# Bny $^{c}mwn$ : THE SONS OF AMMON

DANIEL I. BLOCK Bethel Theological Seminary St. Paul, Minnesota 55112

It is apparent from the recent spate of English translations of the OT that scholarly consensus on the significance of the Hebrew form of the name for the Ammonite nation, bny cmwn (literally, "sons of Ammon"), is still lacking. Whereas the KJV is quite consistent in its rendering of the phrase as "children of Ammon." its lead has been followed by only the conservative literalistic NASB. Here the expression is translated almost uniformly as "sons of Ammon." Only occasionally does the gentilic, "Ammonite(s)," appear.<sup>2</sup> This contrasts sharply with most other recent translations. In the RSV, the only exceptions to the gentilic occur in Deut 2:19. 37: Ier 9:26 (Heb., vs. 25); 25:21; 27:3 (all "sons of Ammon"); Judg 11:27 ("people of Ammon"); and 2 Chr 20:10, 22, 23 ("men of Ammon''). The exceptions in the NEB simply delete the prefixed element, producing the shortened form, "Ammon," The IB transliterates the phrase as Bene-ammon in Gen 19:38. Otherwise, apart from the gentilic, the full form, "sons of Ammon," occurs thirteen times, and the abbreviated form, "Ammon," only once.4 The NIV translates bny 'mwn as "people of Ammon" in 2 Kgs 23:13; as "men of Ammon" in 2 Chr 20:22, 23; as "men from Ammon" in 2 Chr

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>The gentilic, "Ammonites," occurs in 1 Sam 11:11 (cf. LXX and pc MSS); Jer 27:3; 40:11, 14; 41:10, 15; 49:1, 2; Ezek 21:20, 28 (Heb., vss. 25, 33); 25:2, 3, 5, 10; 2 Chr 27:5a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>1 Sam 11:11; 2 Sam 10:1, 2, 3; 2 Kgs 24:2; 2 Chr 27:5 (three times). The marginal note to Gen 19:38 transliterates the expression as "Bene-Ammon."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Judg 11:12, 33; 2 Sam 11:1; Isa 11:14; Jer 9:26 (Heb., vs. 25); 27:3; 40:11; 41:10; 49:2, 6; Ezek 25:5, 10; Zeph 2:8, 9. The full form, "people of Ammon," occurs in Jer 49:1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>The full form appears in Num 21:24; Deut 2:19 (twice); Judg 3:13; 10:18; Jer 9:26 (Heb., vs. 25); 25:21; 49:1, 6; Amos 1:13; Zeph 2:8, 9; and Dan 11:41. The abbreviated form "Ammon" occurs in Ezek 25:5.

20:10; and as "leaders of Ammon" in Dan 11:41. The shortened form, "Ammon," is found in eight texts.<sup>5</sup>

In the translations which tend to prefer the gentilic, the reasons for deviating from this pattern are not always obvious. In many instances, the exceptional forms seem to be quite arbitrary, at times the changes occurring within the same context. It seems that a closer examination of the use of the Hebrew form of the expression, bny mwn, is long overdue. I offer this study of the forms and usage of the name in the OT and in extra-biblical texts as a small contribution to the complex problem.

#### 1. Ammon in the OT

# Frequency and Distribution of the Name

As Table 1 indicates (see p. 199), the name Ammon appears 106 times in the OT. Of these occurrences, 104 use the full form, bny 'mwn, representing almost 100% consistency. Gentilic forms are found in an additional twenty-one texts, or slightly more than 17% of all references to the Ammonites by name. More than three-fourths of the occurrences of Ammon appear in historical narrative; the remainder are found in prophetic and poetic texts.

These observations may be best interpreted by comparing them with the frequency and distribution of the names for Israel, for which the *bny-GN* form (i.e., "sons of" + Geographic Name) is also common, as illustrated in Table 2 (on pp. 200-201). The following chart highlights the areas of contrast:

Point of Comparison	Ammon	Israel
Ratio of <i>bny</i> -GN occurrences to the total references to the nation by name (excluding gentilics)	98.1%	25.3%
Ratio of bny-GN occurrences in the Pentateuch to the total occurrences of the bny-GN form	7.7%	59.1%
Ratio of <i>bny</i> -GN occurrences in the poetic/prophetic texts to the total references to the nation by name	95.4%	7.7%
Ratio of gentilics to all forms of the national name	16.5%	.2%

