Yarkon, meets the sea מול יפו. Joppa,
visible from the mouth of the Yarkon only ten kilometers to

the north, sits "alongside" it on the coast. In contrast, the orientation of Lebo and its coastline on the other side of the Lebanon mountains is one of opposition.

Though the evidence is scanty, it does suggest that Gilgal/Gililoth is not alongside the Red Ascent, but opposite it. Our reconstruction of the border satisfies this condition by placing the two sites on opposite sides of the Kidron.

2.1.2.4. מול

We have already suggested that this term differs from נכח in lacking the emphasis on opposition. In 19:46 it seems to indicate that the northern border of Dan's original allotment is "alongside" Joppa.

The use in 18:18 to describe the orientation between a mountain slope and the Arabah has several parallels elsewhere in the OT. In Deut 3:29; 4:46; and 34:6; the plains of Moab are מול בית פעור, one of the Transjordanian mountain peaks. The compount phrase אל מול is used in Exod 34:3 and Josh 8:33 (twice) to describe the lower slopes, or plains at the feet of, Sinai, Ebal, and Gerizim. And in Josh 9:1, the great sea is אל מול הלבנון. The word is thus commonly used to describe a relatively level area at the foot of an elevation or mountain. 18:18 refers, then, to a cliff making the final step from the Judaean plateau to the Arabah.

Also Jos 22:11

2.2. Topographical and Political Entities

2.2.1. *Political (Man-made) Entities.*

2.2.1.1. Borders and Regions.

A survey of גבול and חבל in the boundary lists suggests

that in this technical context, the former refers exclusively
to borders, while the latter is used when reference is made
to an area or territory belonging to a city, tribe, or region.

2.2.1.1.1. גבול.--The semantic development of this
word is readily traced, and three clear uses present themselves.
The original meaning of the word was either "border" or
"mountain" (Koehler, 1939: 124-25). The meaning "mountain" is
attested in common Arabic *jabal*, and may be preserved in the
OT at Ps 78:54 (KB, Dahood 1964: 396), less likely at 1 Sam
13:18 or 1 Sam 10:2. The use of mountain ridges and watershed
lines as common boundary features (3.2.2.1. below) led to a
natural metonymy between the uses. It would be gratuitous
to argue for the priority of one or the other of these meanings.

By a natural synecdoche of the part for the whole, the
word came to stand in contexts where it is obvious that the
entire area within the border is meant. Num 20:16; 22:36; and
Deut 19:3 are among the more obvious uses (see BDB *sub voc.*, 2).
The same development may be observed in the occasional use of
חמה, "wall," for "city" (Amos 1:7,10,14), or of "gate" in the
same sense (with Judg 11:22, compare Gen 24:60, etc.). It is
difficult, if not impossible in most cases, to insist that
the word actually means "area" and not "border," since the idiom
is apparently alive in the mind of the writer.

Clearly, most references in the boundary lists to the
גבול concern the border, not the area within it. This is
clearly the case when the noun is used as subject of the
various boundary verbs. The symmetry of the introductory

Compare also nxl "wadi" with nxlh "inheritance"

formulae (1.1.2.1.) requires that the word have the same sense
in each of them. Thus, even in 19:41, where no verbs follow,
the parallel with 19:10b and 16:5 strongly suggests that
the word means "border," not "territory," and Dan's list is
understood as a boundary, not a city, list.

In only two cases might the meaning of "area" be
compellingly argued for the word in the boundary lists.
Twice in 18:5, in a narrative segment imbedded in the lists,
the word occurs. "And they [the surveyors] shall divide
it into seven parts; Judah *ya⁽ămōd ⁽al gb̂ûlô minnegeb*
and the house of Joseph *ya⁽āmdû ⁽al gb̂ûlām miṣṣāpōn*." Does
not this phrase indicate that Judah, Ephraim, and Manasseh
will abide on their respective territories?

We observe first of all that עמד על may mean "stand
by" as well as "stand on" (2 Kgs 2:7; Gen 18:8; etc.).
The use of על with גבול is especially illuminating.
Repeatedly in Ezek 48:2-8, the phrase does not mean that
one tribe is on the territory of another, but rather that
it stands by the border of the other. על גבול may mean
"as far as the border of" (19:12), and in this use is
paralleled by the prepositions אל (16:2,3) and עד (16:3).
For another parallel of על with עד, see Ezek 48:21. In
no case does the phrase על גבול necessarily mean "on the
territory of . . ." rather than "by the border of . . ."
in the entire OT. And, as we have seen in Ezek 48, sometimes
גבול in this frame cannot have the meaning of territory
at all.

Indeed, it would be unlikely, in a technical document such as the boundary lists present, for such ambiguity to be tolerated. A narrative section such as 18:5 would be a more likely context for the ambiguity than would the boundary lists proper. But even here, the usage of the rest of the OT favors the understanding, "Let Judah abide by his border, and the house of Joseph by theirs." Here, as in Ezek 48:2-8, the border line itself is in view, and may be identified as belonging to either of the tribes which share it.

2.2.1.1.2. חבל.--The term is used four times in the boundary lists. Three times reference is made to the region belonging to a certain tribe (17:5, Manasseh; 17:4, the sons of Joseph; 19:9, the sons of Judah). Once, there is a reference to the territory belonging to a city (19:29, Achzib, spelled with otiose -$\bar{a}h$, 2.1.1.3.3.). In every case, the common meaning "region, territory" (BDB *sub voc.* 3) is suitable.

Elsewhere in the OT, we might have expected גבול in the sense of "territory" to be used in such references. But the technical nature of the boundary lists has apparently led to a specialization in terminology, reserving גבול for boundaries proper, and introducing חבל for "region, area." Such a distinction is known elsewhere in the OT. Deut 3:14, in particular, illustrates the difference well. "Yair the son of Manasseh took all the *ḥebel argōb, ʿad gěbûl haggěsūrî wěhammaʿăkātî.*"

2.2.1.2. Forms of Settlement.

Two words are used in the town-lists and summary portions (1.1.3.) of the boundary lists, to describe settlements subsidiary to cities. The most common term is חצר. But three cities have, in addition to חצרים, בנות (15:45, Ekron; 15:47, Ashdod; 15:47, Gaza). In 17:11,16, the villages associated with the cities in the Jezreel and Beth Shean valleys are also termed בנות.

Building on material from Mari and on a linguistic study by Orlinsky (1939), Malamat (1962) argued for the character of חצרים as unwalled villages (cf. Lev 25:31). The association of the term with sites that are known to be fortified (most notably, Hazor in Galilee), is likely a result of the persistence of an originally descriptive name even after a village has become fortified (Loewenstamm 1958: 274; Delekat 1964: 10). Delekat argued that when the term is used generically, rather than frozen into a proper place name, it is to be contrasted with בת, which indicates a fortified site. He observed that חצר occurs only in territorial lists, such as Josh 15-19 and Neh 11: 25-26. Lists of conquest (or failure of conquest) speak only of בנות, never of חצרים (Num 21:32; 32:43; Judg 1:27; 1 Chr 2:23; 18:1; 2 Chr 13:19; 28:18). Delekat concludes, "Es sich bei den 'Töchtern' um befestigte Ortschaften handelt. Sie allein interessierten in diesem Zusammenhang."

His conclusion, reasonable in its own right, is supported by the distribution of בנות in Josh 15-19. The term is reserved for the three members of the Philistine pentapolis

which are mentioned in the lists (Ashkelon and Gath do not appear), and for the Canaanite strongholds of Jezreel. Antagonism between the Israelites and the Philistines was perennial, and the tension with Jezreel is made explicit in 17:14-18. It is reasonable that fortresses associated with these centers, in particular, should be noted.

2.2.2. *Topographical (Natural) Entities.*

Topographical terminology has been the subject of several studies of varying value. Smith's short treatment (1931: 681-88) is well known but sometimes misleading. Stanley (1871: 475-534) is much more comprehensive and useful. For most terms, he lists all occurrences, biblical and (if known) modern names of the site to which they refer, and endeavors to induce the meaning. Dhorme (1920-23) is useful for verifying cognate usage of anthropomorphic terminology for topographical features. But since his interest is much broader than geographic, he seldom gives detail on geographical problems. Schwarzenbach (1954) is the most exhaustive treatment of the biblical material. Sometimes he is weak on drawing conclusions and differentiating synonyms. Aharoni and Loewenstamm (1962) is more up to date and extremely insightful, though unfortunately limited in scope.

In the light of such a comprehensive literature on topographical formations, it is not necessary here to study exhaustively every geographical term occurring in the boundary lists. We have selected for comment those terms which are particularly crucial for tracing the borders, and those,

occurring in the lists, on whose meaning some serious dis-
agreement exists.

2.2.2.1. Valleys.

Considerable discussion surrounds the three terms
עמק, בקעה, and גיא. For Smith, גיא is a narrow ravine or
glen; בקעה a wide plain surrounded by hills, and עמק some-
thing in between. Stanley expressly contrasts גיא and עמק
with regard to width. A survey of the biblical material
suggests that neither summary is as good as that of Aharoni
and Loewenstamm, who recognize in עמק a general term that at
times may be exchanged with either גיא (referring to a
narrower valley) or בקעה indicating a broader one).

Thus עמק and גיא are freely interchanged in describing
the Elah valley, where David fought Goliath (1 Sam 17:3,52).
If the Elah as a whole (and not just the streambed, as
Stanley and Smith insist) can still be called a גיא, then
it is easier to understand how the good-sized Iphtahel can
qualify for the term, while the steep-sided Rephaim remains
an עמק (the generic term being justifiably applied to a
valley of any size whatsoever). ʃ Jos 8:11 (°c) ¿13 (גאת)

Jos 8:11 gy with v.13 'mq

עמק also apparently interchanges with בקעה. The latter
term does not demand, as Smith thought, "a surrounding of
hills" (1931: 685). The valley of Ono (Neh 6:2) can boast only
distant hills, and those only on one side. And with reference
to the broad Mesopotamian plain (Gen 11:2; Ezek 23:22,23; 8:4;
37:1,2), the usual notion of "valley" is quite unsuitable
(Schwarzenbach 1954: 36).

In the extreme, בקעה can even be used as a parallel to
מישור (Isa 40:4). We would not suggest in such a case that
it is still equivalent to עמק. But when it does describe
land between hills, the interchange is quite possible. We
suggest that it is attested in 2 Chr 35:22, where the בקעה
of Megiddo, plainly the modern-day Jezreel, seems to refer
to the biblical עמק יזראל. But the identification hinges on
the precise reference of the latter phrase.

עמק יזראל is mentioned in topographical contexts in Josh
17:16, and as the location of the camp of the Midianites in
Gideon's battle in Judg 6:33; 7:1,8,12. Both contexts pose
a strategic tension between the heights of Gilboa (occupied
by the sons of Joseph in Joshua; by Gideon and his men in
Judges), and the enemy in the עמק. Smith argued (385) that
עמק יזראל is only the valley east of Jezreel, between Givat
Hammoreh and Gilboa, and pictured the Midianites in Judg 6-7
as camped in this valley after crossing the Jordan. Kallai
(1958: 629) questions the uniqueness of this reconstruction.
The precise location of the Midianites is in fact not stated.
They might have been to the north, or even to the west, of
Givat Hammoreh.

Josh 17:16 seems conclusive that עמק יזראל was not
limited to the valley between Jezreel and Beth Shean. There,
the Canaanites dwelling in the lowlands are classified into
two groups, those who are in Beth Shean and its fortresses
(בנות), and those in the Jezreel valley. A glance at a map
shows that the lowlands bounding the highlands of Manasseh
are not only the right-angled valley with its corner at Beth

Shean, extending west to Jezreel and south along the Jordan; but also the embayment of the Jezreel reaching to the southwest of Gilboa toward Jenin. The latter area is in fact more important, strategically. The mountain slopes much more gently toward Jenin than toward Beth Shean, making the Jenin plain at once more attractive as a direction for agricultural expansion, and also more dangerous as an avenue for Canaanite chariot offense. Why would the children of Joseph have named Beth Shean, and part of its valley, as particular foes hindering their expansion, and neglected the Jenin embayment entirely?

The conclusion seems certain when Josh 17:11-13 is brought into the account. There, the Canaanites whom the children of Joseph fear are expressly identified as dwelling not only in Beth Shean, but also in Taanach and Megiddo. There was a Canaanite threat from the west. It is inconceivable that the dwellers of Gilboa and northern Mount Ephraim, in enumerating their foes, would include Beth Shean but omit mention of the Plain of Megiddo. But if they did mention it, they did so under the title, עמק יזראל. Evidently, this phrase and בקעת מגדו both include the area more specifically named by the latter.

2.2.2.2. Parts and Pieces.

If there were any question that the ראש of a hill (15:8,9) is its top or uppermost part, it should be settled by the note of Gen 8:5 that this part of the mountains was the first to emerge from the abating waters of the flood.

Some confusion has arisen between the use of "tongue,"
לשון, regarding the Dead Sea at Josh 15:2,5, with the modern
Arabic use of the cognate to refer to the peninsula opposite
Massada. At 15:2, the tongue facing southward might con-
ceivably refer to the peninsula. Then the southern border w
would begin somewhere in Transjordan, enclosing land to the
east of the Arabah. But in 15:5 = 18:19, the northern Lashon
is associated in parallel structure with the mouth of the
Jordan river. The peninsula would seem much too distant to
be intended here. The reference rather seems to be to the
northern end or bay of the Dead Sea, and perhaps to the
embayment formed between the west bank of the sea and the small
delta of the Jordan extending into the sea.

The only other use of לשון in the Bible to refer to
something associated with a body of water is Isa 11:15, where
the Lord threatens to destroy the "tongue" of the Egyptian sea.
The reference is probably to the Gulf of Suez. At any rate,
the parallelism in that verse refers to the drying up of the
Nile. The judgment in mind reflects the Exodus opening of
the ים סוף. Isaiah anticipates that men will once again
return dryshod to Israel from the lands of their dispersion.
The context in Isaiah, then, clearly supports the interpretation
of the לשון of a body of water as referring to an area of
water, rather than a peninsula. There is no need to see a
different idiom in Joshua.

What is meant by the shoulder (כתף) of a city (15:8,10,
11; 18:12,13,16,19)? Recent inscriptional evidence confirms

that the term, applied to a hill, refers to the slope of the hill (Kallai 1965: 177-79). Josh 18:18 thus refers to a slope or bluff descending to the Arabah. Dhorme (1922: 219) allowed the meaning "slope" in reference to a mountain, but insisted that the term simply meant "along side" in application to a city. Schwarzenbach (1954: 18) noted that the idiom "אל כתף מנ- + place name" used in Joshua was also found in 1 Kgs 7:39. In Kings, it describes the placement of temple furniture on one or the other side of the temple interior. He argued that the phrase in Joshua likewise referred simply to the side of a town on which the border passed, without specifying (as Kallai would conclude) the very slope of the tell.

In fact, the comparison with 1 Kgs 7:39 is not accurate. There, lampstands are being placed along the interior walls of a building. The expression for placing something simply alongside an object, external to it, is simply מכתף ה-, without the אל (2 Chr 4:10; 23:10; 2 Kgs 6:11). Even there, is the "shoulder" just the area beside the building? Or is it the wall of the building? Compare 1 Kgs 6:8, where a door is associated with the "shoulder" of the temple.

Schwarzenbach's case would be stronger if he did not seek to exclude totally the sense of "slope" from כתף. The inscriptional evidence cited by Kallai makes this sense indisputable, at least in the case of hills. Most of the cities associated with a כתף in Josh 15-19 sit not only on their own tells, but also on natural hills. Only in the

case of Ekron (15:11) might one prefer to read "to the side
of" rather than "to the shoulder of." But even there, con-
sistency of usage, and the observed precision of the lists,
suggest retention of the sense, "slope, side of tell."

