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4Q185 in light of 4Q370: Remember his wonders and signs

This paper is part of a chapter in my thesis. In my thesis I do a rereading of the manuscript. The transcription of 4Q185 is my own.

(a) Introduction and Preliminary Clarifications

In DJD 39, 4Q185 is listed under the rubric "Didactic speech" and presented as a subcategory of the larger category of Sapiental texts.[1] The classification of 4Q185 is based upon a different reading of the manuscript, where the term חכם is reconstructed twice. Nevertheless, at this point there is no need to challenge the category. In my thesis I argue that 4Q185 is not rooted in Wisdom, but resembles other contemporary texts that are affiliated with Wisdom and the sapiential tradition, such as Sirach and Baruch. I further argue that 4Q185 has a rhetorical and persuasive intent. The speech of 4Q185 is in many ways a rephrased biblical discourse that persuades to walk the Way to life, in order to be the happy receiver of an inheritance. These observations - conform with a didactic setting. But what exactly this implies needs further clarification. According to Matthew Goff, the appeal to judgment has the pedagogical intent of encouraging upright conduct.[2] The addressees of 4Q185 are exhorted to learn from the speaker: 'Learn from me, you simple ones.' The implicit hierarchi between speaker and addressees reflects a school situation or a speech performed by some religous leader. The problem of the addresses, even though they are called simple ones, does not seem to be their lacking wisdom, but their lacking strength and God's judgment. The specific 'knowledge' transmitted in the text is knowledge about God- and human, that are 'embedded in history'. There are no advise on practical issues, such as finances, marital

1. The categorizations are admitted to be subjective, p14. Emanuel Tov and Martin G. Abegg, *The Texts from the Judaean Desert : Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 140.

2. Matthew J. Goff, *Discerning Wisdom the Sapiential Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 126.

issues, manners or other avice concerning everyday life.[3]

The social setting of the producer of 4Q185 is beyond our knowledge, but not beyond our imagination. We may assume that 4Q185 originated among educated members of a scribal class.[4] While teaching in the ancient Palestine in general was not limited to temple and synagogue, it is very likely that the production of texts with a didactic function would have been connected to a religious centre.[5] This, however could probably be said about any written document found at Qumran- either belonging to the sectarian body of texts, or the various 'pre-sectarian' texts. There are no clear indications of greek influence in 4Q185.[6] The basis of knowledge lie within traditions that have their origin in the Hebrew Scriptures. As a working theory, it will suffice to relate 4Q185 to a broad understanding of what a didactic text could be. It is significant not to separate the didactic setting of a text from that of religious piety and worship. We may imagine that the scribe was, or at least had been, connected to a synagogue-school somewhere.[7]

Outline

The aim of this paper is to scrutinze didactic elements in relation to history by a comparison with 4Q370. The aim is not to argue that these are the most prominent features of the compositions, I address them as didactic, as they are indeed related to teaching and transmission of knowledge.

I will brief look at material considerations, stylistic features, such as addressee formula, but more important is the rhetoric logic of the admonitions, and the role of history within this logic. It is within the textual overlap with 4Q370, that 4Q185 is explicitly didactic, and a

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3. Compare 4QInstructions and 4Q525.

4. See Philip R. Davies, *Scribes and Schools : The Canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures*, 1st ed., Library of Ancient Israel (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1998), 74.

5. Hebrew literature activity centred in temple priesthood, (Hasmonean monarchy as textual centre p 178)David McLain Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible : A New Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 303. See also Tov.

6. 'Education' in Catherine Hezser, *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine*, Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001).

7. The Material data in Eretz Israel derive from the second century B.C.E. and later. Snagoges have been discovered in Qumran, Gamla, Masada, Herodium, Capernaum, and Hasmoenan Jericho.Leo G. Perdue, *The Sword and the Stylus : An Introduction to Wisdom in the Age of Empires* (Grand Rapids, Mich. ; Cambridge: W.B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2008), 276–77.

careful analysis and comparison reveals insights about the corresponding textual passage and the different contexts of it. I do not automatically assume a similar function for the two compositions, based upon the textual overlap in itself- but I will argue that the textual overlap has been neglected in relation to the function of both texts. Carol Newsom did comment upon the textual overlap in her publication of the text in DJD,[8] but it has not been discussed further, although I believe it is of great significance for our understanding of these texts. The textual overlap between the two texts invites for further examination and comparison.

Both 4Q185 and 4Q370 are put in connection with historical traditions in the Psalms. History often serves as a basis in paraenetic texts. I believe the narrative in Psalm 78 and 106, but also Deut 32 can shed light upon the function of history in 4Q185. In order to see how the two admonitions lend on biblical traditions, I will pay attention to the mutual resemblance with historical- didactic psalms.

In what way is 4Q185 an exhortation or lesson on history?

(b) 4Q185 and 4Q370- A comparative analysis

While 4Q185 is listed as Didactic speech and Sapiental text, 4Q370 on the other hand, is categorized as a parabiblical text, based upon the rewriting of Genesis 6–9.[9] Regardless of these categorizations, I believe that a comparison between the two is fruitful. Without attempting to write neither of the two in or out of a category, the point of departure is to approach the two text- as reflections of one common tradition: Lessons on history in the Hebrew Bible.

I will first present 4Q370, and the textual overlap with 4Q185. The textual overlap implies material, but also various hermeneutical considerations.

(i) 4Q370 and Textual Parallel

The textual overlap provides us with parallel text that aids the reading of both manuscript. It also gives one the chance to see individual variation, that indicate distinctive features of each

8. Carol A. Newsom, "4qadmonition Based on the Flood," in *Discoveries in the Judean Desert Xix Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (1995).
9. Tov and Abegg, *The Texts from the Judaean Desert : Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series*, 122.

composition. In order to do a comparison- a thorough description of the manuscript is needed.

Description of manuscript

The extant manuscript 4Q370 is one larger fragment with two columns. The first column is damaged, but larger parts of the sheet is preserved. The second column is less damaged, but the left half of it has broken away. The lower part of the manuscript is severly damaged. We do not know the original size of the manuscript, but we are dealing with a small sized scroll, with 10 lines on each column. One smaller piece has later been attached to the main fragment, but there has been some uncertainty regarding its belonging to the manuscript.[10] The fragment was not on the earliest PAM photos, and it is not part of the edition in DJD by Carol Newsom.[11] Howver, it is placed beside the main fragment on PAM 43.369 from 1960.[12] On the later photos, published at the IAA web pages, the fragment is presented as part of the manuscript.[13] There are letters on the fragment, that fits perfectly with remnants of letter on the lower part of column one, ישראל. The hand is rather distinct, and on the basis of hand, the placement is convincing. With the placement of the small fragment at the bottom, one can assume the height of the written column 7,8 cm and width 14 cm, and the total height of the sheet, 12 cm. Counting 10 lines, 4Q370 is listed as a scroll with a small writing block.[14] 4Q185, with its 15 lines is regarded as a Medium-sized Writing block. The size of the scrolls may indicate function.[15] The small size of 4Q370 and 4Q185 can imply a didactic setting, but it is difficult to infer function from the size and shape of the manuscript.

Textual overlap

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10. See Alex P. Jassen, "A New Suggestion for the Reconstruction of 4q370 1 I 2 and the Blessing of the Most High (Elyon) in Second Temple Judaism ," *Dead sea Discoveries* 17 (2010).. See also photos from 2009, IAA website. Feldman argues that this fragment likely does not come from the same manuscript as the larger fragment of 4Q370 ("Reworking," 31–32).

11. Newsom, "4Qadmonition Based on the Flood."

12. The fragment is not on the photo from 1953, PAM. 40 601.

13. See B-295763, taken April, 2012.

14. Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2004), 85.

15. Larger scrolls are 'luxury scrolls', and virtually all contain Scripture. See disussion in Ibid., 90.

The textual parallel between 4Q370 and 4Q185, begins in line 5 on the second column of 4Q370, and ends in line 9 where the extant manuscript ends. It is difficult to estimate the extent of the parallel, as it might have gone further. The two manuscripts do not appear to be two copies of the same text, but one should not dismiss the possibility entirely. The text in 4Q370 that precedes the parallel passage, does not have a parallel in 4Q185. If 4Q185 was longer, and holes for stitches indicate that there could have been another sheet, there could be a lost section that parallels 4Q370. Also, the top of the first column of 4Q185 is damaged, and the remaining text of the judgment scene that precedes the textual overlap, has some terminological correspondence that could open up for further similarities. Nevertheless, it is easier to understand the relationship between these texts, as two different compositions with one common passage, rather then two copies of the same composition. The question then is - why are these similiar sections part of two different compositions? The context in each compositions must be compared in order to consider this.

First, I will consider the textual overlap that is found in the second column of 4Q370.

4Q370

Column 2

1 מעון ידרשו מ[--]
2 יצדיק יהוה ש[--]
3 ויטהרם מעונם [--]
4 רעתם בדעתם בי[ן --]
5 יִצְמְחוּ וכצל ימיהם עֹ[ל הארץ --]
6 ועד עולם הוא ירחם ˚[--]
7 גבורת יהוה זכרו נפל[אות --]
8 מפני פחדו ותשמח נפְ[שכם --]
9 משניכם אַל תְּמְרו דבר[י יהוה --]

The ink on the first line is very pale, but the line is readable with an infrared microscope. There has also been taken good photos of the fragment recently. There seems to be no dispute regarding the paleographic reading of the second column. The Hebrew text that I present here conforms with the reading of Newsom, although I am more hesitant to restore lines of text.

Where she suggested reconstructions of larger parts of the missing text based upon 4Q185,[16] I only restore words and constructs where there is a clear parallel with 4Q185.

The translation and interpretation of the text is difficult, as we do not have entire phrases, only parts of them. Line 6 is often read, 'and forevermore he will have compassion', but as far as we know, the phrase ועד עולם is the end of a clause, and הוא ירחם the beginning of a new. Easier is part of text that can be read in light of a complete phrase in 4Q185. These textual parallels are underlined.

Carol Newsom assumes literary dependence between the compositions, but without concluding which way the dependence goes. She seems to prefer 4Q185 as source text for 4Q370, even though 4Q185 is longer, since 4Q370 show dependence of other text as well.[17] Now, this is the nature of both compositions, as both allude other texts in a rather free way. There is no decisive criteria as to decide which one is dependent on the other. As a hypothesis to be tested, I will follow the suggestion of Newsom, and take as a starting point that 4Q185 is source text for 4Q370. The dating of the manuscripts indicates that 4Q370 is written later than 4Q185, but since both compositions are regarded as being of earlier origin this is not really evidence.

While the textual overlap is underlined, the text of 4Q185 that could hypothetically be parallelled, (now lost portions of the manuscript) has no line at all. If the scribe of 4Q370 is using 4Q185 as source text, he must have left out the remaining text. (My transcription)

4Q185 Col. i

ואתם בני אדם א[ ]כי הנֻּה

10 כח[צ]יר <u>יצמח</u> ~~מארצו יפרח כציץ חסדו נשב[ה --]רוחו~~

11 ~~ויבש עגזו וציצו תשא רוח עד אנ ׳קום לע[מוד - ויא]בד~~

12~~ולא ימצא כי רוח [[ ]] יבקשוהו ולא ימצאהו ואין מקוה.~~

13 ~~והוא~~ <u>כצל ימים על הא[רץ]</u> ועתה שמעו נא עמי והשכילו

14 לי פתאים והכנעו מן <u>[ג]בורת אלהינו וזכרו נפלאות</u> עשה

16. Newsom, "4qadmonition Based on the Flood."

17. Kampen holds the same view, John Kampen, *Wisdom Literature*, Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2011), 254.

15 במצרים ומופתיו ב[--]ויערץ לבבכם מפני פחדו

Col. ii

1 ~~ועשו רצ[ונו~~ ותשמח נ]פשכם כחסדיו הטבים חקרו לכם דרך

2 לחיים ומסלה[- -]ושארית לבניכם אחריכם ולמה תתנו

3 [ ]כם לשא◦[-- מ]שפט שמעוני בני ואל תמרו דברי יהוה

Comparison

The textual overlap discloses differences between the two admonitions- of several kinds. The overlap is in some measure a running parallel, as the common motifs follow eachother in order, but the two sequneces are not identical. There are formal differences, but also terminological that may imply thematic difference. Similar motifs are used- but in different measure, and perhaps associated with a different source or diverging associative memory.

The textual parallel of the extant text starts in the second column of 4Q370, with the verb מצא. While the simile on human in 4Q185 is singular, 4Q370 is plural. It is reasonable to assume that the term 'sprout' is part of a flower or grass- simile of some kind, but there is not enough space for a longer exposition found in 4Q185. The beginning of the preceding line provides us with the text: 'their evil, in their knowledge'. It is difficult to say whether the similes are a continuation of this, or not.

The notion of God's compassion in line 6, is exclusive to 4Q370, and the exhortations in line 8, move from the appeal to "[tremble your heart]from before his dread"- to "rejoice your souls", without an exhortation to do his wi[ll]. This means, that if the scribe of 4Q370 cites 4Q185, as Newsom suggests, he freely adds and leaves out elements.

Both texts seems to have the same reference to history, and space indicates that the two texts follow eachother closely at this point. The amount of text that is lost, from the last part of line 5 to the beginning of line 6, correspond well with the next gap compared to 4Q185. [ ]mighty deeds of Jahweh and remember his wonders [ ] 'from before his dread'. There is one variation, however. While 4Q370 uses the Tetragrammaton, 4Q185 has אלהינו in the corresponding phrase. There is no obvious reason for this deviation as both scribes employ different labels of God. Within 4Q370 there is interchange between אל and

יהוה, while 4Q185 interchanges between יהוה and אלהים. There seems to be no clear system regarding the use of name. There are thus deviations between the texts within the overlap and one can not simply reconstruct 4Q370 in light of 4Q185. The last parallel is the phrase in line 9, *"Do not rebel the words"*. In 4Q185 there is an additional element that precedes this prohibition, regarding Way of life and path [to death]. Thus, depart from the latter example, the tendency is that 4Q185 is longer and more elaborate than 4Q370. There is thus a stronger connection between the recalled exodus, dread and appeal not to rebel.

There are three addressee formula in 4Q185. None of these have a parallel in the extant text of 4Q370. The last one, introducing the prohibition ואל תמרו, is definateley not there. Due to space limits, it seems highly unlikely that there is one in line 4. It is impossible to tell if there once was one at the end of line 6, but the transition from poetry to prose is different. There is a good chance that 4Q370 does not have the same way of address, and perhaps no speaker at all. Either these formal elements are literary additions and adjustment in 4Q185, or the scribe of 4Q370, if he did copy from 4Q185, did not perceive the addressee-formulas as literary motifs, but as particular communicative part of this particular admonition- and not his own? The 'formal' differences do strengthen the educational features of 4Q185.

The poetic imagery in 4Q185 is much more elaborate, and the same seems to be the issue in regard to the formal or 'redactional' features. This could imply that 4Q185 is dependent on 4Q370, and not the other way around. But again, we should have in mind that the lengthier text is not necessarily the youngest.[18] *The formal differences could be related to 'social setting'.*[19] This needs to seen in relation to the larger context as well.

Compositional unit

If we consider the textual overlap in 4Q370 and 4Q185 to reflect two different compositions, this example confirms the scribal and redactional practice of the time. It is not unique to have one textual passage appear in two different texts. Perhaps it could be compared with variations beween different copies of the same texts found in Qumran,[20] but also between

18. Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

19. On the function of designations in Instructions, see Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "The Addressees of 4qinstruction," in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998, Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet*, ed. Daniel K. Falk, Florentino García Martínez, and Eileen M. Schuller, Stdj (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

20. Tov and Abegg, *The Texts from the Judaean Desert : Indices and an Introduction to*

different compositions.[21] It is difficult to identify the overlap as a self contained unit- or as a circulating passage. Although it is clear that the passage seems to have functioned as one logical sequence, the overlapping passage is not one unity as such. The passage ranges from poetic to paraenetic, and is embedded in a larger composition. In 4Q185 there is a clear shift from the poetic and paraenetic, strenghtened by the introductory formula. Furthermore the flower and shadow metaphor is embedded within a larger discourse on 'no hope'. The repetition of this phrase in the two motif complexes of the admonition, connects the motif cluster on human- to the judgment scene. Thus, if the passage is copied from 4Q370- it sure is well written into a new composition.

Poetic and paraenetic. Motif cluster as example of scribal activity

4Q370 and 4Q185 are both examples of scribal activity, as their rhetoric is grounded in biblical narrative and language. Both texts seem to render source texts freely. According to Carol Newsom, the scribe of 4Q370 is citing from memory. This could absolutely be the case also for 4Q185. Both scribes alludes a great variety of texts, and it seems unlikely that they would have close access to all their source texts. Furthermore it seems as though word order is not of major importance.[22]

It is difficult to pin out any direct dependence on source texts, but it is clear that both scribes knew and were familier with the motif cluster on human finitude. Although one of the two copies the other- they both shape would have shaped their own version. In 4Q185 there seems to an allusion to Chronicles:[23]

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the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series, 319. Different copies of serekh-texts. See Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*., *The Serekh Texts* (London: T & T Clark, 2007)., Charlotte Hempel, "The Literary Development of the S Tradition," *Revue de Qumran* 87 (2006). and "Shared Traditions: Points of Contact between S and D," in *The Dead Sea Scolls. Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts.*, ed. Sarianna Metso (Leiden: Brill, 2010)..

21. One example is the confessional ritual of the rule texts. 1QS 1,24f and CD 20,27f. This passage is not identical in the two texts, but it is indeed a parallel. These examples show textual passages are fluid, not only in the matter of wording, but also the textual context.

22. According to Juha Pakkala "the scribe did not regard exact wording to be so important"Juha Pakkala, "The Quotations and References of the Pentateuchal Laws in Ezra-Nehemiah," in *Changes in Scripture : Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Tradition in the Second Temple Period*, ed. Juha Pakkala and Marko Mattila Hanne von Weissenberg (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 198.

23. No copy of Chronicles is found in Qumran, and the only text we have to consider is MT. Chronicels are very scarcely alluded to or quoted in Qumran texts. See similar discussion in

> "For we are aliens and transients before you, as were all our ancestors; our days on the earth are like a shadow, and there is no hope," 1 Cron 29,15.[24]

4Q370 uses the shadow simile as well, but there is not necessarily a connection with Chronicles in 4Q370. Another version of a similar motif cluster is found in Job 14,1-2. This is shorter, and closer to the structure found in 4Q370.

> "A mortal, born of woman, few of days and full of trouble, comes up like a flower and withers, flees like a shadow and does not last ולא יעמוד."

This motif cluster, combining the flower and shadow-similie, appears in various ways and in different compositions. A concluding denial seems to be a common feature of it. Psalm 103 has no denial, but the concluding phrase can easily be associated with the other concluding phrases of the motif cluster: "for the wind passes over it, and it is gone, and its place עוד מקומו, knows it no more."

The admonitions, 4Q370 and 4Q185, are not *dependent* upon any source text, but both text clearly draw from biblical imagery. If we should assume one source *text*, and not only a well known poetic motif pattern, Chronicles, in combination of Isaiah stand out as the closest terminological parallels to 4Q185. Even though the thematic parallel is more extensive in Job 14, counting three elements, there are phraseological links between 4Q185 - and Chronicles/ Isaiah. Some phrases could be directly borrowed from the prayer of David in 1 Chron 29, and combined with the prophetic doom of Isaiah. But how does this go along with 4Q185 and 4Q370? Despite the variations- there are good reasons to assume that one of the two is dependent upon the other in relation to the flower-simile. The textual parallels between 4Q185 and 4Q370 starts with the verb צמח, a term that is never an integral part of the human as grass-motif within Psalm 103, Job 14 nor Isaiah.[25] This parallell is striking, and I doubt that it is merely a fortuitous incident. Thus, I would suggest that the use of this verb in both of the text connects the two. One of the two is copying the other, but in his own associative

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George Brooke, "The Books of Chronicles and the Scrolls from Qumran," in *Reflection and Refraction. Studies in Biblical Historiography in Honour of A. Graame Auld.*, ed. Timothy H. Lim and W. Brian Aucker Robert Rezetko, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 47. In theory 4Q185 could allude just the poem that is found in Chronicles.

24. The greek version of Chronicles has καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπομονή, no endurance. This shows the ambiguous meaning of the phrase, but it also hints of the flexibility and associate nature of the motif cluster.

25. The verb is used in the branch metaphor in Isaiah 45,8 and 61,11, and CD 1,7 in relation to the branch (See also Psalm 85, 104,14 and Ezek 16,7).

manner, as both text within the same logical sequence draw from different sources. While 4Q185 transforms the metaphor on human as a whithering flower, the scribe of 4Q370 only employs a shorter phrase. The elaborate version of the flower metaphor in 4Q185, reflects Isaiah, while 4Q370 does not. This is intriguing. If the scribe of 4Q370 copies and rewrites 4Q185, this scribe does not need a connection with Isaiah, Chronicles nor Job, and could very well draw from Psalm 103, as Newsom suggests. The scribe could easily associate from memory, and add elements from Psalm 103, or another text, to his own version. If on the other hand 4Q185 is dependent on 4Q370, then additional variants of the motif cluster is alluded. Eitehr way-the deviations are best explained by stilistic preference and creativity. Hence, the textual overlap is a great example of the associative nature of these poetic motifs. There seems to be no theological deviations, with the possible exception of the phrase רהם which has a positive tone, in large contrast with the repeated 'no hope' in 4Q185.[26]

While the poetic imagery is found in various texts and has a rather flexible function, there is no obvious external source for the exhortations. While 4Q185 seems to rely on the historical psalms, such as Psalm 105 in combination with Psalm 106, it is more difficult to establish a connection with 4Q370. The combination of 'motifs' that dominates the two sequences have parallells, however. Psalm 78, might provide a link, within the recalled 'history of sin'.

> "He remembered that they were but flesh, a wind that passes and does not come again. How often they rebelled against him in the wilderness and grieved him in the desert!" Psalm 78:39-40

The association with the motif cluster and human sin is found in prayers with penitential overtone, such as 1 Chron 29 and also in the prayers of Hodayot, $1QH^a$ 12. Similar to the Gerichtsdoxologie in Dan 9, the acknowledgement of ones weakness is an integral part of the confessional language and "What am I?" is contrasted with the might of God. The combination of poetic with prose, needs to be further analysed in light of the larger composition in order to see in what way the exhortation is connected with and related to the preceding narrative.

(ii) History and paraenese

The narrative in 4Q370

26. Note: sinful 'from the womb' is a recurrent motif in the Niedrigkeitsdoxologie. (See also" He will justify", 1QHa 17.)

We will now turn to the larger context of the overlap in 4Q370. The first column is not an admonition, but narrative that portrays human character in an absolutely negative way.

The historical narrative is partly narrated, and partly God-speech, אמר יהוה. The whole story starts off with a notion on God's gifts of abundance. The flood generation were provided for, and ate, but immidiately afterwards they were unable to do according to God's will. Therefore God judged them, and they died, line 6. God is the one and only active agent within the narrative. The verbal phrases display God as sovereign and powerful. He first offers his gifts: He decked the mountain, poured out food and satiesfied all. But soon after, he appears as judge and destroys everything. The conclusion to the narrative is nevertheless not ultimate destruction, but covenant: "so]that he would remember the covenant", line 7.

The narrative does entail instruction, but it is addressed within the God speech to the former flood generation. Hence there are two kinds of addressee in the admonition as a whole, the former and the present generation. There is no point in separating the two, as they merge into one. This reflects a similar perspective towards the past that is found in the confession in Ps 106,6, 'the fathers and we'. The present addressees are supposed to identify themselves with the narrative. The narrative thus has an examplatory and didactic purpose.

Both narrative and admonition have an interest in character. Although statements about God, what he said and did, occupy most of the narrative, human character is always in centre of attention, and as such appear as the main theme.

In the following table I have singled out nouns that serve to describe God and human, then all verbal acts. The exhortations are put in a separate column. These are ideal acts which mirror the acts of the narrative.

	Basis for exhortation	Exhortation i - first addresse (Proto-exhort) ii- second adresse?
God- Constructs/nouns	*the words of YHWEh* my holy name my will. רצוני *God's compassion?* רחם *Gods strength* כח the mighty deeds of God his dread	 i 'Bless my holy name" i 'All who do my will eat and be satisfied!'

God- verbal: Blessing and Judgment	he decked the mountain and poured out food upon them he satisfied all he judged? them: ישפט He destroyed them remember the covenant he will purify	
Human- construct/ nouns	Their inclination (evil in lacuna?) their ways their guilt like a shadow are their days	Remember the wonders and ... from before his dread! Rejoice your souls! Do not rebel the words of
Human (plural)- verbal	They did evil They rebelled They died (lacuna!) They sprout	

The examplatory purpose of the narrative seems to be clear and the table could be summarized in the following way: The addresses of the exhortation should identify themselves with the wicked generations of past, but act differently. The admonition does not have an individual perspective, but addresses a collective, which might equals 'Israel', line 10.[27] The destructive acts of God are interpreted as punishments. Thus, the addressees need to realize the mighty power of God and their own tendency towards sin. The history of rebellion and ingratitude, punishment and judgment- is made relevant. The logic of the narrative is: If you do evil, God will judge you. "All died; not even the gi[an]ts escaped", col. 1 line 6. The narrative is thus important as motivation for the admonition.

Repetitions and contrast motifs are part of the rhetorical strategy in 4Q185. The narrative of 4Q370 is built up in a similar antithetic way. Three phrases that underline God as provider- are followed by a triple statement of the sinful character of human. The description of God serves to describe man- by contrast.

There are several contrast motifs or inversions between the narrative and the exhortation. One is connected with the verb זכר. In the first column it is stated that God put the rainbow [in the sky] "so that he (God) would remember the covenant." In the second column the addresses are exhorted to remember his 'wonders'- which are acts of covenant relationship, either it

27. If the placement of the smaller fragment is correct, one can read 'Israel'.

denotes blessings or curses. While God's remembrance is connected with his compassion and righteousness, the short memory of human- is connected with weakness and rebellious nature. The contrast between God and human and their different character, in foundational for the narrative of the first column. Hence, in both admonitions, the character of man, is mainly explicated within the contrast with God and his strength.

Another repetition is that of rebellion. The heed 'not to rebel against the words of the Lord,' functions as a postive antitype to the past generation.

> "They did what I regard as evil," says the LORD. They rebelled against God in their d[esig]ns. So the LORD judged them according to a[l]l their practices, according to the designs arising from their [evil] hearts." f1i 2-3

Again the motif of contrast is important. While they ate and were satisfied but did not bless his name, *You should rejoice your souls*! They rebelled, but *you should not rebel*.

Two of the exhortations are damaged, but if one restores them in light of 4Q185, one could also add: "Humble before the mighty deeds of God" and "Let your heart tremble before his dread." These exhortations if they correspond to 4Q185, ask for attitude and the correct response. 'They' were destroyed- but the present generations may be restored.

Judgment and restoration in the admonitions

Both 4Q370 and 4Q185 could be read in terms of a pattern on judgment and restoration. The solution to human character is repentance before God, and reliance on God's compassion. According to Carol Newsom 4Q370 seems to draw from Ezekiel 36. Ezekiel recalls the history of Israel as one "in which the people defiled the land through their sinful deeds, profaning the holy name and provoking YHWH´s wrath and judgment."[28] (In Ezekiel purification plays a crucial part in this regard).

The addressees in 4Q185 are not accused, but the history of sin is recalled in the admonition: Humble from the mighty deeds, tremble your heart, do not rebel, do not walk. The admonitor encourages the addresse to respond to the acts of judgment in the past- towards a renewed and more appropriate attitude. The rebellion is the type-problem in the historical narratives, and the very term כנע is closely associated with repentance in Chronicles.[29]

In light of 4Q370- it makes sense to assume that sin is addressed also in 4Q185. The term 'pure' is mentioned, and it could be related to the following judgment scene. Furthermore the

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28. Newsom, "4qadmonition Based on the Flood," 89.
29. 2 Chron 7:14, 12:6–7 and 33:23.

judgment scene involves flames of fire, which in some texts have purifying function, in particular in Malachi and Ezekiel. It is not impossible that the larger metaphor or similes have the same function in both texts: To expound the threat of judgment, although 4Q370 seems to be more optimistic against the repeated "no hope" in 4Q185.

Restoration as Knowledge?

The problem of greed and ingratitude is recurrent in texts that convey history of sin.[30] In 4Q370, God is described as the provider of 'life giving' gifts. The wording resembles the Hymn to creation, "crowning the hills with fruit, good food for every living being", 6. As they are enable to respond with gratitude and blessing, God enters into judgment. Human character and nature offer therefore a great paradox within the narrative. The rebellion against God is according to human character, but also fundamentally against its conditions for life. Psalm 78 has a similar paradox. "And they ate and were well filled, for he gave them what they craved. But before they had satisfied their craving, while the food was still in their mouths, the anger of God rose against them" v 29–31. Further in Psalm 78:34–38 the history is summarized as follows:

> "When he killed them, they sought דרש for him; they repented and sought God earnestly. They remembered that God was their rock, the Most High God their redeemer. But they flattered him with their mouths; they lied to him with their tongues. Their heart was not steadfast toward him; they were not true to his covenant. Yet he, being compassionate רחם, forgave their iniquity, and did not destroy them."

The remaining words on the first lines on Col ii, might be read as a similar repentance motif. Thus the following sequence on human as flower, which refers to God's רחם, follows the line of thought from these first lines:

Column 2

1 מעון ידרשו מ[--]
2 יצדיק יהוה ש[--]
3 ויטהרם מעונם [--]
4 רעתם בדעתם בי[ן --]

30. Newsom places 4Q370 within the pattern of "divine gift and human ingratitude or rebellion" which is attested in the biblical exodus and conquest tradition. See DJD.

1. Because of their iniquity, they will seek[ ]
2. YHWE will justify[ ]
3. And he will purify them from their iniquity[ ]
4. Their evil in knowing betw[ ]

This passage is the close context of the textual overlap with 4Q185. Unfortunately, these phrases are difficult to make sense of, but they reflect accusation and self- examination, similar to CD 1:8–9.

> "They considered their iniquity עון and they knew that they were guilty men, and had been like the blind and like those groping for the way twenty years. But God considered their deeds, that they had sought דרש Him with a whole heart."

The statement that 'he will purify from iniquity', seems to imply that their דרש, concerns God- and that they achieved to reestablishing the covenant relationship. The verb דרש thus might be related to repentance.[31] The noted compassion רחם of God (line 6) is best explained through the covenant relationship. The narrative states that God remembered, Col 1:7. The fragmented top of the first column, could be read as a restoration. 'YHWE will justify' and 'And he will purify them from their iniquity.'[32] It is notable that 4Q185 lacks this reference to רחם.

Summary: Larger context for sequence in the two compositions

The connection between the appeal to remember Egypt and the larger flood narrative within the composition in 4Q370 is not readily apparant. It is possible however, that there is a narrative logic. The flood story, at least in the version presented to us here, is a story of judgment that connects rebellion with ingratitude. The rebellion of the wilderness is also connected to ingratitude, and judgment as depicted in Psalm 78.[33] The two 'narratives' seems to be blended in 4Q370.

While 4Q370 is rather explicit on accusation and repentance, 4Q185 in not. Nevertheless, the

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31. Werline refers to 'Seek and find'- motif as a repentance motif, Rodney Alan Werline, *Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism : The Development of a Religious Institution*, Early Judaism and Its Literature (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1998), 29.

32. See brief discussion in Dorothy M. Peters, *Noah Traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Conversations and Controversies of Antiquity.*, ed. Judith Newman, vol. 26, Early Judaism and Its Literature (Atlanta: SBL, 2008), 147–48.. "Repentance in the context of covenant is the only way to escape implied future judgment". In addition to Ezekiel, Peters also mentions a link with 4Q508, Festival Prayers.

33. See also Isa 54,9.

exhortation to humble before God, has penitential overtones, and implies sin. The larger text of 4Q370 thus shed light upon some aspects of 4Q185, beyond the textual overlap. Although the passage may not have the exact same function in 4Q185, it makes sense to suppose some kind of correspondence.