TABLE 1
Frequency and Distribution of References to the Ammonites in the OT

OT Book	bny <sup>c</sup> mwn ("sons of Ammon")	cmwn ("Ammon")	cmwny (m, t, wt) ("Ammonites")
Genesis	Ĭ		
Numbers	2		• • •
Deuteronomy	5	• • •	2
Subtotals	8	• • •	2
Joshua	3		
Judges	27		
1 Samuel	2	l	2
2 Samuel	17		1
1 Kings	2		4
2 Kings	2	• • •	• • •
Subtotals	53	1	7
Isaiah	1		
Jeremiah	10		
Ezekiel	7		
Amos	1		
Zephaniah	2		• • •
Subtotals	21		
Psalms		1	
Daniel	1		
Ezra			1
Nehemiah			6
1 Chronicles	14		1
2 Chronicles	. 7		4
Subtotals	22	1	12
Grand Totals	104	2	21

(Footnotes for p. 198)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Judg 11:28, 33; Jer 9:26 (Heb., vs. 25); 25:21; 27:3; 40:11; Ezek 25:5; Amos 1:13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>The only exceptions are 1 Sam 11:11 and Ps 83:8. L. Koehler, "Der Name Ammoniter," TZ 1 (1945): 155, suggests that the abbreviated form was determined in the latter text by metrical considerations. Concerning the former, certain ancient translations (including the LXX, Targumim, and Peshitta) assume bny. Cf. S. R. Driver, Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel (Oxford, 1890), p. 66.

TABLE 2 Frequency, Distribution, and Genre of  $bny \ ysr^{\circ}l$  in the OT

OT Book	Form		Genre of bny yśr l	
	yśr³l ("Israel")	bny yśr⁻l ("Sons of Israel")	Narrative	Poetry
Genesis	43	7	7	
Exodus	170	124	124	
Leviticus	70*	54	54	
Numbers	238	171	171	
Deuteronomy	72	21	20	1**
Subtotals	593	377 (64%)	376	1
Joshua	160	69	69	
Judges	184	61	61	
1 Samuel	151	12	12	
2 Samuel	117***	5	5	
1 Kings	203	21	21	
2 Kings	164	11	11	
Subtotals	979	179 (18%)	179	
Isaiah	92	5	3	2
Jeremiah	125	9	1	8
Ezekiel	185	11	11	
Hosea	44	6	5	1
Joel	3	1	1	1
Amos	30	5	1	4
Obadiah	1	1		1
Jonah				
Micah	12	1		1
Nahum	1			
Habakkuk				
Zephaniah	4			
Haggai				
Zechariah	5			
Malachi	5			
Subtotals	507	39 (8%)	21	18

TABLE 2 (cont.)

OT Book	Form		Genre of bny yśr'l	
	yśr³l ("Israel")	bny yśr³l ("Sons of Israel")	Narrative	Poetry
Psalms	62	2		2
Job				
Proverbs	1			
Canticles	1			
Ruth	5			
Lamentations	3			
Qoheleth	1			
Esther				
Daniel	4	1	1	
Ezra	40	4	4	
Nehemiah	22	9	9	
1 Chronicles	114	4	4	
2 Chronicles	186	23	23	
Subtotals	439	43 (10%)	41	2
Grand Totals	2517	638 (25%)	617	21

<sup>\*</sup>Excluding the four gentilics in Lev. 24:10-11.

<sup>\*\*</sup>Deut 32:8. Cf. LXX aggelos; Qumran fragment, bny <sup>3</sup>lhym, "sons of God." P. Skehan, Qumran and the Present State of the Old Testament Text Studies: The Masoretic Text," *JBL* 78 (1959): 21-25.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup>Excluding the gentilic in 2 Sam 17:25.

How are these dramatic differences in forms and distribution to be explained? The first point of comparison is probably the most difficult, but the explanation will emerge as the study proceeds. The marked difference in the Pentateuchal occurrences may not be written off by simply noting that the history of Israel touches that of the Ammonites more frequently in the post-Pentateuchal texts. I have argued elsewhere<sup>7</sup> that the prominence of the form  $bny \ y\acutesr^2l$  ("sons of Israel") was related directly to the consciousness of tribal interrelationships and the Israelites' belief in their common descent from a single ancestor. The farther back the traditions go, the more common is the compound form. With the institution of the monarchy, the minimizing of the significance of these tribal associations resulted in a drastic reduction in the use of the full form of the name.