2.3. The Syntax of Directional Nouns

The directional nouns (north, south, east, west) may be
used either adnominally or adverbally. Sometimes it is
essential, in tracing a boundary, to know which use is more
likely. Thus we must survey the patterns of each that occur.

2.3.1. *Adnominal uses.*

2.3.1.1. Construct state.

This is the basic pattern for relating a noun of direction
to the noun being modified. Thus 15:1 gives *miqṣēh têmān*.
פאה, "quarter," referring to the northern, southern, eastern,
or western segment of a border, is regularly in the construct
state before nouns of direction (15:5; 18:12,14,14,15,20).
Though גבול shows no distinction between the absolute and
construct states, it is reasonable to interpret it as construct
in 15:2,4,12; 18:19.

2.3.1.2. Elliptic use of -*āh*.

The construction in 15:5 (cf. 16:5) is ambiguous. גבול
could, in spite of the terminative ending on the noun of
direction, be in construct, as פאה clearly is in all of the
references above except 18:14. This, at any rate, is Meek's
interpretation (1940: 229-30). But it might, on the other
hand, follow the syntax of 18:19, *ʾel lĕšôn yām-hammelaḥ*

ṣāp̂ōnāh, ʾel-qĕṣēh hayyardēn negbāh.

What is that syntax? It is not construct, nor is it adjectival (the modified noun in each case is definite by construction to a definite noun, while the noun of direction is indefinite). A solution is suggested in 15:2, hallāšōn happōneh negbāh. The noun of direction with terminative suffix is strictly an adverb, modifying a verbal form. The information which is to be conveyed is contained almost entirely in the two nouns. Because the semantic load of the joining participle is so light, it may readily be left out, as understood, resulting in the construction of 18:19, and likely of 15:5 as well. Kallai (1967: 114) perceives the sense, but does not explain the syntax, of this idiom.

Why does פאה enter into construction with the forms of nouns of direction ending in the terminative suffix, when a syntactically smoother construction using the participle (whether expressed or understood) was at hand? The construct state was susceptible of a much wider use than simply the expression of a genitive relationship between two nouns (GKC §130). פאה especially enjoyed a wide range of constructions. Of its 86 occurrences in the Bible, 77 are in construct! Apparently, the construct form was effectively replacing the absolute. The word was in the process (never completed) of becoming a preposition, and in this quasi-prepositional function could appear pleonastically before a noun which already bore the terminative suffix. Compare the use of lĕ before yāmmāh in 19:11.

cf. also Num 16:24

2.3.1.3. *min-* . . . *lĕ-* . . . constructions and modifications.

2.3.1.3.1. In English, we can relate a directional noun to a place name in the syntactic frame, "to the [directional noun] of [place name]. Thus, such patterns as "to the north of Jerusalem" or "to the west of Jericho" are readily under-stood. Biblical Hebrew has a similar device, which may be superficially compared to the English pattern by substituting the preposition -מן for "to the," placing the noun of direction in the construct state, and substituting -ל for "of."

Examples of this idiom in the boundary lists are 15:3,3, 6,7; 17:9; 18:13. The meaning is clear in contexts where the idiom is used adjectivally (15:7; 17:9; 18:13). The uses in 15:3 are ambiguous, since the absolute and construct of *negeb* are indistinguishable. But 15:6 is clearly the idiom at hand, if the Massoretic pointing of צפון is followed.

The first occurrence in 15:3 presents an unusual con-catenation of prepositions. *wĕyāṣā' 'el-minnegeb lĕmaʿălēh ʿaqrabbîm.* The seemingly incongruous combination of אל and -מן is usually explained by noting that the language of the border description is borrowed from Num 34:4, *wĕnāsab lākem haggĕbûl minnegeb lĕmaʿălēh ʿaqrabbîm.* The phrasing *minnegeb lĕmaʿălēh ʿaqrabbîm* was, it is explained, taken from Num 34 and inserted mechanically into Josh 15 after the stock phrase יצא אל without regard for the grammatical problem which this created. But the idiom with -מן + construct + -ל is so well defined that in conjunction with a verb it functions as one unit, rather than separately, "from this point to that point."

If it is thus frozen, we can better understand how the borrowing between Num 34 and Josh 15 took place. The border goes out to that area which in Num 34 had already been designated as "[the area] to the south of the ascent of scorpions." The usage is admittedly exceptional. But it is not incomprehensible.

2.3.1.3.2. The English example, "to the north of Jerusalem," has a by-form, "on the north of Jerusalem." It does not surprise us, therefore, to find the preposition -מן in the Hebrew analog replaced by the directive suffix -āh at 17:19, wĕyārad haggĕbûl . . . negbāh lannaḥal. The -ל phrase may be omitted if the reference point is obvious, as in 15:8,8; 16:1; 18:16. This is very likely what has happened in 17:10, negbāh lĕʾeprayim wĕsāpônāh limnaššeh. This does not mean, "to the south of Ephraim and on the north of Manasseh," which is geographical nonsense. Rather, each directional noun is understood as associated with lannaḥal from the previous verse: "to the south [of the wadi] belongs to Ephraim, and to the north [of the wadi] belongs to Manasseh.

2.3.1.3.3. The force of the construction of the noun of direction and of the preposition -ל in the idiom -מן + construct + -ל is to specify the location or reference point to which the noun of direction applies. This sort of job could be done equally well by an adverbial accusative, and such seems to be the construction in 16:6, wĕʿābar ʾōtô mimmizraḥ yānôḥāh, and 19:14, wĕnāsab ʾōtô haggĕbûl miṣṣāpôn hannātōn. There is no observable difference in meaning

between this construction and that of 2.3.1.3.1.

2.3.1.4. Verb + Subject + *ʾel ketep* + Place name + Direction.

In references of this form, the subject (either expressed or implied) is גבול. The passages may be divided into three groups, depending on the form which the element "Direction" takes. In 15:8 and 18:12, it is of the form מן- + noun of direction. In 15:11; 18:13,16,18, it is of the form noun of direction + *-āh*. 15:10 presents a merger of the two, *miṣṣāpōnāh*.

These passages are superficially amgibuous. Does the "direction" element modify the verb, or כתף? That is, in a sentence of the form, "the border went down to the shoulder of the Jebusite southward" (18:16), does "southward" tell the direction in which the border is being traced (from north to south)? Or does it specify to which slope of the Ophel the border passes (the south slope)? In a particular verse (such as the one just quoted), both interpretations may in fact be true. But it is important for the interpretation of unfamiliar border areas to determine which is intended by the author.

2.3.1.4.1. The form of the directive element with the terminative ending is the more ambiguous, for two reasons. First, the terminative ending is much more common in joining a noun of direction to a verb in these lists than is the preposition מן-. Second, although there is one case in the מן- verses where the direct modification of the verb is impossible, each of the verses which use "noun of direction + *-āh* is

susceptible of interpretation either way.

We interpret these forms as indicating the side of the "shoulder" which is in view, rather than as describing the direction in which the border moves. Three considerations lead to this conclusion.

First, as we have shown above, the use of a noun of direction with directive -$\bar{a}h$ to modify a noun rather than a verb is meaningful, through ellipsis of an understood verb (2.3.1.2.).

Second, the directive words in the construction being studied never come between כתף and the verb, but are always separated from the verb by the prepositional phrase. Clearly adverbial uses of "noun of direction + -$\bar{a}h$" almost always follow immediately the verb, without intervention of a place name (16:3,6,8; 18:15; 19:34). A noteworthy exception is in the use of the verbs סבב or שוב, when the place from which a turn is made often precedes specification of the direction toward which the border turns (15:10; 18:14; 19:12, 12). But neither סבב nor שוב is used in the construction under study. The only possible exception in the border lists to the principle that directives modifying the verb are placed close to the verb is 18:12, $w\check{e}^{\varsigma}\bar{a}l\bar{a}h$ $b\bar{a}h\bar{a}r$ $y\bar{a}mm\bar{a}h$.

Third, consistent interpretation of the directive element as modifying the verb is not possible. In three cases (18:13,18,19) the verb is עבר. 3.2.8. will argue that this verb indicates a bulge in the border, where the line deviates from its expected straight-line course to

"pass by" some location (often for the purpose of including that place in a tribe from which a straight-line border would exclude it). In executing such a bulge, the border will often travel in opposite directions at the two extremes of the segment described. In 18:13, if the directive element modifies עבר, it can only describe the direction in which the border is moving as it completes the bulge. On the other hand, in 18:19, verbal modification is only possible if the movement of the border at the start of the bulge is in view. But in every case, if the directive element is describing the particular side of the כתף to which the border moves, no ambiguity or contradiction arises.

In connection with this third argument, 16:1 should be examined. The basic pattern of "verb + adverbial phrase + noun of direction (+ -$\bar{a}h$) which characterizes the כתף constructions, there takes the form, *wayyēṣēʾ haggôral* . . . *miyyardēn yĕrîḥô lĕmê yĕrîḥô mizrāḥāh*. In moving ffrom the Jordan river near Jericho to Elisha's spring, the border is traveling westward, not eastward. The spring is on the east side of the tell, and *mizrāḥāh* may be emphasizing this. More likely, it points out that the border comes only to the east side of the spring and its oasis, rather than to the west side, where it would have the disastrous effect of dividing the city from its water source. The boundary comes to the east side of the oasis formed by the spring, then passes to the north of the city to the hills on the west.

The use of a noun of direction and -$\bar{a}h$ to indicate a

side of a topographical feature is thus not limited to the
כתף. 19:27 uses צפונה to indicate that Asher's border touches
the Iphtahel valley on the north. 15:8 (twice) and 18:16
use the construction to indicate direction relative to two
valleys near Jerusalem.

2.3.1.4.2. In constructions with מן-, 18:12 resolves
the ambiguity. There, the border goes up (from the Jordan)
to the shoulder of Jericho *miṣṣāpôn*. The precise course of
the border between the Jordan and Jericho lies along the
Wadi Nuᶜeima, as is apparent from the use of יצא in tracing
the same segment in the opposite direction in 16:7. (See
3.2.3. below.) The approach to Jericho is directly from
the east, and not from the north. But the border does pass
to the north of Jericho, including it within the territory
of Benjamin (18:21). It appears that we have an abbreviated
form of the formula מן- + noun of direction ± adverbial
accusative (2.3.1.3.3.). The complete statement would be,
"The border goes up to the shoulder of Jericho, to the north
of the shoulder." The same interpretation fits 15:8 and 15:
10 (though in these cases the geography in view does not
eliminate the other reading). One might have suspected, in
fact, that the directional element applied to the כתף rather
than to the verb directly, from its position in the sentence,
removed as far distant from the verb as possible.

In 16:6, the pattern discerned above with the כתף con-
structions may help resolve the course of the border. *wĕyāṣāʾ*
haggĕbûl hayyāmmāh hammikmĕtāt miṣṣāpôn. It is not necessary

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(with Kallai 1967: 125-26) to break the sentence after *hayyāmmāh*
and make the last two words a complete non-verbal sentence.
The author is simply describing in summary fashion the west-
ward branch of the border, to which he will return in 16:8,
before detailing the eastern arm. Had the style of the later
boundary descriptions (see 3:1. below) been in use here,
the verb שוב would no doubt have been used, for the movement
is just that described by שוב in 19:12,27,34 (see 3.2.5. below).
hammikmĕtāt is likely an adverbial accusative, modifying the
border verb just as the adverbial phrase *ʾel ketep* +
place name does elsewhere. Then *miṣṣāpôn* functions exactly
as it would in the כתף expressions. The border goes out to
the sea, by way of Michmethath, to the north of Michmethath.
That is, the description explicitly includes Michmethath in
Ephraim. This agrees with its location *ʿal-pĕnê šĕkem* (17:

See BASOR #190 (1968) p41 & presently.

7), a description that fits Khirbet Julayjil (Kh. Abu Nassir,

BASOR #190 (1968) pp 40-41

1792-1784, B29) better than Kallai's suggestion (1967: 128)
of Jabal el-Kabbir (B30, the ridge to the north-east of
Shechem, cf. Kallai 1962: 962-63). Also, 17:7 describes
Manasseh as extending from Asher to Michmethath. Our reading
of 16:6 suggests that Michmethath, like Asher, is outside the
boundary of Manasseh, and thus lends a symmetry to 17:7 that
would be lacking if Michmethath, unlike Asher, were part of
Manasseh.

2.3.2. *Adverbial uses.*

Some uses of nouns of direction in the previous section
were, strictly, adverbial, since the syntactical link between
the noun of direction and the noun being modified was an

elided verb. But here we are concerned only with nouns of direction which are most readily construed as directly modifying one of the verbs of boundary motion which is explicit in the text. Table 2 groups the fifteen such occurrences according to how the clause in question indicates the origin and destination of the movement. If a preposition or directive -$\bar{a}h$ is used, it is indicated. "Acc" indicates that the term is in the adverbial accusative. A dash (-) indicates that the clause under consideration does not specify a destination (or origin). "+" may indicate either that two terms in the given category are present, one with each of the markers recorded, or (in 19:11) that both markers are present on one term.

The table suggests that the semantic load of adverbial nouns of direction is very light in the boundary lists. Only once (18:15) is the noun the only directional element present. One clause has only the source listed (19:12). Of the other thirteen occurrences, five indicate the origin of the motion, and all indicate the destination. Of course many other segments of the boundary, not tabulated here, rely entirely on destinations and/or origins for explanation, without specifying a noun of direction at all.

TABLE 2

Verse	Destination	Origin	Noun of Dir.	Comments
18:15	-		ה-	No origin or dest'n
19:12	-	מ-	ה- + Acc.	Source only
16:3	אל + עד	-	ה-	
16:6a	Acc.	-	ה-	
16:6b	Acc.	-	ה-	
17:7	אל	-	אל	
18:12	ב	-	ה-	Destination only
19:11	ו[1]	-	ל + ה-	
19:27	Acc.	-	Acc.	
19:34	Acc.	-	ה-	
15:10	אל	מ-	ה-	
16:1	ל + Acc.	מ-	ה-	
16:8	Acc.	מ-	ה-	Both source and destination listed
18:14	ל	מ-	ה-	
19:13	ה-[2]	מ-	ה-	

Notes to the table:

1. ועלה גבולם לימה ומרעלה   Obviously, the ה- on the noun of direction is otiose. The ל appears to govern both the noun of direction and the place name, the ו, as often, extending the influence of the preposition over more than one noun.

2. The ultimate accent on עחה and גחה is anomalous. Three explanations might be suggested, the sense remaining unchanged.
       a. Sometimes directive ה- does take the accent, cf. Deut 4:41.
       b. The forms may simply be adverbial accusatives of place names in final ה. But one of the names is attested in   2 Kgs 14:25 as גת החפר. Of course, variant spellings of names for places is not infrequent. But of several places named גת in the OT, none takes a final ה elsewhere in the absolute form.
       c. A scribal misreading may have transferred the article from the second word of גת החפר (as in 2 Kings) to the end of the first word, where it was understood as directive ה. But this does not explain why the vocalization, added later, reflects an anomalous accentuation.

CHAPTER III

THE BOUNDARY VERBS

3.1. A Statistical Analysis of the Distribution of Boundary Verbs in Joshua's Border Lists

3.1.1. *The Problem.*

The verbs which are used in each list vary. Do some of the lists have "favorite" verbs? Is there any obvious structure in the distribution of the verbs among the boundary lists? Table 3 summarizes the number of times each verb occurs in each list. Tribes are in biblical order, verbs in alphabetical.