(c) Didactic discourse *and historiographic models*

i History and knowledge

The overarching question for this paper is: In what way can 4Q185 be read as a lesson history?[34]

Despite the differences between the admonitions, the appeal to remember history seems to play a similar role. The poetical imagery is connected with the paraenetic. These motifs, is part of the motivation for the exhortation as it serves to arouse emotions, shame and fear.

That 'history' is studied as a source of knowledge is reflected in various compositions. In 4Q381, frag 1. 'A lesson on justice', history is portrayed as teacher of justice.

> "I have proclaimed, and I wish to study his wonderful acts, and this will be to me a teacher on justice.[ ]
>
> my mouth, and to the simple and they will understand, and the ones without knowl edge פתאים will know. *vacat* YHWH! How many are the mig[hty deeds]"

In fact, 4Q185 is very close to the opening of this psalm.[35] The wonders נפלאת is something to study and to learn from. But while the further exposition refer to acts of creation, 4Q185 and 4Q370 reflect history of sin. The exhortations reflect biblical motif clusters of history of sin, found in Deut 32, *Psalm 78 or Psalm 105 and 106.*

Benjamin Wold has shown how memory is essential to various text.[36] I will look at some of

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34. implying: history as source of knowlege

35. The didactic introduction of 4Q381 is often translated as if the feminine suffix refers to Wisdom herself as a teacher. See Abegg, Accordance. Neither Eileen Schuller nor Pajunen reads it in this direction, however, See Eileen M. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran: A Pseudepigraphic Collection* (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1986); Mika Pajunen, "The Land of the Elect and Justice for All" (Helskink, 2012), 125–32.

36. Benjamin G. Wold, "Memory in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Exodus, Creation and Cosmos," in *Memory in the Bible and Antiquity*, ed. Stephen C. Barton Loren T. Stuckenbruck, Benjamin G. Wold (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007).

the same texts- but ask more specifically for the use of history as pedagogical example in instruction.

ii History of sin in Ps 78, 106 and Deut 32: They forgot and did not remember

According to Matthew Goff 4Q185 should be read in light of Psalm 78, that recounts historical events of Israel in order to demonstrate the might of God.[37] One can hardly argue against this claim, but along the same lines- is the demonstration and reminder of the character of the people, as prototype: Do not be like you fathers! The accusation toward the past generations is recurrent "You have forgotten, and not remembered, (Isa 17:10 and Deut 9:7). History of sin is a recurrent theme within different genres of the Hebrew Bible, and appears in various versions. Scholar have long sinse commented upon the historiographic model.[38]

1. Yahweh's blessing
2. Israel's disobedience
3. Judgment
4. Cry for mercy
5. Deliverance

Not all historical summaries follow this exact sequence. Boda distinguishes between two models: Dicipline model (Isa 63, Jer 32)[39] and patience model (cf Deut 32 and Ezek 20). While Deut 32, lacks the cry for mercy, or repentance, Psalm 78 and 106 are combinations-as they reveal God's patience by intercession.[40]

In 4Q370 we have seen how the characterization of the flood generation merges with the portrayal of the wilderness generation, in Ps 78, Num 14 etc. Similarly the past generations merges with the present in 4Q370.[41] In this way 4Q370 reflects the two first sequences of the

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37. Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 123.

38. According to the Mark Boda, The Penitential prayer in Neh 9,26–31 can be structured according this model, Mark J. Boda, *Praying the Tradition : The Origin and Use of Tradition in Nehemiah 9*, Beihefte Zur Zeitschrift FüR Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, (Berlin ; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1999), 81.

39. The divine- human interplay in historical, (Neh 9, Ezek 20). See Intercession.

40. Boda, *Praying the Tradition : The Origin and Use of Tradition in Nehemiah 9*, 84.

41. The identification,' we and our fathes', that is drawn from Psalm 106, is reflected in the Covenant Code (1QS) and in CD. While Psalm 78 is found in different manuscripts, only a minor portion of Psalm 106 is attested (4QPs^{d}). Nevertheless, its influence has been assumed, George J. Brooke, "Psalms 105 and 106 at Qumran," *Revue de Qumran* 14, no. 2 (1989).

model: blessing and ingratidude (disobedience). In 4Q185 there is no narrative- only the short creed. But the exhortations draw from the model. Strugnell suggested a reading of Col ii:11-12 in column two, that has consequences for the impact of historical traditions in 4Q185. Kampen and Goff, while adopting the reading of Strugnell, reads "he kills those who hate his Wisdom." Based upon the material evidence, this reading is unlikely.[42] I have tentatively suggested " he kills those who forg[et], his commandments". (Psalm 78, and 9,17) see CD 8,19, 19,5 and 19,32.[43]

When the instructor in 4Q185 exhorts to learn from the past it is in a manner that resembles various texts in the Hebrew Bible, in particular the historical psalms in the Hebrew Bible. The corresponding motifs between 4Q815 and the historical psalms, such as the Psalm in Deut 32, Psalm 78 and 106. The similarities are of such a manner, that they constitute a pattern, but there are different modes of didactic element. While Deut 32 and Psalm 78 have a didactic framework, Psalm 106 has not. The psalm opens and closes with praise. Nevertheless, there is didactic terminology connected with the historical motifs in the psalm. 4Q185 seems to draw from this tradition- in terminology, in particular in relation to the historical motifs.

	Deut 32	Psalm 78	Psalm 106	4Q185
Didactic opening	Give ear, O heavens, and I will speak, v 1 May my teaching drop like the rain, v 2	Give ear, O my people, to my teaching; v 1–2	-	Learn from me,
Accusation ('sapiential')	They are a nation void of sense; there is no understanding in them. v 28–29	They did not keep God's covenant, but refused to walk according to his law.		only implicit, "you simple ones"
Remember! זכר	Remember 'days of old', v 7			Remember God's Wonders!
Blessing	v 10–14	v 12–16, v 23–29	implied v 7	-

42. There is not space for the ח. Se discussion in chapter 2.

43. CD 8:19 everyone who rejects the commandments of God and abandons them to follow their own willful heart. CD 19:5 But those who reject the commandments CD 19:32 So there is one fate for everyone who rejects the commandments of God […]

Disobediance /accusation_ לא זכרו and שכח	You forgot שכח	They did not remember, v 42 They forgot שכח	They did not remember, v 7 They forgot God, their Savior, who had done great things in Egypt, v 21(v 13)	he kills those who forget שכח
Rebellion מרה		they should not be like their ancestors, a stubborn and rebellious generation v 8 (17, 40 and 56).	but rebelled against the Most High at the Red Sea.	Do not rebel!
Greed	v 13–15	v 30–31	v 14–15	–
Judgment with - wrath - fire	"For a fire is kindled by my anger, and burns to the depths of Sheol; it devours the earth and its increase, and sets on fire the foundations of the mountains". v22	"Therefore, when the LORD heard, he was full of rage; a fire was kindled against Jacob, his anger mounted against Israel" v 21	"Fire also broke out in their company; the flame burned up the wicked," v 18	according to his wrath Judgment with flames of fire
Plagues/ rebuke	I will heap disasters upon them, spend my arrows against them: wasting hunger, burning consumption, bitter pestilence. v 23-24		"They provoked the LORD to anger with their deeds, and a plague broke out among them", v. 29	ten times?
Cry for mercy/ repentance	-	implied	*(Remember me, God! v 4)* v 47	implied
deliverance		implied, v 68–72	v 44–45	implied

What we see in this table, is that all historical 'elements' in 4Q185 resonates with this historiographic model plus the didactic framework of Deut 32 and Ps 78.

The difference from Deut 32, is the lack of repentence. This model follows the patience model (Boda 83), while 4Q185 is closer to the dicipline model, that includes some sort of repentance or cry for help, found *Psalm 106, and reflected in Ps 78.* In 4Q185- the instructor interprets the distress- as punishment and thus exhort to repent, in order to experienve mercy and deliverance.

The appeal to incline the ear is a recurrent introductory formula in Proverbs. (Prov 4,20 and 5,1), and is used both in the opening of Psalm 78 and Deut 32. It is a sapiental opening, but with a Deuteronomistic touch.[44] The teaching is likened with a parable- from old, but it is further put in connection with hat has been told through generations: His strength and wonders. The aim of the knowledge- is for them not to forget שכח, and not to become like their fathers, v 8–11. Although Psalm 78 depicts salvation history, the emphasis is upon the sin of the people, and their constant rebellion. The consequence of rebellion is judgment: Destruction, fear and short lifetime, v 33. Apparently, this rebuke effected reconciliation.

> "When he killed them, they sought for him; they repented and sought God earnestly. They remembered that God was their rock, the Most High God their redeemer."

The function of punishment, is to remind the people. This is also the logic of penitential prayer. It originated from experience of rebuke. When he killed them, they 'turned' and searched and looked for him. (שח and דרש) and remembered זכר.

Psalm 78 resembles a Deuteronomic perception of history, when it warns against forgetting the 'Wonders' of God. In Deut 11, the signs and works in Egypt are referred to as instruction or rebuke מוסר, and exemplified by the plagues, the sea-wonder, and the execution of judgment in the desert, v 2-7. All are terrifying events and reminders of the wrath of God.

The essential history- and identity is related to the rebellion. This is what one should commemorate: (similar to Baruch)

> "Remember and do not forget how you provoked the LORD your God to wrath in the wilderness; you have been rebellious against the LORD from the day you came out of the land of Egypt until you came to this place." Deut 9,7

In Deuteronomy history is a warning, but also a promise. Because if you do keep the law, you will live long in the land. Deut 11:8. Therefore you shall teach it to your children, 11:19.

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44. *See Menahem Kister, "Wisdom Literature and Its Relation to Other Genres: From Ben Sira to Mysteries.," in Sapiential Perspectives Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls ; Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 20-22 May, 2001 , ed.* ***Ruth Clements*** *,* ***John J. Collins*** *, and* ***Gregory E. Sterling*** *(Leiden: Brill, 2004), 33.*

Psalm 106: Confession and repentance

After an introductory praise, Psalm 106 goes on with a rhetorical question: "Who can utter God's mighty deeds גבורות"? The answer is implied with a Beatitude saying: "Happy are those who hold on to justice and do righteousness at all times."

The beatitude is very similar to Isa 56,1–2:[45]

> Thus says the LORD: Maintain justice, and do what is right, for soon my salvation will come, and my deliverance be revealed. Happy is the mortal who does this, the one who holds it fast, who keeps the sabbath, not profaning it, and refrains from doing any evil, vv. 1–2.

The Beatitude may seem like a loose thread in the context of Psalm 106, but makes good sense in light of Isaiah 56 where the restored people of the Beatitude saying, is related to the confession later on Isaiah 58, 63 etc. Thus the beatitude is almost programmatic or strategic in a sense, preparing the confession, and implying an alreday realization of the plea in the subsequent verse. It seeks to enact what the psalmist prays for:

> "Remember me, O LORD, when you show favor to your people; help me when you deliver them; that I may see the prosperity of your chosen ones, that I may rejoice in the gladness of your nation, that I may glory in your heritage נחל.

There might be some correspondence between the function of the Beatitude in Psalm 106 and in 4Q185. The 'suppliant' pleads for prosperity, gladness and heritage. In Psalm 106, mercy and salvation that God offers his people, is presented as an experience of happiness and goodness. God is thus strategically reminded of his mercy. Then comes the confession of sin: "Both we and our ancestors have sinned," v 6. The sin of the father was that they did not consider the wonders of God, they did not remember God's חסד, and finally: They rebelled, v 7. 4Q185 may resemble the commemorated history presented in Psalm 78 and in Deuteronomy, but there are some elements that correspond even better with Psalm 106. These elements is best interpreted as the blend of penitential motifs with that of historical.[46] The reflection on history in Psalm 106 is explicitly connected with confession: [47]

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45. See also Isaiah 58, 1–2 (Beatitude- and do righteousness)

46. On Psalm 106 and Neh 9, see Boda, *Praying the Tradition : The Origin and Use of Tradition in Nehemiah 9*, 66.

47. Mark Boda has argued that Priestly or Ezekilian influence has been added to the Deuteronomistic traditions, seen in the wilderness tradition in Ezek 20. The same can be said about Psalm 106. See also Judith Gärtner, *Die Geschichtspsalmen: Eine Studie Zu Den*

> Both we and our ancestors have sinned; we have committed iniquity, have done wickedly. Our ancestors, when they were in Egypt, did not consider your wonderful works; they did not remember the abundance of your steadfast love, but rebelled against the Most High at the Red Sea. Yet he saved them for his name's sake, so that he might make known his mighty power, v. 6–8.

iii Summary

4Q185 draws on the historiographic model, found in all these texts, but is closer to Psalm 78 and 106 than Deut 32. Both psalms have a lesson to be learned : You shall remember his acts of mercy- his gifts. You shall wait for God's advice. (106,13) Judgment is caused by rebellion and can be turned by seeking God. (78,34)

While the didactic opening resembles Psalm 78, the beatitude form corresponds with Psalm 106. One could further read 4Q185 as an inversion of Psalm 106. What the ancestor did not, שכל and זכר, have become appeals in 4Q185. What they did, מרה, is prohibition in 4Q185.

The appeal to remember should evoke gratitude and rejoice, but the former generations rebelled- and thus is evokes history of judgment, and dread. 'What he did'- thus may evoke different things. Exodus is a history, or motif cluster, with three element: God's gifts/ salvation, the rebellion (ingratitue or lack of heed) and God's judgment and chastisement. These elements are circular (Ps 78)- and in this way history repeats itself.

(d) Conclusion: *Remember what he did..*

It is time to return to 4Q370 and 4Q185. What history is evoked- and what is its function?

The narrative and recalled history clearly has a motivational function. It encourages upright conduct. Recalled history opens up for identification with the past generations- and becoems a warning of a) their own rebellious and weak nature and b) the power of God.

In 4Q185 the historical recall culminates with an appeal to do his will, rejoice his mercy.

4Q185 is more than a lesson on history, but historical motifs are repeated throughout the composition. *The extant text of 4Q185 does not retell a history of sin, but the exhortation is molded on the recurrent motif complex that depicts the father- generations as a rebellious people that forgot.*

Psalmen 78, 105,106,135 Und 136 Als Hermeneutische Schlüsseltexte Im Psalter, vol. 84, Forschungen Zum Alten Testament (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012).

While the admonitor of 4Q370 uses the antediluvian history as starting point, elements from Exodus has merged into the reshaped history. The merging of narrative elements in connection with Exodus and desert or wilderness-period is seen in various texts. Whether or not the admonitor in 4Q185 only hints at this narrative, or has made a more explicit point out of it is impossible to tell.

In all texts that are treated in this paper, God is associated with destructive wrath. But alongside this portrayal there is a merciful and compassionate God that offers everlasting salvation. The two realities are seen both within the flood- and the exodus-narrative. Restoration is more or less a goal within the history of sin. While 4Q370 points at purification and judgment, the exact role of purification is not clear in 4Q185, but the word appears in close proximity with the passage that describes judgment of wrath.

Knowledge of history, which implies to remember not only God's saving acts but also ones tendency towards rebellion, serves as a warning reminder. Thus- it becomes knowledge for life. The alternative is death.

When the instructor exhorts to humble before his mighty deeds, it means to realize the might of God, and to reorient oneself towards life. The way out- is to repent. Forgetting is deplacement- and a move is needed either on behalf of the people, to seek God again so that he can restore and forgive, or from that of God: which is destruction.

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Going Back Home: Judeans, Neirabians, and Other Returnees from Babylonia[1]

The biblical account of exile and return can be summarised as follows: in the beginning of the sixth century BCE[2], king Nebuchadnezzar II sacked Jerusalem and its temple and deported a significant part of the Judean population to Babylonia. After a half-century or 70 years of exile, king Cyrus of Persia let the exiles return from Babylonia to Judah and build a new temple in Jerusalem. After hardships and struggles, the temple was completed in the reign of Darius. However, these issues, which may first appear as simple and straight-forward, are subjects of debate in biblical scholarship.

In this paper, I study the question of return migrations from the wider Near Eastern perspective. First, I evaluate the textual and archaeological sources related to the Judean return from Babylonia and try to track down any relevant demographical changes in Judah and Babylonia. Second, I examine the case of a Neirabian community which was deported to Babylonia and returned to Syria during the reign of Darius I. The case of the Neirabians provides us with unique extra-biblical evidence of return migration and strongly supports the view that some deportees or their descendants were able to go back to their home towns during the early Persian period. Finally, I aim at putting the individual cases of return migration in the larger context of ancient deportation policies.

Focal points of discussion

- The books of Ezra and Nehemiah – how to use them as sources?
- Return migration in the ancient Near East – do we have more examples?
- Social sciences – would this paper benefit from the contemporary studies of (forced) migration and return migration?

Return to Judah – Sources and Interpretations

The sources for the study of return migration from Babylonia to Judah are scarce. Traditionally, the reconstruction of the events has been based on the biblical account found in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, supplemented by the information in Haggai, Zechariah, and Second Isaiah. When the so-called Cyrus Cylinder was discovered in the late 19th century, it was thought to be in accordance with Cyrus' tolerant religion policy as described in Ezra 1. During the last couple of decades, the growing number of archaeological studies of Judah in the sixth and fifth centuries provides us with new data on demography and settlement patterns.

The Hebrew Bible is our only source actually claiming that a group of deportees returned from Babylonia to Judah. On the contrary, the events leading to the Babylonian exile and the

[1] This paper has been written in the framework of ERC Starting Grant project "By the Rivers of Babylon: New Perspectives on Second Temple Judaism from Cuneiform Texts" (PI Caroline Waerzeggers).
[2] From now on, all the dates are BCE. The regnal years of Babylonian and Persian kings are abbreviated as "name + regnal year".

existence of Judean communities in Babylonia are dealt with both in the Hebrew Bible and cuneiform sources.[3] As argued in more detail below, no archaeological evidence indicates that a significant number of people entered Judah during the sixth and fifth centuries. Consequently, our concept of return from Babylonia is primarily based on the books of Ezra and Nehemiah.

According to Ezra 1–2, king Cyrus ordered in the beginning of his reign that Judeans should return from Babylonia to Judah and rebuild the temple of YHWH. This resulted in a mass migration to Judah, and the lists of returnees in Ezra 2 and Nehemiah 7 count over 42 000 returnees and their 7000 slaves. According to Ezra 8, a smaller group of people migrated to Judah with Ezra during the reign of Artaxerxes. The rest of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah describe the rebuilding of Jerusalem and its temple and restoration (or reformation) of religious practices, supported by the Persian kings and stimulated by the missions of Ezra and Nehemiah. Despite all the hardships and malevolent conspiracies of their adversaries, the returnees succeeded in building a new temple of YHWH and restoring the walls of Jerusalem. It is evident that the storyline of these books reflects certain theology: after Israel had suffered the punishment for its sins in Babylonia, YHWH restored his chosen people in Judah and even used the Persian empire to revive his proper cult in the newly built temple in Jerusalem.[4]

The most famous criticism of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah was expressed by Charles C. Torrey over hundred years ago when he denied the historicity of return from the exile and the trustworthiness of most parts of Ezra and Nehemiah: "The result of the investigation as to the historical content of Ezra-Neh. has thus been to show, that aside from the greater part of Neh. 1–6 the book has no value whatever, as history."[5] Ascribing the composition of Ezra-Nehemiah to the Chronicler whom he held as untrustworthy, Torrey concluded that "[i]n a word, the story of the return in the time of Cyrus has no credible testimony whatever in its favor; while there is weighty evidence against it."[6] In general, Torrey's radical views have not been accepted even though some scholars have correctly pointed out that his criticism of traditional views of exile and return should be taken seriously.[7] Caution and critical approach are indeed needed when one tries to reconstruct a history of the return on the basis of Ezra and Nehemiah. For our purposes, which are solely concerned with the return from Babylonia, not with the building of a temple or wall or reforming religious traditions, there are three pieces of information in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah that need to be evaluated. These are the date of the return(s), the amount of people returning, and the role of the Persian authorities in the process of return.

> "Thus says King Cyrus of Persia: The Lord, the God of heaven, has given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he has charged me to build him a house at Jerusalem in Judah. Any of those among you who are of his people – may their God be with them! – are now permitted to go up to Jerusalem in Judah, and

[3] The conquest of Jerusalem in 597 is confirmed by the Babylonian Chronicle; see Grayson 1975, 102: 11–13. For the first attestations of Judeans in Babylonia, see Weidner 1939; Zadok 2002, 27–28; Jursa 2007. The Murašû Archive from Nippur shows a strong Judean presence in Babylonia in the last half of the fifth century, over hundred years after the death of Cyrus; for these texts, see Stolper 1985 and Donbaz and Stolper 1997; for a short discussion on the status of Judeans in the Nippur region, see Zadok 1979, 78–89.
[4] Grabbe 1998a, 125–126.
[5] Torrey 1896, 65. Similar arguments are repeated in Torrey 1970, 285–289.
[6] Torrey 1896, 54.
[7] See, for example, Barstad 1996, 21–23; Carroll 1998, 73–78.

> rebuild the house of the Lord, the God of Israel – he is the God who is in Jerusalem; and let all survivors, in whatever place they reside, be assisted by the people of their place with silver and gold, with goods and with animals, besides freewill offerings for the house of God in Jerusalem." (Ezra 1:2–4)[8]

The book of Ezra opens up with the Edict of Cyrus, which claims that YHWH commanded Cyrus to rebuild the temple in Jerusalem and allow the Judeans to return from Babylonia. The Edict is striking when compared superficially with the Cyrus Cylinder, a cuneiform record found during Hormuzd Rassam's excavations in Babylon in 1879.[9] At first sight and when read in the light of Ezra 1, the Cyrus Cylinder seems to demonstrate a liberal attitude of the Persian empire towards minority religions and the empire's appreciation of something that might be called human rights:[10]

> From [Shuanna (Babylon)] I sent back to their places to the city of Ashur and Susa, Akkad, the land of Eshnunna, the city of Zamban, the city of Meturnu, Der, as far as the border of the land of Guti – the sanctuaries across the river Tigris – whose shrines had earlier become dilapidated, the gods who lived therein, and made permanent sanctuaries for them. I collected together all of their people and returned them to their settlements, and the gods of the land of Sumer and Akkad which Nabonidus – to the fury of the lord of the gods – had brought into Shuanna, at the command of Marduk, the great lord, I returned them unharmed to their cells, in the sanctuaries that make them happy. (The Cyrus Cylinder, lines 30b–34a)[11]

The above-quoted Edict of Cyrus and the excerpt from the Cyrus Cylinder share two intriguing features: the restoration of temples and, closely connected to it, the return of people to their homelands. In order to understand these texts better, it is useful to start by studying the physical characteristics and the preserved text of the Cylinder. Even though the exact find spot of the Cylinder is not clear, its barrel-shaped (not actual cylinder) form is characteristic of Neo-Babylonian building inscriptions that were buried in the foundations of newly-built or renovated buildings. Texts of this type were meant for the eyes of gods and future kings who might find them during their building projects.[12] A significant part of the inscription is missing, but the preserved text makes a clear reference to the construction works of the Imgur-Enlil wall of Babylon and also to the discovery of a building inscription of Ashurbanipal during the construction works.[13] Thus the Cylinder was apparently meant to be hidden in the foundation of a certain structure – most probably the Imgur-Enlil wall – in Babylon, but two recently found fragments of a clay tablet reveal that the text was not composed to serve solely as a building inscription but it was intended for wider circulation and larger audience. These fragments contain a part of the text of the Cyrus Cylinder and confirm that multiple copies of the text existed.[14]

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[8] OT translations are adopted from the New Revised Standard Version.
[9] For the discovery of the Cyrus Cylinder, see Taylor 2013.
[10] The Cyrus Cylinder aroused great interest in Iran before the Islamic Revolution, and the Shah and his entourage promoted its value as a statement of human rights. Consequently, a replica of the Cylinder was donated to the United Nations Secretary General U Thant in 1971, and it is still displayed at the headquarters of the United Nations in New York. The interest in the Cylinder persists not only in Iran but also in the United States, as the recent exhibition of the Cylinder in Tehran and the exhibition tour in the United States show. See Curtis 2013a, esp. 35–41; Curtis 2013b.
[11] The translation is adopted from Finkel 2013a, 4–7; see transliteration in Finkel 2013b. This is the most complete translation available, since the Cylinder text is supplemented by two recently discovered tablet fragments. For an edition with full notes and further literature, see Schaudig 2001, 550–556.
[12] Da Riva 2008, 24–115; Finkel 2013a, 11, 15–18.
[13] See Michalowski 2014 for an interesting discussion on the links between Ashurbanipal, Nabonidus, and Cyrus.
[14] Finkel 2013a, 18–21.

The information about the wider circulation of the Cylinder text supports the view that the text is propagandistic in nature and aims at presenting Cyrus as a good Mesopotamian king who restores the correct state of affairs after the reign of Nabonidus.[15] In the beginning of the text, Nabonidus is described as a bad and neglectful king who did not take care of the well-being of the gods or his people. The story continues by telling how Marduk, the chief deity of the Babylonian pantheon, chose Cyrus to end the rule of Nabonidus and restore the correct order. Consequently, Cyrus entered Babylon without a fight and was welcomed by the people whom he delivered from their misery. The new king returned the statues of the gods from Babylon to their shrines and allowed people to go back to their home towns. The final, badly preserved section is an account of Cyrus' building works in Babylon.

As Amélie Kuhrt and R. J. van der Spek have shown, Cyrus's behaviour did not differ from the traditional politics of Near Eastern rulers, and the message of the cylinder was intended especially for Babylonian audience.[16] The restoration and maintenance of cults and temples was one of the primary duties of Near Eastern kings, which is abundantly manifested in the Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions.[17] It is important to point out that YHWH, Judeans, or Jerusalem are mentioned nowhere in the Cylinder: Babylon is in the focal point of the text, and the restorative measures taken by Cyrus were geographically restricted, since the restored cult places were all located in Mesopotamia or Iran.[18]

Accordingly, we should not take the text of the Cyrus Cylinder as a universal declaration of Persian policy towards deportees or foreign cults but as a propagandistic text that focuses its attention primarily on Babylon and secondarily on other parts of Mesopotamia and western Iran.[19] This observation does not mean that Cyrus did not carry out the measures that are mentioned in the text – on the contrary, it is probable that he aimed at establishing his power in Babylonia by fulfilling the expectations by supporting the traditional cultic order, confirming Babylon's privileges, and investing in building projects in the city.[20] The return of people to regions in Mesopotamia and Iran was more probably a practical measure of settlement policies[21] than an act of mercy or acknowledgment of Cyrus' respect of human rights, whatever this could even mean before the 20th century.

The implications of the Cyrus Cylinder for our interpretation of the Edict of Cyrus are as follows. First, the geographic orientations of the texts are different: the former focuses on the core areas of the empire, but the latter pays attention to a small religious minority and its temple in the poor periphery. Second, the restoration of temples and return migration were at the same time a part of Cyrus' official propaganda and most probably something that was actually practised. Third, as other sources reveal, there was no new liberal Persian religious policy, but temples were destroyed

[15] Kuhrt 1983, 92–93; Briant 2002, 40–48.
[16] Kuhrt 1983; van der Spek 2014. See also Briant 2002, 40–48; Grabbe 2004, 215–216, 271–275.
[17] See Da Riva 2008; Waerzeggers 2011.
[18] Kuhrt 1983, 87–88; van der Spek 2014, 249–257.
[19] See Grabbe 2004, 271–275; van der Spek 2014, 249–255.
[20] Kuhrt 1983 *passim*.
[21] Kuhrt 1983, 90–91.

and restored also during the Persian period, and the continuity of religious policies from Assyrian to Persian period was evidently strong.[22]

Having said this and keeping the characteristics of the Cyrus Cylinder in mind, what can be said about the Edict of Cyrus? First of all, it is one of the several documents in Ezra which claim origin from the Persian court. Most of these documents – unlike Ezra 1:2–4 that is written in Hebrew – are recorded in Aramaic, which is sensible since Aramaic was the administrative language of the empire. There are varying views about the authenticity of the documents, but in general the Edict of Cyrus is regarded as untrustworthy.[23] The Hebrew language can be explained to be a result of translation from Aramaic, but the actual content of the text is overly theological. It is hard to find a reason why the Persian king would turn his attention to a small minority in Babylonia, acknowledge his trust in their God, and command other people to supply Judeans with wealth and riches that are required to rebuild their temple. The editorial work of a Judean scribe is visible here, if the text is not a product of the scribe's imagination.

Fortunately, our data is not limited to Ezra 1, but the following chapter contains a list of returned exiles, which is almost identically reproduced in Nehemiah 7. According to these lists, more than 42 000 Judeans and their 7 000 slaves returned to Judah after the Edict of Cyrus. These lists give an impression of a quick and massive return that exceeded in its scale the deportations in the early sixth century.[24] If such a huge migration took place, it had to leave an impressive trace in the settlement and demographic patterns of ancient Yehud. Since a number of important publications on the archaeology of Judah in the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods have been published in the last 15 years, we are in the position to evaluate the demographic processes in Judah in the sixth and fifth centuries.

The archaeological studies that are relevant to our questions are not individual reports on excavations or surveys, but publications that gather and evaluate the dispersed data. The two major contributions in this field are Charles E. Carter's *The Emergence of Yehud in the Persian Period*[25] and Oded Lipschits' *The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem*[26]. Numerous articles by Israel Finkelstein have further stimulated the discussion[27], and, in his *Judah in the Neo-Babylonian Period*[28], Avraham Faust re-evaluates the data already gathered by Carter and Lipschits. Even though their opinion is divided on many issues, Carter, Faust, Finkelstein, and Lipschits point all toward the same general conclusion: Nebuchadnezzar's campaigns in the early sixth century had devastating effects on Judah, which can been clearly seen in settlement patterns. The population remained small until the Hellenistic period when a rapid growth finally began. The growth during the Persian period was slow, and there are no signs of a substantial migration to the area.

[22] Kuhrt 1983, 94; van der Spek 2014, 235–241.
[23] See, for example, Grabbe 2004, 70–85, 269–276; Becking 2006, both with further literature.
[24] Cf. 2 Kings 24–25; Jeremiah 52:28–30.
[25] Carter 1999.
[26] Lipschits 2005.
[27] E.g. Finkelstein 2008a; 2008b; 2010.
[28] Faust 2012.

The population estimations given in the above-mentioned publications help us to evaluate the numbers given in Ezra 2 / Nehemiah 7. Carter and Lipschits estimate that the population of Yehud in the Persian period was roughly a third of the population in the kingdom of Judah: according to Carter, the population was around 13 000 in the early Persian period (in the late sixth and early fifth century) and 20 000 in the late Persian period, whereas Lipschits estimates that about 30 000 people lived in Persian-period Yehud.[29] Faust underlines the dramatic collapse in the sixth century and estimates that population of Judah in the sixth century was no more than 10 % of the population in the Iron Age. The growth was slow and gradual, and the population reached one third of the Iron Age level only in the fourth century.[30] Finally, Finkelstein favours even smaller numbers and argues that the population of Yehud was 12 000 persons, i.e. 15 % of the numbers in the eight century.[31]

It appears to be difficult to fit the biblical picture of mass return in the numbers given above. The influx of 50 000 people in a short time is beyond any probability, but even a return of 10 000 people in the course of a century is evidently too large. This has led many scholars to doubt the authenticity of the lists of returnees in Ezra 2 / Nehemiah 7 and suggest that they may rather reflect the settlement patterns of some later period.[32] Moreover, the Babylonian sources from Nippur and Āl-Yāhūdu do not indicate that there was a sudden break in Judean settlement at the turn of the sixth and fifth centuries.[33]

It is difficult to find any primary sources suggesting that return migration from Babylonia to Judah took place in the early Persian period at any significant scale. The Cyrus Cylinder does not appear to bear witness to a general Persian policy of return migration, and the Edict of Cyrus is a highly problematic source since it is clearly designed to propagate Judean interests. The list of returnees in Ezra 2 / Nehemiah 7 is likewise incompatible with the demography and settlement patterns of the Persian period, which seem to allow only a gradual and small-scale return to Judah. However, there are primary sources indicating that return migrations did take place in the early Persian period since we actually know that a group of exiled Neirabians returned from Babylonia to their home town.