Concerning Ammon, on the other hand, the transition from a tribal organization to monarchic structures appears to have had no effect on the form of the name. Although the beginnings of the Ammonite monarchy are unclear, by the time of Jephthah a king (mlk) seems to have been in firm control of the state. Even so, apart from Ps 83:8 and possibly 1 Sam 11:11, the long form of the name remains the only acceptable form.

In my previously mentioned investigation, <sup>9</sup> I also observed that the distribution of bny  $y\acute{s}r^{5}l$  was affected by the literary genre of the documents. In the poetic and prophetic texts, only 7.7% of the occurrences use the long form of the name. Since Ps 83:8 represents the sole exception to the full form of bny  $^{c}mwn$  in the same types of texts, it is obvious that the literary style had no similar bearing on the form of the name preferred.

The fact that the gentilic form for Israel occurs only five times (always in the singular) suggests that  $bny \ y\acute{s}r^2l$  was employed as the gentilic as well as the simple national name. However, because gentilic forms of Ammon appear twenty-two times out of a total of 127, it may not be argued that  $bny \ ^cmwn$  was the normal gentilic form.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>D. I. Block, "'Israel'-'Sons of Israel': A Study in Hebrew Eponymic Usage," forthcoming in Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Judg 11:12, 13, 14, 28. References to the kings of Ammon occur also in 1 Sam 12:12, 2 Sam 10:1, Jer 27:3, 40:14, 1 Chr 19:1, and 2 Chr 27:5. Cf., too, the Tell Siran Bottle Inscription, lines 1, 2, 3. See n. 36, below, for references.

<sup>9</sup>See n. 7, above.

Usage

The syntactical constructions involving bny  $y s r^2 l$  and bny  $r^2 mwn$  present similar contrasts. Although construct chains like  $r^2 dt$  bny  $y s r^2 l$  ("the congregation of the sons of Israel"),  $r^{10} mtwt$  bny  $y s r^2 l$  ("the tribes of the sons of Israel"),  $r^{12} zqny$  bny  $r^2 l$  ("the elders of the sons of Israel"),  $r^{12} zqny$  bny  $r^2 l$  ("the elders of the sons of Israel"), and  $r^{12} dt$ 0 occur, there appears to have been a general resistance to certain combinations. Bny  $r^2 l$  never appears as the genitive of a designation for God; only once is it found after a term representing the territory of the nation;  $r^{15} t$ 1 kings and judges are never identified as "the king(s)/judge(s) of bny  $r^2 l$ 1."

The situation is reversed for bny cmwn. The expressions mlk bny cmwn ("the king of the sons of Ammon")<sup>16</sup> and crs bny cmwn ("the land of the sons of Ammon")<sup>17</sup> occur more frequently than any other. When we add to these clay bny cmwn ("the gods of the sons of Ammon")<sup>18</sup> and the euphemistic sqs bny cmwn ("the abomination of the sons of Ammon"),<sup>19</sup> along with another geographic phrase, gbwl bny cmwn ("the boundary of the sons of Ammon"),<sup>20</sup> more than two-thirds of all bound structures involving bny cmwn are accounted for. Even references to the main Ammonite city, rbt bny cmwn ("Rabbah of the sons of Ammon") always uses the compound form when the nationality of the city is identified.<sup>21</sup> Whatever reasons there might have been for the hesitation to make similar grammatical associations with bny ysrcl, here they are not a factor.

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<sup>10</sup>Exod 16:1 + twenty-six times.
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<sup>11</sup>Num 36:8, 9; Josh 19:51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Num 36:3; Josh 4:5, 8.

<sup>13</sup>Exod 4.29.

<sup>14</sup>Num 3:45, 46, 50; 8:17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>Josh 11:22, <sup>3</sup>rş bny yśr³l.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>See n. 8, above, for references.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>Deut 2:19, 37; Josh 13:25; Judg 11:15; 2 Sam 10:2; 1 Chr 19:2; 20:1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>Judg 10:6; 1 Kgs 11:33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>1 Kgs 11:7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>Num 21:24; Deut 3:16; Josh 12:2; 13:10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>Deut 3:11; 2 Sam 12:26; 17:27; Jer 49:2; Ezek 21:25.