	Jud	Jos	Eph	Man	Ben	Zeb	Iss	Ash	Nap	TOTAL
הלך	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
יצא	5	1	2	0	4	2	0	1	1	16
ירד	1	1	1	1	6	0	0	0	0	10
סבב	2	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	5
עבר	8	1	1	0	3	1	0	0	0	14
עלה	7	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	11
פגע	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	2	1	7
שוב	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	1	5
תאר	3	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	5
תוצאות	3	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	13
TOTAL	29	4	3	3	21	10	2	7	4	

TABLE 3

Certain patterns are immediately evident. Some tribes have more geographical terms than do others--presumably because their borders are longer, or more involved, or just described in more detail. Similarly, some of the verbs have more occurrences than do others--perhaps because they refer to commoner sorts of border movements. But these very patterns make it difficult for us to see structure that depends, not on how frequent a verb is or how detailed a particular boundary may be, but on the favoritism of a particular boundary for a particular verb. In other words, we must find some way to remove the effects of the independent magnitudes of each of the rows or columns, in order to high-light any effect of the interaction of the two.

3.1.2. *The Computations*

To do this, we adopt a statistical technique developed and explained by Mosteller and Tukey (1977:165-202). We will remove from each row a constant, representative of the relative frequency of the verb in question. We will also remove from each column a constant reflecting the tendency of that particular boundary list to use lots of verbs. Each cell will be left with a residual value, reflecting its "true" value (after row and column values have been removed). Beside each row will be a constant reflecting the overall strength of that particular row. Beneath each column will be a similar constant for that column. Any cell in the table may be restored to its original value (the raw counts) by adding together the row and column constants for that

cell and the residual recorded in the cell. To avoid working with decimals, we will multiply every value by ten, and then round to the unit's place.

How do we come up with a constant that measures how populous the row is as a whole? There are two commonly used techniques. We might add all of the values in the row together, and divide by the number of values thus added, to arrive at a mean, or average. This could then be subtracted from the original values to leave a set of residuals whose overall average is zero. This procedure is fine for tables that are relatively constant. But when the data are concentrated in a few cells, and many other cells are empty, cleaning up the data by means tends actually to dirty the picture. It spreads the concentrated data out over cells where the actual datum is zero, and tears down the extreme cells--the very cells which may conceal the structure for which we are looking.

To overcome this problem, another procedure is used. The median cell value is computed for a given row or column by ordering the cells according to their size, and choosing the middle-ranked cell (or the average of the two middle cells, if there are an even number). Thus, if a given verb occurs not only many times, but also in most of the tribes, the median of that row will have a non-zero value, and will reflect the numerical strength of the verb. On the other hand, if the verb occurs many times, but only in the lists of one tribe, and if all of its other cells are empty, the

median value of zero for that verb will reflect the fact that
the strength of the verb is related entirely to the tribe
in which it occurs.

First row medians are taken out, then column medians.
But taking out column medians may upset the balance of the
rows. Their medians are computed again, and if they differ
from zero, they are removed. Then the columns must be
re-checked. Finally, a situation is reached where the median
of every column and the median of every row is zero. All
of the extracted medians for each row are added together to
give the overall row factor. The same is done for each column.
In the case of the present table, four complete iterations
were required. Table 4 gives the result. (All values are
times ten.)

	Jud	Jos	Eph	Man	Ben	Zeb	Iss	Ash	Nap	
הלך	-20	0	1	10	-20	-10	0	0	0	0
יצא	20	0	1	-10	10	0	-10	0	0	10
ירד	-10	10	1	10	40	-10	0	0	0	0
סבב	0	0	1	0	-10	0	0	0	0	0
עבר	60	10	1	0	10	0	0	0	0	0
עלה	50	0	-9	0	0	10	0	0	0	0
פגע	-22	-2	-1	-2	-22	8	8	18	8	2
שוב	-20	0	-9	0	-20	0	0	30	10	0
תאר	10	0	-9	0	0	-10	0	0	0	0
תצאות	0	0	-9	0	0	-10	0	0	0	10
	20	0	9	0	20	10	0	0	0	

TABLE 4

At first glance, the table is confusing. We began
with counts of verbs, which could be positive or zero, but
certainly not negative. What do all these minus signs
mean? They were generated by removing row and column
medians. That is, a minus sign indicates that its cell
contains less counts than it would be expected to, on the
basis of the strength of that particular tribe and verb.
This is just as important a piece of information as the
observation that a cell contains more than it would be
expected to (a positive number), or exactly as many as
it is expected to (a zero). Our adjusted table thus gives
us the sort of information for which we are looking. Yet
we have not lost any data. Consider the cell at the inter-
section of מצאות and "Ben[jamin]." The residual is 0.
The cell has exactly as many counts in it as we would
expect simply from the frequency of the "verb" and from the
overall size of Benjamin's list. The value of the cell can
be restored by adding 0 (the residual) + 20 (the column
median) + 10 (the row median) = 30, and dividing by ten.

3.1.3. *The Display*

Still, though, Table 4 does not show any more structure
than did Table 3. First we check for interaction between
rows and columns by plotting cell residuals against the
products of row and column medians. In this case, there is
no interaction. Then we see if by rearranging rows and
columns we can group the large cell residuals together in
one part of the table, and the small ones in another. This

is easier to do if we code the residuals in a fashion more readily grasped by the eye. By ranking all of the cell entries in order, we observe that we can reflect their values well with the following code: X = 60 to 18; # = 10; + = 8; . = 1 to -2; ° = -9; o + -10;) = -20 to -22. After coding and juggling, Table 5 emerges.

	Ben	Jos	Jud	Man	Eph	Zeb	Iss	Ash	Nap
עבר	#	#	X	.	.	.	.	.	.
ירד	X	#	o	#	.	o	.	.	.
תאר	.	.	#	.	°	o	.	.	.
יצא	#	.	X	o	.	.	o	.	.
תאות	.	.	.	.	°	o	.	.	.
עלה	.	.	X	.	°	#	.	.	.
הלך	o	.	o	#	.	o	.	.	.
סבב	o	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
פגע	o	.	o	.	°	+	+	X	+
שוב	o	.	o	.	.	.	.	X	#

TABLE 5

That does seem to help. The top five rows are (with a few outlying cells) positive or neutral for the first four tribes, but negative or neutral for the last four. The last four verbs act just the other way. They are negative or neutral for the first four tribes, but positive or neutral for the last four (again, with a few outliers). Ephraim's list is particularly bland. It is the only list with neither strong preferences nor strong rejection of any verb. So we

have fenced it off from the lists on either side. Similarly, עלה is exceptional. It only deviates from neutrality in the positive direction (except for the slight negative with Ephraim), and it does this on both sides of the table-- once for a tribe in the first four, and again for a tribe in the last four. We have fenced it off as well.

3.1.4. *The Conclusion*

Table 5 answers the question about interaction between rows and columns that sent us on this quest. Certain tribes do prefer some verbs, and reject others. The structure is clear. But explanations are open to discussion.

As a matter of fact, two groups of tribal boundaries are distinguished in Joshua. The first three allotments were made with the tribes assembled in Gilgal (14:6). The last seven came after they had moved to Shiloh (18:1). There is no information given on how the geographical data reflected in the first allotments were gathered. Did Joshua use survey notes taken by the spies forty years earlier when they scouted the land (Num 13:21)? His own campaigns would have furnished additional data. But we are told that the tribes who went to Shiloh without receiving allotments were to appoint surveyors for the territory that remained. These men were to divide the land in seven portions which they were to record in a scroll and bring back to the camp (18:4,6,9). Do the differences in verbs used derive from such differences in the original gathering of the boundary data? They may reflect topographical differences among the regions (though a glance at a map shows that similar topography must be

described in both groups of lists). Certainly, they do reflect a different way of describing the two groups of tribes. The southern boundaries are outlined independently of one another. But only one tribe in the north, Zebulon, is described with much completeness. The others then abbreviate their descriptions by sharing parts of its border and parts of the borders of other tribes that have already been outlined. A glance at Table 1 will show other patterns that distinguish 15-17 from 18-19. Dorsey (1973: 112-17) has noted two other criteria for distinguishing the first three tribes from the last seven. Place names referring to the same location frequently differ between the lists, with older forms preserved in the earlier lists. And the geographical perspective of the descriptions in 18-19 is uniformly toward Shiloh, as they would be recorded by observers traveling from that center.

Benjamin, though described in 18-19, follows the pattern of 15-17. Probably this is because so much of Benjamin's border description is borrowed from the already-composed border of Judah. and Ephraim-Manasseh

3.2. A Lexicographical Induction of the Boundary Verbs

Economy of presentation requires the sort of structured "definition + examples + exceptions outline which we have followed for each verb. Of course, this was not the pattern followed in studying the verbs. We did not pick a definition, see where we could fit it, and then force the other examples into the mold. The actual process entailed jockying back

and forth among place identifications, the details already
presented in Chapter II, and piles of maps for each of the
verbs, until patterns of usage began to emerge. But both
explanation and understanding of the conclusions would be
impossible if that winding path were to be set down here.

3.2.1. עלה, ירד

3.2.1.1. Definition.

There are a few passages in the OT where the usual
meanings "go down" and "go up" do not seem to fit these
verbs (Gen 46:29,31; Judg 11:37; 2 Kgs 2:2; 1 Kgs 24:1; etc.).
Sometimes it may be argued that the verb does indeed mean
"ascend" or "descend" with respect to a noteworthy part of
the journey, though the overall change in altitude may be
opposite. Sometimes such an explanation is not available.
Scholarly ingenuity, largely under the inspiration of G.R.
Driver, has suggested two classes of solutions.

The Semitic lexicon occasionally exhibits semantic
polarization, with a word diverging into two opposite meanings
(Nöldeke 1910: 67-108; Parunak 1975: 525-27). Perhaps ירד,
for instance, has polarized to mean both "ascend" and "descend"
(Driver 1947; 1950: 347). The process might be better
described as a generalization of meaning from "descend" to
"change elevation." But without careful control of idioms
and contextual features, which Driver lacks, the invocation
of polarization can be very ad hoc. Has עלה also polarized?
Are the words then synonyms? If so, we might expect one to
replace the other in common usage. Certainly a tabulation

such as Table 6 would be expected to show confusion between the two words. But neither of these events has occurred.

A more plausible suggestion is that frequent commerce between the Negev and the hill country may have led to a transformation of עלה from "go uphill" to "go up-country," and then (since the Negev is south of the hill country), "go north." (Driver 1957; Wilson 1962: 173-75). ירד would then come to mean "go south." Similar developments have been suggested in Ethiopic (Leslau 1962) and Aramaic (Fitzmyer 1967: 31). One may compare the use of "up" and "down" to refer to "north" and "south" (though in the opposite order) in Egypt, based on the direction in which the Nile flows, and thus in which the terrain is sloped (Shibayama 1966). But Table 6 does not reveal any such general pattern in the boundary lists.

Probably, place names in the problematic verses are frequently wrongly identified. There is no guarantee, for instance, that the Gilgal of 2 Kgs 2:2 is in the Arabah, as Driver assumes. There may be as many as five distinct Gilgal's in the OT (Kitchen 1962)! With such established multiplets as Bethlehem (in Judah, Gen 35:19, and Galilee, 19:15) and Beth Shemesh (in Naphthali, 19:38, and Judah, 15:10), it seems rash to insist on pressing the semantic field of a verb to extremes on the basis of place names alone, without other topographically identifying features.

3.2.1.2. Examples.

Table 6 lists sites connected by עלה (part I) and ירד (part II). Each site is followed by its map coordinates and

REF.	FROM		TO		CHANGE
			I. עלה		
15:6	Dead Sea	119-131, -397	Beth Hogla	198-137, -325	NW, +72
15:8	En Rogel	1724-1305, 605	Jebus	1725-1309, 650	N, +45
15:8	Jebus	1725-1309, 650	Hill	1703-1325, 810	NW, +160
18:12	Jordan	201-142, -350	Jericho	192-142, -200	W, +150
18:12 =16:1	Jericho	192-142, -200	"the mountain"		up
			II. ירד		
15:10	Shoulder N. of Chesalon	155-133, 550	Beth Shemesh	1475-1285, 225	SW, -225
16:3	Ataroth	1702-1462, 875	Lower Beth Horon	158-1447, 400	W, -475
16:3	Ataroth	1702-1462, 875	Gezer	1425-1408, 225	W, -650
16:7	Yanoah	184-173, 650	Ataroth	1909-1613, -200	SE, -850
16:7	Yanoah	184-173, 650	Naarath	1948-1508, -250	SE, -900
17:9	Tappuah	172-168, 675	W. Qana	163-172, 325	NW, -350
18:16	Hinnom	1715-1315, 750	Jebus	1725-1309, 650	SE, -100
18:16	Jebus	1725-1309, 650	En Rogel	1724-1305, 605	S, -45

TABLE 6

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altitude (in meters). As עלה consistently indicates ascent,
so ירד consistently indicates descent.

3.2.1.3. Difficulties.

3.2.1.3.1. *15.3*. As noted, the toponymy is not well
enough developed in the extreme south of Israel to allow a
firm interpretation of the southern border of Judah. But
the mountainous terrain certainly allows עלה in 15:3 (twice)
to mean "ascend."

3.2.1.3.2. *15:6; 18:18*. Beth Arabah (15:6) lies close
to the Jordan (3.2.8.2.4.), and the stone of Bohan ("thumb"),
probably the Hajar el-Asba ("rock of the finger," Devaux 1953:
541), is at any rate one of the mountainous outcroppings which
rise from the Arabah to the west. Thus "ascend" is suitable
for describing this segment, which must in any case go up in
altitude. 18:18, describing almost the same segment in reverse
order and moving from a כתף (which by nature must be elevated)
into the Arabah, fittingly uses ירד.

3.2.1.3.3. *15:7; 18:17*. The route further inland from
the stone of Bohan is also described as an ascent (15:7) or
descent (18:17), depending on the direction. In 18:17, Gelilot/
Gilgal is at the upper end of a descent, which ends at the
stone. Thus it cannot be the same as the Gilgal in the Arabah
proper, near Jericho. See 3.2.8.2.4. for a hill-country
identification within five miles of Jerusalem, which would allow
the verbs in question here to have their normal sense.

3.2.1.3.4. *18:13*. The location of Ataroth (-Addar)
enters into the analysis of ירד in 18:13. Bethel is at Beitin,

173-147, 875, B39. The name is preserved at 1707-143, 800,
B42, at the foot of Tel eʌNisba. But the ruin has only late
remains, and the tell itself is usually identified with
biblical Mizpah. The survey of Judea, Samaria, and Golan,
shows an ancient settlement near Bira (1702-1462, 875, B41).
Strategically, there must always have been a settlement at
this crossroads, and Aharoni (1967: 287) and Kallai (1967: 338)
are inclined to place Zemaraim (18:22), one of the cities of
Benjamin, there, and to let Ataroth end up somewhere in the
plateau to the south. But if both sites are important enough
to warrant a place in Josh 18 (whether in the town list or
in the border list), it seems backwards that Zemaraim, lying
on the border, should be listed with the towns, while Ataroth,
somewhere in the interior, defines the border! Rather, the
alternative location of Zemaraim in the bulge of the border
north-east of Bethel should be preferred (Kallai 1967: 338),
and serious consideration given to a location of Ataroth near
present day Bira.

But this leaves no descent from Bethel to Ataroth. Does
18:13 require one? The verse reads, *wĕyārad haggĕbûl ʿatrôt
ʾaddār ʿal-hāhār ʾăser minnegeb lĕbêt-ḥōrôn taḥtôn*. If the
verse ended with Ataroth, we would have to interpret the
place name as the goal of the verb, and either relocate
Ataroth on lower ground, or conclude that the author has in
view the descent of the road from Bethel into the wadi before
it climbs back to elevation 875. This use of an adverbial
accusative without prepositions or directive -*āh* is clearly

attested in 15:10 and 17:9, at least, with this verb. But no location of Ataroth finds it "on the mountain which is south of lower Beth Horon." This phrase must thus describe the goal toward which the border descends. The mountain in question (153-1435, 400) is more than twelve kilometers west of any reasonable location of Ataroth, as the crow flies, and considerably more along the border line. Probably we are not to see both Ataroth and this mountain as the goals to which the border descends. Rather, after the border encompasses the northern bulge, ending at Bethel, it descends *from* Ataroth (elevation 875), along a path, the extremity of which is upon the mountain to the south of the lower Beth Horon (C57). One might translate, "The border descends by way of [adverbial accusative] Ataroth Addar to the mountain . . . ." It is the movement from Bethel to the mountain that is termed, and properly, a descent.