The Case of the Neirabian Returnees

The village of Neirab, located in the vicinity of Aleppo, has preserved its name through the millennia. The place name Neirab is known from the Neo-Assyrian sources, and the discovery of two funerary stelae (KAI 225 & 226) [34] during the archaeological excavations in Neirab confirmed that the ancient city of Neirab was located on the very same site. Twenty years after the discovery of the stelae, in 1926, a group of 25 clay tablets written in cuneiform Babylonian were found at the

[29] Carter 1999, 199–204, 246–248; Lipschits 2005, 258–271.
[30] Faust 2012, 119–147.
[31] Finkelstein 2010, 40–46.
[32] See Lipschits 2005, 158–174; Becking 2006; Finkelstein 2008a.
[33] For the Murašû Archive, see note 3 above. For the texts from Āl-Yāhūdu, see Pearce 2006; Pearce 2011; Wunsch 2013.
[34] See Niehr 2014, 190–192.

same site, and a year later, two additional tablets written in Babylonian and a fragment written in Assyrian were discovered.[35]

P. Dhorme published the tablets in 1928 and declared that they were written during the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar II, Neriglissar, Nabonidus, Cambyses, and Darius I in various localities.[36] Some tablets were drafted in Neirab while others in Babylon, Ammat (which he identified as Hamath), Itum (which he identified as modern Hit), and Bīt-dayyān-Adad, which he located near Aleppo, the cult centre of Hadad. Dhorme noticed that the descendants of a man called Nusku-gabbē had a prominent role in the documents, which consisted mainly of debt notes, but since his aim was to publish the documents, he did not devote much space for discussion of their contents.

Dhorme's natural assumption was that the place name Neirab that was mentioned in some of the tablets was, of course, to be identified as the place where the tablets were excavated. This view hold until 1978 when Israel Ephʿal published his important article on foreign minorities in Babylonia and proposed that Neirab mentioned in the cuneiform tablets should be located in the Nippur region in Babylonia.[37] However, some important work was done before Ephʿal: J. Lewy criticised Dhorme's identification of Ammat with Hamath since the place name is written in Assyrian and Babylonian sources as *Ha-ma-*(*a*)*-tu* or *A-ma-tu*. Dhorme's chronology was also questioned by A. Goetze who proposed that the time span of the archive should be shortened from Nebuchadnezzar II – Darius I to Neriglissar – Darius I.[38] This proposal was based on the analysis of the personal names in the archive, and it is now generally accepted.[39] Moreover, Frederick Mario Fales confirmed in 1973 that the Neirab texts appear to be a part of a private archive that is primarily connected with the activities of a single family, the sons and grandson of a certain Nusku-gabbē.[40]

Using these studies and taking a fresh look at the tablets Ephʿal discovered that various problems occur when one tries to follow Dhorme's Syria-centred suggestion of locating the toponyms of the tablets. The linguistic problems with Ammat/Hamath were already pointed out by Lewy, but Ephʿal noticed that several persons are present in different localities, which indicates that they were not far away from each other. In one case, a scribe and witness appear in two documents which were written on the second and fourth days of Tašrītu in the 10th year of Nabonidus – the first document (nr. 11) in Bīt-dayyān-Adad and the second (12) in Ammat. If the former town was located near Aleppo and the latter is identical with Hamath, the two persons travelled a distance of 150 kilometres in a couple of days. Moreover, Hit and Babylon are both far away from the Syrian town Neirab. In addition, one tablet (17) was written in a place called *ālu ša* ^{lú}*Ni-ri-ba-a-a ša ina muhhi nāru ša Bēl-aba-uṣur*, "the town of the Neirabians which is located on the Bēl-aba-uṣur canal". There were not, however, any canals in the vicinity of Neirab in Syria. Finally, Ephʿal remarked that it is peculiar to find a dossier of Babylonian cuneiform tablets in the Aramaic-

[35] Dhorme 1928, 53.
[36] Dhorme 1928.
[37] Ephʿal 1978.
[38] See the brief discussion of research history in Ephʿal 1978, 84–85; Timm 1995, 281–285.
[39] See Tolini forthcoming with further literature.
[40] Fales 1973.

speaking region in Syria, where people would probably have used their mother tongue to write such documents. All the scribes present in the archive bore Babylonian names.[41]

These observations led Ephʿal to suggest that Neirab of our documents should be located in Babylonia instead of Syria. That would solve the problem of the use of the Babylonian language, not to mention canals that were abundant on the flood plain. In fact, the Bēl-aba-uṣur canal is known to exist in the Nippur region,[42] as well as the town of Ammat.[43] What is most important, the phenomenon of twin towns is widely attested in the countryside around Nippur.[44]

Ephʿal's theory aroused criticism by Stephanie M. Dalley and Luigi Cagni,[45] but most scholars seem to have aligned to support his view.[46] Dalley's criticism was mainly targeted against the idea that a large number of twin towns – non-Babylonian cities that had their namesakes in Babylonia – existed in Babylonia and argued that some other explanation for these peculiar toponyms must be sought. She also correctly pointed out that not all of the foreigners in Babylonia were deported there, but voluntary migration took place too. This is an important remark in the context of the present paper and must be properly discussed.

The arguments – both geographical and cultural – for locating a town called Neirab in Babylonia are strong. Nevertheless, there is no single source that surely originates from Babylonia and indicates that Neirab or "the town of the Neirabians on the Bēl-aba-uṣur canal" existed outside Syria. Is there a way to demonstrate that such a town existed in Babylonia, its inhabitants were exiles from Syria, and a part of them returned to their Syrian home town during the Persian period? The phenomenon of twin towns provides us with such data.

The toponyms mentioned in the Murašû Archive and other documents from the Nippur region share a peculiar feature.[47] A significant number of well-known foreign towns are attested among the place names that can be securely located in Babylonia, but the context does not indicate that any of the place names refers to areas outside Babylonia. On the contrary, it appears that these towns or villages were located next to each other near Nippur, since people are present one day in town A and the other day in town B. Among these places were towns like ^{uru}*Iš-qal-lu-nu* "Ashkelon" (EE 111), ^{uru}*Ṣi-da-nu* "Sidon" (YOS 19 32), and ^{uru}*Ia-a-ḫu-du* "the town of Judah".[48] Moreover, toponyms formed of a foreign place name and gentilic ending *a-a* were common; ^{uru}é ^{m}*Ṣur-ra-a-a* "the house of Tyrians" (BE 9 79), íd *šá* ^{lú}*Mi-ṣir-a-a* "the canal of Egyptians" (BE 10

[41] Ephʿal 1978, 84–87.
[42] BE 9 65; PBS II/1 104.
[43] BE 8/1 40.
[44] Dandamayev 2004.
[45] Dalley 1984; Cagni 1990.
[46] Joannès 1982, 35; Oelsner 1989 (with some caution); Timm 1995; Dandamayev 2004, 141–142; Pearce 2006, 408; Beaulieu 2007, 201–202; and most recently Tolini forthcoming.
[47] The phenomenon of twin towns in the Nippur region in the sixth and fifth centuries is discussed in Ephʿal 1978, 80–83; Dandamayev 2004. Cf. also the phenomenon of "toponymie en miroir" in the Old Babylonian period, see Charpin 2003.
[48] Ephʿal 1979, 80–81; Dandamayev 2004, 142–143; Pearce 2006, 401–402; Pearce 2011, 270. The Babylonians called Jerusalem as the Town of Judah; see the Babylonian Chronicle in Grayson 1975, 102:12.

43), and ^{uru}é *Ma-da-a-a* "the house of Medians" (BM 79046) are some good examples.[49] A quick glance at these place names makes it clear that originally, as foreign towns, they were located in the periphery of the Neo-Babylonian empire, in the regions where Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar campaigned in the turn of the seventh and sixth centuries. Finally, it must be emphasised that the names of the twin towns have in two cases an apparent connection with the geographical origin of their inhabitants. The Town of Judah is attested in our sources from 33rd year of Nebuchadnezzar II till the 13th year of Xerxes, and it is usually called Āl-Yāhūdu. However, in the first two attestations (33 and 38 Nebuchadnezzar II), the name is written with the gentilic ending, uru *ša* ^{lú}*Ia-a-hu-du-a-a*, "the Town of Judeans":[50] The same applies to Neirab and the Town of Neirabians: the form with the gentilic ending is used once in 1-X-16 Nabonidus (nr. 17), whereas the form Neirab is attested three times in 17-I-Nabonidus (23), 13-?-1 Cambyses (19), and in a document without a preserved date (26).

When the evidence of twin towns is put into a wider historical context, it appears that these communities were a result of Neo-Babylonian deportations in the turn of the seventh and sixth centuries. The twin towns often had their namesakes in the peripheral areas which were annexed to the Babylonian empire during the campaigns of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar II. Names of the twin towns started to appear in Babylonian documents during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus, which further helps us to link the communities with the expansion phase of the empire. Furthermore, the spellings with the gentilic ending indicate that the place names had a close connection with the origin of the inhabitants, who were apparently deported from their home towns and settled in the Nippur region as communities, which were named after their geographic origin. The region around Nippur was suitable for that purpose: the area was somewhat underdeveloped and left behind in the economic boom of the cities of Northern Babylonia. To bring the fertile land under cultivation, Neo-Babylonian – and perhaps also Persian – kings settled immigrant communities in the region, gave them lands to cultivate, and demanded in return taxes, work, and military service. This type of land-for-service sector of agriculture in Nippur region is well-known from the Murašû Archive and appears also in the Āl-Yāhūdu texts.[51]

Since several other twin towns existed in Babylonia and the internal evidence from the Neirab archive asks for a location in Babylonia, most likely in the Nippur region, the Neirab texts were most probably written by a community of deportees in Babylonia. As Dalley remarks, in many cases it is not possible to know if immigration to Babylonia was forced or voluntary. Merchants and craftsmen undoubtedly travelled between different parts of the empire and could settle permanently outside their home town. However, the twin town structure in the Nippur region is evidently a result of the Babylonian (and later Persian) settlement policy and forced migrations. If the tablets were indeed written in Babylonia, how did they end up being found in Syria? The only sensible answer is that a group of Neirabians returned to their old home town in Syria and took a part of their cuneiform archive with them. The last documents of the archive were written in the reign of Darius I, which indicates that the return took place no earlier than late sixth century. The case of the

[49] Ephʿal 1979, 80–81; Waerzeggers 1999/2000, 185–186, 192 + note 9.
[50] Pearce 2011, 270.
[51] See Jursa 2010, 131–132, 405–418.

Neirabians supports the biblical view that return from exile could take place during the early Persian period.

Return Migration in the Context of Near Eastern Deportation Policies

> People were uprooted and, with all the goods they had in the world on their backs, were forced to move thousands of miles to a land in which they had never been. In such a condition those who had 'returned' from exile to their ancient 'home' in Jerusalem came to understand themselves.[52]

As Thomas L. Thompson rightly remarks, the return from exile is a fuzzy term. If the first Judeans migrated from Babylonia already in the first years of Cyrus, they were hardly the same people who arrived in Babylonia half a century ago, but their children or grandchildren. This is an important notion because contemporary studies of immigrants have shown that, among the first generation of immigrants, the possible return to homeland is most likely to take place rather soon after the arrival to the host country, and the members of the second and third generations are unlikely to return.[53] For the third generation, the homeland of their grandfathers is a foreign place, and the homeland in their grandfather's childhood memories is not the same place anymore. Thus it is tempting to ask in the footsteps of Thompson: What made the Judeans return and was the return migration voluntary?

In the very beginning, it must be recognised that our knowledge of ancient deportation policies is extremely sporadic. Most of our information stems from the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions, and the only monograph-sized study on the subject is Bustenay Oded's *Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire*.[54] Since the Neo-Babylonian state archives have all but disappeared[55] and the Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions pay most of their attention to the building projects[56], our understanding of the Neo-Babylonian deportation practices is thin. The sources from the Persian period are also scarce, even though we know for sure that both empires practiced deportations.[57] Consequently, we have to reconstruct the ancient deportation schemes using mainly the Assyrian evidence. Following Oded, the basic aims and practices can be summarised as follows.

Around 4.5 million people were deported in the Neo-Assyrian period, the peak of the forced migrations dating to the reigns of Tiglath-Pileser III, Sargon II, and Sennacherib. The selective deportations of elites from the conquered regions aimed at stabilising the empire, since the old elite was unlikely to start a rebellion after a resettlement in a foreign region. Another form of selective deportations was those of craftsmen and soldiers, who were employed to work in state projects and serve in the Assyrian army. Moreover, population was deported to underdeveloped or sparsely-populated regions to boost the agricultural production. Two main trends were visible in the

[52] Thompson 1998, 104.
[53] See Grabbe 2012 with further literature.
[54] Oded 1979.
[55] Jursa 2014.
[56] Da Riva 2008.
[57] For Babylonian deportations, see the discussion above. For Persian deportations, see Kuhrt 1983, 94; van der Spek 2014, 258–259 with further references.

geographical scope of the deportations: on the one hand, population was settled in the core areas of the empire to increase the population, but on the other hand, two-way deportations from one peripheral area to another aimed at stabilising and pacifying the annexed regions.[58] All the available evidence suggests that deportations were a commonly used practice during the Neo-Assyrian period, but return migrations do not often appear in our sources. There are only some isolated and rather obscure references indicating that deportees were sometimes allowed to return or were returned to their home region.[59]

In the ancient Near East, deportations were widely used to achieve certain political goals, but return migrations were apparently rare. The case of Neirabians seems to provide us with the strongest evidence of return from Babylonia to a Syrian home town, and the Cyrus Cylinder and Assyrian royal inscriptions indicate that the concept of return migrations existed. Thus the tradition of return in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah is not completely unique even though the Edict of Cyrus and the lists of returnees do not prove to be reliable sources for a historical reconstruction of the events in the early Persian period. The trends in settlement patterns and demography of the Persian period allow only a gradual and small-scale return migration, and the Judean communities continued to exist in Babylonia. The return was perhaps encouraged by the Persian settlement policies and not fully voluntary, but the Judean returnees – a third, fourth, or even fifth generation after the Babylonian deportations – had successfully preserved and re-interpreted their religious and cultural traditions in exile. Even though these people came to Judah for the first time in their life, they managed to claim their right to the land and its traditions.

[58] Oded 1979, *passim.*
[59] Oded 1979, 63, 79; Grabbe 1998b, 83; van der Spek 2014, 258.

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THE BOOK OF AMOS AS A MODEL OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

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INTRODUCTION

Much of the recent scholarship on social justice in the Hebrew Bible cites texts from Amos. Prominent among these are: Moshe Weinfeld's *Social Justice in Ancient Israel and the Ancient Near East (1995)* and Walter J. Houston's *Contending for Justice (2008)* and *Justice–The Biblical Challenge (2010)*. Others are: D. S. Escobar's *Social Justice in the Book of Amos* (1995), Enrique Nardoni's *Rise up, O Judge: A Study of Justice in the Biblical World (2004)* and F. Y. Mamahit's *Establish Justice in the Land: Rhetoric and Theology of Social Justice in The Book of Amos* (2009). They all acknowledge the prophecy of Amos as the Hebrew Bible's model par excellence for engaging the subject of social justice. However, only Walter J. Houston and F. Y. Mamahit apply the social justice principles to contemporary situations. Houston's work sets the tone for further application to specific contexts of contemporary social justice.

Thus beginning with a brief discussion on how social justice is expressed in the Hebrew Bible, this paper attempts to develop a triangular model of social justice in the prophecy of Amos. First developed by F. Y. Mamahit, the model revolves around how the prophecy of Amos depicts the biblical ideal of the inter-relationship between YHWH and the people to ensure social justice in Israel. The paper continues to explore how Amos 6:1-6 expresses the prophet's protest against social injustice in Israel. Following from this, the paper explores how a traditional Ghanaian saying about a grazing sheep and a screaming fowl aptly summarises the implication of social injustice in Amos to the contemporary Ghanaian. Bearing in mind the meaning of social justice in the Hebrew Bible, especially in Amos, social justice in this paper is in reference to actions aimed at supporting the vulnerable to live a life of dignity and freedom from oppression.

EXPRESSION OF SOCIAL JUSTICE IN THE HEBREW BIBLE

Scholars such as Houston and Weinfeld have demonstrated that the modern term Social justice is primarily expressed by the hendiadys[1] **משפט וצדקה** (justice and righteousness) in the Hebrew Bible (Houston 2008:60-61, Leclerc 2001:10-11, Weinfeld 1995a:25-44, see Gen 18:19; 2 Sam 8:15). Apart from the occasional use of the expression in seemingly abstract sense, wherever justice and righteousness is used, the emphasis is on helping the poor and needy in society (see Ezek. 18:5-8; 33:14-15; Ps. 103:6) and that translates to social justice. Weinfeld posits that biblical justice and righteousness culminates in 'ameliorating the situation of the destitute' (Weinfeld 1995a:7), This claim finds support in the vivid biblical instruction to YHWH's people to act to deliver the oppressed and exploited from oppression and exploitation. For example, when YHWH demands **משפט וצדקה** from the princes of Israel, he wants them to actually remove violence and stop any extortion of the poor and needy (Ezek. 45:9). The fast that YHWH has chosen, which demonstrates Israel's righteousness (**צדקך**), is expressed in acts of kindness, taking away the burden of oppression, feeding the hungry, housing the poor and homeless and clothing the naked (Isa 58:6-8). When YHWH commands the king of Judah and his servants to 'Execute justice and righteousness,' he expects them to deliver the oppressed from the oppressor, to do no wrong or violence to the any vulnerable person and also not to shed innocent blood. The people are also exhorted not to use their neighbour's service without given him his wages (Jer. 22:1-3, 13). Thus in the Hebrew Bible, especially in the prophets, **משפט וצדקה** involves elimination of exploitation and oppression and support for victims of such injustice. YHWH and his people were jointly responsible for ensuring **משפט וצדקה** (social justice).

In the Hebrew Bible, YHWH is seen as the ultimate architect of social justice (Deut. 32:4; Ps 89:15, 146:7-9, see Birch 1991:156-57, Booth 1942:110, Houston 2008:14-15, Snaith 1946:70). When prophets like Isaiah and Amos denounced social injustices, it was because they believed that injustice broke their covenant relationship with YHWH (see Amit 1992:49, Epsztein 1986:59, 101). YHWH however demands of kings and rulers to partner him in delivering social justice by protecting the vulnerable from oppression and exploitation

[1]A hendiadys is the joining of two nouns by means of the conjunction ו'and' to express a single idea. The use of hendiadys and construct (using one noun in a genitive 'of' relationship with another noun) is the means by which the Hebrew language qualifies other nouns, that is using one noun in a relation that makes it function as an adjective. For more information on hendiadys see Melamed 1945:173-189.

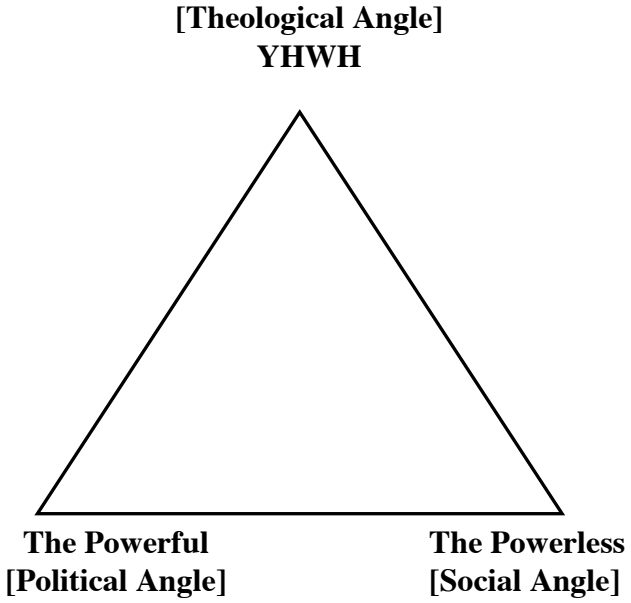
(Isa. 32:1-8; Psalm 72). The Legitimacy of Israelite kings to rule depended largely on their faithful execution of the divine injunction to rule justly. The king could lose his throne if he was unjust or oppressive (see Smith 2009:75). The Hebrew Bible also emphasises that individuals have a responsibility to make social justice a reality by showing special regard to the poor, the needy and the underprivileged by championing their cause and by permitting no oppression (see also Neh. 11:1, 18; Isa. 1:21-27; 48:2; 52:1; Jer. 31:22; Dan. 9:24; Zech. 8:2, see Haran 1963:96-101, Weinfeld 1995a:97-99). In Exodus Chapter 22 and 23 the individual Israelite had to ensure social justice by helping the vulnerable. Houston rightly observes that the Hebrew Bible acknowledges individuals in society who are strategically positioned, free and in command of economic resources and/or political power to support the vulnerable (Houston 2008:99). Unfortunately, in the days of Amos, the ruling elites and individuals, who had the resources and influence, had failed to be useful partners of YHWH in delivering social justice. Instead, they had become predators, preying on the vulnerable in society. This, to Amos, had caused YHWH to step in to protect the oppressed.

In attempting its definition, scholars such as Westbrook have demonstrated that social justice in the Hebrew Bible is multi-faceted (Westbrook 1995:149, reprinted in Westbrook 2009:143). From the perspective of the establishment and the upper class, the purpose of social justice was to preserve the status quo. From the point of view of the prophets and other critics, social justice meant promoting the welfare of society, especially the needy and vulnerable. The tension is obvious: the elites could not accept to protect the interest of ordinary citizens without feeling that their own interest is under threat. However, the existence of these tensions cannot mute any of the opposing voices such as Amos. For the purpose of this paper therefore, social justice is the concerted effort to improve the general wellbeing of the society, protecting the vulnerable from oppression and abuse and supporting them to live reasonably decent life, having a fair share of the resources of the community as much as their own efforts can enable them. The inter-relationship between YHWH and the people of Israel in maintaining social justice is shown in a triangular model below.

TRIANGULAR MODEL FOR UNDERSTANDING SOCIAL JUSTICE IN AMOS

In his PhD thesis, F. Y. Mamahit develops a triangular relational model of social justice (see fig 1), consisting of three different but related angles of social justice.

Fig 1 **Mamahit's Triangular Relational Model of Social Justice**

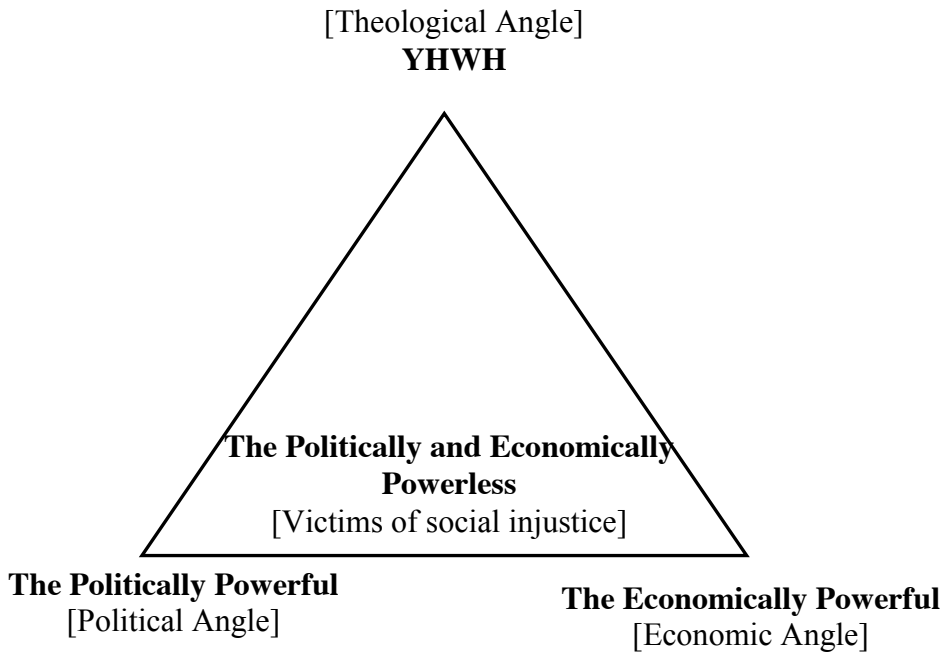


The theological angle indicates that YHWH is absolutely responsible for social justice in Israel (Mamahit 2009:213). The political angle represents the powerful, namely: the elders and the leaders in the community; the monarchy; the wealthy merchants; and the elites (Mamahit 2009:189-194). The social angle consists of the powerless in society, namely: the innocent and the needy; the peasants and the oppressed, the servant girl; the Nazarites and the prophets (Mamahit 2009:194-198). Mamahit's model enhances our understanding of the interrelationship among the players in the social structure of Israel but it is fraught with problems that call for a new model.

First, Mamahit's absolute reliance on Berquist flaws his claim that Amos speaks on social justice. This is because, Berquit's main thesis is that justice and righteousness in Amos has nothing to do with social justice (Berquist 1993:54-63). Second, in naming the powerful people in the political angle, Mamahit lumps up two groups without acknowledging that their role in the ongoing social injustice, though collaborative, are distinct from each other.

Finally, placing the victims of social injustice as one angle and calling them the social angle is inconsistent with Amos' presentation of the victims of injustice as the focus of social action. Improving the model calls for an acknowledgement that in line with biblical tradition, Amos identifies YHWH, the ruling class and the wealthy individuals as agents for delivering social justices in Israel, the purpose of which is to protect the oppressed against the oppressors. The new model therefore, consists of YHWH (the theological angle) at the zenith, the politically powerful (the political angle) at one base angle and the economically powerful (the economic angle) at the other base angle (see fig 2).

Fig 2 **New Model of Theology of Social Justice in Amos**



The politically and economically powerless are the victims of social injustice and are located in the centre of the triangle. This is to indicate that all social actions are aimed at their wellbeing and they suffer most when there is social injustice. Amos uses seven terms in reference to the victims of social injustice in Israel. These are: **צדיק** (just, righteous, innocent, see BDB:843, HALOT:1002), **אביון** (in want, needy, poor, see BDB:2), **דל/דלים** (poor), **אנוים**

(afflicted), הנערה (the girl, young unmarried girl, see BDB:655, HALOT:707), ענושים (those fine, mulcted, BDB:778-779, HALOT:859), and עניי־ארץ (the afflicted or oppressed of the land, see BDB:776). With the exception of הנערה and ענושים, the other five fall in the general biblical semantic domain of poverty (see Domeris 2007:14-25, Pleins 1992). Typical of prophetic and other biblical genre (Domeris 2007:17-25) Amos uses these terms interchangeably and in some contexts, he uses a combination of them (see Houston 2008:62). For instance, in one judgement oracle (Amos 2:6-8), the prophet uses six out of the seven expressions referring to the victims of social injustice:

> ...because they sell the innocent (צדיק) for silver and the needy (אביון) for a pair of sandals. They trample…on the head of the poor (דלים) and turn aside the way of the afflicted (אנוים). A man and his father go into the girl (הנערה)…. They lay themselves down…upon garments taken in pledge and…drink the wine of those they have fined (ענושים).

In other instances, Amos uses different combinations of the terminology to emphasise the helpless situation of the victims of social injustice in Israel:

> ...They oppress the poor (דלים) and crush the needy (אביונים) ... because you trample upon the poor (דל) and take from him exactions of wheat... you afflict the innocent (צדיק), take a ransom and turn aside the needy (אביונים) in the gate ... you swallow the needy (אביון) and destroy the afflicted of the land (עניי-ארץ) ... That we may buy the poor (דלים) for silver and the needy (אביון) for a pair of sandals …(Am 4:1; 5:11-12; 8:4, 6).

By his usage of these terminologies, Amos depicts 'a class of people in Israel who lack any share in the wealth of the kingdom...who lack basic necessities of life and who are suffering as innocent victims' (Finley 1985:415). These victims of injustice are the socially marginalised, economically disadvantaged and politically oppressed. They have no resources to fight their oppressors. Notwithstanding, they are specially favoured by YHWH who will revenge their suffering and destroy the oppressors to restore social justice.

The distinction between the perpetrators as 'politically powerful' and 'economically powerful' delineate their vehicle of oppression: political and economic power, respectively. The political angle demonstrates that social justice is a divine responsibility of all who have been entrusted with political authority. This includes the king and other members of the ruling class: the princes, the courts (judges), the notable men and the priests (religious

authority). YHWH expects them to use their political power to give the poor and the needy their due. The economic angle demonstrates that those who have control over economic resources have the duty to ensure social justice for all by showing special regard for the needy and disadvantaged. This includes the merchants, the rich and the well-to-do. Due to their commercial activities: business, trading and large scale production, they own large acreages of land and hire a lot of labour to work for them. Some of them could be land lords on whose land the peasants worked and paid rents or gave a substantial portion of the produce to them. Their control of economic resources should enable them to show kindness to the poor and needy and help them to live meaningful lives. Unfortunately, they use their merchandise, wealth and influence to oppress their powerless victims, through bribery, debt slavery, unfair trade and other economic manipulation and exploitation. The possible collaboration between the politically powerful and the economically powerful in oppressing their victims is demonstrated throughout the prophecy of Amos (see 2:6-8; 3:9-10; 4:1-2; 5:7, 10-12; 6:12-13). Some may even belong to both groups. However, they have significantly different roles. The politically powerful have control over executive, legislative and judicial power, which may give them access to wealth. Also, the economically powerful are merchants and traders who may not have legislative, judicial or executive powers but whose economic resources enhance their privilege and power to influence.

The theological angle shows that YHWH is the initiator of social justice who defends the rights of the poor and the needy. He delivers the oppressed from the oppressor and crashes the oppressor. He demands social justice from the ruling class and the other well-to-do members of the community. The hymns that praise YHWH (Amos 4:13; 5:8-9; 9:5-6) attest to the view of Amos that YHWH was the ultimate initiator of social justice who will champion the cause of the oppressed against their oppressors.

The next section is a demonstration of the social injustice against which Amos protests and how that fit into the present model. There are six texts units that demonstrate Amos' protest against social injustice. I have discussed them in my thesis. Only Amos 6:1-6 is discussed in this paper, focussing on why the actions of the upper class constituted injustice and depicting the stakeholders of social justice in the model.

CAREFREE EXTRAVAGANT OPULENCE IN THE MIDST OF ABJECT POVERTY: AMOS 6:1-6 AS PROTEST AGAINST SOCIAL INJUSTICE

Amos 6:1-7

Hebrew (BHS)	ENGLISH (NRSV)
1 הֲוֹי הַשַּׁאֲנַנִּים בְּצִיּוֹן וְהַבֹּטְחִים בְּהַר שֹׁמְרוֹן נְקֻבֵי רֵאשִׁית הַגּוֹיִם וּבָאוּ לָהֶם בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל: עִבְרוּ כַלְנֵה וּרְאוּ וּלְכוּ מִשָּׁם חֲמַת רַבָּה וּרְדוּ גַת־פְּלִשְׁתִּים 2 הֲטוֹבִים מִן־הַמַּמְלָכוֹת הָאֵלֶּה אִם־רַב גְּבוּלָם מִגְּבֻלְכֶם: 3 הַמְנַדִּים לְיוֹם רָע וַתַּגִּישׁוּן שֶׁבֶת חָמָס: 4 הַשֹּׁכְבִים עַל־מִטּוֹת שֵׁן וּסְרֻחִים עַל־עַרְשׂוֹתָם וְאֹכְלִים כָּרִים מִצֹּאן וַעֲגָלִים מִתּוֹךְ מַרְבֵּק: 5 הַפֹּרְטִים עַל־פִּי הַנֵּבֶל כְּדָוִד חָשְׁבוּ לָהֶם כְּלֵי־שִׁיר: 6 הַשֹּׁתִים בְּמִזְרְקֵי יַיִן וְרֵאשִׁית שְׁמָנִים יִמְשָׁחוּ וְלֹא נֶחְלוּ עַל־שֵׁבֶר יוֹסֵף: 7 לָכֵן עַתָּה יִגְלוּ בְּרֹאשׁ גֹּלִים וְסָר מִרְזַח סְרוּחִים:	[1]Alas for those who are at ease in Zion, and for those who feel secure on Mount Samaria, the notables of the first of the nations, to whom the house of Israel resorts! [2] Cross over to Calneh, and see; from there go to Hamath the great; then go down to Gath of the Philistines. Are you better than these kingdoms? Or is your territory greater than their territory, [3] O you that put far away the evil day, and bring near a reign of violence? [4] Alas for those who lie on beds of ivory, and lounge on their couches, and eat lambs from the flock, and calves from the stall; [5] who sing idle songs to the sound of the harp, and like David improvise on instruments of music; [6] who drink wine from bowls, and anoint themselves with the finest oils, but are not grieved over the ruin of Joseph! [7] Therefore they shall now be the first to go into exile, and the revelry of the loungers shall pass away.