The consistent use of *bny* <sup>c</sup>*mwn* in association with the names of surrounding nations is also significant. We may note the following sequences:

Judg 10:6	of Aram, Sidon, Moab, Bene-ammon, Philistines'')
Judg 10:11	mṣrym h mry bny mwn plštym ("Egypt, Amorites, Bene-ammon, Philistines")
1 Sam 14:47	kl 'ybyw bmw'b wbbny 'mwn wb'dwm wbmlky swbh wbplstym ("all his enemies, against Moab, and against Bene-ammon, and against Edom, and against the kings of Zobah, and against the Philistines")
2 Sam 8:11b-12	kl hgwym 'rm mw'b bny 'mwn plstym ("all the nations: Aram, Moab, Bene-ammon, Philistines") (= 1 Chr 18:11)
l Kgs 11:33	cstrt olhy sdnyn kmws olhy mwob wmlkm olhy bny mwn ("Ashtoreth the god of the Sidonians, Chemosh the god of Moab, and Milcom the god of Bene-ammon")
2 Kgs 23:13	c strt sqs sydnym wkmws sqs mwb wmlkm twbt bny mwn ("Ashtoreth the abomination of the Sidonians, and Chemosh the abomination of Moab, and Milcom the abomination of Bene-ammon")
2 Kgs 24:2	gdwdy kśdym 'rm mw'b bny 'mwn ("bands of the Chaldeans, Aram, Moab, and Bene-ammon")
Jer 9:25 (Eng., vs. 26)	mṣrym yhwdh 'dwm bny 'mwn mw'b wkl qṣwṣy p'h hyšbym bmdbr ("Egypt, Judah, Edom, Beneammon, Moab, and all side-trimmed dwellers in the desert")
Jer 25:19-23	mlky mṣrym 'rṣ h 'wṣ 'rṣ plštym 'dwm mw'b bny 'mwn ṣr ṣydwn h'y 'šr b'br hym ddn tym' bwz wkl qṣwṣy p'h ("the kings of Egypt, the land of Uz, the land of the Philistines, Edom, Moab, Bene-ammon, Tyre, Sidon, the coastland which is across the sea, Dedan, Tema, Buz and all side-trimmed")
Jer 40:11	kl hyhwdym 'šr bmw'b wbbny 'mwn wb'dwm w'šr bkl h'rṣwt ("all the Jews who were in Moab and among Bene-ammon and in Edom and all who were

in all the lands")

Amos 1-2 dmšq 'zh ṣr 'dwm bny 'mwn mw'b yhwdh yśr'l ("Damascus, Gaza, Tyre, Edom, Bene-ammon, Moab, Judah, Israel")

The only example of the abbreviated form occurs in Ps 83:7-9 (Eng., vss. 6-8), "hly "dwm wyšm" lym mw" b whgrym gbl w"mwn w"mlq plšt "m yšby swr "šwr ("the tents of Edom and the Ishmaelites, Moab and the Hagrites, Gebal and Ammon and Amalek, Philistia with the inhabitants of Tyre, Assyria"). It should be noted that here the shortened form of plštym ("Philistines") is also used, perhaps determined by rhythmic considerations.

On the other hand, where the lists consist of gentilic forms, *bny* '*mwn* is also replaced by the true gentilic, '*mwny* ("Ammonites"):

Ezra 9:1  $m^c my \ b^2 r swt \ ktw^c b tyhm \ lkn^c ny \ hh ty \ hprzy \ hybwsy \ h^c mny \ hmw^2 by \ hm sry \ wh^3 mry \ ("from the peoples of the lands with their abominations, from the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Jebusites, the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Egyptians, and the Amorites")$ 

Neh 4:1  $h^{c}rbym \ wh^{c}mnym \ wh^{s}\delta dwdym$  ("the Arabs, the (Eng., vs. 7) Ammonites, and the Ashdodites")

2 Chr 26:7-8 plštym h<sup>c</sup>rbym hyšbym bgwr b<sup>c</sup>l whm<sup>c</sup>wnym ... h<sup>c</sup>mwnym ("Philistines, the Arabs who lived in Gurbaal, and the Meunites ... the Ammonites")

This suggests that the full form *bny* '*mwn* was perceived to bear the same significance as "Edom" or "Moab."