3.2.1.3.5. *18:15*. En Lipta (D44), the only real option for the *ma⁽yan mê neptôaḥ*, is at elevation 700. *qĕṣēh hāhār ⁽al pĕnê gê ben-hinnōm* (D46) is probably the eastern lower extremity (cf. Exod 19:12) of the hill, where the broad valley which now contains Independence Garden turns from an east-west course to a north-south one and narrows into a true *gê* (at about 1715-1315, 750). But even this change from the *rō'š hāhār* mentioned in the corresponding description in 15:8 to the foot of the hill still leaves an ascent of 50 meters, not a descent.

It is noteworthy that even when the border description includes the top of the hill, at an elevation of over 800

meters, the leg to En Lipta is described not as a descent,
but as a turning (חאר, 15:9). Perhaps the name refers to a
whole settlement as well as to the spring (cf. $m\hat{e}$ $hayyarq\hat{o}n$
in Dan, 19:46), both of which lie in Benjamin. The border
would then run to the outskirts of the territory of the
town, not to the well itself. Then the border runs along the
present course of Jaffa Road, skirting to the north of Givat
Shaoul, before following the route of the Roman road which
rose to nearly 800 meters before descending into the valley.
At its point of closest approach to En Lipta, the boundary
would then be no lower than 770 or 780 meters, and though it
would rise over 800 meters in crossing the hilltop between
it and the Hinnom, by the time it reached the lower extremities
of the hill at elevation 750, it would have traced a net
descent of 20 or 30 meters.

3.2.1.3.6. *19.11.* In the southern border of Zebulun,
the use of עלה describes the movement of the border from
Sarid (1722-2295, 85, A18) to Maralah. Dorsey (1973: 135)
suggests identifying the second site with Tel Reala
(1666-2321, 60, A19). He notes that, although this location
is lower than Sarid, the road to it from Sarid first rises
dramatically before falling gently toward it. Or perhaps
the site of Maralah has not yet been identified, and is to
be sought to the north-east in the foothills of Nazareth.

3.2.1.3.7. *19:12.* The $y\bar{a}p\hat{i}a^{c}$ of 19:12 is another site
not yet clearly located. Modern $y\bar{a}p\bar{a}^{\circ}$ (Aharoni 1967: 379, 176-
232) not only leaves the final $^{c}ayin$ unaccounted for, but

lies far to the west of the expected course of the border.
This course is rather well defined by the notes that Issachar
touches Tabor (A12, 19:22, from the south-east) and that
Aznoth Tabor (186-237, A10) is on the border of Naphthali and
Zebulun (19:34). Probably עלה here means that the border,
after it leaves Daberath (A11) in the saddle to the north of
Tabor, climbs the watershed ridge to the north-west.

3.2.2.   תצאות

3.2.2.1. Definition.

Of the 23 OT uses of this word, 19 are in boundary
descriptions, either in Joshua or in Num 34. And two of the
remaining four uses have clear geographical overtones,
derived no doubt from the primary use of the term in the
boundary lists (though semantically not quite equivalent),
Ezek 48:30; 1 Chr 5:16. It is, then, understandable that
the primary clues to the meaning of the word come in the
boundary lists.

The word takes three sorts of complements. When the
"outgoings" are conceived of as a wide area, such as the
sea or a wilderness, the construction is invariably with $-\bar{a}h$.
When they are a river, into which the boundary runs and along
which it may later continue for a while, the construction is
with the accusative. When a particular city or local geo-
graphical formation, conceived of as a point, is the desti-
nation, the preposition אל appears. If this distinction of
areas, lines, and points as the termini of a border segment
is not coincidental, it is peculiar to Joshua. Three of the

five uses of the word in Num 34 (verses 8,9,12) appear to violate the pattern. But since these concern areas in the south which we have excluded from our study, the pattern will be useful to organize the presentation of data from Joshua's lists.

A priori, two types of topographical features lend themselves to frequent use as boundaries--mountain ridges, and wadi bottoms. Cross and Wright (1956: 220) recognized the suitability of watershed lines as boundaries for several of the districts of Judah in Josh 15, and Kochavi (1974: 31-32) has extended this principle to the southern districts in that list. Perhaps the etymological relationship between "boundary" (Heb. *gĕbûl*) and "mountain" (Arabic *jabal*) derives from the principle that borders generally follow mountain ridges (Koehler 1939: 124-25). If such a general principle was operative (and many of our borders, following watersheds, suggest that it was), it would be reasonable for special terminology to be enlisted to specify when this general principle was not followed, and when wadi-bottoms, rather than the ridges that separated them, were to be followed. Our survey suggests that יצא and תצאות perform just this function.

The use of תצאות in 17:18, a narrative section imbedded in the series of border descriptions, confirms that the word refers to lowlands. Joshua has allotted the mountain forests to the children of Joseph. They protest that this will not be enough, because the surrounding valleys are inhabited by

Canaanites, who, with their iron chariots, maintain control of the level land (17:16). Thus, they fear, they will have no room for expansion. Joshua urges them not to underestimate their own strength (17:17). Not only the hill country, but also its תצאות, will belong to them, because they will disinherit the Canaanites, iron chariots notwithstanding (17:18). Here, תצאות quite clearly refers to the fingers of valley that run up into the hills, the low lands that the children of Joseph had despaired to possess in 17:16, but from which Joshua assured them they would banish the Canaanites.

3.2.2.2. Examples.

See Table 7, which summarizes examples of תצאות to an area (I), תצאות to a line (II), and יצא (III).

3.2.2.2.1. *The destination is an extended area (Table 7, I).* A consistent reading of the תצאות idiom requires that the 3 m s suffix, where present, be understood as referring to the boundary. In 16:8 and 17:9 there is a possibility of confusion with נחל, which immediately precedes the reference to תצאות, and which, like גבול, is masculine in gender. In fact, because the תצאות lie along wadi bottoms, such ambiguity does not distort the boundary description, and thus has no communicative value, which is probably why it was tolerated.

3.2.2.2.2. *The destination is a line (a wadi) (Table 7, II).* Note that the syntax of 19:15 is precisely the same as that of 19:22,33. It is customary to try to trace the border of Zebulun far long the course of the Iphtahel, to the plain of Acco, on the understanding that 19:15 means that

	Ref.	FROM:	TO:	WADI:
I. מצאות to area	15:4	Wadi of Egypt	Sea	Wadi of Egypt
	15:11	Yabneel C59	Sea	Soreq Cm
	16:3	Gezer C56	Sea	Ayyalon Ci
	16:8 =17:9	N. Qana at 163-172	Sea	N. Qana (Bd,Cd)
	18:12	Mt. west of Jer. B37	Wilderness of Beth Aven, Be (see 3.2.8.2.1)	Makkuk
	19:29	Territory of Achzib (see 2.1.1.3.3.)	Sea	N. Keziv
II. מצאות to a line	19:15	Hill 260, 172-244	Iphtahel, Ab	(runs south from hill 260, joins Iphtahel at 1725-2410)
	19:22	Beth Shemesh A14	Jordan Ac	Yabneel
	19:33	Laqqum A(15)	Jordan Ac	Yabneel
III. יצא	15:9	En Lipta settlement (see 3.2.1.3.5.) C44	Mt. Ephron C(69)	Valley west from 1677-1335 to Soreq
	15:11a	Timnah C(64)	Ekron C62	W. Muqanna (N. Timnah)
	15:11b	Mt. Baalah C60	Yabneel C59	Soreq
	16:2	Bethel B 39	indefinite	Suweinit from 1718-1473
	16:7	Jericho B36	Jordan Bc	W. Nuᶜeima
	18:15a	Kiryat Yearim C68	(north)-westward	N. Yitlah Cj
	19:13	Eth Qaṣin A(8)	Rimmon A7	Iphtahel

TABLE 7

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the border goes out *along* the Iphtahel. The name of the wadi could be an adverbial accusative giving the route. But the clear examples of 19:22 and 19:33 suggest that it specifies the destination instead. This exposition also avoids the apparent overlap of Asher and Zebulun in the galilean Shephelah.

3.2.2.2.3. *The destination is a point, C57-68.* Three examples exist, but only one lies clearly along a wadi. The other two are discussed un-er 3.2.2.3. 18:14 records that the western quarter of Benjamin's border has its outgoings at Kiryat Yearim (C68). The mountain to the south of Beth Horon the lower (C57) (extending south-west from 158-144) lies between two arms of the Ayyalon. The turn (סבב) which the border makes on this mountain probably brings it to the southern arm, which it then follows to the confluence of the two arms. Yet another branch of the Ayyalon, today called Naḥal Yitlah (Cj), finds its origin in the saddle that separates modern Abu Ghosh (1598-1347) from the hilltop to the north where remains from the seventh millennium B.C. have been unearthed (1599-1352). If these twin hilltops represent the twin cities of Kiryat Yearim, one in Benjamin (18:28) and the other in Judah (15:60), then the wadi extending from that point to the north-west is an excellent boundary. This wadi joins the Ayyalon at 1515-1409, so that the תצאות from the mountain to the south of Beth Horon to Kiryat Yearim follows one wadi down to the juncture, and the other back up to Abu Ghosh.

3.2.2.3. Difficulties.

3.2.2.3.1. *18:19 B55-Dead Sea.* From Beth Hoglah, the border has its outgoings to the point (using אל) where the Jordan flows into the Dead Sea. There is presently no single major wadi flowing to this point. But of course, sedimentation from the Jordan has built up a visible delta in this area, and it is likely that at the time the border lists were compiled, the juncture lay to the north of its present location. A visit to the area will show that the problem in tracing a wadi from Beth Hoglah to some spot on the Zor north of the Dead Sea is not that there are no wadis, but that the entire terrain is heavily dissected by perennial stream-beds. This example does not violate the common connection of תצאות with valleys and wadi-bottoms, though designation of the exact route is today virtually impossible.

3.2.2.3.2. *15:7 D48-49.* The תצאות reach from En Shemesh to En Rogel. The latter is at 1724-1305 (D48), in the Kidron Valley just south of its confluence with the Hinnom. The only other spring presently active in the area, and usually identified with En Shemesh, is at 1757-1313, the Spring of the Apostles, D50, about a kilometer east-north-east of el-Eizaria, D49. The border need not go all the way to the source itself, but only to the town associated with the spring, which might in fact be at el-Eizaria (compare 3.2.1.3.5. above). There is no clear path of wadis joining el-Eizaria to En Rogel. But it is

possible to connect them with a route that lies along land
always lower than its surroundings. Thus, the border arrives
at the town from Gilgal/Gelilot (D51) by way of the watershed,
or high, route. Then it travels to the west along the
present Jericho road, crossing the saddle between the Mount
of Olives to the north and the hilltop at 174-130. At this
point (1737-1307) the road crosses the head of the Wadi Qaddum
(Dp), which descends to the Kidron (Df). The border would go
down this wadi to its juncture with the Kidron at 1733-1300,
and then follow the Kidron uphill to En Rogel. The only part
of the border which does not actually follow a wadi is the
portion paralleled by the Jericho road across the saddle.
And even there the route chosen is a valley route, rather
than the watershed route that the border usually follows
unless otherwise specified.

3.2.3. יצא

3.2.3.1. Definition.

The meaning of יצא has been diversified and generalized
through wide use. Our study of the cognate תצאות suggests
that in the boundary lists, the root is used to indicate an
exception to the usual pattern of watershed boundaries. It
designates a boundary that follows a lowland route, and
wherever possible, a wadi-bottom.

3.2.3.2. Examples.

In seven of its fourteen uses, יצא clearly indicates
a border segment that runs along a wadi-bottom. See Table 7,III.

3.2.3.3. Difficulties.

In the seven cases where the border does not clearly follow a wadi-bottom for the entire route, it can still be shown that the usual watershed route is forsaken for a lowland route, which involves wadis for a considerable portion of its length.

3.2.3.3.1. *16:6 B28-27-d, C27-d-Mediterranean.*

Passing to the north of Michmethath (1792-1784, B29), the border is summarized by אצי not only westward (*yāmmāh*), but emphatically all the way to the sea (*hāyāmmāh*, Jotton 1911: 396-97). As detailed in 17:7-9 and 16:8, the border runs south along the valley that reaches south from Shechem, and makes its way to Tappuah (in the vicinity of 172-168, B27) before descending to the head of the Wadi Qana (Bd) near 163-172. But from here, the wadi is the border, all the way to the sea (Cd). The use of אצי is no doubt motivated by the coincidence of the Qana with the major part of this segment of the border.

3.2.3.3.2. *18:15b C68-44.*

Again in summary fashion, אצי describes the stretch of border from Kiryat Yearim (C68) to the settlement above En Lipta (C44). The last part of this border is described in 15:9 with אצי, and follows the Soreq and one of its tributaries. But the border, in reaching from Kiryat Yearim to the Soreq, must cross the ridge of hills that stretches south-west from Qastil. Probably this crossing takes place at the saddle, 1625-1318, between hill 788 and hill 791 (C69). Then this segment of the border will remain a low-land route.

3.2.3.3.3. *18:17a B48-49*. יצא traces the border from
En Rogel (B48) to En Shemesh (the settlement at B49; the
actual spring is at B50), just as מצאות was used in 15:7 for
the same segment. See 3.2.2.3.2.

3.2.3.3.4. *18:1,7b D49-(51)*. In 3.2.8.2.4., we re-
construct the border of Judah from Gilgal (D(51)) to En
Shemesh (D49) as riding the watershed between the upper
branches of the Og (Dg) and the Kidron (Df). That border
would follow the present road through Khirbet ez-Zarurah (hill
627, 1755-1278), to the hill on which Abu Dis sits (ca. 175-
130), and then skirt the wadi to the north of Abu Dis to reach
el-Eizaria. In contrast, the southern border of Benjamin
follows the lowlands and wadis just to the north of this
watershed, by following the wadis to the north and east of
Abu Dis to meet the Og at ca. 1765-1283. The precise course
from there to Geliloth depends on the identity of the latter
site. This is the only observable segment of inter-tribal
boundary whose path is described differently in the two
tribes, leaving a narrow strip of "no-man's land" between.
But there may have been other cases where two tribes, looking
at the same general border area from two different sides,
perceived its topographical markers differently. We could
only discover such distinctions where we have the same border
described in relative detail from both sides--and the border
between Judah and Benjamin is in fact the only such segment
preserved thus for us.

3.2.3.3.5. *19:12 A17-11*. The use of פגע in 19:22

suggests that Mount Tabor (A12) is included in Zebulun (see 3.2.4.3.2.). Then the stretch of border described in 19:12 must go south-east from Chesuloth (A17), to the south of Tabor, before returning north on the east side of the mountain, and finally reaching around its north-east side to Daberath (A11). In fact, Tabor lies between two branches of N. Tabor, which join near 189-231, and which reach respectively to Chesuloth and to within two kilometers of Daberath. The border likely follows these wadis.

