

Deuteronomy 4:19

so that you wouldn't be compelled, when you lift up your eyes to the heavens and see the sun and the moon and the stars—all the host of the heavens—to bow down to them and to serve those whom your deity YHWH distributed (*hālaq*) to all the peoples under the whole heavens.

Deuteronomy 32:8–9

When the Highest apportioned (*bāhanhēl 'elyôn*) the nations, when he divided the children of Adam, he set up the boundaries of the peoples according to the number of the deities; and YHWH's portion (*hēleq*) was his people—Jacob was the allotment of his inheritance (*hebel nahālātō*).

Deuteronomy 4:19 is likely the later of the two texts, and it reinterprets Deut 32:8–9 by putting YHWH in the position of distributing the deities to the nations, rather than Elyon distributing the nations to YHWH and the other deities. The earlier text understands YHWH's purview to be limited to the nation of Israel—a preexilic concept reflected in multiple passages³⁸—and it distinguishes the high deity from YHWH, but both reflect divine patronage over each nation (Olyan 2018). Daniel 10:13–21 reflects a second century BCE iteration of this conceptualization of divine patronage. The text refers to “princes” (*śārīm*) of Israel, Persia, and Greece, framing these “princes” as angelic figures who battle on behalf of their client nations.³⁹

Such battling evokes the related DIVINE WAR domain and the associated “warrior” profile (Miller 1973; Kang 1989), both of which extend from the earliest to the latest biblical texts.⁴⁰ An example of its activation that includes a deity other than YHWH is found in 2 Kgs 3, which describes an Israelite/Judahite/Edomite coalition against Moab. YHWH promised to deliver Moab into the coalition's hands (vv. 18–19), and it is successful until it reaches the king at Kir-hareseth. Before the coalition is able to breach the city wall, the king of Moab offers his son

³⁸ In addition to Deut 32:8–9, see 1 Sam 26:19; 2 Kgs 3:27; 5:15–17.

³⁹ The chief angel is called Michael, who is an angelic being in the literature contemporary with Daniel (1 En 20; 89.55–90.19; Jub. 10.22–23; Sir 17:17; T. Naph. 8–10; 4Q403 1.i:1–29). On the development of an angelic interpretation of patron deities in the Greco-Roman period, see Hannah 2007; cf. Smith 2008, 201–2.

⁴⁰ See Judg 11:24 above, but also 2 Kgs 19:10, 12, in which the Assyrian king Sennacherib's chief eunuch, Rabshakeh, taunts Hezekiah by appealing to the translatability of the notion of the divine warrior patron: “Do not let your deity on whom you rely deceive you by promising that Jerusalem will not be given into the hand of the king of Assyria,” and “Have the deities of the nations delivered them, the nations that my predecessors destroyed?” For the case that Rabshakeh was a Judahite, see Levin 2015.