Finally, attention should be drawn to two texts in which the compound form of the name appears to carry a geographic sense. The inconsistency in the gender of the name in Ezek 25:1-7 is striking. To begin with, in vss. 2-3a, bny cmwn is treated as masculine.<sup>22</sup> However, with the commencement of the direct divine address, the gender changes.<sup>23</sup> In vs. 5b, a reversion to the masculine occurs,<sup>24</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>Note the suffix in  $^{\circ}lyhm$  (vs. 2), and the form of the imperative,  $\&m^{\circ}w$  (vs. 3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>Note the Masoretic pointing of the infinitive,  ${}^{\circ}omr\bar{e}k$  (vs. 3b). This is consistent with the following  $n\bar{o}t^{e}n\bar{a}k$ ,  $b\bar{a}k$ ,  $piry\bar{e}k$ ,  $h^{a}l\bar{a}b\bar{e}k$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>Note  $yd^{c}tm$ .

this gender being maintained until the end of vs. 7. Although the anomalies of vss. 3b-4 may easily be removed by slight alterations to the Masoretic pointing, this solution cannot be applied to vs. 10, where, along with Moab, bny mwn is clearly presented as feminine, even by the consonantal text. 25 Bny mwn, probably intended here as a geographic designation, will become a possession for bny qdm. 26

A geographic significance for bny  $^cmwn$  seems to be intended in Zeph 2:9, as well. First, here Moab and bny  $^cmwn$  are compared with Sodom and Gomorrah, respectively, both of which are well-known place names. Second, the verb which follows Moab (and in view of the parallelism, also does double duty for bny  $^cmwn$ ) is feminine  $(thyh).^{27}$  Third, the following lines speak of desolate places.  $^{28}$ 

All the foregoing observations on the frequency and distribution of bny  $^cmwn$ , and on its usage in the OT, demonstrate that the Hebrew employment of the full form of the name was governed by fundamentally different considerations from those applied to the use of bny  $y\acute{s}r^{\circ}l$ .

### 2. Ammon in Extra-biblical Sources

To date, aside from the biblical references, the name of the Ammonite nation has surfaced only in the annals of the neo-Assyrian kings and in one indigenous Ammonite text.

<sup>25</sup>lbny qdm <sup>c</sup>l bny <sup>c</sup>mwn wnttyh lmwršh lm<sup>c</sup>n l<sup>5</sup> tzkr bny <sup>c</sup>mwn bgwym.

 $^{26}$ Contra Brown-Driver-Briggs, p. 440, mwršh is used elsewhere only with reference to land.

 $^{27}\mathrm{On}$  the use of the feminine for names of countries and cities, see K. Albrecht, "Das Geschlecht der hebräischen Hauptwörter," ZAW 16 (1896): 56-60. Cf. also GK 122h-i.

<sup>28</sup>The preformative m in  $mm \S q$  and probably also in mkrh should be interpreted as m locals. Cf. GK 85e. Therefore, the verse may be translated as follows:

Surely Moab will be like Sodom, And bny 'mwn like Gomorrah; A place of nettles and salt pits, A perpetual wasteland.

This geographical sense may be required, as well, where verbs of motion are combined with the preposition  ${}^{\circ}l$  (e.g., Jer 41:10, 15 and perhaps also Dan 11:41).

### Neo-Assyrian Sources

Three basic forms of the name appear in the Assyrian texts: (1) a short form, c/lAm-ma-na; (2) a lengthened form,  $m/c/lb\bar{t}t$  Amma-na; and (3) a second lengthened form, lba-an Am-ma-na.29 Of these, the first occurs but twice, the last only once.<sup>30</sup> It is apparent that, as in the Hebrew writings, the scribes displayed an overwhelming preference for a compound form of the name. But why  $b\bar{\imath}t$ should have been prefixed to Am-ma-na is not clear. If it was intended as a translation of the Canaanite bn (cf. bny cmwn), the bound form of mārum would have been anticipated. This word, however, is never employed as an element in a place name. F. Hommel has suggested that Bīt Amman was actually a shortened form of Bīt Rabbath Amman.<sup>31</sup> It seems more likely, however, that  $b\bar{\imath}t$ , "house, household,"32 functioned as an approximate equivalent of the Hebrew bny, perhaps a rough translation, the form of which was influenced by the propensity of the Assyrians to identify states on the bīt-GN model.33

The most remarkable form, however, is the single occurrence of  ${}^{1}ba$ -an Am-ma-na. The prefixed ba-an is totally unexpected, since it is found in no other toponym. Furthermore, if  $b\bar{a}nu$  was intended as an Akkadian translation of Canaanite bn, this too is unprecedented, since this form never occurs with this sense.  ${}^{34}$  It would appear,

<sup>29</sup>For references, see S. Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1970), pp. 16, 76.

<sup>30</sup>In contrast, the only reference to the name Israel to have surfaced to date uses the short form, Sir-<sup>3</sup>a-la-aja. The same applies to the Akkadian equivalents of Moab and Edom. Cf. Parpola, s.v., "bīt."