Amos 6:1-7 is a lament, describing the behaviour of citizens and leaders of Samaria and Zion (v. 1, 3-6) and announcing impending exile (v. 7). Verse 2 is an aside, which 'offers evidence that the people have no reason for their unperturbed attitude' (Hayes 1988:182). They live at ease and in false confidence (v. 1), their behaviour brings near the reign of terror (v. 3) because they indulge themselves in luxury living and extravagant feasting (v 4-6a). Amos' disapproval lies in the fact that these elites are feasting at a time they ought to be mourning (v. 6b). For this reason they will lead in the exile and their feast will end (v. 7).

Both **השאננים** meaning 'those at ease' (DCH viii:217, HALOT:1375, NIDOTTE # 8631, TDOT xiv: 265)[2] and **הבטחים**,[3] meaning 'those who trust' (see BDB:983, Garrett 2008:178, DHCb:140, HALOT:120-21, NIDOTTE #1053) denote the false security of the upper class and the carefree life style of the prominent citizens of Israel (see Paul 1991:200, Wolff 1977:274).[4] Their extravagant lifestyle and excessive feasting are expressed in a picturesque description of the furniture, food, wine and entertainment during their feast. They sleep on expensive beds with ivory inlays and stretch on couches. They also sumptuously feast on tender beef and lamb, a sign of expensive consumption since ordinary people in Israel of Amos' days rarely ate meat (see Andersen and Freedman 1989:562-563). In addition to the above, they also drink wine from bowls (**השתים במזרקי יין**), signifying large quantities. **מזרק** refers to large a bowl, associated mostly with rituals (see BDB:284, DCHe:212, HALOT:283).[5] Only Amos uses it to refer to the container from which wine is consumed, instead of **כוס** (cup). Significantly, Amos highlights that the large volumes of expensive wine the wealthy Israelites drink, expose their overindulgence (see Paul 1991:208, Wolff 1977:276). Amos also finds the sound of their improvised music an indication of their careless self-confidence (see Wolff 1977:276). In the midst of this excessive indulgence, the elites remain totally oblivious and apathetic to the perilous situation of Israel. **נחלו**, meaning 'indifference' or 'apathy' (see BDB:317),[6] is Amos' language for describing the attitude of the wealthy in Israel who are consumed with opulence such that they cannot bring themselves to be tired or sick of the afflictions of Israel. In the light of Proverbs 20.1; 21.17[7] and what Amos says about the rich elites, it seems they have been led astray and rendered unwise by their excessive drunkenness so that they cannot even see the dangers around them. Also in line with Proverbs 23:20-21, 29-35, the doom Amos pronounces on the extravagant elites predicts the misery and impoverishment they will suffer in exile. Amos' concern is not so

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[2]The adjective **שאנן** means 'at ease, secure, self-confident, carefree.'

[3]Qal active participle of **בטח**.

[4]In Isaiah 32.9, 11, both words describe women who are at ease '**נשים שאננות**', and daughters who are complacent '**בנות בטחות**.'

[5]In all the other 31 appearances in the Hebrew Bible, **מזרק** refers to sacred vessels used in sacrifices and offerings (see Exod. 27:3; 38:3; Num. 7:13, 19, 25, 31, 37, 43, 49, 55, 61, 67, 73, 79, 84-85; 1 Kgs. 7:40, 45, 50; 2 Kgs. 12:13; 25:15; 1 Chr. 28:17; 2 Chr. 4:8; 4:11, 22; Neh. 7:70; Jer. 52:18-19; Zech. 9:15; 14:20).

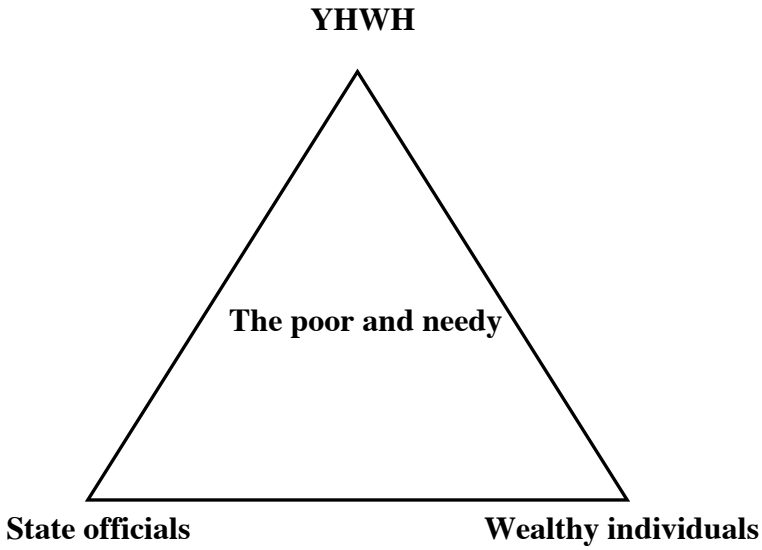
[6]In Jeremiah 12.13, **נחלו** means 'to make oneself sick,' 'to be made sick' or 'to be tired' (see DCHb:228).

[7]Wine is a mocker, strong drink a brawler, and whoever is led astray by it is not wise (Prov. 20:1). Whoever loves pleasure will suffer want; whoever loves wine and oil will not be rich (Prov. 21:17).

much with the 'illegality' or 'immorality' of their actions (see Hayes 1988:186). He is concerned that 'instead of being sickened to their stomachs over the breakup of Joseph, the members of the establishment were continuing their ordinary lifestyle as if normalcy prevailed' (Hayes 1988:187).

Amos' message is a protest against social injustice for obvious reasons. The feast Amos describes is on a scale that is beyond the means of the ordinary people. This draws attention to the inverse relationship between the quality of lifestyle of the poor and rich: as the affluence of the rich increased so the quality of life of the poor also decreased. Since the rich invested the limited resources in luxury, fewer resources were available for the suffering masses who then struggled to procure the staples they survived on (see Premnath 2003:139-140). Such extravagant opulence is unjust in the face of the poverty and lack which many in Samaria suffered at the time. If the wealthy being accused were enjoying the fruit of their labour, Amos cannot be right in accusing them of injustice. However, this does not seem to be the case because of what Amos says about their oppressive and extortionist behaviour in other oracles. Amos accuses the upper class of acquiring their wealth through extortion, exploitation, oppression, bribery, corruption, land seizure and unjust trade (see Am. 2:6-8; 3:9-10; 4:1; 5:7, 10-12; 6:12; 8:4-6). In the general context of these social injustices which Amos condemns, the source of funding for this lofty live style is not the fruit of the labour of these elite but rather the surpluses of the lower class, most of whom wallow in abject poverty. J. L. McLaughlin affirms that Amos' opposition to the failure to grieve over the ruin of Joseph indicates that what is occupying their attention 'results from injustice' (McLaughlin 2014:297). Furthermore, D. N. Premnath suggests that the ruin of Joseph which the upper class do not grieve about (v. 6b) 'draws attention to the plight of the suffering majority.' This is useful especially when seen as Amos' attempt to contrast 'the luxury of the few with the oppression and suffering of the many' (Premnath 2003:141). Significantly therefore, as the upper class exhibit apathy towards the ruin of Joseph, so do they exhibit total insensitivity towards the glaring devastation of the lives of their many victims from whom they have extorted resources to finance their extravagant opulence. This is the injustice against which Amos protests.

The triangular model is demonstrated in the text. As the initiator of social justice, YHWH expects the state officials and the wealthy individuals to partner him in protecting the



poor and needy against danger and destruction. Unfortunately, these same people are engrossed in their affluence, luxury and expensive feasting that they look on with oblivion as the community faces imminent danger. Though Amos does not mention the poor and the needy, it is obvious that the resources used in acquiring these luxuries and financing this opulence have come from exploitation of these poor and needy, who have thus been exposed to the impending ruin. YHWH as the protector of the prey will send the predators into exile and bring their opulent living to an end.

THE GRAZING SHEEP AND THE SCREAMING FOWL

Social injustice, manifest in affluent, extravagant and opulent living in the midst of abject poverty has been a problem for Ghanaians in recent times. There are rich and powerful individuals whose private lifestyle exhibits conspicuous consumption and affluence and who seem to be oblivious of the suffering of others. Again, there is evidence that the source of funding for this affluence of the few is the money they make at the back of their poor workers and other victims from whom they extort. I however limit this discussion to glaring examples of misplaced priority in government expenditure. For instance, some Ghanaian politicians live in luxury and affluence, drive expensive vehicles and take big salaries that are many times higher than that of the ordinary workers. However, when they leave office, they receive ex-gratia payment in amounts that no Ghanaian public servant can dream of. In 2013, a total of Gh¢ 39, 000, 000 went into such payments at a time when almost all labour unions were on strike for poor conditions of services (Essel 2013, Gadugah 2013, Mahama 2013,

Myjoyonline.com 2013a, Myjoyonline.com 2013b, Sey 2013, Yeboah 2013). At the same time, fuel prices were unbearably high because subsidies on fuel had been removed. It was also a time when government was not able to pay a total of Gh¢ 10, 000, 000 to striking public university teachers (Myjoyonline.com 2013a). Again, during the 2014 Football World Cup the Ghana government spent money on celebrities as football ambassadors to Brazil when there was fuel shortage and when most labour unions had threatened industrial actions for failing economy and low wages (www.ghanaweb.com 2014). Furthermore, in July 2014, the president of Ghana donated thirteen Pick-ups to regional and national houses of chiefs. This happened at a time when the government had failed to pay the Ghana Education Trust Fund, the National Health Insurance Scheme and the School Feeding Programme. It was also at a time when many Ghanaians were suffering due to failing economy and accelerated depreciation of the currency (Gadugah 2014: Myjoyonline.com). Certainly, Amos 6:1-6 is of great significance to these acts of misplaced priority. A Ghanaian reading it sees it's re-enactment in the carefree extravagant expenditure of those with political power. The analogy of the grazing sheep and the screaming fowl thus become relevant.

As part of my data collection in Ghana, I organised various focus groups where the texts of Amos that protest against injustice were discussed. The discussions focused on how Ghanaian mother-tongue translations of the selected texts revealed Amos' protest against social injustice. In addition, members of each group related issues of social injustice in Ghana that helped them to understand the text. It was an analogy from the Ewe language group, as they discussed Amos 6:1-6 that aptly summed up what Amos says about social injustice to Ghanaians today. First the analogy: 'You see a sheep grazing around and a fowl following. The sheep squashes the fowl. The sheep hears the fowl 'screaming' but the sheep looks elsewhere and continues to graze. Nothing moves the sheep to remove its hooves from the fowl as long as there is enough grass to graze.' Expressing the nature of injustice in Africa, Archbishop Desmond Tutu used a similar analogy: 'If you are neutral in situations of injustice, you have chosen the side of the oppressor. If an elephant has its foot on the tail of a mouse, and you say that you are neutral, the mouse will not appreciate your neutrality' (cited in Quigley, 2003:8). Amos 4:1, where the cows of Bashan are accused of oppressing the poor and crushing the needy, comes to focus here. Like the sheep, in their grazing, the cows of Bashan and their counterpart, 'Bulls of Bashan'[8] are squashing the poor and needy among

[8]I have argued elsewhere, based on Psalm 22:13, that the 'Lords of the 'cows of Bashan' could be described as 'bulls of Bashan.'

them. The more these victims scream for freedom, the harsher they are oppressed. It is only YHWH the protector of the prey who will scare off these predators into exile.

What will make a fowl follow a grazing sheep? Eating insects and other creatures that run away as a result of the stir and scare that come with the movement of the sheep! In cases where there is famine and where all these insects and other creatures are not available, the fowl will be picking the droppings of the grazing sheep. So the relationship between the grazing sheep and the fowl that follows is that of dependence: the fowl benefits from the grazing activities of the sheep without taking anything from him. The fowl cannot graze the juicy and nutritious grass but it can either eat the insects and other creatures or in rare cases the droppings of the sheep. Unfortunately for the fowl, she is crushed by the sheep who is intentionally unmindful of her suffering. It will take only an external force, probably the shepherd, to scare the sheep off the tiny legs of the fowl to set her free.

In relations to Amos' protest against social injustice and the Ghanaian situation, the sheep represents the oppressors who will do anything to make their wealth and enjoy it, even if it means their actions amount to damaging or killing the existence of those they oppress. They do not look at the direction of their victims. They focus on enjoying their juicy and nutritious pasture. The fowl represents the victims of injustice who suffer because their little effort to survive is impeded by their wealthy oppressors. Their plight, their suffering and their ruin do not pain these oppressors. The shepherd[9] is the figure of the liberator, in the language of Amos and other prophet, God. He comes to scare the oppressors off their victims, even if it means taking them into captivity.

The group's reflection on the texts discussed, in the light of the text, issues of social injustice in Ghana and the analogy is as follows:

> Most of the issues Amos protested against have to do with the powerful looking elsewhere while the masses are suffering. Amos' statement: 'yet it does not hurt you that the House of Joseph faces destruction'[10] indicate that the suffering is there, but the elites are looking elsewhere. Even where Amos accuses the Israelites that 'they sell the righteous for silver and the poor for a pair of sandals' is about the powerful using and misusing the masses for their own advantage. This is common in the Ghanaian society. The political, economic and religious landscape of Ghana is filled with such oppressive injustice. When you go to any corporate organisation in Ghana, the 'top people' are extremely powerful but the 'down people' mean nothing. They do all the dirty jobs, their sweat brings in the wealth but their reward is next to nothing. If they ask for more, they will

[9]The shepherd is not an important part of the analogy. I have assumed it to bring the analogy in line with the triangular model of social justice in Amos used above.
[10]Amos 6:6, back translated from the Ewe translation 1930/2010.

> be squashed till they can scream no more. Politicians in Ghana are making it big. They live in affluence and opulence while workers, farmers and other lower class people suffer.[11]

Clearly, the social justice message of the book of Amos speaks volumes to Ghanaians today. They look at Amos' protests and see in their community stark injustices going on. Their reading of Amos and the reality of social injustice both illuminate each other.

CONCLUSION

The paper has traced the concept of social justice in the Hebrew Bible: how it is expressed, who has the responsibility to ensure it and how Amos depicts it. It has also examined Amos 6:1-6 as a classic example of Amos' protest against social injustice in the form of affluence and extravagance of the few while the masses suffer. Finally, citing examples from Ghana, the paper has established that the prophecy of Amos relevant speaks to issues of social injustice in Ghana.

The triangular model helps readers of Amos to put in perspective how Amos' protest against social injustice fits the general trend in the Hebrew Bible. Unlike the earlier model, the new model focuses social action on the victims and demonstrates Amos' vision of the desired partnership between YHWH, the ruling class and the wealthy individuals to protect the vulnerable against injustice. This indeed makes the prophecy of Amos a good model for discourses on social justice both in the Hebrew Bible and in the contemporary world. Again, my examination of Amos 6:1-6 shows that the carefree extravagance that Amos condemns and the possible source of funding such opulence indicate that he was condemning social injustice.

In the Ghanaian context, the analogy of the grazing sheep and the screaming fowl shows that such categories as proverbs and sayings among the people of Ghana, if appropriately harnessed and analysed, can promote understanding of most biblical concepts and their relevance to the Ghanaian reality. Thus the social injustices Amos protests against serve as a mirror in which Ghanaians view social injustices in their communities. Thus Amos' call for social justice is an important resource for the quest for social justice in Ghana today. When Ghanaians come to the book of Amos, therefore, their reading illuminates the problems of contemporary social injustice. As they are able to find categories to interpret

[11]This is a summary of various contributions from the group as they reflected on the text.

their understanding of Amos' message, the text will in turn facilitate their appreciation of issues of social injustice. The oppressed Ghanaian, as he/she reads Amos, finds 'a voice to express his/her own experience of oppression' (see Houston 2008:71). Similarly, a Ghanaian who has the resources to help others discovers in Amos the need to be on the side of the poor. More generally, our understanding of the principle of social justice in the prophecy of Amos, especially when read with the relevant contexts in mind, could enhance our realisation of social justice in our world today.

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Prophecy in the Qumran Movement: Insights from the Qumran Hodayot

1. The Question

The finding of the Dead Sea Scrolls has brought to light many previously unknown texts dealing with divine revelation and has opened up new possibilities in examining how prophecy, wisdom and revelation were conceptualized in the late Second Temple period.[1] Texts like peshers, pseudo-prophetic texts and several wisdom texts have been scrutinized in order to find out how their authors perceived prophecy, and whether prophecy was still an ongoing practice in the late Second Temple period. These studies represent a larger shift in the field of biblical studies, namely the study of Second Temple prophecy.[2]

The analysis of the sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls has shown that revelation played a role in the thinking and practices of the Qumran movement.[3] Some people were believed to be able to mediate the divine will by using inductive or non-inductive divinatory methods.[4] It was believed that the movement took part in the gradual revelation of the law, like Moses and the classical prophets had done before them.[5]

Perhaps surprisingly, a text that can reveal more about the meaning of revelation in the movement is a collection of psalms, the *Hodayot*. Several hodayot psalms repeatedly refer to

[1] The most comprehensive studies on the topic are: Alex P. Jassen, *Mediating the Divine: Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (STDJ 68; Leiden: Brill, 2007); Samuel I. Thomas, *The "Mysteries" of Qumran: Mystery, Secrecy, and Esotericism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (EJL 25; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009); George J. Brooke, "Prophecy and Prophets in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Looking Backwards and Forwards," in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism* (ed. M. H. Floyd and R. D. Haak; LHBOTS 427; New York: T &T Clark, 2006); Armin Lange and Kristin De Troyer (Eds.), *Prophecy after the Prophets? The Contribution of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Understanding Biblical and Extra-biblical Prophecy* (CBET 52; Leuven: Peeters, 2003).
[2] C.f. e.g. Michael H. Floyd and Robert D. Haak (Eds.), *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism* (LHBOTS 427; New York: T&T Clark, 2006); Lester L. Grabbe and Robert D. Haak (Eds.), *Knowing the End from the Beginning: The Prophetic, Apocalyptic, and their Relationship* (JSPSup 46; London: T&T Clark International, 2003).
[3] That is, the sectarian movement that preserved, copied and composed the Dead Sea Scrolls. Part of this larger movement may have resided at Khirbet Qumran near Cave 4. Concerning the Qumran communities, cf. J. J. Collins, "Sectarian Communities in the Dead Sea Scrolls," OHDSS.
[4] Alex P. Jassen, "Prophets and Prophecy in the Qumran Community," *AJS Review* 32 (2008): 299–334.
[5] Alex P. Jassen, "The Presentation of Ancient Prophets as Lawgivers at Qumran," *JBL* 127 (2008): 328–35.

divine revelation. This paper aims to answer one simple question: Why is revelation mentioned in the hodayot psalms? To answer this question, three hodayot psalms are used as examples.

2. The Hodayot

The name *Hodayot* refers to thanksgiving psalms that were likely composed by the members of the Qumran movement. The best preserved *Hodayot* manuscript 1QH[a] is one of the first seven scrolls found in Qumran cave 1 in 1947. Eleazar Sukenik named the scroll *Hodayot* due to the beginning formula of the psalms, אודכה אדוני, "I thank you, O Lord" (ידה, הודיות = thanksgiving).[6] Originally, 1QH[a] contained around thirty formerly unknown psalms.[7] In most of the psalms, the speaker refers to himself in first person singular while God is addressed as "you".

Altogether eight manuscripts containing collections of the hodayot psalms have been found (1QH[a-b], 4QH[a-f]). The best preserved manuscript 1QH[a] can be dated paleographically to the turn of the era but the oldest *Hodayot* manuscript (4QH[b]) can be dated to the first quarter of the first century B.C.E. and thus, the hodayot psalms probably originate from the latter part of the second century B.C.E. Manuscript 1QH[a] was originally about 4,5 meters long and contained four sheets. Each of the sheets contained four columns, altogether 28 columns.[8] Columns 1–2 and 27–28 are almost completely destroyed. As some of the psalms appear in several manuscripts, the fragmentary text of 1QH[a] has been reconstructed with the help of other *Hodayot* manuscripts.[9]

Due to the complex and prolonged publishing process of the *Hodayot* manuscripts, there is still room for research on many fundamental questions concerning, for example, the content of the individual psalms, the editorial principle of manuscript 1QH[a], and the function of the psalms.[10] No comprehensive research on the way revelation is depicted in the hodayot psalms has been published yet. However, since the early research history of the *Hodayot*, scholars have noticed references to divine revelation in the hodayot psalms.[11] Some of the psalms have been studied in relation to wisdom texts, apocalyptic texts and recently, in relation to prophetic texts and divinatory practices.[12] Much attention has been given to hodayot psalm 12:6–13:6. In this paper, it will be demonstrated that also other hodayot psalms should be carefully analyzed from

[6] Eleazar L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Magness, 1955), 39.
[7] Hartmut Stegemann, "The Number of Psalms in 1QHodayot and Some of Their Sections" in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls (*ed. Esther G. Chazon; STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 191.
[8] É. Puech, "Hodayot," *EDSS* 1:365–6.
[9] Throughout this article, both the Hebrew text and the translation of 1QH[a] follow Hartmut Stegemann and Eileen M. Schuller, *1QHodayot[a], with Incorporation of 1QHodayot[b] and 4QHodayot[a–f]* (DJD 40; Oxford: Clarendon, 2009). However, the division into poetic lines and strophes is mine.
[10] Cf. Eileen Schuller's article on the research history of the Hodayot; Eileen M. Schuller, "Recent Scholarship on the Hodayot 1993–2010," *CBR* 10 (2011): 119–62.
[11] Cf. e.g. Svend Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* (ATD 2; Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget I Aarhus, 1960), 282–90.
[12] Sarah Tanzer, "The Sages at Qumran: Wisdom in the Hodayot" (Diss., Harvard University, 1987); G. Nickelsburg, "Revelation," *EDSS* 2: 307–77; Jassen, *Mediating*; Thomas, *The "Mysteries".*

this perspective, as divine revelation and divine knowledge are related to different themes in different hodayot psalms.

2. Why Is Revelation Mentioned?

2.1. Battle for Authority

The first Hodayot psalm (1QH[a] 12:6–13:6) can be divided into two stanzas: the first stanza (12:6–30a) deals with divine revelation while the second stanza (12:30b–13:6) concentrates on the sinfulness of the speaker and God's righteousness. The main massage of the psalm is that the renewed covenant is based on divine revelation and the true knowledge it provides. This true covenant is channeled through the speaker of the psalm.

The speaker of the psalm is a leader figure. He has examined those who have gathered for God's covenant and they listen to him (12:24b–26a). The first stanza depicts a bitter disagreement between the speaker and his adversaries. The disagreement concerns the interpretation of the law as the adversaries plot "to exchange your law" and "act like madmen on their feast days" (12:11, 13). Both sides deny the validity of each other's revelations (12:10–11, 21, 16–21).

In order to demonstrate his authority, the speaker represents himself as a prophet, a mediator of divine knowledge.[13] The speaker portrays himself as a mediator between God and "the many", his own community. He implies that he understands God's mysteries (רזי פלאכה) because he is able to stand in the divine council (סוֹד פלאכה). By referring to the divine council, the speaker demonstrates his prophetic authority as standing in the divine council was known as a privilege of a prophet.[14]

1QH[a] 12:28b–30a	
28 ובי האירותה פני רבים ותגבר עד לאין מספר כי הודעתני ברזי 29 פלאכה ובסוֹד פלאכה הגברתה עמדי והפלא לנגד רבים בעבור כבודכה ולהודיע 30 לכול החיים גבורותיכה	28 Through me you have illuminated the faces of many, and you have increased them beyond number. For you have made me understand your wonderful 29 mysteries, and in your wonderful council you have shown yourself strong to me, doing wondrously before many for the sake of your glory and in order to make known 30 to all the living your mighty deeds.

[13] Nissinen, "What is Prophecy? An Ancient Near Eastern Perspectives" in *Inspired Speech: Prophecy in the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of Herbert B. Huffmon* (Ed. by J. Kaltner and L. Stulman; JSOT 378; London: T & T Clark International, 2004), 21–2.
[14] Thomas, *The "Mysteries"*, 82–91, 208–9.

In this psalm, allusions are an important poetic device. Both the first and second stanza has allusions to passages that share a covenantal theme. The leader and his community are depicted forming God's renewed covenant. They are able to keep the covenant because the speaker has access to true knowledge. The speaker places himself in a long line of righteous teachers and prophets, starting from Moses.[15] Because of several allusions to Jeremiah 23, the revelation of the speaker depicted in lines 28–29 was probably interpreted in terms of Jeremiah 23:16–18. The hodayot psalm indirectly responds to God's question posed in Jeremiah 23:18: "For who has stood in the council of the LORD so as to see and hear his word?"[16] In both Jeremiah 23 and 1QH[a] 12:6–13:6, the ability to stand in God's council marks true knowledge and those who have access to it. Others prophesy their own delusions but the true prophets know God's mysteries because they have stood in God's council. The adversaries, on the other hand, have turned away from the covenant because of their unfaithfulness. They are portrayed as devilish priests and prophets who lead the people astray.[17]

2.2. Tasks of a Wisdom Teacher

In the second hodayot psalm (1QH[a] 5:12–6:33), the speaker is most likely a wisdom teacher, *maskil*. The psalm begins with a partly reconstructed heading [מזמור למ]שכיל להתנפל לפנ[י אל. Altogether four hodayot psalms begin with the heading "for the wisdom teacher".[18] These four psalms share certain terminology and themes with the parts of the *Community Rule* attributed to the wisdom teacher.[19] In the *Community Rule*, the wisdom teacher is depicted as one of the leaders of the community. Besides administrative duties, he was a liturgical performer and a teacher.[20]

The introductory strophe of the second Hodayot may describe the duties of a wisdom teacher which relate to praying and teaching.

1QH[a] 5:12–14	
12 [מזמור למ]שכיל להתנפל לפנ[י אל] מעשיו אל 13 [ ] ולהבין פ֯תאים [ ]○○[ ]○○[ ]○י עולם	12 [A psalm for the In]structor, that he may prostrate himself befor[e God ...]

[15] Especially important are Deut 29:1–30:20; Hos 4:1–6:3; Jer 23:9–40; and Ezek 3:1–14:11.
[16] Translation: NRSV.
[17] The second stanza includes a penitential prayer that fits also to the covenantal theme. The penitential prayer probably alludes to older penitential prayers of which Ezra 9:1–10:6; Neh 9:1–37 and Ezek 16:59–63; 20:27–44; 36:16–37 appear in covenantal contexts; Julie A. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusion and Exegesis in the Hodayot* (STDJ 59; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 118–34.
[18] 1QH[a] 5:12–6:33, 7:21–8:41, 20:7–22:42, and 25:34–27:3.
[19] Carol A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004), 198, 299.
[20] Armin Lange, "Sages and Scribes in the Qumran Literature," in *Scribes, Sages, and Seers: The Sage in the Eastern Mediterranean World* (ed. L. G. Perdue; FRLANT 219; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 286–91.

14 [ ]○ת ולהבין אנוש בׄ[ ] בשר וסוד רוחי [ ]○ התהלכו	deeds of God 13 […] and that the simple may understand […]○○[…]○○[…]○*y* forever 14 […]○*t* and that humankind may understand concerning […]flesh and the council of the spirits of […]○ they walk.

The phrase ולהבין פתאים could be an allusion to a wisdom text *4QInstruction* that might have begun with a description of the duties of a *maskil*. He was encouraged to "make all the simple ones understand" (ולהבין כול פותאים, 4Q418 221 2).[21]

The wisdom teacher bases his teaching on a divine revelation. Like the speaker of the first Hodayot psalm, the wisdom teacher claims that God had made known to him wonderful mysteries (רזי פלאך, 1QH^a 5:19). But unlike in the first Hodayot psalm, the wisdom teacher actually discloses (some of) the content of his revelation in this psalm. The revelation seems to concern the two ways, "the ways of truth and the works of evil, wisdom and folly" (5:20). The two ways teaching has an eschatological dimension as it deals with "their time[s] for peace or (for) destruction" (5:22) and "their [jud]gments, eternal glory, loveliness and everlasting joy" (5:23). After a blank space in the beginning of line 24, the psalmist continues with the same theme. The *maskil* explains that the dualistic principle was established before everything else was created. God has set a plan for his creation and everything functions according to this plan forever (5:24–30).

God's active role in revealing this knowledge is constantly highlighted in the psalm (5:19, 20, 36). However, the psalmist himself had an active role in creating "divine knowledge". Based on the overall topic and vocabulary used in the psalm, the author was most likely inspired by an older wisdom text, *4QInstruction*. Both 1QH^a 5 and *4QInstruction* manuscript 4Q417 frg 1 col i present similar teaching of the two ways. Furthermore, there are several verbal parallels between 1QH^a 5 and 4Q417 1 i.[22]

1QH^a 5	line	4Q417 frg 1 col 1	line
רוח בׄשר	15	לרוח בשר	17

[21] Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones: Reading & Reconstructing the Fragmentary Early Jewish Sapiental Text 4QInstruction* (STDJ 44; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 207.

[22] Naturally, some differences also remain. The most notable difference between 1QH^a 5 and 4Q417 1 i is that the author of the hodayot psalm does not adopt the key term רז נהיה. For the overall influence of *4QInstruction* to hodayot psalms, cf. Matthew J. Goff, "Reading Wisdom at Qumran: 4QInstruction and the Hodayot," *DSD* 11:3, 263–88.

רוח בשר	30		
וברזי פלאד	19	[ו]בְּרָזֵי פלאָ[י רזי פלאו	2 13
חוכמה ואולתָ[	20	חכמה [ואול]תֹ	6–7
לכול קצי עֲוֹלָם ופקודת עד	26–27	לכול קצי עולם ופקודת עד	7–8

Table 1. The most notable parallels between 1QH[a] and 4Q417 frg 1 col 1[23]

1QH[a] 5	line	4Q417 frg 1 col 1	line
מחשבת מחשבותָם	17 26	מחשבתו	12
קדם קדם	18 29	קדם	3
רע	20	לרע	18
אֱמֶת	20	אמת	6
התהלכ[ו	21	התהלכוֹ להתהלך והתהלכו	12 10 19
להתבונן	38	והתבונן התבונן	12 25

Table 2. Less notable parallels between 1QH[a] and 4Q417 frg 1 col 1

According to the *Community Rule* manuscript 1QS, it was task of a wisdom teacher to teach to other community members about the two ways.[24] Like the two ways teaching in 1QH[a] 5, the two way teaching found in 1QS (the so called *Treatise of the Two Spirits,* 1QS 3:13–4:26) has been influenced by the two ways teaching of *4QInstruction* (4Q417 frg 1 col i).[25] The latter part of

[23] Table 1 corresponds to the view presented by Tigchelaar; Tigchelaar, *To Increase*, 203–7.
[24] Lange, "Sages," 288.
[25] Tigchelaar, *To Increase*, 194–203. It has been suggested that 1QH[a] 5 has been influenced by *The Treatise*, cf. e.g. Newsom, *The Self*, 217–8. In my view, the similarities between *The Treatise* and 1QH[a] 5 are due to the common source, *4QInstruction*. In 1QH[a] 5, no dualistic division between light and darkness nor the two kinds of spirits are mentioned like in *The Treatise*.

the Hodayot psalm (6:19–33)[26] demonstrates how the two ways teaching should be applied in communal life. The speaker contemplates how God has established a division between the righteous and the wicked. According to ones inheritance, the wisdom teacher will love the righteous but the wicked he will abhor and will refuse to bring them into the community. Thus, the community is based on the everlasting dualistic division established by God and revealed to the leaders of the community.