3.2.3.3.6. *19:27 A6-3-1*. After contacting the western border of Zebulun (at N. Bethlehem, Aa) and the Iphtahel (Ab, the extension of that border to the north-east), the border of Asher "goes out" to the north of Cabul, 170-2526 (A1). We know from 19:13,14 that the border of Zebulun runs through the Beth Netopha valley, to the north of Hannathon (A6) and descends to the Iphtahel by way of the wadi reaching south from hill 260 (see Table 7 II). A topographically reasonable way to reach Cabul from the Beth Netopha valley follows the wadi that enters the valley at Khirbet Qana, 179-247, to the west-north-west. At 1766-2480, an arm of this wadi reaches due north toward a saddle between modern Yodphat (hill 476, A3), and hill 538 to the east. The northern side of this saddle is the upper end of N. Shegev, which passes just to the north of Cabul, as the border description requires.

In the light of this reconstruction, it is tantalizing to reconsider the identification of Beth Emek and Neiel in

this verse. Rather than locating them along the hills that border the plain of Acco, they might rather be settlements in the north-west corner of the Beth Netopha valley. "Beth Emek" is the sort of descriptive title that might be applied to many different valley settlements, so that the preservation of the name near a bronze age tell at 164-264 does not preclude another such place in the Beth Netopha valley. And *ně^{v}i$^{c\wedge\,\prime}$el* is a theophoric compound with the radicals י, reflected also in the mysterious *hanně$^{-c-}$ah* of 19:13. The article in the latter case may indicate that the place name there is descriptive ("the trembler"?), and that Neiel is the proper name for the place. Then the border of Rimmon (A7) (and thus of Zebulun) would extend as far as Neiel (A(5)), toward the middle or north of the valley, and Beth Emek and Neiel would be accusatives of extent. 19:27 would be paraphrased, "and the border touched Zebulun, even the north side of the Iphtahel valley, and kept on touching Zebulun as far as Beth Emek and Neiel. Then it went out to the north side of Cabul."

3.2.3.3.7. *19:34 A10-9-(8)-7-(5)-3-2.* The border of Naphthali "goes out" from Aznoth Tabor (1862-237, A10) (see 3.2.5.2.3.) to Huqqoq. The rabbinical identification of the name at 1967-2537 is far to the west of any reasonable reconstruction of Naphthali's border. Aharoni (1967: 378) suggests that the settlement be located at 175-252 (A2), a site that lies just to the north of the wadi that carries Asher's border to the north of Cabul, as noted above. 19:34 presents a broad summary of Naphthali's border, which

(see 3.2.8.3.1.)　　　includes　ascents along watershed routes and a detour in the vicinity of Kafr Kanna.　But once the border (with that of Zebulun) reaches the Iphtahel, a lowland and largely wadi route is followed to Rimmon, then almost directly across the Beth Netopha valley to the wadi that carries Asher's border past Yodphat and leads to the wadi flowing past Shagav-Huqqoq.　As at 16:6 and 18:15b, יצא is used to summarize a broad stretch of border, a significant part of which follows wadis or low-lands, even though some highland travel may be involved.

3.2.4.　פגע

3.2.4.1.　Definition.

Other than an etymological note (Rundgren 1953: 336-45), this verb has not received much scholarly attention.　Outside of the boundary lists, it is used mostly of an individual (whether human or divine) meeting a person.　The person (once, Gen 28:11, a place) who is met is always presented either in the accusative or with ב.

We propose that this verb describes the incidence of the boundary being described with the boundary of another tribe, or with the boundary of a town which lies outside of the area being described.

3.2.4.2.　Examples.

3.2.4.2.1.　פגע is the only verb used to describe the meeting of one tribe's boundary with the boundary of another tribe (19:34 (thrice); 19:27).　In the boundary of Ephraim, it describes the incidence of the border with the boundary

of Jericho (B36, 16:7), a city which lies within Benjamin (18:21; 2 Chr 28:15). Dabbesheth (A(20), 19:11) is not clearly identified yet, but would serve as Jericho does in 16:7, as a noteworthy site in a neighboring trive serving as a point of contact for the border. Shihor Libnath (19:26) is likely Tel Abu Huwam (152-245, A26), which lies between the mouth of the Kishon and the slopes of Mount Carmel at the Mediterranean. If the south border of Asher follows the Kishon, then Libnath lies just outside that border, and is touched (פגע) by it in the sense which we have described.

3.2.4.2.2. פגע also describes the incidence of the boundary with geographical features which, like the boundary of a city or tribe, describe a line. Thus Asher's border, following the Kishon, "touches" Mount Carmel (A25) between Tel Qasis (1605-2323, A22) and the modern suburb of Nesher (156-241, A24), but withdraws from it to the north-west and south-east of these extremes. Carmel, though used in defining the border of Asher, thus lies strictly outside of the tribe's limits, at its north-west extremity. The border similarly impinges on the Iphtahel (Ab, 19:27).

3.2.4.3. Difficulties.

Two passages demand attention because they seem to violate the pattern of every boundary use of פגע thus far cited, of introducing the object of the verb with ב.

3.2.4.3.1. *19:11 A18-(20)-a.* The second occurrence of פגע in this verse is followed by *ʾel hannaḥal* . . . . We follow Dorsey (1973: 131) in identifying the wadi in question

with N. Bethlehem (Aa; see 2.1.2.2. above). This not only
yields a smoother boundary than the older identification
with N. Yoqneam (Aq), but is more in keeping with the usage
of ʿal pĕnê. Of course, the boundary would make good sense
if the verb here meant, "the boundary touches the wadi," as
it does in 19:27. But then, why is the object introduced
with אל, a preposition that nowhere else in the OT is used
to introduce the object of this verb?

The LXX on the verse gives a clue. Both B and A
omit the second פגע. The border simply touches [the border
of] Dabbesheth (Betharaba in B, introduced somehow from
15:6), unto the wadi. That is, it follows Dabbesheth's
city limits until it comes to the wadi, at which point it
begins to follow the wadi. The second פגע may have been
introduced secondarily into MT, though the context does not
offer a ready explanation for such a change. Probably, the
LXX is giving a correct *ad sensum* rendering of the same
Hebrew which we have. The border touches Dabbesheth, and
touches [it] up to the wadi.

3.2.4.3.2. *19:22 A12-10-14*. The syntax of Issachar's
border list in 19:22 requires that not only Tabor (A12,
introduced by ב), but also Shahazumah and Beth Shemesh (pre-
ceded only by ו) be understood as objects of פגע. Although
introduction of the object of פגע as accusative is without
parallel elsewhere in the boundary lists, it is (along with
the use of ב) quite common elsewhere in the OT. But more
likely the first ב has distributive force (as Hos 3:2;

2 Sam 15:22), and is understood as applying to each of the place names mentioned. The location of Shahazumah is not known. Beth Shemesh is probably near 1996-2327, where the radicals are preserved in connection with a sheikh's tomb (Al4). Map A shows how the border, following the watershed ridge along Har Yabneel, leaves Beth Shemesh in Naphthali, just as Tabor proper lies in Zebulun (1 Chr 6:62). Thus פגע is appropriate for both of these sites, and certainly is used in the same way with Shahazumah, named between them.

3.2.5. שוב

3.2.5.1. Definition.

With this verb, we have the rare advantage of a comprehensive and usage-oriented analysis (Holladay 1958). Although the very scope of his project precluded the analysis in detail of the geographical sense of the verb as used in the boundary lists (page 65; the summary rubric on page 54, "ultimate destination unstated, uncertain, or unimportant" is strictly not true in several cases), it also demands our notice of what he concludes is "the central meaning of šubh" in the Qal: "having moved in a particular direction, to move thereupon in the opposite direction, the implication being (unless there is evidence to the contrary) that one will arrive again at the initial point of departure" (page 53). Our analysis confirms the contrast which he observes between שוב and סבב. Though the "initial point of departure" is not regularly the terminus of the geographical uses of the verb under consideration, the notion of a reversal of direction

(as opposed simply to a change of direction on the order of a right angle) is central.

3.2.5.2. Examples.

The actual uses of the verb in the boundary lists fall into two categories. Three times (19:12,27,34) the verb forms the transition between a border description moving in one direction from a point, and a continuation of the description moving in the opposite direction. Twice (both in 19:29), it seems to note that the border virtually retraces its steps, having included or touched a remote site toward which Israel held a narrow strip of territory.

3.2.5.2.1. *19:12 A18-19, 18-17*. The first, western half of the southern border of Zebulun has been described beginning at Sarid (A18) (19:10,11). Then the border turns (שוב) from (-מן) Sarid, emphatically eastward (with a two-fold directional element similar to that in 19:13, and together with that unique in the border lists), continuing as far as the border of Chisloth Tabor, A17 (1806-2321).

3.2.5.2.2. *19:27 A23-26, 23-a*. After a straight list of seven towns, the border description describes the contact of the border (with פגע) with Carmel (A25), and after that with Shihor Libnath (A26). 3.2.4.2.1. shows that this is essentially a westward movement of the border along the Kishon. Then the border continues, *wĕsāb mizraḥ haššemeš bêt dāgōn*, after which the border impinges (פגע) on Zebulun, to the east. If we accept Kallai's identification (1967: 177) of Beth Dagon with Tel Regeb (1588-2405, A23),

which lies a little more than a kilometer from the river, Beth Dagon will be the turning point midway between the western sector going toward the sea, and the eastern sector which returns to Zebulun. Then שוב will function just as it does in Zebulun's southern border. "The border returns toward the east [adverbial accusative] at Beth Dagon."

3.2.5.2.3. *19:34 A10-14-c, 10-7-2*. Though Aharoni (1967: 373) marks the identification as questionable, there is considerable support for a location near Khirbet um Jubel (Al0, 1862-237) as Aznoth Tabor. The site has late bronze sherds, and lies just to the east of hill 532, where we have traced the border (Kallai 1967: 196). Up to this point, Naphthali's border description has consisted of a list of cities, from which the border goes out to the Jordan. At this point, *šāb haggĕbûl yāmmāh ʾaznôt tābôr*, whence it is traced westward to Asher. The rest of 19:34 makes it clear that the verb functions only to summarize what was previously detailed as the northern border of Zebulun. Although that border between hill 532 and the Beth Netopha valley is quite complex, it serves more as Naphthali's southern border than as any other, and in fact is only the western half of that southern border. Thus שוב points out Aznoth Tabor as the point at the conceptual middle of that southern border, from which the description proceeds in opposite directions.

3.2.5.2.4. *19:29a*. This is the first example of the second use of שוב in the lists (3.2.5.2.). Asher's territory is long and thin, extending all the way to Sidon (19:28),

but without any indication of its breadth. Topographically,
north of Rosh Hanniqra, it is conceived of as the very narrow
Phoenician plain, and does not penetrate far into the mountains
to the east. One does not think of it as an enclosed
territory, but as a chain of cities lying in one continuous
line. Thus, after tracing a line of cities up the coast to
Sidon, the author does not retrace his steps city by city,
but simply notes that *šab haggĕbûl hārāmâh wĕʿad-ʿîr
mibṣar-ṣōr*, the next point of interest.

3.2.5.3. Difficulties.

19:29b, moving from "the fortified city of Tyre,"
reads, *wĕšâb haggĕbûl hōsâh*. The analysis is complicated
by problems in the identifications of both the "fortified
city of Tyre" and Hosa. Is the fortified city (LXX B:
fortified spring) the city of Tyre on the island, or
Palaiotyre of the Hellenistic sources, on the mainland?
And is Hosa to be identified with the Usu of Egyptian and As
Assyrian sources? Kallai (1967: 182-86) has discussed the
entire problem in detail, and we will not repeat his discussion,
except where we differ with his conclusions.

We should note that these border details involving the
fortified city of Tyre are the only details given in all of
the return border from Sidon to Achzib. It would be very
unusual, therefore, if the effect of this exceptional
detail were to be only a continuation of the expected re-
tracing of the border to the south.

Kallai rejects the verbal identification of Husa with

Usu on the grounds that the Egyptian transcriptions would not
have used ʾalep to indicate a Hebrew ḥet. This is linguistically
sound. But it does not follow, as he concludes, that the town
named as Husa in Joshua is not the same place as that named
Usu in other sources. Even in biblical times, doublets of
town names were clearly known (Kiryat Yearim/Baalah; Jerusalem/
Jebus; Debir/Kiryat Sepher). Linguistic identity of the two
names would make their identification likely. But linguistic
dissimilarity, whether great or (as here) small, does not
make it impossible. Kallai's argument would be more compelling
if he could propose another site which preserved the Egyptian
name more closely.

A more telling argument against the identification of
Husa with Usu is that the Anastasi Papyrus (Wilson 1969: 477)
describes it before the island Tyre in a list that runs from
north to south, while the boundary list, also moving from
north to south, names Husu after Tyre. But Kallai himself
acknowledges that the order of the names may not reflect the
location of the places, since Tyre, in the ocean, is out of
line anyway.

From its frequent mention in the other sources, Usu was
an important site on the coastal route. There seems little
to oppose Kallai's identification of it with Palaiotyre, and
with modern Tel Rashideyeh. Because Kallai rejects the
identification of "the fortified city of Tyre" with the island
fortress, he places it at Rashideyeh as well, noting the
suitability of the LXX tradition about a fortified "well" (עיר)
to the large spring at Rashideyeh which apparently served

as the water source for island Tyre. Husa he leaves to go begging for a site, noting the possibility that the name is preserved at a small nearby tell.

The use of שוב suggests a 180° turn in the border from the fortified city to Husa. Simon's explanation (1959: 192-93) that the reference to Tyre is a late insertion, and that Ramah is to the south in Naphthali, and that שוב refers to a border line that first goes far to the south, then returns to the vicinity of Tyre to pick up Husa, has no manuscript support. Kallai offers a general definition of the term in line with ours (1967: 183), but does not seek to apply it to this particular segment. By his identifications, he cannot really explain why the border should have to "return" in this area at all. In fact, he cannot explain why these details of the region of Tyre should be necessary in the first place, in contrast to the long stretches of border left unspecified on either side. But if the fortified city is (as one might suspect from its descriptive title) the island fortress, and if Husa is on the shore (perhaps at Rashideyeh, though the conclusions would be topographical and *not* linguistic), then both the use of שוב and the mention of these details are explicable. The details are included in the border list to make it clear that Asher's hegemony includes not just the shore, but the important fortress as well. And שוב indicates that the border, having gone out to the island from the mainland, returns along its own path. We might have expected עבר in such a context (see 3.2.8.).

But the emphasis is on the one city, not the area of sea bottom
included in the boundary. And we have seen (Table 5 and 3.1.4.)
that the later border lists have a preference for שוב, as the
earlier do for עבר.

Kallai presents four arguments for rejecting the identification
of "the fortified city of Tyre" with the island city. Our
suggestion can stand only if we can answer his arguments.

The reading of LXX B (virtually alone against all other
Greek manuscripts), ἕως πηγῆς Μασφασσάτ καὶ τῶν τυρίων, is
taken by Kallai to suggest a Hebrew עין in place of עיר. If
this be the original reading, one might reconstruct עין מבצר
צור, "the fortified spring of Tyre." Μασφασσάτ may well be
a corruption of מבצר, understood as a proper name. But πηγῆς
may simply result from a paleographic confusion between ר and
ו, which would have been possible at times in the inter-
testamental period. Compare the forms in the script of 4QJer[a]
(Cross 1961: 175). Even if the LXX form is original, one
might as well reconstruct an original Hebrew עין מבצר וצור,
on the basis of the καὶ before τῶν τυρίων. Then the LXX (and
its reconstructed *vorlage*) would in fact insist on a distinction
between the fortified spring (Palaiotyre) and Tyre itself
(the island). The border would move from Ramma, to Rashadeyeh,
then out to the island, thence to return (שוב) to Hosa,
which is either the proper name of the town by the spring,
or a nearby settlement. In the final analysis, it is easier
to accept the LXX (B) as a corruption.