<sup>31</sup>F. Hommel, Ethnologie und Geographie des Alten Orients (Munich, 1926), p. 164, n. 1.

32CAD 2:282-295 (and cf. AHW).

33For hundreds of citations, cf. Parpola, s.v., "bīt."

<sup>34</sup>The form bīnu, however, does occur occasionally: (1) In personal names, e.g., Bi-in-ka-li-šar-ri (Sargonic period) (CAD, 2:243); Bi-in-Na-rum (Hammurabi era) (H. Ranke, Early Babylonian Personal Names from the Published Tablets of the So-called Hammurabi Dynasty B.C. 2000 [Philadelphia, 1905], p. 75); Bi-in-am-mi (West Semitic, Kassite period) (A. T. Clay, Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Cassite Period. Yale Oriental Series, 1 [New Haven, Connecticut, 1912],

therefore, that here in  ${}^{1}ba$ -an Am-ma-na we are to recognize a simple transliteration of West Semitic bn  ${}^{c}mn.$  The singular form of the prefix remains problematical.

#### Ammonite Sources

The only certain native documentation of the name Ammon is contained in a recently discovered seventh-century B.C.E. bottle inscription from Tell Siran.<sup>36</sup> The pronunciation of the name *bn* <sup>c</sup>*mn*,

p. 65); <sup>d</sup>Nabu-bi-na-uka<sup>3</sup>in (Neo-Assyrian) (J. J. Stamm, Die akkadische Namengebung [Leipzig, 1939], p. 38). (2) In a votive inscription, wherein Marduk is called bi-in-Du-ku (C. J. Gadd, "On Two Babylonian Kings," SOr 1 [1925]: 29-31). (3) In a Sargonic cylinder inscription: ina arhi sitan arah bin Dàra-gala [Ea], "in the new moon of the month of the son of [Ea]." (4) In a hymn: bukir bi-in Anim luzmur dunnaka, "O child, son of Anu, let me sing your strength" (KAR 158 i 120, as translated by CAD, loc. cit.). (5) Bīnu in parallel to māru in Atra-ḥasîs I:93-96 (cf. the comments by W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, Atra-Ḥasîs: The Babylonian Story of the Flood [Oxford, 1969], pp. 150-151). (6) In synonym lists, as one of the synonyms of māru (A. Draffkorn Kilmer, "The First Tablet of malku-šarru Together with Its Explicit Version," JAOS 83 [1963]: 436-437). Cf. also the equation of bīnu with ze-ru(?) (Kilmer, pp. 322-331). For Mari names beginning with bin, see H. B. Huffmon, Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts: A Structural and Lexical Study (Baltimore, Md., 1965), p. 176.

<sup>35</sup>So also H. Donner, "Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des Staates Moab in der zweiten Hälfte des 8. Jahrh. v. Chr.," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 5 (1957): 161, "Das Element *ba-an* versucht den stat. cstr. plural *bny* keilschriftlich wiederzugeben."

<sup>36</sup>The first three lines of the text read as follows:

m<sup>c</sup>bd <sup>c</sup>mndb mlk bn <sup>c</sup>mn bn hṣl<sup>-</sup>l mlk bn <sup>c</sup>mn bn <sup>c</sup>mndb mlk bn <sup>c</sup>mn "The product of Amminadab, king of bn  $^cmn$ , the son of Hissil-El, king of bn  $^cmn$ , the son of Amminadab, king of bn  $^cmn$ ."

The foregoing is the transliteration of H. O. Thompson and F. Zayadine, "The Tell Siran Inscription," BASOR, no. 212 (1973), p. 9. Cf. F. Zayadine and H. O. Thompson, "The Ammonite Inscription from Tell Siran," Berytus 22 (1973): 132; F. M. Cross, "Notes on the Ammonite Inscription from Tell Sīrān," BASOR, no. 212 (1973), pp. 12-15; P. E. Dion, "Notes d'épigraphie Ammonite," RB 82 (1975): 24-33; C. Krahmalkov, "An Ammonite Lyric Poem," BASOR, no. 223 (1976), pp. 55-57; O. Loretz, "Die ammonitische Inschrift von Tell Siran," Ugarit Forschungen 9 (1977): 169-171; William H. Shea, "The Siran Inscription: Amminidab's Drinking Song," PEQ 110 (1978): 107-112; and R. B. Coote, "The Tell Siran Bottle Inscription," BASOR, no. 240 (1980), p. 93.