In previous scholarship, exegesis has been studied as one mode of transmission of divine knowledge in the Second Temple period.[27] In Qumran studies, close attention has been given to exegetical texts called peshers and to Teacher of Righteousness, a former leader, who according to *Pesher Habakkuk* was an inspired exegete and more knowledgeable of the divine secrets than Habakkuk himself.[28] Yet, the possibility that the wisdom teachers might have been perceived in a similar role has not been considered. However, in light of hodayot psalm 5:12–6:33 the role of a *maskil* as an inspired exegete is worth of investigating further.

2.3. Praising God with the Divine Beings

The third Hodayot psalm (1QH[a] 19:6–20:6) is fairly well preserved. The blank spaces and phrases אודכה אלי (19:17–18) and ברוך אתה (19:30) divide the psalm into three stanzas. Closer analysis of the structure and the content of the psalm shows that each of the three stanzas can be divided into three strophes (plus the opening strophe).[29] The overall structure of the psalm is as follows:

First Stanza 19:6–17

Opening Strophe: Thanksgiving

Strophe 1A: Reason for Praise

Strophe 1B: Knowing God

Strophe 1C: Entering the Community

Second Stanza 19:18–30a

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[26] Hartmut Stegemann has strongly argued for the unity of 1QH[a] 5:12–6:33. According to Stegemann, the word אלה (cf. 6:20) always refers to something mentioned in previous sections and opens a new subsection in the psalm. However, Stegemann admits that in other parts of the manuscript 1QH[a] two blank spaces (one at the end of a line and another at the beginning of the next line) indicate a beginning of a new psalm (cf. 6:18–19); Stegemann, "The Number," 214–5.

[27] Cf. e.g. Armin Lange, "Literary Prophecy and Oracle Collection: A Comparison between Judah and Greece in Persian Times," in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism* (ed. M. H. Floyd and R. D. Haak; LHBOTS 427; New York: T &T Clark, 2006), 248–61; Jassen, *Mediating*, 194–240.

[28] Jassen, "Prophets," 324–7.

[29] In the first and second stanza, each strophe begins with an independent pronoun אני or with words אז or מעל. In the third stanza, all three strophes begin with the phrase ברוך אתה.

Strophe 2A: Reason for Praise

Strophe 2B: Inclinations of Human Beings

Strophe 2C: Whole Creation Will Praise God

Third Stanza 19:30b–20:6

Strophe 3A: First Blessing: Reason for Blessing

Strophe 3B: Second Blessing: Knowing God

Strophe 3C: Third Blessing: Praise

Revelation and glorification are thematically closely related in this psalm. At the beginning of each stanza, the speaker states that he is a recipient of divine revelation (19:7, 19–20; 30–31). Due to the revelation, the speaker knows God (strophes 1B and 3B) and the inclinations of human beings (strophe 2B). He gives thanks to God for revealing all these things and for giving the words of praise (19:7–9; 31, 36–7).

What strikes in the eye is the communal aspect of revelation. The speaker claims that also a wider group of people, "all the children of your good favor", has received a revelation of wonderful mysteries (19:12–13). Then, the speaker moves on to contemplate the elevated status of the members of the rejoicing community. After God has purified אנוש, he is to be united with (others) who have knowledge and with the divine beings so that they can praise God together.

1QH[a] 19:10–17 (Strophes 1B and 1C)	
ואני ידעתי	I know
כי אמת פיכה	that your command is truth,
ובידכה צדקה	that in your hand is righteousness,
ובמחשבתכה 11 כול דעת	in your thoughts 11. all knowledge,
ובכוחכה כול גבורה	in your strength all power,
וכול כבוד אתכה הוא	and that all glory is with you.
באפכה כול משפטי נגע	In your anger are all the punishing judgments,
12 ובטובכה רוב סליחות	12. but in your goodness is abundant forgiveness,
ורחסיכה לכול בני רצונכה	and your compassion is for all the children of your good favor.
כי הודעתם בסוד אמתכה	Truly, you have made known to them the secret counsel of your truth
13 וברזי פלאכה השכלתם	13. and given them insight into your wonderful

ולמען כבודכה טהרתה אנוש מפשע להתקדש 14 לכה מכול תועבות נדה ואשמת מעל להוחד עֹם בני אמתך ובגורל עֹם 15 קדושיכה להרים מעפר תולעת מתים לסוד אֹ[מתכה] ומרוח נעוה לבינתכֹה 16 ולהתיצבֹ במעמד לפניכה עם צבה עד ורוחו[ת עולם] ולהתחדש עם כול הֹ[ווה] 17 וֹנֹהיה ועם ידעים ביחד רנה	mysteries. For the sake of your glory you have purified a mortal from sin, so that[30] he may sanctify himself 14. for you from all impure abominations and from faithless guilt, so that he might be united with the children of Your truth and in the lot with 15. your holy ones, so that a corpse-infesting maggot might be raised up from the dust to the council of [your] t[ruth], and from a spirit of perversion to the understanding that comes from you, 16. and so that he may take (his) place before you with the eternal host and the [eternal] spirit[s], and so that he may be renewed together with all that i[s] 17. and will be and with those who have knowledge in a common rejoicing. *vacat* […]

Lines 13–17 do not depict an eschatological event but show how the psalmist views his own celebrating community.[31] Becoming a member of the praising community signifies also becoming the one who has access to divine knowledge.[32] If the speaker of the first hodayot psalm was able to stand in the divine council and thus understand God's mysteries, the liturgical communion is a collective participation in the heavenly community. The members are raised up to God's council and moved from under the realm of perverted spirit to divine knowledge (l. 15).[33]

The communal aspect of revelation depicted in the third Hodayot psalm could be examined in relation to another poetic text found in the Qumran caves (and in Masada), *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. In this text, the liturgical community gains access to God's throne room where the divine mysteries are mediated. By alluding to the experiences of Moses, Ezekiel and

[30] This infinitive construct starts a series of five infinitive constructs which are underlined in the translation.
[31] The belief in a liturgical communion with the divine beings can be detected in several sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls; M. Mach, "Angels," *EDSS* 1: 26–27. In the eschatological future, all creation will praise God (1QH[a] 19:25–30).
[32] 1QH[a] 19:13–17 has extensive parallel in another Hodayot psalms, 1QH[a] 11:20–37. Interestingly, divine knowledge does not play a role in this second psalm but the psalm concentrates on the upcoming judgment.
[33] Despite the close relationship between angels and the earthly community, angels do not mediate divine knowledge according to any of the Hodayot psalms.

Isaiah, the liturgical revelation is depicted as a continuation of the Sinai revelation.[34] It is possible then, that a mystical, liturgical experience was perceived in the Qumran movement as something that generates divine revelation. As it can be assumed that all hodayot psalms were performed in some way, the question regarding the relationship between prophetic and liturgical experience does not concern only this third hodayot psalm but all hodayot psalms.

3. Conclusions

In all three hodayot psalms, the speaker is a recipient of divine knowledge and the psalms contain similar vocabulary when referring to the revelation. Revelation is such a reoccurring theme in the psalms because it is believed that divine revelation is the solid foundation of the community. However, each of the psalms comes to this conclusion by emphasizing different topics.

In the first hodayot psalm, the speaker depicts a conflict between him and his adversaries. The speaker defends his own position by stating that he is a recipient of divine revelation and thus it is his community that has kept the covenant with God. In the second hodayot psalm, the speaker, a wisdom teacher, meditates upon an older two ways teaching found in *4QInstruction* and displays it as a revelation from God. The speaker teaches that his actions and the community organization reflect the dualistic division of the universe that has been revealed to him. In the final third psalm, the speaker depicts revelation as a fundamental experience that leads into knowing God and his awesome deeds. The speaker believes that the wonderful mysteries are revealed also to the praising community as they stand together in the heavenly assembly.

As demonstrated in this paper, the ideas presented in the three hodayot psalms should be studied in relation to other (sectarian) Dead Sea Scrolls that inform us about the role of a wisdom teacher, inspired exegesis and mystical/liturgical experiences in the Qumran movement.

[34] Judith A. Newman, "Priestly Prophets at Qumran: Summoning the Sinai through the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice," in *The Significance of Sinai: Traditions about Sinai and Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity* (ed. by George J. Brooke et al.; TBN 12; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 71–2.

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Appendix

1QH[a] 12:6–13:6	
6 [ ] tacav אודכה אדוני כי[א] האירו֯תה פני לבריתכה ומ[ ] 7 [ ] [ ]֯ אדורשכה וכשחר נכון לאור[תי]ם הופעתה לי	6 […] *vacat* I thank you, Lord, that you have illuminated my face for your covenant and *m*[…] 7 […] I seek you, and as sure as dawn, you appear to me as early [li]ght.
והמה עמכה [ ] 8 בתו֯עו[תם ו]בדבֹרים החליקו למו ומליצי רמיה התו֯עו֯ם וילבטו בלא בינה כיא֯ [ ] 9 בהולל מעשיהם כי נמאסי למו ולא יחשבוני בהגבירכה בי כי[א] ידיחני מארצי 10 כצפור מקנה וכול רעי ומודעי נדחו ממני ויחשבוני לכלי אובד	But they, your people, […]8 in [their] stra[ying, and] they used slippery words on them. Deceitful interpreters led them astray, and they came to ruin without understanding, for […] 9 with delusion their deeds, for I have been rejected by them. They have no regard for me when you show your strength through me, for they drive me away from my land 10 like a bird from its nest. All my friends and my relatives are driven away from me, and they regard me as a broken pot.
והמה מליצי 11 כזב וחוזי רמיה זממו עלי {כז}בליעל להמיר תורתכה אשר שננתה בלבבי בחלקות 12 לעמכה ויעצורו משקה דעת מצמאים ולצמאם ישקום חומץ למע הבט אל 13 תעותם להתהולל במועדיה[מ] להתפש במצודותם	But they are lying interpreters 11 and deceitful seers. They have planned devilry against me to exchange your law, which you spoke repeatedly in my heart, for slippery words 12 for your people. They withhold the drink of knowledge from the thirsty, and for their thirst they give them sour wine to drink so that they may gaze on 13 their error, acting like madmen on their feast days, snaring themselves in their nets.
כי אתה אל תנאץ כל מחשבת 14 בליעל ועצתכה היא תקום ומחשבת לבכה תכון לנצח	But you, O God, despise every devilish plan, 14 and it is your counsel that will stand and the plan of your mind that will be established forever.
והמה נעלמים זמות בליעל 15 יחשובו וידרשוכה בלב ולב ולא נכונו באמתכה שורש פורה רוש ולענה במחשבותם	But they, the hypocrites, concoct devilish plans 15 and seek you with a divided heart. And so they are not steadfast in your truth. A root that grows poison and wormwood is in their

16 ועם שרירות לבם יתורו וידרשוכה בגלולים ומכשול עוונם שמו לנגד פניהם ויבאו 17 לדורשכה מפי נביאי כזב מפותי תעות	thoughts, 16 and in the stubbornness of their heart they explore, and they seek you among idols. The stumbling block of their iniquity they have placed before themselves, and they come 17 to inquire of you by means of the mouth of lying prophets who are themselves seduced by error.
והם [ב]לָ[ו]עֹג שפה ולשון אחרת ידברו לעמך 18 להולל ברמיה כול מעשיהם כי לא בָּחרו בדר[ך לב]כָּה ולא האזינו לדברכה כי אמרו 19 לחזון דעת לא נכון ולדרך לבבה לא היאה	And they, [with] m[o]cking lips and an alien tongue speak to your people, 18 deceitfully ridiculing all their deeds. For they have not chosen the wa[y of] your [heart], and they have not listened to your word, for they say 19 of the vision of knowledge, “It is not certain,” and of the way of your heart, “It is not that.”
כי אתה אל תענה להם לשופטם 20 בגבורתכה[כ]גלוליהם וכרוב פשעיהם למען יתפשו במחשבותם אשר נזורו מבריתכה 21 ותכרת במָ[שפ]ט כול אנשי מרמה וחוזי תעות לא ימצאו עוד כי אין הולל בכול מעשיך 22 ולא רמיה בְּמזמת לבבה ואשר כנפשכה יעמודו לפניכה לעד והולכי בדרך לבבה 23 יכונו לנצח[	But you, O God, will answer them, judging them 20 in your strength [according to] their idols and the magnitude of their transgressions, so that those who have deserted your covenant will be caught in their own machinations. 21 You will cut off in ju[dgm]ent all deceitful people, and erring seers will be found no longer. For there is no delusion in all your works, 22 and there is no deceit in the plan of your mind. Those who are in harmony with you will stand before you forever, and those who walk in the way of your heart 23 will be established everlastingly.
ו]אֲני בתומכי בכה אתעודדה ואקומה על מנאצי וידי על כול בוזי כיא 24 לא יחשבונ[י]עֹד הגבירכה בי ותופע לי בכוחכה לאורתים ולא טחתה בבושת פני 25 כול הנדרשׁ[י]ם לי הנועדים יחד לבריתכה וישומעוני ההולכים בדרך לבבה ויערוכו לכה 26 בסוד קדושים ותוצא לנצח משפטם ולמישרים אמת	[And] as for me, when I hold fast to you, I stand strong and rise up against those who despise me. My hand is against all who have contempt for me, for 24 they have no regard for [me], as long as you show your strength through me and appear to me in your strength as early light. You have not covered in shame the faces of 25 all who have been examined by me, who have gathered together for your covenant. Those who walk in the way of your heart listen to me, and they marshal themselves before you 26 in the council of the holy ones.

ולא תתעם ביד חלכאים 27 כזומם למו ותתן מוראם על עמכה ומפץ לכול עמי הארצות להכרית במשפט כול 28 עוברי פיכה ובי האירותה פני רבים ותגבר עד לאין מספר כי הודעתני ברזי 29 פלאכה ובסֹוד פלאכה הגברתה עמדי והפלא לנגד רבים בעבור כבודכה ולהודיע 30 לכול החיים גבורותיכה	You bring forth their justice successfully and truth with ease. You do not let them be led astray by the hand of the vile 27 when they scheme against them. But you put a dread of them upon your people, and (bring) destruction to all the peoples of the lands, in order to cut off in judgment all 28 who transgress your command. Through me you have illuminated the faces of many, and you have increased them beyond number. For you have made me understand your wonderful 29 mysteries, and in your wonderful council you have shown yourself strong to me, doing wondrously before many for the sake of your glory and in order to make known 30 to all the living your mighty deeds.
מי בשר כזאת ומה יצר חמר להגדיל פלאות והוא בעוון 31 מרחם ועד שבה באשמת מעל ואני ידעתי כי ל'א לאנוש צדקה ול'א לבן אדם תום 32 דרך לאל עֶלְיון כול מעשי צדקה ודרך אנוש ל'א תכון כי אם ברוח יצר אל לו 33 להתם דרך לבני אדם למען ידעו כול מעשיו בכוח גבורתו ורוב רחמיו על כול בני 34 רצונו	What being of flesh is like this? And what vessel of clay is able to do wondrous great deeds? It (exists) in iniquity 31. from the womb, and until old age in faithless guilt. But as for me, I know that righteousness does not belong to humankind nor perfection of way to a mortal. 32. To God Most High belong all the works of righteousness. The way humanity is not established except by the spirit God has fashioned for it, 33. in order to perfect way for mortal beings, so that they know all his works through his mighty strength and his abundant compassion toward all the children of 34. his goodwill.
ואני רֶעֶדְ ורתת אחזוני וכול גרמי ירועו וימס ללבי כדונג מ{ל}פני אש וילכו ברכי 35 כמים מוגרים במֹורד כי זכרתי אשמותי עם מעל אבותי בקום רשעים על בריתך 36 וחלכאים על דברכה	But as for me, trembling and quaking have seized me, and all my bones shatter. My heart melts like wax before the fire, and my knees give way 35. like water hurtling down a slope. For I remember my guilty acts together with the unfaithfulness of my ancestors, when the wicked rose against your covenant 36. and the vile against your word.

ואני על אמרתי בפשעי נעזבתי מבריתכה ובזוכרי כוח ידכה עם 37 המון רחמיכה התעודדתי ואקומה ורוחי החזיקו במעמד לפני נגע כי נשענתּ֫ 38 בחסדיכה וֹבהמון רחמיכה בי תכפר עוון ולטה[ר]אֱנוֹשׁ מאשמה בצדקתכה לֵבֹה[א]ל[י] 39 ולא לאדם כּוֹל אֹשֶׁר עֹשיתה כי אתה בראתה צדיק ורשע ○○○[ ] 40 [ ]○○○○○○○○[ ]אתחזקה בבריתכה עד [ ] 41 [ ]○○○○○[ ] כּי אמת אתה וצדק כול מ[עשיכה] 6:1 [ ] 2 [ ] 3 ליום [ז]עם חרון [ ]רוב] 4 סליחותיכה והמון ר֯חמ[י]כה [ ]○ב[5 ובדעתי אלה נחמ[תי] באמתכה ○○○[ ]○י 6 אל פי רצונכה וביֹדכה מֹשפט כולם taca[v]tacav	And I said, “In my sin I have been abandoned, far from your covenant.” But when I remembered the strength of your hand together with 37. your abundant compassion, I stood strong and rose up, and my spirit held fast to (its) station in the face of affliction. For I am supported 38. by your kindness, and according to your abundant compassion to me, you pardon iniquity and thus clean[se] a person from guilt through your righteousness. For yourself, O [my G]od, 39. and not for the sake of humankind, is all that you have made, for you yourself created the righteous and the wicked ○○○ […] 40. […]○○○○○○○○ I will hold fast to your covenant until […] 41. […]○○○○○ for your truth and righteousness are all [your] de[eds …] 1. […] 2. […] 3. for the day of furious [in]dignation [… the greatness of] 4. your forgiveness and the abundance of your compassion […]*b*○ 5. and when I knew these things [I] was comforted by your truth ○○○ […]○*y* 6. according to your goodwill, and in your hand is the judgment of them all. *vacat* […] *vacat*

1QH[a] 5:12–6:33	

12 [מזמור למ]שכיל להתנפל לפנ[י אל] מעשי אל	12 [A psalm for the In]structor, that he may prostrate himself befor[e God ...] deeds of God
13 [ ] ולהבין פ[תאים[35] [ ]○○[ ]○○[ ]○י עולם	13 […] and that the simple may understand […]○○[…]○○[…]○*y* forever
14 [ ]○ת ולהבין אנוש בׄ[ ] בשר וסוד רוחי [ ]○ התהלכו	14 […]○*t* and that humankind may understand concerning […]flesh and the council of the spirits of […]○ they walk.
15 [ברוך] אתה אדוני	15 [… Blessed are] you, O Lord,
○○[ ]○○ר רוח בשר בׄבׄ○[ ]בׄכׄוׄחׄ גבורתך	○○ […]○○*r* a spirit of flesh *bb*○ […] through your mighty strength
16 [והמון ח]סדך עם רוב טובך	16 [and the abundance of]your [kind]ness together with your great goodness
וכוס]חמתך וקנאת משפ[טיך לאין] חקר	[and the cup of]your wrath and [your] zealous judgeme[nts… unsea]rchable. All
כול 17 [ ]○ת כול בינה ומ[וסר] ורזי	17 […]○*t* all insight and in[struction] and the mysteries of the plan and the
מחשבת וראשׁיתׄ[ה]כינותה	beginning […] you [es]tablished
18 [ ]○○ קודש מקדם עו[לם	18 […]○○ holiness from a[ges] of old
ו]לעולמי עד אתה הואׄל[תה] קדושים	[and] the everlasting ages you yourself resolved […] holy ones
19 [ ] וברזי פלאך הודׄעׄ[תני בע]בׄור כבודך	19 […] and in your wonderful mysteries [you] have instructed [me for the s]ake of your glory,
ובעומק ○○[מעין] בׄינתך לא	and in the depth ○○ [... source of] your insight not
20 [ ]אתה גליתה דרכי אמת ומעשי רע	20 […]
חוכמה ואולת[ ]	your yourself have revealed the ways of truth and the works of evil,
צדק 21 [ ] מעשיהם	wisdom and folly […]
אמת [ ]○[ ]ה ואולת	righteousness 21 […] their works,
כול התהלכ[ו] 22 [ ]ם	truth […]○[...]*h* and folly.
וחסדי עולם לכולׄ קׄצׄ[י]הם לשלום ושחת	All have walke[d …] 22 […]*m*
כולׄ ○[ ] 23 [מש]פטיהם כבוד עולם וחמדה	and eternal mercies for their time[s] for peace of (for) destruction.
ושמחת עד[36] למעשה	All ○[…] 23 their judgments, eternal glory, loveliness
[ ] 24 [ ]ע vacat	and everlasting joy for the work[…] *sym l*○[…]
	24 […]’ vacat
ואלה אשר הכ[ינותה מקדם]עולם	And these are what [you] es[tablished from] ages [of old] to judge through them 25 all your creatures,
לשפות בם 25 את כול מעשיך	before you created them together with the host of

[35] 4Q418 221 2 lähellä
[36]4Q417 2 i 12 lähellä

בטרם בראתם עם צבא רוחיך	your spirits
ועדת [אלים ע]ם רקיע קודשך	and the congregation of the heavenly beings together with your holy firmament and all 26 its hosts,
וכ֯וֹל 26 צבאותיו עם הארץ	together with the earth and all that springs from it, in the seas and in the deeps,
וכול צאצאיה בימים ובתהומות	[according to] all the plans for them all the eternal epochs 27 and everlasting visitation.
[כ]כול מחשבותם לכול קצי עולם 27 ופקודת עד	For you yourself established them from ages of old
כי אתה הכינותמה מקדם עולם	and the work […]○○○ among them
ומעשה [ ]○○○ בם	in order that 28 they might make known your glory in all your dominion,
בעבור 28 יספרו כבודך בכול ממלתך	for you showed them what not *y*[…]
כי הראיתם את אשר לא י[ ]	which was of old,
אשר קדם	and creating 29 new things,
ולברוא 29 חדשות	destroying what was established of old,
להפר קימי קדם	and [raising] up what will be forever,
ול[הק]ים נהיות עולם	for you yourself have [established] them,
כי אתה ה[כינות]מה	and you yourself exist 30 for everlasting ages.
ואתה תהיה 30 לעולמי עד	In the mysteries of your understanding [you] apportioned all these
וברזי שכלה פלג[תה] כול אלה	in order to make known you glory.
להודיע כבודך	
[כי מה ה]יא רוח בשר להבין 31 בכול אלה	[But how i]s spirit of flesh to understand 31 all these things
ולהשכיל בס○[ ] גדול	and to discern *bs* ○[…] great […]?
ומה ילוד אשה בכול [ג]דו[ו]ל[י]ך הנוראים	What is one born of woman amid all your [gre]at fearful acts?
והוא 32 מבנה עפר	He 32 is a thing constructed of dust
ומגבל מים	and kneaded with water.
א[שמה וחט]אה סודו	Sin[ful gui]lt is his foundation,
ערות קלון	obscene shame,
ומ[קור הנ]דה	and a so[urce of im]purity.
ורוח נעוה משלה 33 בו	And a perverted spirit rules 33 him.
ואם ירשע	If he acts wickedly,
יהיה[לאות עד] עולם	he will become[a sign for]ever
ומופת דורות רחוק[י]ם לבשר	and portent for dis[ta]nt generations of flesh.
רק בטובך 34 יצדק איש	Only through your goodness 34 can a person be righteous,
וברוב רח[מיך]	and by [your] abundant compass[sion …].
בהדרך תפארנו	By your splendor you glorify him,
ותמשילנ[ו ב]רוב עדנים	and you give [him] dominion [with] abundant delights
עם שלום 35 עולם ואורך ימים	together with eternal 35 peace and long life.
כי [	For […]
	and your word will not turn back.

ו]דברך לא ישוב אהור	
ואני עבדך ידעתי 36 ברוח אשר נתתה בי [ ]	And I, your servant, know 36 by means of the spirit that you have placed in me […]
וצדק כול מעשיך	and all your deeds are righteousness.
ודבֻרְךָ לֹא ישוב אחוֹר	And your word will not turn back.
וְכוֹל 37 קצים מועד[ים] ל[ס]דורים	And all 37 your ages are appoint[ted] */*[… ar]ranged with respect to their affairs.
לחפציהם	I know [that…] */*[…]
ואדעה [כי]ל[ ]	38 and wicked š○ […] ○*q*
38 ורשע ש○[ ]ק	to understand […]
להתבונן [ ]	39 […]○○ your spirits and */*[…]
39 [ ]○○ רוחיך ול[ ]	40 […]○*hl* […]
40 [ ]○הל[ ]	41 […]
41 [ ]	
COLUMN VI	
1 [ ]	1 […]
2 [ ]	2 […]
3 [ ]	3 […]
4 [ ]	4 […]
5 [ ]	5 […]
6 [ ]	6 […]
7 [ ]	7 […]
8 [ ]	8 […]
9 [ ]	9 […]
10 [ ]	10 […]
11 [ ]	11 […]
12 [ ]תועדותם[ ]	12 […] their testimonies
בעמק	[…] with your people
והיה ○○[ ]○○○	and was ○○[...]○○○
13 ואת[ה גליתה]אוזננו ל[רזי פלא [	13 and yo[u yourself revealed]in our hearing [wonderful mysteries …] persons of truth and the elect of ri[ghteousness,
אנשי אמת ובחירי צ[דק	those who see]k 14 insight and those who search for understanding *b*○○ […]
דורש]י 14 שכל ומבקשי בינה	those who l]ove compassion and the humble in spirit, and those purified 15 by affliction, and those refined in the crucible ○○○ […]
ב○○[	
או]הבי רחמים ועניו רוח	who per]severe still to time of your judgments, 16 and watch for your salvation.
מזוקקי 15 עוני וברורי מצרף ○○○[	

מ]תאפקים עד לעת משפטיכה 16 וצופים לישועתך	
ואתה[ ]	And you […]
וחזקתה חוקיך בידם	and you have strengthened your statutes in their hand
לעשות 17 משפט תבל	that they may do justice (in) the word
ולנחול בכול צ[דקותיך	and obtain inheritance in all [your] ri[ghteous deeds
ולהיות בס]וד קודש לדורות עולם	and to exist in a cou]ncil of holiness for eternal generations.
וכול 18 ○○שי מעשיהם עם תענו[ג	And all 18 ○○ šy their deeds together with delig[ht
]○ אנשי חזונכה vacat	…]○ persons who have received your vision.
	vacat
19 [ ] vacat [ ] ברוך אתה]אדוני	[…] 19 […] *vacat* […. Blessed are you,] O Lord,
הנותן בלב עבדך בינה	who places understanding in the heart of your servant
20 להשכיל בכול אלה	20 so that he may have insight into all these things,
ולהת[בונן ב]○	and under[stand …]○
ולהתאפק על עלילות רשע	and persevere against evil deeds,
ולברך 21 בצדק כול בוחרי רצונך	and bless 21 with righteousness all who choose what pleases you,
[לבחור בכול א]שר אהבתה	[to chose all t]hat you love,
ולתעב את כול אשר 22 [שנאתה]	and abhor all that 22 [you hate].
ותשכל עבדך[ב גור]לות אנוש	And you have caused your servant to have insight […lo]ts of humankind.
כי לפי רוחות תפילם בין 23 טוב לרשע	For according to (their) spirits you cast (the lot) for them between 23 good and evil,
[ו]תכן [ ]○○תם פעולתם	and have determined […]○○*tm* their recompense.
ואני ידעתי מבינתך	And as for me, I know from the understanding that comes from you
24 כי ברצונכה באי[ש הרבת]יתה נחלתו	24 that through your goodwill toward a p[er]son you mul[tiply his portion] in your holy spirit.
]ברוח קודשך	Thus you draw him closer to your understanding.
וכן תגישנו לבינתך	And according to 25 his closeness, so is zeal against all evildoers and people of deceit.
ולפי 25 קורבו קנאתו על פועלי רשע ואנשי רמיה	For all who are near to you do not rebel against your command,
כי כול קרוביך לא ימרו פיך	26 and all who know you do not pervert you words.
26 וכול יודעיך לא ישנו דבריך	For you are righteous and all your chosen ones are trustworthy.
כי אתה צדיק ואמת כול בחיריך	All injustice 27 and wickedness you will destroy forever,
וכול עולת 27 ורשע תשמיד לעד	and your righteousness will be revealed in the sight of
ונגלתה צדקתך לעיני כול מעשיך vacat	

	all your creatures. *vacat*
28 וְאָנִי֫ ידעתי ברוב טובך ובשבועה הקימותי על נפְשי לבלתי חטוא לך 29 [ו]לְבלתי עשות מכול הרע בעיניך וכן הוגשתי ביחַד כול אנשי סודי לפי 30 שִׂכלוֹ אגישנו וכרוב נחלתו אהבנו ולא אשא פני רָע וש[וח]ד בר[ש]עָה לא אכיר 31 [ו]לֹ[א] אמיר בהון אמתך ובשוחד כול משפטיך כי אם לפְי ◦◦[אי]ש 32 [את]בְנו וכרחקך אותו אתעבנו	28 And as for me, I have knowledge by means of your abundant goodness and by the oath I pledged upon my life not to sin against you 29 [and] not to do anything evil in your sight. And thus I was brought into association with all the men of my counsel. According to 30 his insight I will associate with him, and according to the amount of his inheritance I will love him. But I will not regard evil, and b[rib]e (given) in wi[cked]ness I will not acknowledge. 31 [And] I will no[t] exchange your truth for wealth nor any of your judgments for a bribe. But according as ◦◦[… a per]son, 32 [I will l]ove him, and according as you place him far off, thus I will abhor him. *vac*
ולא אביא בסוד אָ[מתך כול]שבי 33 [מב]רִיתך vacat [ ]	And I will not bring into the council of [your] tr[uth any] who turn away 33 [from] your [co]venant. vacat […]

1QH[a] 19:6–20:6	
6 אודכה אלי כי הפלתה עָם עפר וביצר חמר הגברתה מודה מודה	6. I thank You, O my God,[37] that you have acted wonderfully with dust, and with a vessel of clay you have worked so very powerfully.
ואני מה כיא 7 [ה]בִינוֹתכה בסוד אמתכה	What am I that 7. you have [inst]ructed me in the secret counsel of your truth,

[37] Although God is called אל several times is the Hodayot psalms, this is the only preserved instance with a starting phrase אודכה אלי. The starting phrase אודכה אדוני is more common.

ותשכילני במעשי פלאכה ותתן בפי הודות ובלשוני 8 תֹ[ה]לָּה ומזל שפתי במכון רנה ואזמרה בחסדיכה ובגבורתכה אשוחחה כול 9 היום תמיד אברכה שמכה ואספרה כבודכה בתוך בני אדם וברוב טובכה 10 תשתעשע נפשי	and that you have given me insight into Your wondrous deeds, that you have put thanksgiving in my mouth and pr[ai]se upon my tongue, 8. and (made) the utterance of my lips as the foundation of jubilation, so that I might sing of your kindness and reflect on your strength all 9. day? Continually I bless your name, and I will recount your glory in the midst of humankind. In your great goodness 10. my soul delights.
ואני ידעתי כי אמת פיכה ובידכה צדקה ובמחשבתכה 11 כול דעת ובכוחכה כול גבורה וכול כבוד אתכה הוא באפכה כול משפטי נגע 12 ובטובכה רוב סליחות ורחמיכה לכול בני רצונכה כי הודעתם בסוד אמתכה 13 וברזי פלאכה השכלתם	I know[38] that your command is truth, that in your hand is righteousness, in your thoughts 11. all knowledge, in your strength all power, and that all glory is with you. In your anger are all the punishing judgments, 12. but in your goodness is abundant forgiveness, and your compassion is for all the children of your good favor. Truly, you have made known to them the secret counsel of your truth 13. and given them insight into your wonderful mysteries.
ולמען כבודכה טהרתה אנוש מפשע להתקדש 14 לכה מכול תועבות נדה ואשמת מעל להוחד עִמְּ בני אמתך ובגורל עִמְּ 15 קדושיכה להרים מעפר תולעת מתים לסוד אֹ[מתכה] ומרוח נעוה לבינתכָה 16 ולהתיצבְּ במעמד לפניכה עם צבה עד ורוחו[ת עולם] וְלהתחדש עם כול הָ[ווה] 17 וְנָהיה ועם ידעים ביחד רנה	For the sake of your glory you have purified a mortal from sin, so that[39] he may sanctify himself 14. for you from all impure abominations and from faithless guilt, so that he might be united with the children of Your truth and in the lot with 15. your holy ones, so that a corpse-infesting maggot might be raised up from the dust to the council of [your] t[ruth], and from a spirit of perversion to the understanding that comes from you, 16. and so that he may take (his) place before you with the eternal host and the [eternal] spirit[s], and so that he may be renewed together with all that i[s] 17. and will be and with those who have knowledge in a common rejoicing. *vacat* […]

[38] The phrase ואני ידעתי is typical in the Hodayot psalms.