Kallai argues that Judg 1:31 excludes Tyre from the

territory of Asher, because "Tyre is not reckoned with the remnants of the conquest of Asher." The verse in question, of course, does not purport to list all the cities of Asher, but only those whose inhabitants the tribe of Asher had not managed to displace. The verse is evidence of the exclusion of the island Tyre from Asher only if it is joined with the assumption that (1) the Asherites could not possibly have conquered the island, and (2) the list is a complete list of the unconquered cities, rather than simply a representative summary. But Aharoni (1967:214) has already argued that the entire Phoenician coast up to the Litani is included in Judg 1 in the reference to "the inhabitants of Sidon." And one may ask whether it is not the intent of Josh 19 to claim that the supposedly invincible island had actually come under Israelite control--thus the pains to detail its inclusion in the border.

It is further argued that "the fortified city of Tyre" must have the same meaning in 19:29 that it does in the account of David's census in 2 Sam 24:7, where it is one of the cities visited by the census takers, and thus within David's hegemony. Yet the island city must have been independent by this time, for David (2 Sam 5:11) had dealings with Hiram, its king. Thus, it is argued, the phrase must refer to the mainland city. But of course it is inconceivable that the island and the mainland city could lie for any length of time in different administrations, since the former depended on the latter for its water supply, delivered by ships (Wilson

1969: 477). To whatever extent David exercised continuous
control over the mainland, he also controlled the island.
It is simplest to understand the phrase here as referring to
the island, and to see Hiram as owing some allegience to
David, whose censors came to that district to number Israelites
living there (Kallai 1967: 183, n. 242).

Kallai's fourth argument for distinguishing "the fortified
city of Tyre" from the island is that such a border move would
bring the border out to the sea prematurely, before the
recorded תצאות in the area of Achzib at the end of the verse.
Our study of תצאות (3.2.2.) showed that the term is used
predominantly for a wadi boundary. This is not the case at
Tyre. At any event, the use of תצאות in the region of Achzib
does not prevent the border from touching the sea before
that point, as Kallai must concede. His inclusion of the port
city of Sidon within the borders of Asher brings the border
to the sea just as effectively as does our inclusion of Tyre.

3.2.6. סבב

3.2.6.1. Definition.

סבב contrasts with שוב as a 90° angle does with a 180°
angle. It indicates a corner rather than a retracing of one's
steps or a return to the original point of departure. Though
etymology is often a treacherous guide to meaning, in this case
the use of other derivatives of סבב in the sense "to surround"
is suggestive of the sort of circular motion that is intended,
as contrasted with the complete change of direction with שוב.

3.2.6.2. Examples.

3.2.6.2.1. *19:14 A(8)-7-6.* Perhaps the clearest example

of the use of סבב (which in our lists always occurs in the
Nip^cal in this technical usage) to indicate a corner in a
boundary is the point where the border of Zebulun, following
the Iphtahel north to Rimmon (1795-2435, A7) turns west to
pass to the north of Hannathon (1743-2435, A6). The verb
here takes a direct object pronoun, *wĕnāsab 'ōtô*, referring
either to Rimmon, or to the linguistically and geographically
obscure site of *mĕtō'ār nē^cāh*. *nē^cāh* might be the turning
point of the border, and would lie somewhere toward the middle
or north of the Beth Netopha valley. More probably (as the
use of the article suggests), *mĕtō'ār nē^cāh* is simply a
phrase descriptive of Rimmon, which is the turning point.
We can render the expression idiomatically: "the border
rounds Rimmon."

3.2.6.2.2. *16:6 B27-29-31.* The verse is most readily
understood if Michmethath (which we have put at 1792-1784,
B29, for reasons discussed at 2.3.1.4.2.) is seen as the
pivotal point of the border. First it is mentioned as the
point on the north of which the border goes out westward.
The details of this western border given in 16:8 and 17:7-9
show that this westward extent actually begins with a run
south (17:7) from Michmethath to Tappuah (B27), before it
joins the Qana (Bd) for its long journey west to the sea.
The second part of the border, moving east from Michmethath,
begins, *wĕnāsab haggĕbûl mizrāḥāh ta'anat silōh*. Since
the last leg of the western half of the border is oriented
generally north-south, the eastern half, which goes due east

from Michmethath to Taanath Shiloh (B31) before descending
to the Jordan Valley, joins it at an acute angle, close to
90°. And the verb used to describe this juncture is סבב.

3.2.6.2.3. *18:14 C57.* The borders of Benjamin are
distinctive among the border descriptions by their consistent
use of פאה (18:12,14,14,20) to summarize the four major parts
of the border. Elsewhere in the boundary lists, the term
occurs only once, in 15:5, probably under the influence of
Num 34:3. Conceptually, the tribe is described as four-sided,
with northern, southern, eastern, and western edges or
quarters. The western half of the northern quarter descends
from the mountains by way of the ridge along which the Beth
Horon road runs. Just before reaching the lower Beth Horon
(C57), the border crosses the saddle to the south of the
city and lands "on the mountain which is to the south of the
lower Beth Horon" (18:13). From here the west quarter is
viewed as beginning. The actual course of the border follows
the Naḥal Beth Horon south-west (as the use of תוצאות later
in the verse suggests), so the actual bend in the border is
only on the order of 45°. But the use of פאה in the section
shows that this particular junction is conceived of as the
corner between the north and west quarters. And the verb used
to describe the juncture is סבב.

3.2.6.2.4. *15:10 C(69)-68-67.* After descending from
Givat Shaoul by way of the Roman road, the northern border
of Judah probably does not follow the modern highway to
reach Kiryat Yearim . Such a course would include Mozah

(probably at Qastil, or another of the hilltops surrounding
hill 791, at 1634-1332, C(69); see, provisionally, Avigad
1972: 5 for a further suggestion) in Judah, while it was
understood rather to lie in Benjamin (18:26). The use of
יצא for the border in 15:9 suggests that it follows the
Soreq to the south-east of hill 791, before crossing the
saddle between it and hill 788 (161-131) in a north-westerly
direction to reach Kiryat Yearim (C68). Upon reaching that
point, the border then turns (סבב) to the west, along
the Saris (C67) and Beth Meir ridge (to the north of Naḥal
Kesalon), and slightly south of due west. Albright (1925:
4) suggested that Saris on this ridge preserves a variant form
of the MT Seir. Thus the border turns through about 90°.

3.2.7. תאר

3.2.7.1. Definition.

This root is attested only 23 times in the Hebrew OT.
15 times it appears as a noun, meaning, in a general way,
"form, appearance." The Pi^cel is used twice in Isa 44:13,
of a craftsman forming an idol, and the Pu^cal occurs as
the participle in the obscure Josh 19:13 (not included in
our analysis). All five of the Qal uses of the verb are
contained in the boundary lists.

The verb might simply mean, in these places, "the
border goes along, is described," etc., as a sort of idler
verb when no other would fit. But the other verbs have
shown a specificity that makes such a general interpretation
unattractive.

Aharoni (1967: 228) renders the verb, "[it] turned."
Dorsey (1976) suggests "a meaning 'to veer toward, to curve
toward,' indicating a change in direction." On inspection,
the uses of the verb reflect the same sort of right-angled
corner that was described by סבב. In fact, in one verse
(18:14), סבב seems used as a gloss for תאר. (The opposite
might also be true!) Our statistical analysis of the verbs
shows that תאר belongs to that group of verbs which characterize
the boundaries of Judah, Joseph, Ephraim, Manasseh, and Ben-
jamin, while סבב is grouped with those characteristic of
Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, and Naphthali (3.1.4.). We suggest
that the difference between the verbs is simply one of the
stylistic differences that entered, by whatever means, the
two groups of tribes. Semantically, the verbs seem to be
the same.

3.2.7.2. Examples.

3.2.7.2.1. *15:9a D46-45-44*. After Judah's northern
boundary climbs up the Hinnom (Dn) from the Kidron, it
proceeds to the head of the hill which lies north of Emeq
Refaim (Do) and west of the Hinnom. We propose to identify
this hill with the area within the 800 meter contour just
north-west of the head of the Hinnom (now Independence
Garden), with its crest presently at the northern extreme of
that area, on Jaffa Road, 1703-1325 (D45). The border
reaches this hill at its southern end and moves northward
to the summit. Then *tā'ar haggĕbûl mērō's hāhār 'el-ma'yan
mê neptôaḥ*, which lies to the west-north-west (D44). Thus

the border, which has been moving roughly northward ever since it left the Kidron, turns to the west. And that turn is marked by תאר.

3.2.7.2.2. *15:9b C44-(69)-68*. After following the Soreq to the southwest, along the south-west side of Mount Ephron (C(69)), *tā'ar haggĕbûl ba'ălāh hî' qiryat yĕ'ārîm*. The most likely route to Kiryat Yearim (C68) is across the saddle at 1625-1315, between ancient and modern Sobah, and then up the branch of the Kesalon which crosses the main highway just west of the overpass at Beth Neqofa. This branch leads up to the saddle between the twin hilltops of Kiryat Yearim from the east, just as Naḥal Yitlah does from the west. In moving from a south-west course along the Soreq to the north-west traverse just described, the border turns roughly through 90°, as we have suggested.

3.2.7.2.3. *15:11 C(64)-62-61*. After reaching Ekron (C62) from the south-east, the border is carried by תאר to Shikkeron, Tel el-Fûl, 1325-1366, C61, on the other side of Mount Baalah (C60, the ridge extending to the north-east from 130-139) from Yabneel (C59). This region is almost due north of Ekron, and the border would turn through about 45° in going from Ekron to Shikkeron.

3.2.7.2.4. *18:17 Dn-48-f*. En Rogel (D48) lies close to the intersection of the Hinnom (Dn) and the Kidron (Df), and it is reasonable to describe the border as "turning" when it arrives there from the Hinnom, before continuing south down the Kidron. The description is

simply, *wĕtā'ar miṣṣāpôn*. *miṣṣāpôn* is puzzling. It
probably does not mean, "from the north," i.e., toward the
south. The border has not been running to the north
immediately before this, and the concept of "toward the south"
in these lists would more regularly be indicated with directive
-*āh*. Usually, nouns of direction with -מן indicate the
side of the point in question toward that direction (in the
idiom discussed in 2.3.1.3., and conceivably in abbreviations
of that formula). Then the description here would be that
the border turns on the north side of En Rogel, thus including
it in Judah. Compare the syntax with סבב at 19:14. Perhaps
the intent of the list is to divide the two springs named,
En Shemesh and En Rogel, one to Judah and one to Benjamin.
At any event, the notion of a turn suits the context well.

3.2.7.2.5. *18:14 C57*. At the juncture of the northern
quarter of Benjamin and its western quarter (C57), we read,
wĕtā'ar haggĕbûl wĕnāsab . . . . Unlike its other occurrences,
תאר here bears neither place nor directive nouns. The border
would be complete without it, to all appearances. The two
verbs may be combined to suggest the double turn which the
border executes to complete the western side of Benjamin--once
from the mountain south of Beth Horon to the upper branch of
the Ayyalon (C57), and again, to the south-east, up the
branch of the Ayyalon which reaches to Kiryat Yearim (C58-
C68). But probably one of the verbs is simply a gloss for
the other: "and the border turns, that is, it bends . . . ."

3.2.8. עבר

3.2.8.1. Definition.

Sometimes, the more common a verb is, the harder it
is to determine its precise usage. Words proliferate their
occurrences precisely by developing from their basic
meanings to suit a wide diversity of contexts. But this
diversification makes it difficult to retrace the logical
steps by which the ramified senses of a word develop.

In our study of עבר, the use of the verb technically
in the boundary lists is of considerably more help in
seeing the general meaning inherent in the more common uses
of the verb, than those four hundred plus uses are in dis-
covering the technical sense. But the unifying sense is
there, none the less. A brief survey of any lexicon article
on the verb will confirm that it emphasizes, not simply
movement from point A to point B, but that there is inter-
vening territory which must be passed over or through in
order to make that move. As a verb of motion, it does not
take us from one point to another conceived to be adjacent
to the first. Rather, it acknowledges that some things are
being left out of the description, between the two points in
question.

We propose that עבר describes a segment of border
which "bulges," or is diverted from what might otherwise
seem the more straightforward route between two points.
It advises the reader to be on the lookout for a more
circuitous route than he would otherwise follow, when the

writer either has no convenient border points to describe
the bulge in more detail, or else does not wish to spend the
time going into those details. It is thus a verb of detour.

When the object of the verb occurs in the accusative,
it is viewed as being encircled, or "passed" by the border
segment, which terminates on either side of it. On the
other hand, when the object is introduced by אל, it is the
distant terminus of the segment being discussed, and the bulge
encompasses an area preceding that site.

3.2.8.2. Examples.

3.2.8.2.1. *18:13   B37-38-39*. The segment of border
described reaches from the wilderness of Beth Aven (Tel Maryam,
175-142, B43) to Bethel (Beitin, 1733-1475, B39). The
previous segment makes it clear that the wilderness concerned
lies at the upper reaches of the Wadi Makkuk, which enters
the Arabah to the north of Jabal Quarantal. There, an area
almost nine kilometers long and from one to 3.5 km. wide
stretches from coordinates 180-140 to 185-147 (Be-e-e). The
region, which is distinguished by its Mediterranean brown
mountain limey soils from the rich Terra Rosa of higher alti-
tudes and also from the brown desert skeletal soils below
it, is continued to the west of its south-western end by the
region between the arms of the Suweinit in the area of
Muchmas, where Terra Rosa soils are mingled with the brown
mountain soil. This area takes its name from Beth Aven, at
its western extremity (Aharoni and Loewenstamm 1962: 750).
The border enters the wilderness near its north-east end along
the Wadi Makkuk (ca. 182-144) and from there "passes" to Bethel.

The most direct route from this wilderness to Bethel is the one taken by the Israelites in Josh 7,8, by way of Ai (175-147, B40). But the border of Benjamin, at least as understood by the final editor of this list, did not take that route. One of the cities included in Benjamin's tribal boundaries, Ophrah (18:23), is to be located at et-Tayibeh, 1785-1512, B38, by the well known phenomenon of "tayibetism" (Aharoni 1967: 110). This site can only be included in the area of Benjamin if the border follows the watershed route between the Makkuk and the Auja wadi systems, north to Baal Hazor, and then south again to Bethel, along the present road.

The terminus of the border segment is "the shoulder of Luz, southward," 1725-1472, the lower slopes of the promontory on which Bethel stands, where the uppermost branch of the Suweinit turns direction from north-south to east-west. Luz occurs once in the verse in the accusative before its use to describe the terminus of the segment. The border could terminate at the foot of Bethel's tell without enclosing Bethel, conceivably. But the reference in the accusative emphasizes that Luz is not only at the end of the border bulge, but also is included within it.

3.2.8.2.2. *16:2 B39-41*. After the border "goes out" (יצא) from Bethel-Luz (along a wadi, here the Suweinit east and south for a kilometer or so), it "passes to the border of the Archite, Ataroth." If our identification of Ataroth with el-Bira (B41, see 3.2.1.3.4.) is correct,

the border must turn north from its sweep south along the Suweinit. Topographically, the bulge in the border is probably marked by the two branches of the Suweinit which join at 173-144. The border travels south until it meets this juncture, then north-west along the other branch of the wadi, and continues beyond the end of the wadi until it reaches the border at Ataroth. Because the border at Ataroth turns back to the west, after touching the boundary of the town, Ataroth seems to be left out of the border of Benjamin, and indeed is not named among the towns listed in 18:21-28 (though of course border towns often are not anyway).

3.2.8.2.3. *16:6 B28-31-32-34*. The border of Ephraim, proceeding eastward from Shechem, passes Taanath Shiloh (1851-1758, B31), on the east side of Yanoah (184-174, B32), before descending to Ataroth (191-161, B34). Topographically, the reasonable route for the border to take from the region of Yanoah to Ataroth is down the watershed between the wadi that passes just to the north of Ataroth, and the larger system which reaches to the area directly east of Taanath and Ataroth. But to circumvent the western reaches of this second system, the border must, after passing to the east of Taanath and Yanoah, move back west, at least to modern Aqrabeh (183-170, B33), and then descend along the ridge to Ataroth. The border thus "bulges" eastward from its expected relatively straight path from Shechem to Ataroth, in order to accommodate Taanath and Yanoah.