which occurs in lines 1, 2, and 3, is not certain.<sup>37</sup> Bn is usually interpreted as a plural with the final *mater lectionis* missing.<sup>38</sup> In accounting for this feature, appeal has been made to the Phoenician practice, which regularly omitted this orthographic element.<sup>39</sup>

This solution is doubtful, however. First, it would be surprising if the Aramaeans to the north,<sup>40</sup> the Hebrews to the west,<sup>41</sup> and the Moabites to the south<sup>42</sup> should have adopted the practice, but the Ammonites, located in the center of these three, should have resisted the development. Second, a final *mater lectionis* has been identified on a sixth-century B.C.E. ostracon from Heshbon,<sup>43</sup> rendering unlikely the suggestion by F. Zayadine and H. O. Thompson that "the absence of the *matres lectionis* could be characteristic of the Ammonite language." <sup>44</sup> Appeal to  $m^cbd$  in line 1 as another illustration of an omitted final y is speculative.<sup>45</sup>

Two alternative solutions are possible. P. E. Dion has argued that bn  $^cmn$  should be treated as a single word, in which case the missing element would be an internal vowel letter, whose absence would be in keeping with early Aramaic, Moabite, and Hebrew orthography. <sup>46</sup> On the other hand, the possibility remains, though

<sup>37</sup>The reading bn  $^cm[y]$ , proposed for the Amman Theatre Inscription by R. W. Dajani, "The Amman Theatre Fragment," Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, 12-13 (1967-68): 65-67, has been recently revised to bn  $^c\xi[\ldots]$ , by W. J. Fulco, "The 'Amman Citadel Inscription: A New Collection," BASOR, no. 230 (1979), pp. 38-40.

<sup>38</sup>Zayadine and Thompson, "Ammonite Inscription," p. 129; Thompson and Zayadine, "Tell Siran Inscription," p. 9; Cross, p. 15.

<sup>39</sup>Zayadine and Thompson, "Ammonite Inscription," p. 136. On the Phoenician orthography, see J. Friedrich and W. Röllig, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik*, AnOr 46, 2d rev. ed. (Rome, 1970), pp. 40-41; F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, *Early Hebrew Orthography: A Study of the Epigraphic Evidence*, AOS 36 (New Haven, Connecticut, 1952), pp. 20-21; Z. Zevit, *Matres Lectionis in Ancient Hebrew Epigraphs* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), p. 4.

<sup>40</sup>Cross and Freedman, pp. 31-33; Zevit, pp. 11-36.

<sup>41</sup>Cross and Freedman, pp. 56-57; Zevit, pp. 4-5.

<sup>42</sup>Cross and Freedman, pp. 43-44.

<sup>43</sup>See bny gbl<sup>5</sup> in Cross, "Heshbon Ostracon II," p. 126.

44"Ammonite Inscription," p. 136.

<sup>45</sup>Krahmalkov, p. 56, translates, "poem"; Loretz, p. 170, "Gegenstand"; Shea, p. 108, "From the cultivation of . . . "; Coote, p. 93, "product."

<sup>46</sup>Dion, p. 26. Cf. Cross and Freedman, pp. 31-32, 43-44, 56-57.

perhaps remotely, that bn is intended as a singular. This could explain the form of the Akkadian transliteration, ba-an, but would contradict the consistent Hebrew form of the binomial.

The final vowel of  ${}^{c}mn$  is equally uncertain. Again the absence of an internal mater lectionis makes it impossible to determine if a u-class vowel (as preferred in the Canaanite dialects) or an a-class vowel (as in the Akkadian transliteration, Am-ma-na)<sup>47</sup> is intended. <sup>48</sup>

### Ugaritic Sources

Although the Ugaritic texts naturally contain no references to the Ammonite nation, they are of great importance to the present investigation because they attest to a personal and guild name which closely resembles the national appellation. The forms identified to date range from the independent 'my to the full form, bn 'myn.<sup>49</sup> Whatever else the significance of these names may be, their existence should caution against explaining away the personal name of Lot's son in Gen 19:38 as a mere popular etymology for the name of the nation, devoid of any historical memory of an actual person or clan by that name.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>47</sup>Cf. the occasional retention of the u-class vowel in Mu- $^3a$ -a-ba (Moab) and the consistent spelling of U-du-mu (Edom). See Parpola, s.v., " $b\overline{u}$ t."