[39] This infinitive construct starts a series of five infinitive constructs which are underlined in the translation.

[ואנ]י אודכה אלי	18. [And as for me,] I thank you, O my God,
ארוממכה צורי	I exalt you, my rock,
ובהפלאֹ[ ]	and when you act wondrously […]
19 [ ]	19. […]
כי הודעתני סוד אמת	that you have made known to me the secret counsel of truth
ובֿרז[י פלא השכלתני	[and you have given me insight] into [wonderful] myster[ies,
והבינותני בנפלאותיכה]	and you have let me understand you wonders,]
20 [ונס]תרותיכה גליתה לי	20. [and] your hidden things you have revealed to me,
ואביט ב[ ]˚י חסד	so that I have gazed upon […]… kindness.
ואדעה 21 [כ]י לכה הצדק	I know 21. [th]at righteousness belongs to you,
ובחסדיכה ישפֿט[ו]ה	and by your kindness [they] are judged […]*h*
וכלה בלוא רחמיך	and destruction without your compassion.
22 ואני נפתח לי מקור לאבל מרורים [ ]	22. As for me,
ולא נסתר עמל מעיני	a fount of bitter mourning was opened to me […]
23 בדעתי יצרי גבר	and trouble was not hidden from my eyes
ותשובת אנוש אתֿ[בוננה	23.[40] when I knew the inclinations of humans
ואכירה א]בֿל חטאה ויגון 24 אשמה	and I un[derstood] to what mortals return,
ויבואו בלבבי ויגון בעצמי לֿ˚[ ]˚ים	[and I recognized the mour]nfulness of sin and the anguish of 24. guilt.
ולהגות הגי	They enter into my heart and penetrate my bones
a25 ואנחה בכנור קינה לכול אבל יג[ו]ן[ ]	…[…]…
25 יגון ומספר מרורים עד כלות עולה	and to utter an agonized moan 25a. and a groan to the lyre of lamentation for all gr[iev]ous mourning […][41]
ואֹ[ין מכאוב]	25. and bitter lament until the destruction of iniquity,
ואין נגע	when there is n[o more pain]
להחלות	and no more affliction
	to make one weak.
ואז 26 אזמרה בכנור ישועות ונבל שמחֿ[ה	And then 26. I will sing upon the lyre of salvation and to the harp of jo[y,
ותוף ג]לה וחליל תהלה	and timbrel of rejoi]cing, and the flute of praise
לאין 27 השבת	without 27. ceasing.
ומי בכול מעשיכה יוכל לספר כֿן[ל	Who among all your creatures will be able to recount al[l] your [wonders]?
נפלאותי]כה	With every mouth your name will be praised.
בפי כולם והולל 28 שמכה	28. For ever and ever they will bless you according to [their] insight,
לעולמי עד יברכוכה כפי שכֿל[ם	[and at all tim]es they will proclaim together 29. with a joyous voice.
ובכול קצ]ים ישמיעו יחד 30 בקול רנה	

[40] It has been argued that there are as many as three different handwritings in column 19. Scribe A has written until 19:22, scribe C in lines 23–26 and scribe C from line 27 onwards.

[41] Line 25a is subralinear.

ואין יגון ואנחה ועולה לֹא[תמצא עוד] ואמתכה תופיע לכבוד עד ושלום עולום	There will be no sorrow or sighing, and iniquity [will be found] no [more]. Your truth will shine forth 30. for everlasting glory and everlasting peace.
ברוך אתה [אדוני א]שר נתתה לעבדכה 31 שכל דעת להבין בנפלאותיכה ו[מ]ע[נה לשון ל]ספר ברוב חסדיכה	Blessed are you, [O Lord, w]ho have given to your servant[42] 31. insightful knowledge to understand Your wondrous works and [a ready an]sw[er in order to] tell of the abundance of your kindness.
32 ברוך אתה אל הרחמים וה[נינה כגדו[ל] כ[ו]חכה ורוב אמתכה והמו[ז] 33 חסדיכה בכול מעשיכה שמח נפש עבדכה באמתכה וטהרני 34 בצדקתכה כאשר יחלתי לטובכה ולחסדיכה אקוה ולסליחות[י]כה 35 פתחתה מש[ר]רי וביגוני נחמתני כיא נשנתי ברחמיכה	32. Blessed are you, God of compassion and grace, according to the great[ness of] your st[ren]gth and the magnitude of your truth and the abundan[ce] 33. of your kindness with all your creatures. Gladden the soul of your servant through your truth and purify me 34. by your righteousness. Even as I waited for your goodness, so for your kindness I hope. By your forgivenes[s] 35. you relieve my pains, and in my troubles you comfort me, for I depend on your compassion.
ברוך אתה[ה] 36 אדוני כי אתה פעלתה אלה ותשם בפי עבדכה הודות ת[ה]ל[ה] 37 ותחנה ומענה לשון והכינותה לי פעו[ת] 38 ואעצו[ר כוח]ל[ ]ב[ ]ל[ ]◦[ ] 39 ואתה[ ] 40 אמת[כה] 41 וא[ ] 42 ◦◦◦[ ]	Blessed are yo[u,] 36. O Lord, for you have done these things, and you have put into the mouth of your servant hymns of pr[a]is[e] 37. and a prayer of supplication, and a ready answer. You have established for me the wor[k of …] 38. And I reta[in strength] /[…]*b*[…]/[…][...] 39. And you […] 40. [your] truth[…] 41. and ’[…] 42 ◦◦◦[…]◦

[42] Unlike in the previous sections of this psalm, the speaker calls himself “your servant” in the three subsequent blessings.

1 [ ] [2 [ ] [3 [ ] [4 [ ] ○ ○[ ] תרחבְ נפשיְ[○ר ל]○[ ]○[ ]○[5 [ה]בְשמחה ו[ששון ואשמב]ה לבטח במעון ש]לום•קו[דש• ב]שְׁ{ו}קט ושלוה 6[בשלו]ם וברכה בְאהלי כבְוֹדְ וישועה ואהללה שמכה בתוך יראיכה	20:1 […] 2. […] 3. […] 4. […]˚ ˚[...]̊[...]̊ my soul expands [… ˚*r* / …] ˚[…] ˚[…] ˚ 5. [… *h*] with rejoicing and [joy. And I will dwel]l securely in a ho[ly] dwelling, [in] a {pea[ceful]} dwelling in quiet and ease, 6. [in peac]e and blessing in the tents of glory and deliverance. I will praise your name in the midst of those who fear you.

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The verbal forms *yiqtol* and *qotel* and the diachrony of Biblical Hebrew

Suggested points of discussion:

Please feel free to discuss anything that comes to your mind while reading the text. If you cannot think of anything else the following points might be of interest:

a) Could the examples of various verbal usages be interpreted differently?

b) To what extent is the division into Archaic, Standard, and Late Biblical Hebrew relevant to my investigation? What factors other than diachrony could play a role for the verbal usage?

c) Are the texts representative? What other text would have been interesting to look at?

d) What other kinds of verbal usages could have been considered?

e) Suggestions for further reading are always welcome.

* * *

Introduction

All languages change over time, and so did Biblical Hebrew. The question of whether or to what extent such changes are visible within the corpus of the Hebrew Bible is the concern of a lively branch within Hebraist studies. Commonly, Biblical Hebrew is divided into three diachronic phases, viz. Archaic Biblical Hebrew (ABH), Standard Biblical Hebrew (SBH), and Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH).[1] Although this division has been called into question by some scholars, it remains the most influential model to account for a great number of various linguistic differences that characterize each of these groups.[2] In this paper, I shall look for signs of semantic development within the verbal system in relation to this model.

Linguistic change may be due to external or internal factors. External factors are the input brought into the language through contacts with speakers of other languages, which leave

[1] Kutscher 1982, § 17; Sáenz-Badillos 1993, 52.

[2] The critics of the diachronic model claim among other things that factors as dialect, sociolect, and diglossia could explain much of the difference between SBH and LBH, rather than diachronic development, and, to the extent that SBH really do pre-exilic Hebrew, there is no saying that the ability to write texts in this language was lost in post-exilic times (Rezetko 2003, 249; Young 2003, 313; 2005, 344). What is at stake in this debate is not first and foremost the linguistic side of the problem, but the historical question of whether SBH (and ABH) should be dated to pre-exilic times or not (Young 2003, 2). Scholars who believe that all biblical texts are post-exilic, are inclined to subscribe to Young's claim that "biblical texts cannot be dated linguistically" (cf. the title of Young's 2005 article).

traces in the shape of lexical and syntactic borrowings. Whereas the external factors are unpredictable and totally dependent of particular historical conditions, the internal factors always have a certain logic to them. They are rule-bound in the sense that a given semantic unit will develop in a similar way as corresponding units in other languages, or, to use a simile which has been employed within this field of study, the units will follow similar diachronic "paths".[3] Through crosslinguistic comparisons, universal typologies of paths can be established, which, in turn, can be helpful to assess the relative age of linguistic constructions in particular languages.

The typology and the evolution of tense, aspect, and modality in verbal forms were studied in some influential crosslinguistic investigations in the 80s and 90s.[4] Several studies on the Biblical Hebrew verbal system have been inspired by these works.[5] They have confirmed that the Biblical Hebrew verbal forms – with the exception of the imperative – develop along two main diachronic paths, which we may call the *resultative* and the *progressive*, based on the meanings which give rise to them.[6]

The present paper is concerned with the forms on the progressive path within the Biblical Hebrew system, i.e. the active participle in predicate position and the so-called imperfect. When I refer to these forms I shall call the active participle *qotel* and the imperfect *yiqtol*-L. To *qotel* I do not count the passive participle in *qal*, and neither the *pual*, *hophal* and *niphal* participles.[7] The –L-suffix in *yiqtol*-L means "long", and marks its historical connection with the old West-Semitic imperfective *yaqtulu*.[8] When I do not want to make any distinction between *yiqtol*-L and its counterpart, *yiqtol*-S(hort), the term *yiqtol* is used.

Before stating precisely the questions under consideration, certain facts about the evolution of progressives must be considered. The prototypical function of the progressive verbal type is to refer to a specific dynamic activity performed by an agent.[9] The aspect is imperfective,

[3] Bybee *et al.* 1994, 14-15.
[4] Notably Dahl 1985 and Bybee *et al.* 1994.
[5] See, for example, Anderson 2000, Cook 2012 (a revised version of his dissertation from 2001), and several articles by Andrason, some of which are cited below.
[6] This is the majority view emerging from Andersen 2000, 45-50; Cook 2012, 269; Andrason 2010, 25, 31; 2012, 40; 2011, 31-32. Andersen differs from the other two by postulating that *qatal* develops both along a progressive and a resultative path (2000, 41–42, 45–46). Andrason likewise suggests two different pathways for *yiqtol*-L; one leading to the "indicative" and one to the "modal" functions of the form (his "imperfective" and modal "ability path"; see Andrason 2010, 15-16, 55). I have argued at length against Anderson's and Andrason's split pathways elsewhere (Bergström, 2013, 53-59).
[7] *Pual* and *hophal* are actually passive participles of *piel* and *hiphil*, and closer to resultative meaning than progressive Joüon and Muraoka 2009, § 55, 121o. The participle of *niphal* is aspectually ambiguous. It may, as Joüon and Muraoka write, "underscore[…] an action in process" (*ibid.* § 121q), but it may express resultative meaning as well (See e.g. Gen 32:22; 41:32; 1King 22;17).
[8] For a comprehensive overview of the history of the prefix forms, see Waltke & O'Connor 1990, § 29.4.
[9] Bybee *et al.* 1994, 133, 136, 139.

which means that the event is viewed as ongoing and uncompleted. Typical examples would be *S/he is running* or *S/he is making dinner*. From this original meaning it develops in different ways. For example, it begins to be used with stative verbal lexemes (i.e. *to love*, *to stand*, *to be able*, *to hear* etc.) and refer to non-dynamic situations.[10] It also shifts from referring to specific, incidental, episodic events to expressing more permanent, characterizing conditions pertaining to individuals (*John trains on Mondays*) or kinds (*Fish breathe under water*).[11] The latter two kinds of meanings are often called habitual and generic, respectively.[12] I shall refer to both as *characterizing*. Other non-prototypical usages that tend to arise at a later stage are the future (*We are leaving tomorrow*) and the "historic present" (*In the year 49 BCE, Ceasar crosses the river Rubicon*).[13] The aspectual meaning of the stative, habitual, and generic usages is typically imperfective, but in the case of the future and historic present the aspect is perfective, or, as I prefer to call it, aoristic, which means that the events are not seen as continuous, but rather in transition, or change.[14]

English is an example of a language with two originally progressive forms, viz. the *progressive* and the *present tense*, of which the latter has developed further from its source than the former. As for Biblical Hebrew in general, a quick glance on the texts reveals that *qotel* is typically used for the prototypically progressive meaning, whereas *yiqtol*-L mainly expresses meanings that belong to a later stage of the progressive path, such as future and habitual/generic meaning. However, if the above-mentioned diachronic division into ABH, SBH, and LBH is correct, one could possibly expect that this picture is not static throughout Hebrew Bible. Indeed, claims to this effect are not lacking in the literature. Thus, Driver writes that *qotel* is used "[l]ess frequently, *particularly in the earlier books* [emphasis added], for facts that are liable to *recur*", whereby he gives to understand that the habitual meaning of *qotel*, is more frequent in LBH than in SBH.[15] This observation is confirmed by other

[10] Bybee *et al.* 1994, 140, 147; Comrie 1976, 39.
[11] Cf. the distribution of labour between the English *present tense* and the *progressive* in this regard (Comrie 1976, 27-28, 37).
[12] Carlson 2012, 831. "Habitual" is here understood in a wide sense, including uses which do not strictly speaking denote habits, but other kinds of states, like abilities (*Do you speak English?*) etc.
[13] Bybee *et al.* 1994, 148.
[14] The term "perfective" causes confusion with regard to the meaning of "perfects". "Perfective" it is often used exclusively for aoristic meaning, although the word is derived from the same term as the perfect (Binnick 1991, 161). However, "perfective" may also be understood to cover both aoristic and "perfect" meaning. This is common, for instance, in Russian aspectology (Forsyth 1970, 74; Rassudova 1984, 62.).
[15] See Driver 1892, § 135.2 *Obs.* Driver also seems to speak about generic meaning when he contends that a *qotel* that "denotes a general truth" is a mark of the later period of the language". However, he does not count to this group the examples from Proverbs which I refer to below (see example 12).

Hebraists.[16] Another difference that has been proposed is that *yiqtol*-L is the normal form for progressive meaning in ABH, rather than *qotel*, as in the later stages of the language.[17]

In this paper, I investigate the distribution of episodic and characterizing meanings in the Biblical Hebrew progressive system. The main questions to be answered are: Are there any differences as to how *yiqtol*-L and *qotel* express prototypically progressive and habitual/generic meanings in ABH, SBH and LBH? And, if there is variation, does it follow the expected patterns of the typical progressive path?

For the investigation I have surveyed all the relevant forms in the following textual corpora:

ABH: Gen 49:2–27, Exod 15:1–18; Num 23:7–10, 18–24; 24:3–9, 15–19; Deut 32:1–43; 33:2–29; Judg 5:2–30; 1 Sam 2:1–10; 2 Sam 23-50 (and its parallel in Psa 18).[18]

SBH: Gen 15–48; Ex1–14, 16–19; Judg 1–1 Sam 13 (except the ABH parts in Judg 5 and 1 Sam 2); 1 Kgs 17–2 Kgs 8.

LBH: Esth; Dan (Hebrew parts); Ezra (Hebrew parts); Neh; 1-2 Chron (except quotations from Sam and Kgs).

When it has been deemed necessary, other texts have been taken into consideration as well.

It is to be noted that cases of future imperfective meaning is not taken into account, since the development of future meaning makes up a separate path in the evolution of the forms. Exceptions from this rule, however, are dependent *qotel*-clauses used to express attendant circumstance in relation to another future event mentioned in the context.[19] *Qotel*-clauses which have some form of the verb הָיָה as auxiliary are not included.

It is inevitable that an investigation of this kind contains interpretations that might be disputed by other readers. Some comments about the interpretation of the texts are in order. First, in order to distinguish between episodic and characterizing utterances I have taken care not to confuse characterizing conditions with mere plurality of events, viz. *pluractionality*.[20] Pluractionality is often implied in characterizing sentences, but it alone is not sufficient to make them characterizing. In fact, there are characterizing sentences which do not imply pluractionality at all.[21] In the following examples, 1a shows a pluractional non-characterizing

[16] Eskhult 2005, 363, Joosten 2012, 395.
[17] Joosten 2012, 419; Notarius 2013, 282, 285.
[18] These are the texts investigated by Notarius (2013).
[19] For an example, see sentence 8 below.
[20] The term is used e.g. by Bertinetto and Lenci 2012, 852.
[21] See, for example, Comrie 1976, 27, Bertinetto and Lenci 2012, 869.

qotel, whereas example 1b contains a habitual *qotel* with a strong implication of pluractionality. In 1c, too, the *qotel* is habitual, but pluractionality is not implied:

1a.

וַיְלַקֵּט יוֹסֵף אֶת-כָּל-הַכֶּסֶף הַנִּמְצָא בְאֶרֶץ-מִצְרַיִם וּבְאֶרֶץ כְּנַעַן בַּשֶּׁבֶר אֲשֶׁר-הֵם שֹׁבְרִים

Joseph collected all the money that to be found in Egypt and Canaan in payment for the grain they **were buying**, and he brought it to Pharaoh's palace**.** (Gen 47:14)[22]

b.

עַל-כֵּן אֲנִי זֹבֵחַ לַיהוָה כָּל-פֶּטֶר רֶחֶם הַזְּכָרִים

Therefore, I sacrifice to the Lord every male that first opens the womb … (Exod 13:15)

c.

וַיָּחֵלּוּ לְהַכּוֹת מֵהָעָם חֲלָלִים כְּפַעַם בְּפַעַם בַּמְסִלּוֹת אֲשֶׁר אַחַת עֹלָה בֵית-אֵל וְאַחַת גִּבְעָתָה בַּשָּׂדֶה

As before they began to inflict casualties on the troops, along the main roads, one of which **goes up** to Bethel and the other to Gibeah. (Judg 20:31)

Second, it is important to distinguish between imperfective and aoristic aspect, since imperfective aspect is a common denominator between the episodic and the characterizing meanings on the progressive path. Imperfective aspect requires that there is a temporal vantage point from which the event is seen as ongoing. Such a vantage point is normally established by the act of speech (present time frame), or by some other event or time which is referred to in the utterance (non-present time frames). The latter condition obtains in example 2, where the verb וַיָּבֹאוּ ("came") marks the vantage point:

2.

וַיָּבֹאוּ שְׁנֵי הַמַּלְאָכִים סְדֹמָה בָּעֶרֶב וְלוֹט יֹשֵׁב בְּשַׁעַר-סְדֹם

The two angels came to Sodom in the evening, and Lot **was sitting** in the gateway of Sodom. (Gen 19:1)

If, by contrast, the event is represented as a part of an ongoing course of events, it has aoristic aspect. The force of such a *qotel*-clause is similar to that of a historic present (although *qotel* is not, strictly speaking, a present tense form). Thus, consider:

[22] The translations in this paper are mostly taken directly from the NRSV unless otherwise stated, but have in some cases been modified.

3.

וַיְהִי-הוּא טֶרֶם כִּלָּה לְדַבֵּר וְהִנֵּה רִבְקָה יֹצֵאת [...] וַתֵּרֶד הָעַיְנָה וַתְּמַלֵּא כַדָּהּ וַתָּעַל

Before he had finished speaking, Rebekah **came out** [or "comes out"]… She went down to the spring, filled her jar, and came up. (Gen 24:15-16)[23]

Past aoristic *yiqtol* is fairly common in archaic and other poetic texts, but it occurs also in prose texts. I leave it an open question whether such cases should be classified as *yiqtol*-S or *yiqtol*-L.[24] To this group I count some *yiqtol*-clauses which are often considered to *yiqtol*-L and/or to have imperfective aspect, such as the following:[25]

4.

וְהַר סִינַי עָשַׁן כֻּלּוֹ מִפְּנֵי אֲשֶׁר יָרַד עָלָיו יְהוָה בָּאֵשׁ וַיַּעַל עֲשָׁנוֹ כְּעֶשֶׁן הַכִּבְשָׁן וַיֶּחֱרַד כָּל-הָהָר מְאֹד וַיְהִי קוֹל הַשֹּׁפָר הוֹלֵךְ וְחָזֵק מְאֹד מֹשֶׁה יְדַבֵּר וְהָאֱלֹהִים יַעֲנֶנּוּ בְקוֹל

Mount Sinai was covered with smoke because the lord descended on it in smoke. The smoke billowed up from it like smoke from a furnace, and the whole mountain trembled violently. As the sound of the trumpet grew louder and louder, Moses **spoke** and the voice of God **answered** him. (Exod 19:18-19)[26]

In my understanding the verbs יְדַבֵּר and יַעֲנֶנּוּ are part of the narrative mainline. The conversation between Moses and God is not something that is going on in the background while something else occur. On the contrary, it is an important occurrence within the developing course of events. It advances the plot of this passage in that it serves as a sign to the people, so that they would know that Moses received his words directly from God. The importance of the event is underlined by the fact that it was singled out for mention by God when he told Moses in advance about what was going to happen (v. 9). Hence, the verbs must be regarded as aoristic, rather than imperfective.

[23] For other past aoristic *qotel* (among which there are some borderline cases), see Gen 15:12; 18:18; 25; 41:2, 3, 5, 6, 18, 19, 22, 23; Exod 14:27; Judg 8:4; 11:34; 14:5; 19:16 (or perfect?); 20:23 (?); 20:42; 1 Sam 9:14; 15:12; 1 Kgs 19:5; 11 (x3); 2 Kgs 2:12a (?), 12b; 4:5 (x2); 6:33; 8:5; Esth 4:3; 8:17; 9:3; Dan 8:3, 4, 5 (or perfect?); 9:21; 10:13, 16; Ezra 3:12 (?), 13 (x2?); 9:4; Neh 8:7; 9:3 (x2); 1 Chron 12:41 (?); 21:20; 2 Chr 7:3; 13:14; 17:11 (x2); 29:28 (x3); 30:16, 21; 32:23; 35:11, 24 (?).

[24] It may well be, for instance, that clauses with טֶרֶם are *yiqtol*-L whereas clauses with אָז are *yiqtol*-S (Thus Cook 2013, 260-263), but in any case they are aoristic and, hence, does not belong to the imperfective subpath within the progressive. Apart from the several cases with טֶרֶם and אָז, aoristic *yiqtol*-clauses are found in the following verses in the prose corpus: Gen 37:7; 48:7, Exod 8:20; 19:19 (x2), Ju 2:1, 1 Sam 1:10?, 1 Sam13:17, 18 (x2), 1 Kgs 20:33; 21:6; 2 Kgs 3:25 (x4); 8:29, Dan 8:12 (x2), 12:8, Ezra 9:4; Neh 3:14-15 (x5); Neh 9:27 (x4); 9:28 (x2), 1 Chr 11:8; 2 Chr 5:2;

[25] For imperfective interpretations of this passage, see, among others, Driver 1892, § 31 (although he does not consider it to be equivalent to *qotel*); Joüon and Muraoka 2009, § 113ga; Cook 2012, 218; Joosten 2013, 286.

[26] This translation is taken from the NIV.

Investigation

The first thing to notice in the discussion of the results is that the alleged increase in the use of *qotel* for characterizing sentences in LBH is confirmed by my own findings. In my LBH corpus the ratio is 46 (66,5 %) occurrences for *qotel* as against 23 (33,5 %) for *yiqtol*-L. This is to be compared with the SBH corpus, where the ratio is 73 occurrences (64,5 %) for *yiqtol* versus 40 (35,5 %) for *qotel*.[27] The only notable exception from the general pattern is the book of Ezra, which have two instances of characterizing *qotel* and five *yiqtol*-L. In the book of Daniel I found no characterizing sentence at all. With the exception of the last two mentioned books, then, the plausibility of the diachronic explanation for the variation between the SBH and LBH is strengthened by the data.

Another point of interest was to see whether *yiqtol*-L is the normal form for progressive meaning in ABH. In her study of the ABH verbal system, Tania Notarius identifies several candidates, which are listed here:[28]

5a.

אֶרְאֶנּוּ וְלֹא עַתָּה אֲשׁוּרֶנּוּ וְלֹא קָרוֹב

I **see** him, but not now; I **behold** him, but not near. (Num 24:17)

b.

כִּי-מֵרֹאשׁ צֻרִים אֶרְאֶנּוּ וּמִגְבָעוֹת אֲשׁוּרֶנּוּ הֶן-עָם לְבָדָד יִשְׁכֹּן וּבַגּוֹיִם לֹא יִתְחַשָּׁב

For from the top of the crags I **see** him, from the hills I **behold** him. Here is a people which lives alone, and does not reckon itself among the nations! (Num 23:9)

c.

הֶן-עָם כְּלָבִיא יָקוּם וְכַאֲרִי יִתְנַשָּׂא לֹא יִשְׁכַּב עַד-יֹאכַל טֶרֶף וְדַם-חֲלָלִים יִשְׁתֶּה

Look, a people **rising up** like a lioness, and **rousing itself** like a lion! It does not lie down until it has eaten the prey and drunk the blood of the slain (Num 23:24)

d.

מְהֻלָּל אֶקְרָא יְהוָה וּמֵאֹיְבַי אִוָּשֵׁעַ

I **call** upon the Lord, who is worthy to be praised, and I am saved from my enemies. (2 Sam 22:4)

[27] The percentage of characterizing *qotel* in SBH may seem surprisingly high, but the distribution is rather restricted. For example, a relatively high number of them (13) consist of stative verbal roots.

[28] The translations are those employed by Notarius, who follows the NRSV except when she prefers another interpretation (Notarius 2013, 32. For the translations, see pp. 95, 141, 169, 221).

e.

כִּי-אֶשָּׂא אֶל-שָׁמַיִם יָדִי וְאָמַרְתִּי חַי אָנֹכִי לְעֹלָם

For I **lift up** my hand to heaven, and swear: As I live forever … (Deut 32:40)

f.

כִּי שֵׁם יְהוָה אֶקְרָא הָבוּ גֹדֶל לֵאלֹהֵינוּ

For I **am proclaiming** the name of the Lord; ascribe greatness to our God! (Deut 32:3)

g.

עַל-כֵּן אוֹדְךָ יְהוָה בַּגּוֹיִם וּלְשִׁמְךָ אֲזַמֵּר

For this I **extol** you, O Lord, among the nations, and **sing** praises to your name. (2 Sam 22:50)

h.

הֲלֹא יִמְצְאוּ יְחַלְּקוּ שָׁלָל

Surely they are **finding** and **dividing** the spoil. (Judg 5:30)

In my opinion, these examples do not provide sufficient evidence that the ABH verbal system is markedly different from the SBH ditto in terms of its relative position on the progressive path. Thus, most of the suggested progressives in 5b-c are best taken as habituals (יִשְׁכֹּן, יִתְחַשָּׁב, יָקוּם, יִתְנַשָּׂא). Perception verbs, as in 5a-b (אֲשׁוּרֶנּוּ, אֶרְאֶנּוּ), are typically not used in progressive constructions, but appear in later stages of the development – one may compare with English, which employs the present tense for this class of verbs. Example 5d (אֶקְרָא) may be interpreted as a habitual or, in consideration of the wider context, a past aoristic *yiqtol*, 5e (אֶשָּׂא) is probably a kind of reportive present accompanying a performative, 5f (אֶקְרָא) is a performative or a future/modal ("I will proclaim", as in the NRSV), and 5g (אֶקְרָא, אֲזַמֵּר) may have either habitual or prospective/future meaning.[29] As for the reportive present and the performative, they are similar to the real present perception verbs in that they are not meanings typically expressed by progressives, even though they refer to specific present events. Here, too, the use of the present tense (rather so than the progressive) in the corresponding English expressions may serve as a reminder. It is further to be noted that all the usages in 5a-g have parallels in outside the ABH corpus.[30] Possibly, however, the use of *yiqtol*-L for real present

[29] Reportive present is speech that refers to ongoing courses of event, the typical example being the sports commentary (See Dahl 1986, 72 for the term). Notarius mentions performative meaning as an alternative for 5g (2013, 169). The same is suggested for 5d, but that requires emendation of the second verb in the verse (95). A performative interpretation of 5g is less likely in view of the adverbial "among the nations".

[30] Thus, compare the perception verbs in 5a-b with 1 Sam 10:15; compare 5d and g with Gen 29:35; Psa 35:18, 55:17 etc.; 5e-f with Gen 21:24. Habitual *yiqtol*-L, as we know, is ubiquitous.

perceptions (5a-b) may be more typical of ABH than of SBH.[31] If so, the decrease of this usage in ABH may be an instance of the overall decrease of present *yiqtol*-L which continues into post-Biblical Hebrew.[32]

The only example that seems to be unique to the ABH corpus is 5h, which exhibits two real present imperfective *yiqtol*-L-clauses with dynamic verbal roots. Examples of this are indeed found in SBH as well, but there they tend to be confined to WH-questions (example 6a), כִּי-clauses (6b), and relative clauses (6b), which all have in common that they belong to the presuppositional part of the discourse, i.e. the part containing the information that is presupposed to be mutually shared by the participants of the speech-situation.[33] Thus:

6.a

וַיֹּאמֶר לָהּ אֶלְקָנָה אִישָׁהּ חַנָּה לָמָּה תִבְכִּי

Her [Hanna's] husband Elkanah said to her, "Hannah, why **are** you **weeping**?" (1Sam 1:8)

b.

וַיֹּאמֶר שָׁאוּל מַה-לָּעָם כִּי יִבְכּוּ

And Saul said, "What is the matter with the people, that they **are weeping**? (1 Sam 11:5)

c.

לְכוּ אַחֲרַי וְאוֹלִיכָה אֶתְכֶם אֶל-הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר תְּבַקְּשׁוּן

Follow me, and I will bring you to the man whom you **are looking for**. (2 Kgs 6:19)

As opposed to these *yiqtol*-L-clauses, the *yiqtol*-L in example 5h is the predicate of a *focal* clause with the function of conveying new information. Since focal clauses are the contexts where linguistic innovation is most likely to take place, it is interesting that *qotel* is not used here instead of *yiqtol*-L.[34] On the other hand, it might be argued, it is an asseverative sentence, and as such rather special from a grammatical point of view. In order to be more certain as to the grammar of progressive meaning in ABH, one could wish for some examples in more grammatically plain assertive sentences, but, unfortunately, such examples are lacking in

[31] I am not aware of any other cases than the one mentioned in the previous footnote.
[32] On *yiqtol* in Mishnaic Hebrew, see Pérez Fernandez 107-110.
[33] The most common type is the *yiqtol*-L in WH-questions. To this group belong several cases meaning "Why are you doing/saying this" or something similar, utterances in which the events are presented as ongoing, although they may have been interrupted or finished just before the utterance (cf. Joüon and Muraoka 2009, § 113d: "An action which is in fact over is assumed to continue up till the moment of the question.") Many examples of this usages are provided by Joosten 2012, 278-280. For the less common כִּי-clauses and relative clauses, see Num 11:12; 16:11; 2 Kgs 9:20; Jer 6:4 and Judg 18:6; Ruth 3:5, 11.
[34] See Bybee *et al*.1994, 234-235on the role of main, focal clauses in linguistic innovation.