3.2.8.2.4. *15:7 D51-49*. Our reconstruction of the

northern border of Judah suggests strongly that it approaches
Jerusalem from the south-east, along the watershed between
the Kidron (Df) and the upper branches of the Og (Dg).
Gilgal/Gililah (D(51), perhaps descriptive of some topo-
graphical feature rather than a proper name, thus leading to
the variants) must be somewhere near the hilltop at 178-128,
since the geological conditions for a "red ascent," which
must be across a wadi to the south of Gilgal, are met in this
area only at 1785-1255, just south of the Kidron. From
Gilgal the border "passes" to En Shemesh (176-131). The
border need not reach all the way to the spring (D50), but
to the village which bore its name (3.2.1.3.5.), uphill from
the spring, perhaps in the vicinity of present el-Eizaria
(D49). For the border to reach from Gilgal to this settle-
ment by En Shemesh, it must circumvent the numerous small
valleys formed by the upper reaches of the Og, bulging out
to the west and then returning to the east to meet the
settlement. (The border as we reconstruct it follows an ancient
track from the Jordan to Jerusalem: Cross 1973: 109-110 n. 57.)

    3.2.8.2.5. *15:6; 18:19 B Dead Sea-55-53*. The verb is
used in describing the segment between Beth Hoglah (B55)
and the shoulder overlooking the Arabah (B53), in both direc-
tions (15:6; 18:19). An intermediate location is mentioned
only in 15:6, Beth Arabah. The name is preserved at En
el-Gharabeh (197-139), to the north of Beth Hoglah (in the
vicinity of Deir Hagla, 1976-1365, and En Hagla, 1985-1373).
Thus the border, in passing from Beth Hoglah, to the north

of Beth Arabah (15:6), and then back down to the cliffs
(1925-1314) that drop from the Buqeiah into the Arabah,
would bulge northward. Such a path explains why the border,
in coming from the cliffs in the south to Beth Hoglah north
of them, would meet the northern shoulder of Beth Hoglah's
tell (18:19), rather than the southern or western shoulder.
It also permits identification of the stone of Bohen with
the semantically equivalent Ḥajar el-Asba (DeVaux 1953: 541)
by answering Simons' objection (1959: 139) that the stone
lies too far south.

Beth Hoglah presents no problem. After meeting its
northern shoulder, the border must skirt it on either the west
or the east in order to continue to the northern end of the
Dead Sea. The town list of 18:21-22 simply means that the bor-
der skirts the tell on the west side. But it would seem that
if the border (here, the northern border of Judah and the
southern border of Benjamin) passed to the north of Beth
Arabah, then Beth Arabah would be included in Judah.

There are at least two intermediate witnesses to the
place name "Beth Arabah" that stand between the accounts in
Joshua and the present Arab place name. Both concern the
activities of John the Baptist in the NT. John 1:28 records
that the Baptist was baptizing ἐν Βηθανίαι . . . πέραν τοῦ
'Ιορδάνου. But a respectable distribution of manuscripts
and versional evidence substitutes the place name Βηθαραβαῖ,
a clear metathesis of Βηθαραβαῖ (which in fact occurs in the
margin of the Harclean Syriac; a corrector to Sinaiticus; and
the writings of Origen). The second witness is the Madeba

map, which locates Βεθαβαρα το του αγιου ιωαννου του
βαπτισματος along the Jordan, to the north-west of BHΘAΓΛA,
but still on the west of Jordan. These two traditions re-
late the place to John's baptising activities, which must
have taken place at the river itself. The fact that they
differ as to which side of the river is in view further
emphasizes the proximity of the place to the water. If
Beth Arabah is this close to the Jordan, 15:6 could not
mean that the border bulge encompassed the place, but only
that it went north until it passed Beth Arabah (B54),
before returning to the south. The resulting picture is that
Benjamin controlled the Zor as far as the Dead Sea, including
such riverside settlements as Beth Arabah, while Judah's
hegemony included the area between the hills, the edge of
the Zor, and the Dead Sea, a bit further north than Beth
Arabah.

3.2.8.2.6. *15:10a C68-67-66*. After approaching
Kiryat Yearim (C68) from the south-east (3.2.7.2.2.), the
border turns a corner of approximately 90° (3.2.6.2.4.)
toward the west, terminating (15:10) on Har Seir. עבר
then connects Har Seir with the northern slopes of Kesalon,
whose name has been preserved at Kesla (155-132, C66).

Baalah (Kiryat Yearim, C68) and Kesalon (C66) lie on
two parallel east-west ridges of hills, with Baalah on the
northern ridge, separating the Soreq and Ayyalon wadi
systems. The shortest route from Baalah to Kesalon would
lie along the Naḥal Kesalon, which extends a short branch

up to Baalah. But the text insists rather on the "high
road" $\partial el \ h\bar{a}r \ \acute{s}\bar{e}^{(A)}\hat{\iota}r$, which lies westward ($y\bar{a}mm\bar{a}h$) of Baalah.
The border goes, not down the valley, but to a mountain--and
that, to a mountain on the west rather than to the south of
the city. Thus far, the border remains on the Baalah ridge.
Only then does it "pass [עבר] to the north side of the
shoulder of Yearim, which is Kesalon." Apparently, some
settlements on the Baalah ridge were to be included in Judah,
before the border skipped the valley to continue its descent
toward Beth Shemesh along the southern, Kesalon ridge (following
the present back road from Jerusalem to the Shephelah).
And following to the pattern which we have perceived elsewhere,
עבר is the verb used to describe this deviation of the border
from its simplest route.

3.2.8.2.7. *15:10b C65-(64)-62, or C65-63-62.* Later in
the same verse, the border passes Timnah. The starting point
is Beth Shemesh (C65), and the ending point is one from which
the border can "go out" (יצא) to the northern shoulder of
Ekron. Ekron is now identified as Khirbet el-Muqannah, 136-
132, C62 (Naveh 1958), and כתף refers consistently to a city
mound, or the slopes of a hill plainly associated with it
(2.2.2.2. above). Thus the border, after passing Timnah,
approaches Ekron along the Nahal Timnah. This wadi passes
just to the north of the tell of Ekron, offering a suitable
approach to "the shoulder north of Ekron." The western end
of the wadi is at about 143-128, and it is in this area that
we should expect the terminus of the segment of border that
"passes" Timnah.

The presence of suitable archaeological remains at
Tel el-Batashi (1416-1325, C63), which lies along the Soreq
to the north-west of Beth Shemesh, has made it in recent
discussions the favored candidate for Timnah. But the name
seems to be preserved at Khirbet Tibna (144-127), though
reports differ on the presence of suitable archaeological
remains. It is not impossible that surface surveys to date
have missed evidence of biblical occupation either at or
near Khirbet Tibna, presumably in the hills to the south of
the Sorek. Either site would introduce a fair "bulge" into
the border.

3.2.8.3. Difficulties.

3.2.8.3.1. *19:13 A10-9-(8)*. The ascent from Daberath
to Yaphia (19:12) probably followed the watershed ridge along
a course north-north-west of Mt. Tabor (3.2.1.3.7.).
Jerome's directions to the town of Gath Hepher favor an
identification at Khirbet ez-Zarra, to the south-west of
Mišhad (1802-2383, A9). At least an Iron Age, and perhaps
a Bronze Age settlement occupied the tell. Eth Qaşin is
quite lost. Rimmon is recalled in modern Rummaneh, 1795-
2435, and the border approaches it by the Iphtahel (described
by אצי). Thus we have to trace the border from the top
of the ascent from Daberath (near hill 532, about 185-137)
to some point along the course of the Iphtahel south-east
of Rimmon.

If Mišhad is indeed on the border, there must be a
bulge of some sort, since the most direct route from hill

532 to the Iphtahel would leave Mišhad well to the interior.
But there is no guarantee that Mišhad is Gath Hepher. As a
town on the main road to Tiberias, it might well have attracted
the tradition of being Jonah's birthplace from some less-
easily visited settlement in the area. In fact, one might
identify Mišhad as being either Yaphia or Eth Qaṣin.

If Mišhad is not one of the towns named, then we have
no means to trace the border. The best that can be said
is that if three border points were needed between hill 532
and the wadi five kilometers to the north, the border must
have been quite intricate, and עבר is likely to have been used
in describing it.

What if Mišhad is in fact Gath Hepher? Then the border
bulges toward it. *ʿābar qēdmāh mizrāḥāh gittāh ḥeper ʿittāh
qāṣîn.* The double use of the directional nouns is unique
to Zebulun in the border lists. By their location in the
sentence and the similar use in 19:12, we would expect them
to indicate the direction of the verbal action, rather than
the side of the villages on which the border passes. But a
bulge from hill 532, to (or encompassing) Mišhad, and then
moving to the wadi, moves first west and then north. The
directional nouns, which by their repetition demand special
attention here, do not seem to fit.

We propose that Mišhad is Yaphia. The border moves to
it from Daberath by a very natural route, up the watershed
to hill 532, then west along the ridge of hills to about 182-
237, finally descending a short distance to the north-west to

Mišhad. The change in elevation between Daberath (1868-
2335, 225 m) to Mišhad (412 m at the tell) certainly jus-
tifies the use of עלה, while the watershed route would pre-
clude the need for any more complicated verb. At this point
the border bulges back toward the east, toward Gath Hepher
and Eth Kazin, which would lie somewhere toward Kafr Kanna.
This eastward bulge, after a decided westerly movement of
the border to Mišhad, motivates the use of the double direc-
tional element, and ends by impinging on the wadi. Likely
Eth Qaṣin was close enough to the wadi to make the point
of juncture clear (A(8)).

3.2.8.3.2. *15:11 C61-59.* Shikkeron (1325-1366, C61)
is north of the Soreq, and separated from Yabneel by a long
line of hills running north-east from 130-139. We propose
that this line of hills is the "Mount Baalah" of the text.
From Shikkeron, the border bulges south-west to skirt the
ridge, and then continues to Yabneel.

3.2.8.3.3. *18:18 B52-53.* The most straightforward
course for the border to take would be a direct descent to
the floor of the Arabah down the cliff at the stone of Bohan
(B52). But this is not done. First the border "passes" to
a place where the cliffs (the כתף) present their north side
to the lowland. The present track descends the escarpment
about a kilometer to the north-west of the stone. At any
point between the stone and the present descent, the cliff
runs north-west to south-east, while beyond these two extremes
it is nearly north-south. Thus, somewhere in this region

where the cliff faces at least partly north (B53), the
border (following perhaps an ancient path) descended. The
displacement of the border descent from the point of first
approach to the cliff, at the area of the stone, to a more
convenient site north-west of there, was described by the
standard verb for such detours, עבר.

3.2.9. הלך

3.2.9.1. Definition.

Unfortunately, this verb occurs in the lists only twice.
In both cases, the notion of "stepping-stone movement" along
a series of hilltops seems to fit. But the inductive resources
are too limited to be sure.

3.2.9.2. Examples.

3.2.9.2.1. *16:8 B27-d.* Tappuah is at 172-168, B27,
elevation 675 m. הלך describes the movement from here to the
head of the Qana. The most obvious route would lie down the
broad open valley that is really the upper drainage basin of
the Qana, to a junction at 166-171, 375 m. Either ירד or יצא
would serve to describe such a motion. But 17:8 makes that
route unlikely. The land of Tappuah, probably the open land
in that broad valley, was assigned specifically to Manasseh,
while Tappuah, on the hilltop, was in Ephraim. Thus the
border moved, not down the valley, but along the series of
hills just to the south-west of the valley. These hills do
not form a continuous ridge, and they support a road only
for the last half of their length, from 166-168 to 163-171.
Perhaps הלך is intended to suggest the picture of the border
"stepping" from one hilltop to another.

3.2.9.2.2.   *17:7   B29-27.*   The border from Michmethath
(B29) south to Tappuah is also described by הלך. The border
may move along the level, flat terrain. But if the idea
of "stepping" from hilltop to hilltop is intrinsic to the
verb, we should rather trace the border down the crests of
the mountains that lie just to the west of the valley
extending south from Shechem, thus leaving the arable land
in the valley entirely in the territory of Ephraim. Such
an arrangement might explain why the fields in the immediate
vicinity of Tappuah were allotted to Manasseh (17:8).

APPENDIX:
Sketch Maps

The following sketch maps are intentionally highly schematic, to highlight the salient features of the boundaries. For more detail, consult *Israel: 1:100,000* (Survey of Israel, 1962ff) and *Jerusalem: 1:10,000* (Survey of Palestine, 1946). Sketch maps A, B, and C are 1:250,000. Map D is 1:40,000. The sketch maps follow the following key.

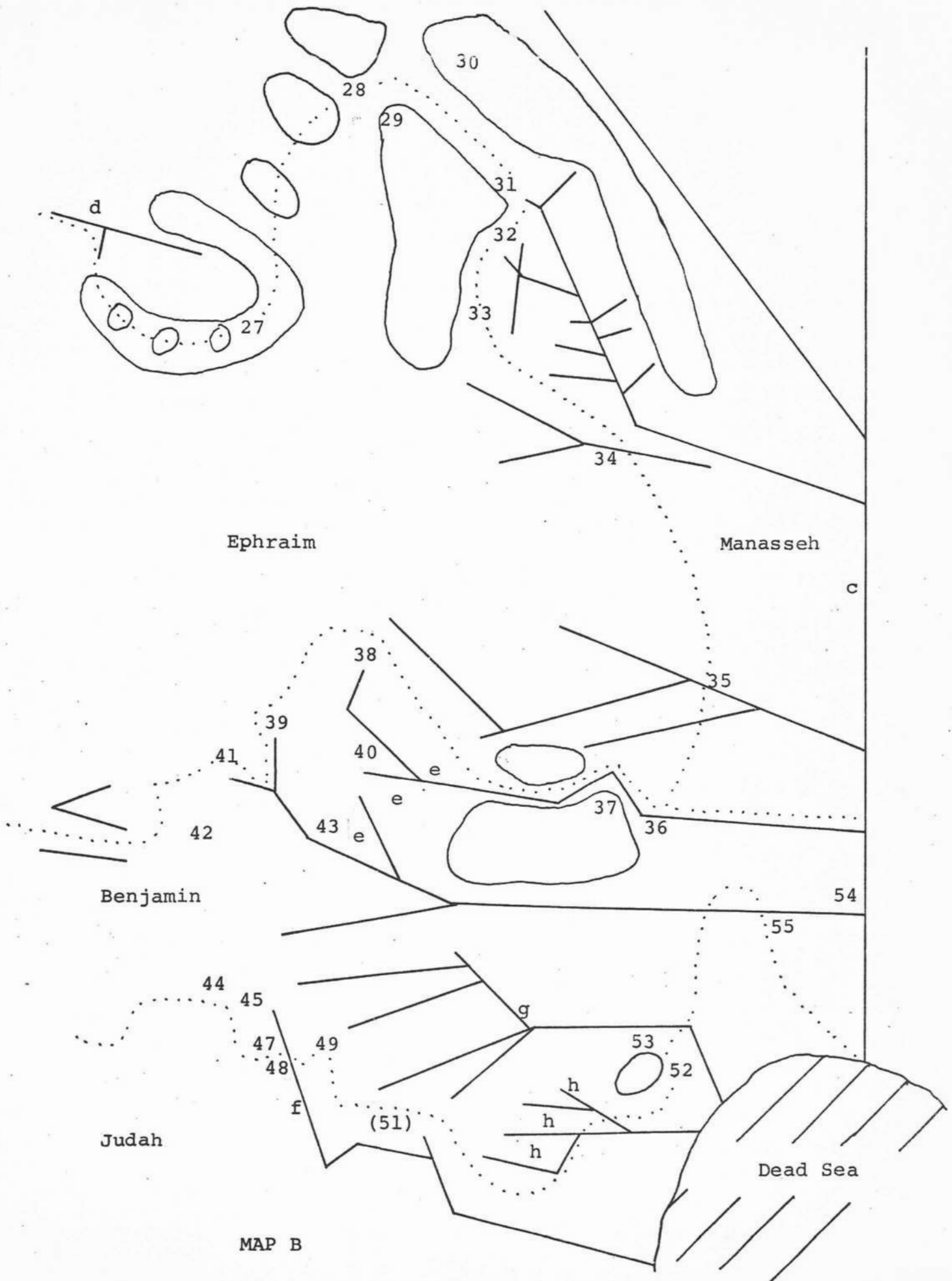| DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLE	MEANING
Straight lines		Wadis
Dotted lines		Tribal boundaries
Enclosed curves		Hills, ridges, mountains
Hatched areas		Bodies of water
Arabic numerals	51, 38	Settlements, mountains, noteworthy places
Lower case letters	a, b, c	Wadis and regions
Parentheses	(8)	Approximate location of an unidentified site

KEY

Each letter or number refers to the same location, regardless of which map it appears on. For instance, B47 = C47 = D47 = the shoulder of the Jebusite. Ancient names are in normal type, modern names in *italics*.