<sup>48</sup>The significance of the -ōn ending in Hebrew has been debated. L. Koehler, "Der Name Ammoniter," TZ 1 (1945): 156, has argued that it serves merely as a stylistic variation of the original name, devoid of any real meaning. J. J. Stamm, "Zur Ursprung des Names der Ammoniter," ArOr 17/2 (1949): 382, maintains that the -ōn ending gives the name a diminutive sense, and should be understood as "kleiner Onkel." Huffmon, p. 136, has pointed out that \*-ānum in Akkadian, from which is derived Canaanite -ōn, "is a legitimate Northwest Semitic ending" and "appears to go back to a Proto-Semitic feature as a diminutive suffix." Cf. W. von Soden, Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik, samt Ergängsungssheft zum Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik, AnOr 33/47 (Rome, 1969), pp. 70-71.

<sup>49</sup>For references, see C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, AnOr 38 (Rome, 1965), p. 457, #1865. For a detailed discussion of *bny*-PN names, see A. Alt, "Menschen ohne Namen," *ArOr* 18 (1950): 9-24. Cf. also D. J. A. Clines, "X, X ben Y, ben Y: Personal Names," *VT* 22 (1972): 266-287; and G. M. Landes, "A History of the Ammonites . . ." (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1956), pp. 4-12. Note also from the Kassite period, *Bi-na-am-mi* (see above, n. 33).

<sup>50</sup>So too Landes, p. 10; and also in subsequent publications by Landes: "The Material Civilization of the Ammonites," *BA* 24 (1961): 66-68; and "Ammon," in *IDB* 2: 109.

#### 3. Conclusions

On the basis of the biblical data, it is clear that bny  $^cmwn$  cannot be interpreted along the same lines as bny  $y\acute{s}r$   $^cl$ . The Ammonite and Akkadian references agree with the consistent Hebrew pattern of including the prefixed element as an integral part of the national name. The Ugaritic texts confirm that names resembling bn(y)  $^cmn$  were commonly applied to individuals and clans.

It may be concluded, therefore, that the prefixed bn/bny is not primarily an indicator of the common genealogical roots of the Ammonites, as it is in expressions like bny  $y\acute{s}r^{2}l$ , bny  $^{c}\acute{s}w$  ("sons of Esau"), $^{51}$  bny lt ("sons of Lot"), $^{52}$  bny  $\acute{s}^{c}yr$  ("sons of Seir"), $^{53}$  and bny ht ("sons of Heth"). $^{54}$  Nor does it indicate citizenship or residence in a place, as in "sons of Bethlehem," "sons of Jericho," "sons of Jerusalem," etc. $^{55}$  If the name provides any hints concerning the ethnic cohesion of the Ammonites, these are to be found in the perception of the individual, Ben-cammi, as the eponymous ancestor. $^{56}$  In this respect, then, the significance of the full form, Bene-ammon, compares with Moab, Israel, and Heth. In the aetiological account of Ammonite origins preserved in Gen 19:30ff., the personal name is described as summarizing the story of the ancestor's origins, providing a close semantic parallel to that of his brother/cousin Moab. $^{57}$ 

<sup>51</sup>Deut 2:4, 12, 22, 29.

<sup>52</sup>Deut 2:9, 19.

<sup>53</sup>Gen 36:20; 2 Chr 25:11.

 $<sup>^{54}{\</sup>rm Gen}\ 23:3,\ 5,\ 7,\ 10,\ 16,\ 20;\ 25:10.$  On all of these, cf. Block, forthcoming (see n. 7, above).

<sup>55</sup>For references for these and many more, cf. H. Haag, "Ben," TDOT 2: 151.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup>Cf. bn ymyn, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe of Benjamin; Gen 35:18.

 $<sup>^{57}</sup>Ben^{-c}ammi$  signifies "son of my paternal kinsman." Moab seems to be derived from  $min^{-2}\bar{a}b$  ( $>m\bar{e}^{-2}\bar{a}b$ ), "from (my) father." In the absence of scholarly consensus on the actual origins of the name "Moab" (for suggestions and bibliography, see D. I. Block, "The Foundations of National Identity: A Study of Ancient Northwest Perceptions" [Ph.D dissertation, University of Liverpool, 1982; Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1983], p. 397, n. 2), Gen 19:37 provides the clearest hint of the Hebrew understanding.

Consequently, it is possible that the best way to interpret bny 'mwn throughout the OT would be to follow the lead of the JB in Gen 19:38, and thus simply to transliterate the full name Beneammon, as we do with Israel, Moab, Edom, Judah, and many other national names. The only improvement that might be made in the treatment of this Genesis text would be to drop the definite article.