Notarius corpus.[35] This is true for both present and past contexts, I would argue, although Joosten claims the opposite when he writes that the three following *yiqtol*-forms from Deut 32:10 express "attendant circumstance" in the past.[36]

7.

יִמְצָאֵהוּ בְּאֶרֶץ מִדְבָּר וּבְתֹהוּ יְלֵל יְשִׁמֹן יְסֹבְבֶנְהוּ יְבוֹנְנֵהוּ יִצְּרֶנְהוּ כְּאִישׁוֹן עֵינוֹ

He found him in a desert land, in a howling wilderness waste; he **shielded** him, **cared** for him, **guarded** him as the apple of his eye. (Deut 32:10)

I take all the bold-faced predicates in this example as past aoristic; i.e. they do not represent events which are going on continuously in the background, but marks the next step in the course of events after an event described by a preceding verb, יִמְצָאֵהוּ (which is an aoristic *yiqtol*, also according to Joosten).[37] The second and third *yiqtol*-clauses are of an elaborative type, describing the same event as the first one, but with different words.

The problem with the ABH progressives, however, is not first and foremost the lack of good examples of progressive *yiqtol*-L clauses, but that progressive clauses are scarcely to be found at all. As for progressive *qotel*, Notarius mentions one in one of Balaam's oracles:

8.

וְהָיָה אֱדוֹם יְרֵשָׁה וְהָיָה יְרֵשָׁה שֵׂעִיר וְהָיָה יְרֵשָׁה שֵׂעִיר אֹיְבָיו וְיִשְׂרָאֵל עֹשֶׂה חָיִל

Edom will become a possession, Seir a possession of its enemies, while Israel **is doing** valiantly (Num 24:18)

On this interpretation, the *qotel* is dependent on the previous clause and represents a future attendant circumstance. Alternatively, it could be taken as an independent future *qotel*. But that would nonetheless make the existence of a progressive *qotel* likely, since future meaning is a later development on the progressive path.

We must conclude that the evidence is to scant to say anything certain about how progressive meaning was expressed in ABH. Examples 5a-b and and 5h may indicate that

[35] If Psa 29 is counted as ABH (cf. the discussions about its archaic nature, e.g. in Kraus 1978, 379.), a couple of candidates turn up. However, this psalm is notoriously difficult to interpret. *All* the verbal forms of the verbal system are used to describe one and the same theophany, and it is hard to know whether the whole or parts of it should be understood as real present, habitual, or even past. Moreover, if we take the *yiqtol*-clauses of the theophany as present, it would not be the kind of real present meaning that we find in quoted speech in prose narratives, but rather a special kind of fictional present. The fictional present *yiqtol*-L is found elsewhere, e.g. in Psa 22:19 (יְחַלְּקוּ בְגָדַי לָהֶם וְעַל-לְבוּשִׁי יַפִּילוּ גוֹרָל "They divide my clothes among themselves, and for my clothing they cast lots"). Further, it should not be assumed to represent a particularly early stage of the progressive path for the additional reason that the English present tense can be used for it.

[36] Joosten 2012, 418.

[37] See Joosten 2012, 417, on יִמְצָאֵהוּ. Joosten calls it a "preterite".

yiqtol-L lies typologically somewhat closer to its progressive origin in ABH than in SBH, but it is not possible to state that *yiqtol*-L was the main progressive form in ABH. On the contrary, the use of *qotel* for expressing real attendant circumstance in example 8 may just as well mean that the expression of the progressive meaning was not radically different from that of SBH. Again, the differences are actually more evident between LBH and the other two phases. Thus, in LBH I have not found a single case of *yiqtol*-L with dynamic, present progressive meaning, even in questions.[38]

A dilemma in the ABH corpus concerns the diachrony of the characterizing meanings of *qotel.* As we have stated, the increase of habitual usages in LBH follows the universal tendency of the progressive path. Thus, given the relative paucity of characterizing *qotel* in my SBH corpus, it may come as a surprise that the form is used in ABH to describe characteristic acts of God – a kind of predication with a timeless, eternal quality which is far removed from the supposed original episodic meaning of the form. This happens eight times in the Song of Hannah. Five of these instances are quoted in example 9, together with a *yiqtol*-clause with a similar, characterizing meaning:

9.

יְהוָה מוֹרִישׁ וּמַעֲשִׁיר מַשְׁפִּיל אַף-מְרוֹמֵם.מֵקִים מֵעָפָר דָּל מֵאַשְׁפֹּת יָרִים אֶבְיוֹן

The Lord **sends** poverty and [**sends**] wealth; he **humbles** and he **exalts**. He **raises** the poor from the dust and lifts the needy from the ash heap. (1 Sam 2:7-8)

A possible solution is to classify this usage as late.[39] However, one could also entertain the possibility that *qotel* does not conform to the general rule for the progressive path in this case. This appears as a quite plausible solution, if we consider how the *qotel*-clause differs from other, more common progressive constructions.

The most common source of progressives (including the English progressive) is a kind of construction which describes the subject referent as located in the midst of the event, i.e. a "S/he is at doing"-type.[40] Other progressive types builds on the idea that the event is coordinated with some kind of posture or movement (e.g. "S/he is sitting/walking around/standing and doing") or that the subject referent actively continues doing something

[38] Cf. progressive *qotel* in present questions: Est 3:3, 21; Neh 2:4, 3:21, 34; 2 Chr 24:20 (perhaps habitual); 32:10.
[39] Notarius calls it "non-archaic" and "a relatively innovative phenomenon" (2013, 256, 263).
[40] For the description of the progressive source-types in this paragraph, I have consulted Heine 1994, 269-275, Bybee et al. 1994, 127-133, and Bertinetto et al. 520-525 (although the latter does not only describe progressive sources, but also more developed constructions).

("S/he keeps doing").[41] In all these constructions there is a strong implication that the subject referent is involved in a *specific* activity of *limited duration*. The Biblical Hebrew *qotel* in predicate position does not belong to any of these types. In all likelihood, it originates as an equative clause with a nominalized participle as predicate, in the sense of "S/he is a doing one" – a clause type which, significantly enough, is not even reckoned with in the study of Bybee *et al*, on which much of the subsequent work on the evolution of the Biblical Hebrew verbal system builds.[42] In the equative clause type there is really nothing to indicate that the activity is temporary and specific, as in the other types. If anything, the nominal clause type seems to implicate a notion of permanence in the predication, so that, for example, *He is a singing one* would be taken to mean: "He is one who is characterized by the activity of singing", rather than "He is singing".

We should also note that the characterizing nominal clause יְהוָה מוֹרִישׁ וּמַעֲשִׁיר "The Lord is one who sends poverty and [who sends] wealth" (example 9) is very closely related in meaning to the syntactically subordinated appositional *qotel*-phrases which are used as epithets of God in poetic texts. These phrases may both refer to acts regularly performed by God and acts that he has done in the past, but in either case they have a characterizing, epithetic function. Thus, consider:

10.
כִּי הִנֵּה יוֹצֵר הָרִים וּבֹרֵא רוּחַ וּמַגִּיד לְאָדָם מַה-שֵּׂחוֹ עֹשֵׂה שַׁחַר עֵיפָה וְדֹרֵךְ עַל-בָּמֳתֵי אָרֶץ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי-צְבָאוֹת שְׁמוֹ

For lo, the one who **formed** the mountains and **created** the wind, and who **reveals** his thoughts to mortals, who **makes** the morning darkness, and **treads** on the heights of the earth – the Lord, the God of hosts, is his name! (Amos 4:13)

The antiquity of this Biblical Hebrew construction is evident by the fact that the Akkadian active participle, which stems from the same original verbal form, has a very similar epithetic usage, as illustrated in example 11 below. The example is borrowed from Kouwenberg and

[41] This is the origin of the English progressive (Bybee et al. 1994, 132).
[42] Cf. Waltke & O'Connor (1990, § 37.6.c) who claims that the basic equative sense is still att work in Biblical Hebrew, so that יֹדֵעַ אֲנִי actually has the force of "I am one who knows" rather than "I know". I would not take this to be the rule for progressive *qotel*, though.
Smith (1999, 319) assumes that the attributive usage of *qotel* "may have been an antecedent to the predicative participle", but it is somewhat unclear to me what this .
Bybee *et al.* mention that the type is described by Heine (see Heine 1994, 269), but dismiss it on the ground that Heines only example of it does not really fit into the description (Bybee *et al.* 1994, 131).

shows one participle with specific meaning (11a), which is the more uncommon kind, and one with characterizing meaning (11b).[43]

11a.
na-di-in napištim ana Adab^{ki}

(the king) **who gave** life to Adab

b.
mu-šak-niš lā kanšūtēšu

(the king) **who brings to submission** those who have not submitted to him

The apparent kinship of the characterizing *qotel*-clause in example 9 with this archaic phrase-type adds plausibility to the assumption that it may be a genuine ABH feature.

Another kind of characterizing function that may well stem directly from the nominal nature *qotel* is a generic *qotel* that occur abundantly in Proverbs. Only in chapters 10 through 14 there are more than 25 instances.[44] Often, the subject is a nominalized participle:

12.

הוֹלֵךְ רָכִיל מְגַלֶּה-סּוֹד וְנֶאֱמַן-רוּחַ מְכַסֵּה דָּבָר

He who goes about with slander [sc. the going about with slander] **reveals** secrets [sc. is one revealing secrets], but the faithful of spirit **covers** the matter [is one covering the matter]. (Prov 11:13)

The generic use of the *qotel* here is somewhat unexpected since this part of Proverbs is generally considered to be written in SBH.[45] Generic meaning of the kind used in proverbial expressions is often the most advanced stage of the process towards characterizing imperfective meaning.[46] Hence, on the assumption that *qotel* developed according to the standard progressive path, this part of Proverbs may seem to be closer to LBH than to SBH, since the less advanced *habitual* use of *qotel* is fairly uncommon until LBH. If, on the other hand, we suppose that this kind of generic meaning in *qotel*-clauses can be inferred from a nominal *qotel*-clause without an intermediate progressive phase, there is no problem attributing the text to SBH.[47]

Of course, this raises an important question concerning the progressive/episodic use of *qotel*. How did it come about that the equative participial clause was chosen for referring to

[43] Kouwenberg, 2010, 204.
[44] See Prov 10:4, 17; 15, 17 (x2), 18, 30; 12:1, 10, 15, 16, 23; 13:3, 4, 12, 24, 25; 14:2, 16 (x3), 29, 31.
[45] Cf. the overview of recent scholarship in Young *et al.* 2008, 57-58.
[46] Haspelmath 1998, 49. Cf. also Bybee *et al.* 1994, 148.
[47] Gordon (1982, 8) argues along these lines when he states that ”the participle appears in its true character” in these timeless proverbial expressions.

specific ongoing events, if a characterizing meaning was the most natural choice? Evidently, the episodic interpretation of the *qotel*-clause required some kind of reminder that the focus of attention should be directed to what is going on in the observers' *here* and *now*. In Biblical Hebrew, the interjection הִנֵּה may function as such a reminder, as in the next example:[48]

13.

וַיַּרְא-גַּעַל אֶת-הָעָם וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל-זְבֶל הִנֵּה-עָם יוֹרֵד מֵרָאשֵׁי הֶהָרִים

And when Gaal saw them, he said to Zebul, "Look, people **are coming down** from the mountain tops!" (Judg 9:36)

It is relevant in this regard that the interjection הִנֵּה is not as common in *qotel*-clauses in LBH as in SBH.[49] Whereas it appears in 20 % (68 occurrences) of the *qotel*-clauses in our SBH-corpus, the frequency is only about 7 % (14 occurrences) in the LBH-corpus.[50] The book of Daniel stands out in the LBH-corpus with half of the occurrences. The high incidence of הִנֵּה-*qotel* clauses in Daniel may have to do with the fact that they all occur in Daniel's dream/vision-report, a genre which apparently favours the construction.[51] Anyway, in view of the overall tendency, one may speculate about the reasons for the decline. One possibility could perhaps be that the decline of הִנֵּה-*qotel* simply corresponds proportionally with the increase of characterizing meanings in LBH. That is, if the function of the interjection in the first place was to distinguish temporary, episodic meanings from timeless, characterizing ones, it seems logical that the הִנֵּה was simply dropped in the latter type, in order to keep the distinction intact. However, this explanation does not really comply with the principles of linguistic change. If we assume that the increase of characterizing meanings in LBH is brought about by the evolutionary principles of the progressive diachronic path, we postulate at the same time a genealogical relationship between the episodic and the generalizing meaning, since the latter is thought to be derived from the former. Such a shift in meaning would happen through semantic reanalysis of an existing linguistic structure; not by removing morphemes from the structure. In other words, the normal thing to happen in case the structure הִנֵּה-*qotel* were to be reanalysed, would be that הִנֵּה remained even with the new, characterizing meaning.

[48] See Gordon (1982, 8) on וְהִנֵּה as a "time indicator which establishes concurrent time" for *qotel*, as opposed to when it has a temporarily "unbounded" generic meaning.
[49] Eskhult (2005, 365) describes this tendency with regard to the syndetic variant וְהִנֵּה.
[50] The numbers only give a rough idea. The interjection has the "progressivizing" effect only if the sentence focus is on the predicate, which is not always the case. The focus may be also be on the subject, as in Gen 15:3.
[51] See, for example, the dream-reports in Gen 41.

An alternative explanation is that contextual cues like the interjection הִנֵּה was more or less obligatory for marking the episodic progressive *qotel* in the initial stage, but that they gradually went out of use as the episodic meaning became the default meaning of *qotel* in predicate position. When the predicative *qotel* was understood as a verb rather than as a noun, the nominal interpretation of the form ceased to be productive in generating characterizing meanings, and הִנֵּה became superfluous as a distinctive feature.

Conclusion

This study has sought to answer the question whether there are indications of a semantic evolution throughout the ABH, SBH, and LBH in terms of shift from episodic to characterizing meanings within the progressive subsystem of the verbal system. The increase of the use of *qotel*-clauses with habitual meaning in the LBH-corpus as compared with the SBH-corpus is the clearest evidence of such an evolution, although the books of Ezra and Daniel do not conform to the general pattern. A corresponding change in *yiqtol*-L is that the form is totally absent with episodic present progressive meaning in the LBH-corpus, whereas it does occur sparingly in SBH and ABH.

At the other end of the supposed time-line, the differences between ABH and LBH are not as easy to see. The asseverative real present progressive in Judges 5:30 and the relatively high incidence of *yiqtol*-L for real present perceptions in LBH as compared to SBH may reflect a slightly more archaic state of the language, but the evidence is a little bit too scant to draw far-reaching conclusions. There is no reason to suppose that any part of the Hebrew Bible goes back to a stage in which the *qotel* in predicate position is not the main form for progressive meaning.

The *qotel* used for describing permanent qualities of God in the Song of Hannah, and the timeless proverbial *qotel* in Proverbs do probably not represent a very late stage of Biblical Hebrew. They are special cases of characterizing *qotel* which can be derived directly from the original nominal nature of *qotel* in this position. As opposed to the characterizing *qotel* in predicate position, the progressive *qotel* probably tended to be specifically marked for focussing attention on the here and now, e.g. by the interjection הִנֵּה. The lower frequency of this interjection in LBH may be an indicator of a more advanced stage of the language. In this case, too, however, the book of Daniel is an exception.

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Wisdom and Revelation: An Analysis of 4Q417 1i:14-18

Meike Christian

4QInstruction, also known as "*Musar le Mebin*", is the largest wisdom text in the Qumran library. At least seven copies of it are preserved which contain partly overlapping text, one from cave one (1Q26) and six from cave four (4Q415-418, 418a, 423). All manuscripts are written in the Herodian formal hand of the late first century BCE.[1] A nameless speaker who is not further characterised in the remaining text addresses his reader, the "understanding one" (מבין), to instruct him. The most striking feature of the composition is the focus on the רז נהיה as a source of knowledge. The term רז נהיה is used frequently in the composition but apart from that it is only present in two other writings, the Book of Mysteries (4Q27 1i:3-4) and the Community Rule (1QS 11:3-4). It is not clear how to translate it: The Persian loanword רז is generally translated as "mystery", but it is discussed if the *nif'al* participle of היה refers to the past or to the future.[2] The first option seems to fit best to the passive character of the participle, but the רז נהיה clearly implicates aspects that are connected to the future.[3] Therefore I will use the abstract translation "mystery of existence"[4] which is not limited to one period of time. The content of the רז נהיה is not mentioned directly in the text, but it can be concluded from the context that it seems to contain information about the whole structure of creation from beginning to end.[5]

I want to draw your attention to a passage from the beginning of the manuscript 4Q417 which deals with the conditions of insight and the connection between knowledge and the final judgement. Lines 14 to 18 from fragment 4Q417 1, column i have attracted great attention in the literature so far. Although the text is quite well preserved, there are many open

[1] Cf. Strugnell, Harrington, and Elgvin, *DJD 34*, 1; 21.
[2] Cf. Goff, "Recent Trends in the Study of Early Jewish Wisdom Literature," 380–382.
[3] Cf. the compilation in Rey, *4QInstruction*, 289–291. If one looks at the other few occurrences of the participle נהיה in the Dead Sea Scroll the different usages in 1QS 11 are interesting: In 1QS 11:8f the chosen ones are said to be נהיה קץ כול עם עולם למטעת "an everlasting plantation throughout all future ages" and as the term מטעת עולם alludes to a prophecy from Isaiah (cf. Isai 61:3; 60:21)[3] is seems to be most likely that נהיה refers here to the future. But in 1QS 11:11 נהיה seems to refers to the past in the sentence נהיה כול ובדעתו "in his (= God's) knowledge everything came into being". Those two examples have one thing in common as both of them imply the notion of a development or a long duration and do not just refer to a single point in time.
[4] Cf. Ibid., 291f.
[5] The one who studies the "mystery of existence" is supposed to consider what happen und what is going to happen (cf. 4Q418 123ii:3), can discern "truth and iniquity, wisdom [and foll]y" (4Q417 1i:6f), is able to walk in justice (cf. 416 2iii:10) and knows "who will inherit honor and fol[l]y" (4Q417 2i:11). Therefore ARMIN LANGE described the character of the רז נהיה as a "Phänomen, das ethische, historische, nomistische, eschatologische und urzeitliche Komponenten in sich vereint". [Cf. Lange, *Weisheit Und Prädestination*, 60.]

questions about the understanding of its content. In my analysis I want to focus on the question how 4QInstructions deals with traditional authoritative writings.

4Q417 1 i, 14-18 (// **4Q418 43(b)**; 45i)

14 חֲרוּת **ה֯חוק**{כה} **וחקו**ק כול הפקודה

15 כי חרות מחוקק לאל[ ]על כול עֲ[בוד]ת בני שית וספר זכרון כתוב לפ**ני**ו **16 לשמרי דב**רו

והואה חזון ההגו[י] לֹסֹפר זכרון וינחילנו לאנוש עם עם רוח כֻ[י]א 17 כתבנית קדושים יצרו

ועוד לוא נתן הגוי לרוח בשר כי לא ידע בין 18 [טו]ב לרע כמשפט [ר]וחו

(vacat)

"14 Engraved is the {your} statute and decreed is the whole visitation.

15 For engraved is that which is decreed for God about the whole s[ervice] of the Sons of Seth, and the book of remembrance is written before him 16 for those who keep his word.

And that is the vision of meditation for/of the book of remembrance and he gave it as an inheritance to Enosh with the spiritual people,

for according to the 17 shape of the holy ones was his attitude.

But no more did he give meditation to the fleshly spirit,

for he can not discriminate between 18 [goo]d and bad according to the judgement of his [sp]irit."

The passage can be divided into two parts: The first part from line 14 to 16 is written in a poetical language. It consists of four nominal sentences and uses the *parallelismus membrorum* as a rhetorical device. The second part starts with והואה in line 16 and provides an interpretation of the previous lines including further explanations.

The "statute" and the "whole visitation"

In the first two sentences the question rises what has been engraved and unfortunately the text is not very detailed at this aspect. Just the two terms החוק and כול הפקודה are mentioned. ARMIN LANGE has pointed out that the word חוק with determination and without any particular

qualification is used as a term for the law in the Qumran texts.[6] This meaning seems to be a plausible interpretation, because the participle חָרוּת occurs in the Old Testament only in one verse, namely in Ex 32:16, where it describes the engraving of the Ten Commandments. But it has to be noticed that the formulation חוק חרות is used several times in the Community Rule (1QS 10:6,8,11) without relation to the Torah. Therefore MATTHEW GOFF argued that if we have here a reference to Exodus 32, the focus is not on the Torah and the formulation is rather used to emphasize that the afterwards mentioned פקודה is absolutely settled.[7]

The basic meaning of פקודה is "visitation" and in Biblical Hebrew it can have a positive meaning in the sense of "care, custody" or a negative in the sense of "punishment".[8] In the "Treatise of the two Spirits" it is used in a specific way for the final examination of all humans by God when some people will attain eternal live and the others will be destroyed.[9] In 4Q416 frag. 1 פקודה is also used in the context of a future judgement in heaven (Cf. lines 9-10). Often פקודה is translated as "punishment"[10], but as it designates just Gods reaction to the human behaviour which is not necessarily negative I prefer the translation "visitation". In 4QInstruction the "visitation" is not limited to the future, but takes also place in the present.[11] The formulation "decreed is the whole visitation" refers to the whole dimension of time and the author wants to make clear that God has already decided who will be punished or rewarded now and in the future.

The בני שית and "those who keep his word"

The following sentences in line 15 to 16 are connected to the two previous through the formulation חרות מחוקק. The combination of the two participles indicates that the text deals with something that is absolutely certain and already determined. The מחוקק is engraved for God and it concerns the בני שית. Unfortunately, the word beginning with *ajin* before the formulation בני שית is damaged and cannot be read anymore. In the literature there are two different proposals how to reconstruct it which both have a negative meaning: עולות and

[6] Cf. Ibid., 81f. He refers to CD 4:12 and 11QT[a] 66:9.
[7] Cf. Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction*, 88f.
[8] Cf. Gesenius, *18. Auflage 2013*, 1072.
[9] Cf. for example 1QS 3:18; 4:6.19.
[10] Cf. for example Strugnell, Harrington, and Elgvin, *DJD 34*, 155. Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction*, 84. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 53.
[11] Cf. 4Q417 1i:7f: The text speaks about "[their] deeds on all their ways with their visitation for all periods of eternity and the eternal visitation". The formulation "for all periods of eternity" is also used in the Community Rule (1QS 4:16) and the *Hodayot* (1QH[a] 5:26) where it refers to the whole span of time. [Cf. Lange, *Weisheit Und Prädestination*, 61.] So the "visitation for all periods of eternity" describes a long enduring process which can be observed by the addressee who can look at the different ways of human behaviour and their consequences.

עוונות.[12] If one follows these options, the בני שית have to be understood as a group which shall be punished by God because of their sins. It has been proposed to read the בני שית as a reference to a word from Bileam in Numbers 24:17:[13]

„A star comes up from Jacob and a scepter rises from Israel and crushes through the forehead of Moab and tears down all the sons of Sheth (כָּל־בְּנֵי־שֵׁת)."

The "Sons of Sheth" are enemies of Israel and God has decided their destruction. Here, the Name "Sheth" refers to a location or a tribe, because it is mentioned in parallel to "Moab".[14] In the Qumran texts there are tree explicit references to this verse in 4Q175 1:13, 1QM 11:6 and CD 7:21 (//4Q266 3iii:22). The last mentioned line is the most interesting one in this context, because in the Damascus Document the citation is interpreted as a prediction for the end time: The "scepter" is identified with the "prince of the whole community" and when he appears, he will destroy all the "Sons of Sheth" which were able to escape in the "first visitation". Here the term "Sons of Sheth" has lost its original geographic meaning and stands for the whole evil part of mankind.

Therefore MATTHEW GOFF has proposed that the "Sons of Sheth" in 4QInstruction also designate a group of evil persons whose punishment has already been decided by God.[15] This explanation seems to be plausible, but one has to consider also the next lines in 4Q417 1i where אנאש, the son of the patriarch Seth, is mentioned.

ARMIN LANGE interprets the "Sons of Seth" as the descendants of Seth and points to a rabbinic tradition which dates the fall of the angels and the beginning of idolatry one generation after Seth. Lange thinks that this story stands behind the description in 4QInstruction and therefore the "Sons of Seth" are generally considered to be evil whereas Enosh is the only pious descendent of Seth.[16] Against this interpretation it has to be mentioned that Seth himself is always described in a positive way in the Old Testament as well as in Second Temple Literature[17] and there is not earlier evidence where the "Sons of Seth" are mentioned in a negative way.

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[12] Cf. Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction*, 86. For both proposals different variations have been suggested. EIBERT TIGCHELAAR for example reads ת[ו]נ[ו]ע. [Cf. Tigchelaar, "Reflections on 4QInstruction and 1 Corinthians," 105.] JEAN-SÉBASTIAN REY proposes the reading ת[ו]נ[ו]ע. [Cf. Rey, *4QInstruction*, 278.]
[13] Cf. Strugnell, Harrington, and Elgvin, *DJD 34*, 163.
[14] Cf. Ibid.
[15] Cf. Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction*, 91f.
[16] Cf. Lange, *Weisheit Und Prädestination*, 87f.
[17] Cf. Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction*, 90f.

Both interpretations of Goff and Lange are based on the assumption that the "Sons of S(h)eth" are a group which is contrasted to "those who keep his word" (שמרי דברו). These interpretations are based only on the reconstructed word עולות or עוונות. This is why it has to be clarified if it is also possible to understand the "Sons of S(h)eth" as another designation for the group which is characterized to keep God's word. The patriarch Seth and also his children are portrayed as virtuous people for example by Josephus.[18] Because of this it seems to be possible that the appellation "Sons of Seth" names a group of pious persons which includes also the "understanding one" who is addressed. Instead of עונות the word עבודת[19] could also be reconstructed, leading to the following sentence: "Because engraved is what has been decreed for God concerning the whole service of the Sons of Seth."

This variant reading is supported by a comparison to 4Q416 frag. 2. In this fragment several times a "service" (עבודת) is mentioned that has to be done by the "understanding one": It is said that it is very important for the student to serve his teacher (cf. 4Q416 2ii:9f). Several times the addressee is called a servant of his teacher (cf. 4Q416 2ii:14-15) and in the same way he shall serve his parents (cf. 4Q416 2iii:17). The teacher cares about his student like a father and instructs him, so that he is able to find the truth. The one who serves his teacher hence also serves God.[20] If the reading "the service of the Sons of Seth" was right, the sentence would indicate that the reward for this service has already been determined. God will appreciate it in the present and in his future judgement. He determined himself and his plans were engraved so that they are irreversibly saved.

A similar statement is formulated in the next sentence which is a transformed quote from Malachi 3:16. There it is written:

וַיִּכָּתֵב סֵפֶר זִכָּרוֹן לְפָנָיו לְיִרְאֵי יְהוָה וּלְחֹשְׁבֵי שְׁמוֹ

"And a book of remembrance was written before Him for those who fear the Lord and who esteem his name"

The author of 4QInstruction takes this verbal sentence but changes it into a nominal sentence with a passive participle so that the described action appears to be done already. Furthermore

[18] Cf. J.A. 1.68: "Now this Seth, when he was brought up, and came to those years in which he could discern what was good, became a virtuous man; and as he was himself of an excellent character, so did he leave children behind him who imitated his virtues."

[19] The surface of the leather is damaged at this point and the letters *Nun* and *Taw*, which are presented as a certain reading by JEAN-SÉBASTIAN REY in his reconstruction ת[ו]נ[ו]ע (cf. note 12), can not be clearly identified. The slightly longer reading עבודת would also fit the small remnants of two letters and one has to note, that the font size is pretty much irregular in this line.

[20] The relationship between teacher and student is hence compared to the one between parents and children (cf. also 4Q416 2ii:13) and thereby also with the one between God and the human being (cf. 4Q416 2iii:16).

he changes the formulation "those who fear the Lord and who esteem His name" into "those who keep his word" which is also used in another fragment of 4QInstruction (cf. 4Q418 81:8).

In the context of the quotation in the book of Malachi, there is another hint that the "Sons of Seth" are identical with "those who keep his word". There, the "book of remembrance" is written for god-fearing people who lament about their misery: They are suffering while the unjust persons triumph (cf. Mal 3:13-16). God reacts to this lament and causes to write down a book for them so that they will be spared in the future judgement and will not have to die with the unjust (cf. Mal 3:17-21). The "book of remembrance" will be consulted at the "day of the Lord" (Mal 3:23) as a list that includes only the just persons. Therefore evil persons will be condemned through the method of elimination.[21] In the same chapter of the book of Malachi the root עבד is used in total five times to describe the behaviour of these people, who will be rewarded by God in his judgement. Mankind is divided into two groups, those who serve God and those who do not (cf. Mal 3:18).

Compared to this background is seems to be plausible that 4Q417 is about the "service of the sons of Seth" which will be rewarded by God. In contrast to the book of Malachi a genealogical element is added by identifying the just people with the descendents of the patriarch Seth.

The "vision of mediation" and the "book of remembrance"

The quotation from the book of Malachi is interpreted by the author of 4QInstruction as follows:

והואה חזון ההגו[י] לֹספר זכרון וינחילנו לאנוש עם עם רוח

"And that is the vision of meditation of/for the book of remembrance; and he gave it as an inheritance to Enosh with the spiritual people."

EIBERT TIGCHELAAR has pointed out that we have to understand the והואה as a "marker of explanation"[22] and that it refers to the reformulated scriptural verse. The author wants to explain what it means that the "book of remembrance" was written for "those who keep his word". But this explanation is hard to understand and there are several different proposals

[21] In Dan 12,1-4 a similar perception can be found. ARMIN LANGE refers to several parallel traditions in the Mesopotamian and Greek literature about a "book of live" and a "book of deeds". [Cf. Lange, *Weisheit Und Prädestination*, 69–72.]
[22] Tigchelaar, "Reflections on 4QInstruction and 1 Corinthians," 113.

how to interpret it. The main problems are the understanding of the term "vision of meditation", its relation to the "book of remembrance" and the question who are אנוש and the "spiritual people".

The חזון ההגוי is only mentioned at this point, but several sectarian Qumran texts speak about a ספר ההגו (cf. CD 10:6; 13:2f; 1QSa 1:6f). In the Damascus Document and the Community Rule the ספר ההגו denotes some kind of a teaching book, but its content remains unclear. In contrast, the חזון ההגוי in 4QInstruction seems to describe a process rather than a text. In Biblical Hebrew the term חזון denotes a revelation from God which can appear in a dream as a vision or as an audition.[23] A חזון can also have an abstract content and is not restricted to the physical process of viewing. In this sense the term occurs in the *Hodayot* which speaks about a "vision of insight" חזון דעת (1QH[a] 12:19). Here the "vision" is used in an abstract sense and describes the cognitive process of getting insight.[24] The term חזון indicates that God is the one who guides this process by revealing knowledge. The text presupposes that one can get true insight only from God.[25] The same view is found in 4QInstruction and therefore the term חזון might have a similar meaning. Here it is used in combination with ההגוי, which is most likely a *nomen actionis* in the *qittûl*-scheme from the root הגה "to meditate".[26] This root is used in the preceding text in combination with the רז נהיה in a transformed quote from Psalm 1 (4Q417 1 i, 6 // **4Q418 43**):

[-- יומם ו**לילה הגה ברז נ]הְיה** דורש תמיד

"… day and night meditate upon the mystery of e]xistence, constantly studying"

The fact that the "understanding one" is invited to meditate the "mystery of existence" leads to the assumption that the "vision of meditation" is also related to the רז נהיה. The fact that the רז נהיה is presented as an object of meditation seems to imply that it can be studied with the help of the "vision of meditation".