1. Cabul

2. Huqqoq

3. Yodphat

4. Beth Emek?

5. Neiel?

6. Hannathon

7. Rimmon

8. Eth Qaṣin?

9. Yaphia? (*Mishad*)

10. Aznoth Tabor

11. Daberath

12. Tabor

13. Adami Nekeb

14. Beth Shemesh (Galilee)

15. Laqqum

16. En Haddah

17. Chesuloth

18. Sarid

19. Maralah

20. Dabbesheth

21. Yoqneam

22. *Tel Qasis*

23. Beth Dagon

24. *Nesher*

25. Carmel

26. Shihor Libnath

27. Tappuah

28. Shechem

29. Michmethath

30. *Jabal el-Kabbir*

31. Taanath Shiloh

32. Yanoah

33. *Aqrabeh*

34. Ataroth

35. Naarah

36. Jericho

37. Mt. west of Jericho

38. Ophra

39. Bethel (Luz)

40. Ai

41. Ataroth Addar

42. *Atarot*

43. Beth Aven

44. Waters of Neptoah

45. Head of the hill . . .

46. Extremity of the hill . . . .

47. Shoulder of the Jebusite

48. En Rogel

49. *el-Eizaria*   g.   *Og*

50. En Shemesh ·   h.   Valley of Achor

51. Gilgal/Gelilot   i.   Ayyalon

52. Stone of Bohan   j.   *Yitlah*

53. Shoulder overlooking Ar.   k.   *Kesalon*

54. Beth Arabah   l.   Soreq

55. Beth Hoglah   m.   Soreq

56. Gezer   n.   Hinnom

57. Lower Beth Horon   o.   Rephaim

58. Shaalabbin   p.   *Qaddum*

59. Yabneel   q.   *Yoqneam*

60. Mt. Baalah

61. Shikkeron

62. Ekron

63. Timnah? (*el-Batashi*)

64. Timnah? (*Kh. Tibna*)

65. Beth Shemesh

66. Kesalon

67. Saris

68. Kiryat Yearim

69. Mt. Ephron; Mozah?

a.   Wadi before Yoqneam

b.   Iphtahel

c.   Jordan

d.   Qana

e.   Wilderness of Beth Aven

f.   Kidron

Mediterranean

Asher

1   2

3

(4)   (5)

Naphthali

Kinneret

26

6   7

b

(8)

24

23

9

13

25

a

Zebulun

10

(15)

14

11

12

16

22   (20) 19

17

c

21

18

q

Issachar

MAP A

MAP B

Labels visible on map: 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, (51), 52, 53, 54, 55, 27, d, c, e, e, e, f, g, h, h, h

Ephraim Manasseh Benjamin Judah Dead Sea

Mediterranean

Ephraim

27

d

i

Dan

39

41

57

56

58

Benjamin

59

60

i

61

m

68

63

67

(69)

44

k

45

62

66

l

47

65

(64)
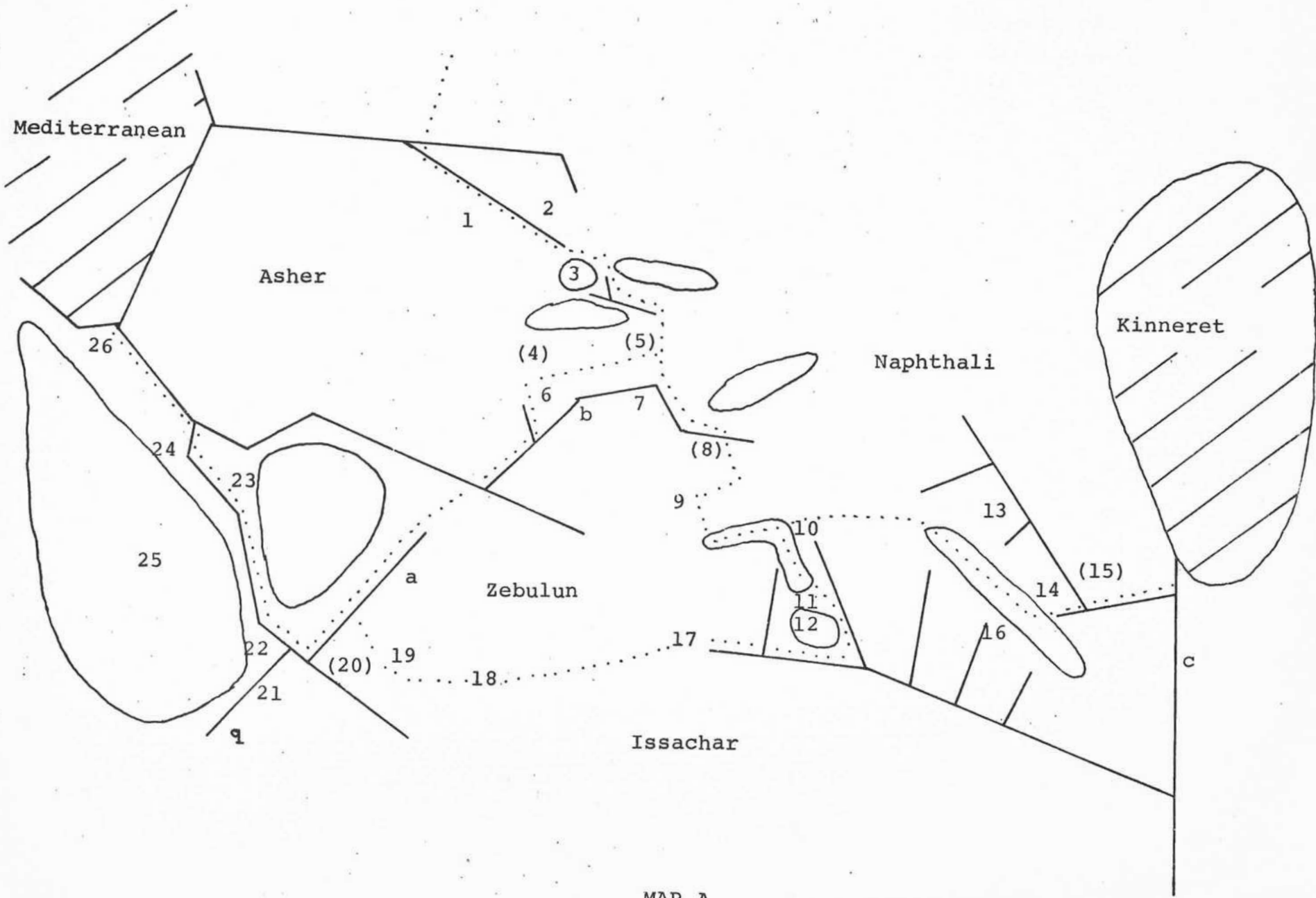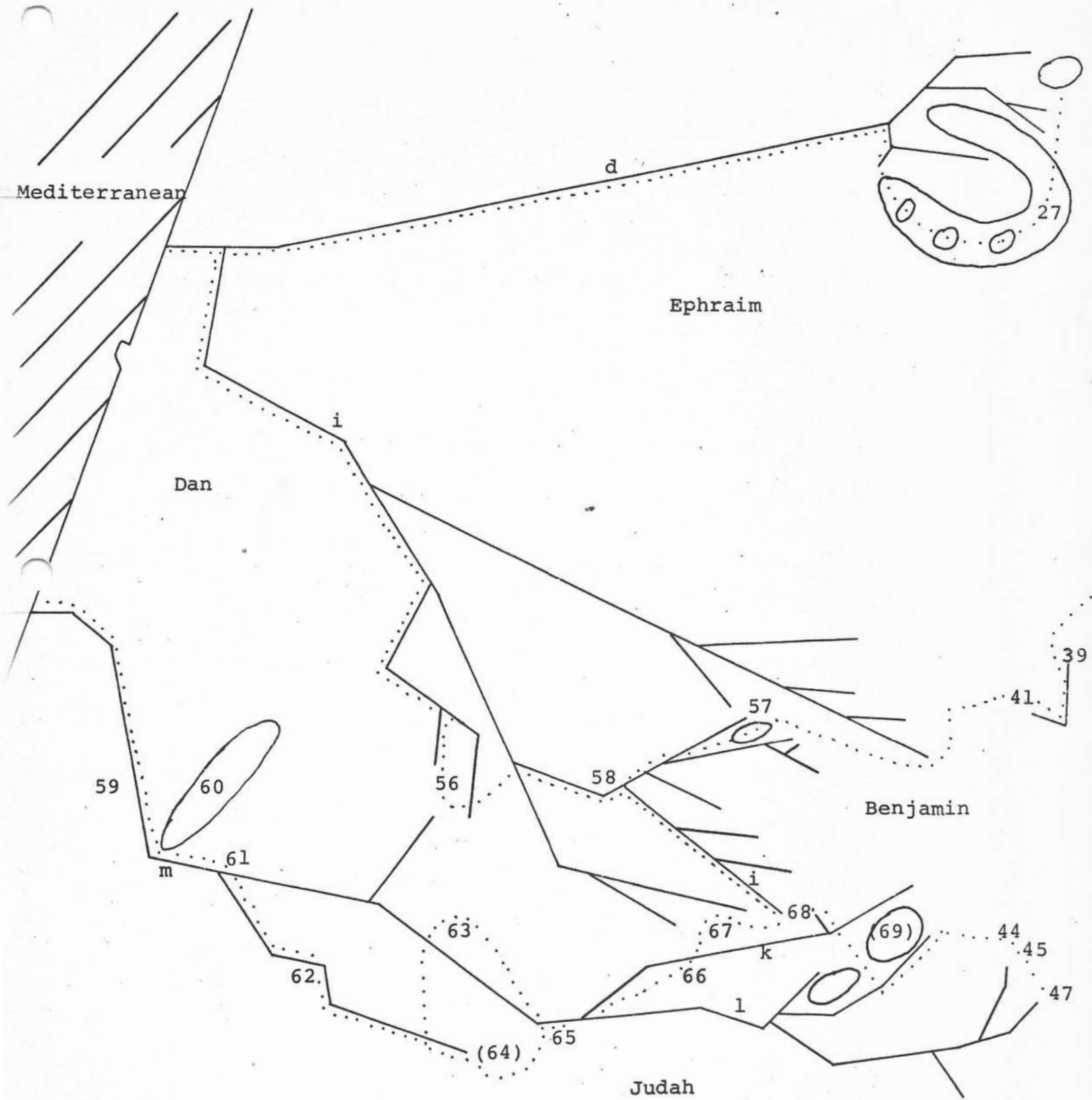
Judah

MAP C

Judah

Benjamin

44

45

.46

47

n

48
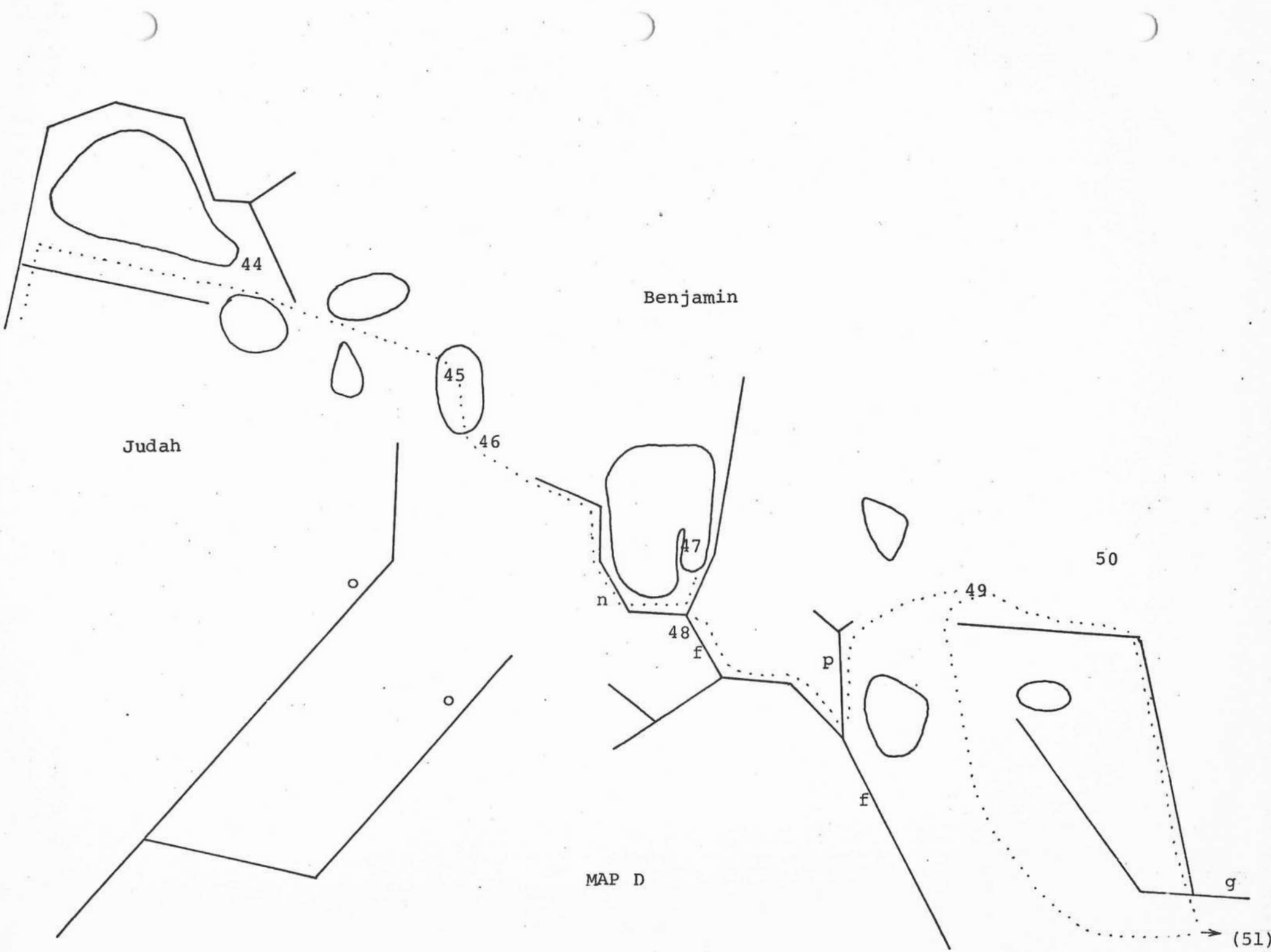f

p

f

49.

50

g

MAP D

(51)

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