To clarify this assumption the relation between the "vision of meditation" and the "book of remembrance" has to be considered: Some scholars argued that the Lamed before ספר זכרון does not exist and that it is just a dark shade at the surface of the leather.[27] In my opinion the new pictures of the IAA show that the upper stroke of a Lamed can be identified

[23] Cf. Isai 29:7 as an example for a dream vision, Dn 8:1f for a vision and 1Chr 17:15 for a verbal revelation.
[24] Cf. Werman, "What Is the Book of Hagu?," 137f.
[25] Later on in the text the poetic persona says that God himself taught him his "wonderous mysteries" (1QH[a] 12,28f).
[26] Cf. Strugnell, Harrington, and Elgvin, *DJD 34*, 165.
[27] Cf. Rey, *4QInstruction*, 278. Goff, *4QInstruction*, 141.

clearly.[28] Therefore the "vision of meditation" is not identified with the "book of remembrance", but is rather supposed to be "for" or – if the ל expresses a genitive – "of the book of remembrance". To understand this statement as an interpretation of the quote from the book of Malachi, the next sentence should be included which describes how the vision was given to a certain part of mankind. In the context of the book of Malachi, as mentioned before, the "book of remembrance" is a heavenly book that God will use to remind himself of the just people in the future judgement. The crucial difference in comparison with this view is that in 4QInstruction some people have access to this book in the present through the "vision of meditation". So the author uses the concept from the book of Malachi and transforms it in order to correlate it with his view about the election of those who got insight to God's plan for the judgement. The course of history is already written, but only in front of God and just a few people have access to it. So there is a gap between God's will that is written down and the human which wants to know it.

It is interesting that the text deduces this information by interpreting a quote from the prophetic book of Malachi. This approach is very similar to that in the *Pescher Habakkuk*: There it is said that God revealed the "teacher of righteousness" "all mysteries of the words of his servants, the prophets" so that he is able to interpret them correctly (1QpHab 7:3-5). In 4QInstruction it is also presupposed that the human being is not able to deduce the rules for a correct behaviour from the Torah or the prophetic books by himself. He needs a special revelation, but the fact that this revelation exists and was given to a part of mankind is again deduced from a prophetic word. This is why I think the "vision of meditation" is a certain method to achieve knowledge and to interpret the traditional authoritative writings in order to understand God's mysteries. The "mystery of existence" is included in those writings, but only the "spiritual people" are able to find it.

אנוש and the "spiritual people"

The next sentence - "and he gave it to אנוש together with a spiritual people" - describes how the vision was given to a certain part of mankind. Most exegetes agree that God is the active person and the subject of וינחילנו in line 16.[29] It seems to be likely to refer the Suffix to חזון ההגוי so that God gave the "vision of meditation" to אנוש עם עם רוח (l. 16). In the Qumran

[28] Cf. 4Q417 1i = Plate 329, frag. 1 (http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-370822; http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-370823).
[29] For an alternative understanding cf. Strugnell, Harrington, and Elgvin, *DJD 34*, 163. The editors read the verb וינחילונו and discuss the possibility to understand the בני שית as the subject.

literature אנוש is often used as a label for the human being.[30] TORLEIF ELGVIN and JEAN-SÉBASTIAN REY have therefore argued that אנוש in this context should also be translated as "human".[31]

But this interpretation is rather problematic as אנוש is mentioned together with the עם רוח.[32] The term "spiritual people" occurs nowhere else, but if a group of humans is meant, it is difficult to explain how it could be combined with אנוש in the sense of the whole mankind. ARMIN LANGE understands the "spiritual people" as a "*Volk himmlischer Geister*"[33] and refers to the common designation of angels with the terms רוחות respectively רוחים in the Qumran literature. But it has also to be considered that the word עַם is never used in the context of angels[34] and that 4QInstruction uses the term קדושים for them. It is more likely to understand the "spiritual people" as a group of humans that is identical with the previous mentioned people "who keep his word". God handed down the "vision of meditation" to them through אנוש. Therefore it seems to be probable that אנוש is a proper noun at this point.

JOHN J. COLLINS suggests reading אנוש not as the name of the patriarch but rather as a designation for Adam. This understanding is based on the assumption that the text presupposes two different types of mankind: One is described in the first creation account and represented by Adam, the other one can be found in the second account and is represented by the "fleshly spirit" who is not able to discern between good and bad.[35] For his interpretation he refers to the following sentence in 4Q417 1i, line 17:

כ[י]א כתבנית קדושים יצרו

"For according to the shape of the holy ones was his attitude."

Collins understands this sentence as an allusion to Gen 1:27 (וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת הָאָדָם בְּצַלְמוֹ בְּצֶלֶם אֱלֹהִים) and suggest to read יצרו as a verb, referring to the creation of Adam.[36] It is striking that none of the words in 4Q417 appear in the first creation report and even the verb יצר occurs only in the second account (Gen 2:7). Therefore Collins' suggestion to understand אנוש as "Adam" cannot be justified by the text.

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[30] Cf. for example 1QH[a] 9:27; 12:31; 1QS 11:6.10.
[31] Cf. Wold, *Women, Men, and Angels*, 128. Rey, *4QInstruction*, 297.
[32] But it has to be noticed that a correction was made: The first hand wrote וינחילנו לאנוש עם רוח "and he gave it to Enosh with the spirit". This could either be the original reading so that there were no problem to understand אנוש as "human" or the scribe accidently omitted one עם.
[33] Lange, *Weisheit Und Prädestination*, 88.
[34] Cf. Rey, *4QInstruction*, 298..
[35] Cf. Collins, "The Mysteries of God," 176f.
[36] He also refers to different passages in the book of Ezekiel and Isaiah, where תבנית is used in the sense of "picture/likeness" (amoung others Isai 44:13; Ez 8:3) and consequently could have a similar meaning as צלם. Cf. Collins, "In the Likeness of the Holy Ones," 612–615. MATTHEW GOFF follows his interpretation. [Cf. Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction*, 96–99.]

The translation of יצר as a noun seems to fit better to the context, since the following text deals with an ability lacking the "fleshly spirit" in contrast to אנוש. Therefore it is likely that the statement about אנוש is used to point out that his attitude is comparable to that of the angels. It has to be clarified, if Enosh, the Son of Seth, could be meant here. In this context a statement concerning the birth of Enosh in Genesis 4:26 is interesting, which says:

אָז הוּחַל לִקְרֹא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה

"Then one began to call upon the name of the Lord."

The Septuagint differs here from the Masoretic Text and introduces the sentence with οὗτος ἤλπισεν so that Enosh himself is the first one who called upon the name of God. This reading is also transmitted in the book of Jubilees (Jub 4:12) and can therefore be dated back at least to the second century BCE. The positive picture of Enosh that is reported in this reading could have provided the basis for the description of Enosh in 4QInstruction. Here the author changes the emphasis, in his portrayal Enosh was the first human who was given the "vision of meditation" so that his attitude became comparable to the one of the angels. This statement could be an interpretation of the tradition that Enosh was the first who called upon Gods name: The texts in the Septuagint and Jubilees do not tell how the name of God came to Enosh's knowledge. 4QInstruction fills the gap, because the assertion that Enosh was given the "vision of meditation" explains how he got to know God's name. So in 4QInstruction, Enosh is not only the founder of the worship service, with him also starts a succession of wise people who are elected by God and pass their inheritance on until the present.

The "fleshly spirit"

The end of the passage deals with the רוח בשר which is contrasted to Enosh and the "spiritual people" (l. 17f):

ועוד לוא נתן הגוי לרוח בשר כי לא ידע בין [טו]ב לרע כמשפט [ר]וחו

"But no more did he give meditation to the fleshly spirit, for he can not discriminate between [goo]d and bad according to the judgement of his [s]pirit."

Firstly it has to be noticed that a temporal distinction is made: BENJAMIN WOLD has pointed out that in Biblical Hebrew the formulation ועוד לוא is always used in the sense of "no more"

or "not yet" and therefore has to be translated here also as a temporal boundary.[37] In connection to the preceding statement it seems to be likely to identify the date when God stopped to give meditation to the "fleshly spirit" with the moment when he gave it to Enosh.[38] This interpretation is only possible if Enosh himself can be understood as a "fleshly spirit".

Beyond 4QInstruction this term is also used in the *Hodayot*: there it is a general designation for the human being which seems to be nothing compared to God (cf. 1QH[a] 5:30f). In 4QInstruction the "fleshly spirit" is described even more negatively and one passage from 4Q418 is especially interesting in this context. 4Q418 81:1-3 (// 4Q423 8:1) reads:

[1]הבדילכה מכול [2]רוח בשר
ואתה הבדל מכול אשר שנא
והנזר מכול תעבות נַפְשׁ]
כי]א הוא עשה כול [3]ויורישם איש נחלתו

"[1] He separated you from the whole [2] fleshly spirit.
And you, separate yourself from everything he hates
and turn away from everything the soul hates.
[Fo]r he has made everything [3] and he has given everyone his inheritance."

The first sentence shows that God himself has separated the "understanding one" from the "fleshly spirit" meaning that he originally belonged to them. He was elected by God and now has to separate himself from everything or everyone which God hates. The "fleshly spirit" therefore is a designation for all the people who are not or not yet chosen by God. Furthermore Enosh and the "spiritual people" once belonged to the "fleshly spirit" before their election. But their insight through the "vision of meditation" distinguishes them from the rest of mankind.

The passage in 4Q418 81 emphasises that God has created also those which he hates and that he has given everyone his personal inheritance. The inheritance of the רוח בשר is not mentioned explicitly and one can only say with 4Q417 1i:17 that they do not posses "meditation". The "understanding one" which has been separated from the רוח בשר belongs to the heirs of Enosh and partakes of his election.

While Enosh's attitude is comparable to those of the angels, the "fleshly spirit" is marked through the separation from Enosh's inheritance. Whereas Enosh was given the

[37] Cf. Wold, *Women, Men, and Angels*, 140f.
[38] Cf. Strugnell, Harrington, and Elgvin, *DJD 34*, 166.

"vision of meditation" the "fleshly spirit" is not able to discriminate between good and bad "according to the judgement of his spirit". The human being can not attain knowledge on his own; he needs the help from God. The "vision of mediation" and "the judgement of his spirit" are contrasted as two different ways to achieve knowledge: Whereas the "vision" enables the chosen to get access to the "book of remembrance", those who can only trust their own intellect can not even discriminate between good and bad.

It is striking that the central term רז נהיה does not occur in this context: Not the "mystery of existence" was given to Enosh but rather the "vision of meditation", which is portrayed as a tool to achieve knowledge. This figure allows the author to affiliate his knowledge to a forefather of mankind, to the grandchild of Adam,[39] and at the same time there is still room for progression: Not the whole "mystery of existence" was transmitted to Enosh, but the correct method to discern it and this method was handed down until the present. Enosh himself could not study the authoritative writings as they were not written during his lifetime, but through the "vision of meditation" he already had access to the רז נהיה. The author of 4QInstruction is able to understand the Torah and the prophetic writings with the help of the "vision of mediation" so that he can discern the "mystery of existence" in them, find out the hidden meaning of the word from Malachi and can explain why Enosh knew the name of God.

Conclusions

The discussed passage stresses two points: Firstly it is made clear that God has already determined his judgement and only "those who keep his word" will be rewarded. Secondly this group is identified with the descendents of Seth and more explicitly with "Enosh and the spiritual people" who got insight to God's plan for the future judgement through the meditation of the "book of remembrance". While Enosh and therefore also his successors are comparable to angels, the rest of mankind, the "fleshly spirit", cannot achieve true insight themselves. The author or the authors of 4QInstruction claim to posses a revelation from God that is ascribed to one of the forefathers of humankind.

ARMIN LANGE's interpretation to see an identification of wisdom and Torah in 4QInstruction comparable with Ben Sira 24 and Baruch 3:9-4:4[40] can not be proofed since there is no explicit identification as the word תורה is not preserved in the remaining text.[41] But

[39] Cf. also Lange, *Weisheit Und Prädestination*, 90.92.
[40] Cf. Ibid., 48.90.
[41] Cf. Strugnell, Harrington, and Elgvin, *DJD 34*, 27.

it has to be noticed that 4QInstructions alludes to the text of the Torah several times and even verbal quotes can be found.[42] MENAHEM KISTER characterises the Second Temple period as the "period of interpretation"[43] where Wisdom was attained "by the study of texts of divine revelation"[44] and this attempt can also be identified in 4QInstruction. It assumes that there is a gap between God's will that is written down and the human which wants to know it. The final judgement has already been written, but only in front of God in a heavenly book and just a few people have access to it. The traditional authoritative writings, the Torah and the Prophets, are publicly accessible, but only those who know the "vision of mediation" can discern their correct interpretation.

[42] Cf. 4Q416 2 iii:18f which deals with the fifth commandment or 4Q417 1i:27 which quotes Numbers 15:39. For more examples cf. Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction*, 71.
[43] Kister, "Wisdom Literature and Its Relation to Other Genres: From Ben Sira to Mysteries," 19.
[44] Ibid., 21.

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Assessment of the metaphorical world of Proverbs Chapter 2.

Focal points for discussion of paper:

• There are challenges in applying to Hebrew text a Metaphor Identification Procedure recently developed for English discourse. How might it be best to evaluate these challenges and address them?

• Having generated a comprehensive list of metaphors from a text, what syntactic features of the various metaphor structures might generate useful research questions and areas of investigation in addition to those delineated in the paper?

• What might be the hermeneutic value of attention to metaphor?

• Are there any intertextual considerations which might be worthy of consideration in this study?

• Is it likely that evaluation of the metaphorical world created in the Book of Proverbs is critical for appreciation of the rhetorical force of the text?

Assessment of the metaphorical world of Proverbs Chapter 2

This paper discusses the evaluation of metaphor in discourse. It examines the text of Chapter 2 of the Book of Proverbs which is particularly rich in figurative language and may be regarded as programmatic for the first nine chapters of Proverbs. A method of precisely identifying words which are used metaphorically is described and applied to this text. A range of metaphors emerges. Evaluation of the method of metaphor identification is undertaken. Brief consideration is then given to how the metaphors may interact within the discourse and an assessment is made about the value of such analysis to biblical exegesis.

As the cognitive linguist George Lakoff and his colleagues have refined their theories of metaphor over the past 35 years, their assertions have become more radical. By 1999, Lakoff and Johnston were arguing that conventional metaphorical thought is "one of the most powerful influences" in life which permeates all disciplines and provides the core tools to craft the metaphysics of every area of philosophical reflection.[1] Metaphor is now regarded as being basic to cognition. No longer can it be viewed as a deviant linguistic trope hostile to clear thinking and found mainly in poetry and rhetorical discourse where words are employed figuratively and not used in their literal senses; in the contemporary cognitive paradigm metaphor does not simply concern word use but is fundamentally a matter of normal thought and a crucial mechanism of reason.[2] Abstract concepts such as time, events and causation are only understood in significant part by an enormous system of conceptual metaphor. Metaphorical thought involves the understanding of one area of experience - a domain - in terms of a very different area of experience. This can be described more formally in terms of systematic ontological correspondences or mappings between a source domain and a target domain. Source domains generally originate in human physical experience and tend to be more concrete than their target domains which are generally abstract.[3] This issue of embodiment is a key idea in cognitive linguistics although it is not a monolithic phenomenon and diverse components may be emphasised in different cultures.[4] The many correspondences within a mapping allow an inference pattern characterising the source to form a similar structured pattern in the target.

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[1] George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh. The Embodied Mind and its Challenge to Western Thought* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), p. 120.
[2] George Lakoff, 'The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor', in *Metaphor and Thought*, ed. by Andrew Ortony, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 202-251 (p. 244).
[3] Zoltán Kövecses, *Metaphor* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 7.
[4] Zoltán Kövecses, *Metaphor in Culture: Universality and Variation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 246. Kövecses calls this variation between cultures 'differential experiential focus'.

These correspondences permit conceptualising and reasoning about the target domain using the knowledge that exists about the source domain. In this model actual metaphorical language is described as the instantiation or realisation of metaphorical thought.[5] It follows that many linguistic metaphorical expressions may be generated from one conceptual metaphor.[6] This terminological distinction is important in research. This paper follows the widespread convention in cognitive linguistics of regarding metaphor as a cross-domain conceptual mapping; such a mapping then generates linguistic expressions of metaphor. It is also helpful to consider the terminology used for discussing linguistic metaphorical expressions. In the 1930s, Richards described what is now regarded as linguistic metaphor and suggested that in metaphor there are 'two thoughts of different things active together and supported by a single word, or phrase, whose meaning is the resultant of their interaction'.[7] He termed the underlying subject or the unconventional referent of the metaphor the 'tenor'. Many modern linguists more perspicaciously adopt the term 'topic'.[8] The mode in which the metaphor is expressed he termed the 'vehicle' and this is the conventional referent of the metaphor. The similarities or analogies that exist between the topic and vehicle are referred to as the 'grounds' of the metaphor. When discussing linguistic expression of metaphor this terminology remains very helpful but it is important to recognise that the topic may not be explicit in a metaphoric linguistic expression.

As well as being ubiquitous, it is now accepted that metaphors structure thinking; they shape perceptions of the world and they are fundamental to the process of making sense of reality. Another function of metaphor might be described as exegetical; metaphor helps to explain an abstract idea using terms which are more familiar and concrete.[9] Metaphor is also 'a fundamentally persuasive discourse act' where a speaker invites a hearer to share perception by participating in a creative interpretative act whereby something apparently incongruent is made congruent.[10] Inevitably, in such a process, metaphors mask some features of the phenomenon to which they are applied whilst highlighting other features.[11] The educationalist Donald Schön, for example, describes the potential of what he terms generative metaphors to shape social policy by

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[5] Lakoff and Johnson, p. 123.
[6] 'The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor', p. 209.
[7] Ivor A. Richards, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936), p. 93.
[8] For example, Andrew Goatly, *The Language of Metaphors* 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 9.
[9] Lynne Cameron, *Metaphor in Educational Discourse* (London: Continuum, 2003), p. 23.
[10] Jonathan Charteris-Black, *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 12-13.
[11] Andrew Goatly, *The Language of Metaphors*, 2nd edn (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), p. 2.

organising thought and structuring frames of reference in powerful persuasive ways.[12] Kenneth Burke, whose work integrates literary criticism with philosophical ideas of motive, asserts the ability of metaphor to form and influence *Weltanschauung*; he perceptively comments that 'every perspective requires a metaphor, implicit or explicit, for its organisational base'.[13] Further, he notes how easily such an organising metaphor, particularly in response to resistance, can become an immutable reality.[14] Integral to these shaping, exegetical and persuasive properties of metaphor lies the sense that, 'something has been newly painted before our eyes'.[15] Metaphor indeed is a 'creative act'.[16] Wood talks of how metaphor invites the audience to imagine another dimension, to picture a likeness; in sum, to see.[17] These ideas about how metaphors operate create a stimulus to investigate the occurrence, the structure and function of metaphor in the Book of Proverbs which abounds in figurative language. Chapter 2 has been chosen as it appears to encapsulate many of the concepts that are developed further within in the first nine chapters.

Is it valid, however, to consider Chapter 2 as representative of the wider prologue of the Book of Proverbs? There has been a significant move in recent scholarship to question the assumptions that, for many years, led to the first nine chapters of Proverbs being regarded as an anthology of separate works with each section being introduced by a parental appeal. Whybray was an early proponent of the assertion that an introductory passage of parental appeal was a hallmark of the ancient Near Eastern genre of instruction; it followed that divisions marked by such appeals in the first nine chapters of Proverbs introduced different works. Variations on this basic proposal emerged in the decades following Whybray's monograph in 1965 with assertions of complex redactions and supplementations supporting the notion that these chapters comprised a diverse collection, at least in their original composition. Whilst not refuting the possibility that parental appeals may well provide structural boundaries within a wider work, questions have been raised about the rigidity of the form of instruction genre together with an acknowledgement that anthologies of instructions are simply not attested in the spectrum of wisdom literature of the

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[12] Donald A. Schön, 'Generative Metaphor and Social Policy', in *Metaphor and Thought*, ed. by Ortony, pp. 137-163. He cites the framing of social services by the metaphor of 'fragmentation' which persuades the hearer to perceive the situation negatively as 'the shattering of a prior integration.' This masks the possibility of viewing social services as autonomous.

[13] Kenneth Burke, 'Semantic and Poetic Meaning', in *The Philosophy of Literary Form: Studies in Symbolic Action*, 3rd edn (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 138-167 (p. 152n).

[14] Mark Allen Steiner, *The Rhetoric of Operation Rescue: Projecting the Christian Pro-Life Message* (New York: T & T Clark International, 2006), p. 117.

[15] James Wood, *How Fiction Works* (London: Vintage Books, 2009), p. 156.

[16] Peter Cotterell and Max Turner, *Linguistics and Biblical Interpretation* (Dowers Grove: IVP Academic, 1989), p. 300.

[17] Wood, p. 153.

ancient Near East.[18] Coherence within the first nine chapters is more positively demonstrated by attention to the unity of style and content. A reason for considering Chapter 2 in a short paper on metaphor within the first nine chapters Book of Proverbs is that it provides *die Auflistung und Skizzierug der Themen* of these chapters.[19] There does indeed seem to be validity in regarding Chapter 2 as presenting significant recurring themes of the wider context.

Although there is a striking absence of the imperatival appeals and stark warnings found elsewhere in Proverbs, Chapter 2 commences with a compelling exhortation to the son to devote himself urgently and passionately to wisdom. This is followed by four themes: correct relationship with God (2: 5-8), appropriate behaviour towards fellow humankind (2: 9-11), warning against the evil man (2: 12-15) and caution against the strange woman (2:16-19). These themes are developed more fully in subsequent chapters and Meinhold appears justified in designating chapter 2 as the *Lehrprogramme* of Proverbs.[20] The motif of the 'way' is recurrent in this chapter and, if the emendation in verse 18 of ביתה to נתיבתה by partial haplography and metathesis is accepted,[21] the four synonyms used throughout Proverbs to denote the prominent idea of the 'way' appear in the chapter: דרך, מעגל, ארח and נתיבה. The frequency of their use in this section of Proverbs is particularly high. Within thirteen verses (2:8 - 2:20) almost one quarter of the total occurrences within the first nine chapters of Proverbs are found;[22] this is indeed the *Vorstellungsbereich des Weges*.[23] Whether the final two verses of Chapter 2 are read with Fox as simply indicating that the righteous will live long and the wicked will die prematurely, or with Plöger as a stark warning to all Israel *seinen Lebensweg...zu überprüfen*,[24] does not detract from their climactic presentation of the antithetical destinies of the righteous and the wicked. These destinies parallel similar teleological concepts and the use of the verb שׁכן which are found in the final two verses of Wisdom's first speech which concludes Proverbs Chapter 1.[25]

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[18] Stuart Weeks, *Instruction and Imagery in Proverbs 1-9* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 53.
[19] Arndt Meinhold, *Die Sprüche Teil 1: Sprüche Kapitel 1-15* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 1991), p. 63.
[20] Meinhold, p. 43.
[21] This suggestion seems to have been first made by Oswald Loretz, 'Ugaritische und hebräische Lexicographie [III]', *Ugarit-Forschungen*, 14 (1982), 141-148. It obviates the problem of the masculine ביתה governing the third person feminine שׂחה and offers an appropriate parallel to אל־רפאים מעגלתיה. Several scholars support the emendation, e.g. Michael V. Fox, *Proverbs 1-9* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 121-22.
[22] These synonyms are found in total 55 times in the first 9 chapters of Proverbs. Within these verses they occur 13 times.
[23] Meinhold, p. 64.
[24] Otto Plöger, *Sprüche Salmonos* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Theologie, 2011), p. 28.
[25] שׁכן appears only five times in the Book of Proverbs: 1:33, 2:21, 7:11, 8:12 and 10:30. The occurrence in Chapter 10 is similar to the *topos* of Proverbs 2:21.

This chapter appears to have been meticulously crafted both structurally and conceptually. It comprises a single long complex conditional sentence. The protasis extends over four verses and is introduced by the particle אם which is repeated in verses 3 and 4. The apodosis commences in verse 5 and describes two consequences of the pursuit of wisdom each of which is introduced by אז תבין (verses 5 and 9). The first consequence concerns right relationship with Yahweh and the second involves ethical practice. The protective qualities of both Yahweh himself and right ethical behaviour are highlighted in verses 8 and 11 using the verbs נצר and שׁמר which form a chiastic arrangement over these two verses. The consequences of attaining a right relationship with Yahweh and appropriating wisdom which informs behaviour are further expanded by the assertion that they will deliver the son from the evil man and the strange women. These two dangers are introduced by the Hiphil infinitive construct להצילך in verses 12 and 16 and each peril is described in a stanza of four verses. These two stanzas begin by emphasising the quality of words spoken by the evil man (מדבר תהפכות) and the strange women (אמריה החליקה) both of which contrast with the father's words (אמרי) which introduce the chapter. The final three verses present the ultimate goal of instruction: follow the paths trod by the good and righteous and thereby gain a secure destiny. Proverbs Chapter 2 is not a formal alphabetic acrostic but it is hard not to notice with Skehan that the twenty-two lines correspond to the number of letters of the Hebrew alphabet.[26] After the frequently occurring introductory בני, the protasis proper commences with א and verse 12 commences with ל, the twelfth letter of the Hebrew alphabet.[27] Meinhold rightly senses *etwas Umfassendes* in the overall shaping of the chapter.[28] The tight structure of the chapter seems to make less probable the suggestions of scholars such as Toy that there have been significant editorial expansions to a much shorter text (e.g. verses 5-8 which have an emphasis on the fear of Yahweh).[29]

Many commentators note the careful intricate argument of the text and highlight some of the structural features. Metaphors are noted by several scholars. For Waltke, the prominent metaphor of 'the way' acts as a unifying force on the portrayal of the development of the son's character.[30] He comments on other metaphorically used words frequently and suggests the image and message the author purposed to give by use of certain figures. The description, for example, of

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[26] Patrick W. Skehan, *Studies in Israelite Poetry and Wisdom*, Catholic Biblical Monograph Series 1 (Washington: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1971), pp. 9-10.
[27] Roland E. Murphy, *Proverbs*, Word Biblical Commentary XXII (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1998), p. 14.
[28] Meinhold, p. 63.
[29] C. H. Toy, *The Book of Proverbs*, International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1899), p. 34.
[30] Bruce Waltke, *The Book of Proverbs, Chapters 1-15*, The New International Commentary on the Old Testament (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2004), p. 218.

the paths of evil men as עקשים in verse 15 denotes 'the moral perverseness of what they say and do with the calamitous results of their lifestyle'.[31] Habel more adventurously finds in what he terms the symbolism of 'the way', a model which acts as a vehicle of continuity by integrating constituent parts of Proverbs 1-9.[32] He terms דרך the 'basic or nuclear expression' in the first nine chapters of Proverbs and he suggests that this symbol has a system of satellite symbols (e.g. guides for the way, appropriate attitudes for the traveler) which are highlighted and developed in various ways in different parts of the text.[33] His elaborate thesis appears to be based upon an analysis of Proverbs which postulates different synchronic layers of reflection: a personal experiential appropriation of wisdom characteristic of 'old' international wisdom, a later reinterpretation of wisdom concerned primarily with right posture towards the covenant God of Israel and, finally, wisdom which is concerned with the priorities of the primordial world. These diverse areas of reflection, it is suggested, are integrated by the nuclear expression of 'the way'. Less convincing is Habel's relegation of other vivid imagery such as the two companions (wisdom and the strange woman) as somehow subsidiary to the nuclear expression of the way. Moreover, the whole notion of an early secular wisdom has been discredited in recent scholarship which has rightly questioned the basis of categorisation of different parts of the sentence literature which largely formed the basis of the theory.[34] Without supporting Habel's model of different areas of wisdom reflection held together by a nuclear metaphor, Fox is supportive of the suggestion that BEHAVIOUR IS A PATH is the 'ground metaphor' of Proverbs 1-9. He outlines the many elaborations that he considers arise from this mapping and recognises that the underlying metaphor of the path takes two forms: MANY PATHS and TWO PATHS. Sometimes the emphasis appears to be on a limitless number of choices of behaviour whereas elsewhere the perspective draws a contrast between the ultimate choice of a way which leads to life and one which leads to death.[35]

Many of these observations by wisdom scholars about metaphor have some validity but could a more systematic approach to metaphor in a biblical text yield exegetical benefit? The contemporary theory of metaphor outlined briefly earlier in this paper is attractive in its simplicity and it accounts for a variety of phenomena observed in the use of metaphor. It has been developed and refined and issues such as the partial nature of metaphorical mappings have been addressed.[36] Many projects in the last thirty years in Biblical Studies have drawn on the

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[31] Waltke, p. 230.
[32] Norman C. Habel, 'The Symbolism of Wisdom in Proverbs 1-9', *Interpretation*, 26.2 (1972), pp. 131-157.
[33] Habel, p. 133.
[34] Stuart Weeks, *Early Israelite Wisdom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 57-73.
[35] Fox, pp. 128-131.
[36] This is the question of why mappings appear to select only certain elements in the source and target domains.

theoretical framework and have investigated conceptual metaphors in a context of increased interest in the literary analysis of biblical texts and the development of rhetorical analysis. The orientation of some studies is primarily on the theory of metaphor; they seek to expound semantic theories of how metaphors are recognised and processed in discourse.[37] Other projects explore a specific metaphor and investigate its wider implications and significance.[38] Fewer projects seek to formulate and employ an exegetical method which advances understanding of metaphors in their literary context.[39] A common approach particularly in the second type of study is to postulate a conceptual metaphor and then to seek linguistic expressions of this in the text. Many criticisms can be leveled. The choice of conceptual metaphor is unsystematic and necessarily intuitive.[40] It appears easy to take for granted which expressions are metaphorical and in a discourse actual expressions which are used for a target domain may be unnoticed and neglected. The level of schematicity at which conceptual metaphors are formulated often appears subjective (for example, is the conceptual metaphor motivating the use of the 'way' motif BEHAVIOUR IS A PATH or, much more broadly, ACTIONS ARE MOVEMENTS?). The postulation of conceptual metaphor often on the basis of decontexualised examples creates a 'top-down' approach to research where the center of attention is the conceptual metaphor itself as a cognitive postulate rather than language and linguistic metaphors and their behaviour in specific contexts. Many researchers have commented that the linguistic features of metaphor in discourse are often irregular and that this irregularity is masked in an approach to metaphor analysis where the emphasis is on global cognitive structures.[41] Sometimes it may be impossible to identify a conceptual metaphor that accounts for a particular linguistic metaphorical expression.[42] These comments do not invalidate the Contemporary Theory of Metaphor as a useful way of viewing how metaphor works but they do suggest firstly, the need in rigorous research for a reliable methodology to identify metaphorical expressions in their discourse settings in a systematic way and second, they call for careful consideration of the focus and goals of research in metaphor.

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[37] An example is Peter Macky, *The Centrality of Metaphors to Biblical Thought: A Method for Interpreting the Bible*, Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity IXX (Lewiston, New York: Mellen, 1990).
[38] An example is Marc Z. Brettler, *God is King: Understanding an Israelite Metaphor*, JSOTSup LXXVI (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1989).
[39] An example is Meir Weiss, *The Bible from Within: The Method of Total Interpretation*, trans. by Baruch J. Schwartz (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1984).
[40] Zoltán Kövecses, 'Conceptual Metaphor Theory: Some Criticisms and Alternative Proposals', *Annual Review of Cognitive Linguistics*, 6 (2008), 168-184 (p. 169).
[41] Dmitrij Dobrovolskij and Elisabeth Piirainen, *Figurative Language: Cross-cultural and Cross-linguistic Perspective* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2005) pp.355-56.
[42] Kövecses, 'Conceptual Metaphor Theory', p. 171.

In 2007 a group of ten linguists - the Pragglejaz Group - published an explicit and systematic procedure for linguistic metaphor identification in language usage.[43] They produced a simple tool they believed could be used across many disciplines to identify metaphor. It is based on the rationale that metaphorical meaning in usage is indirect meaning which arises because of a contrast between the contextual meaning of a lexical unit and its more basic meaning.[44] The method does not assert that a lexical unit will be processed metaphorically by a reader and moreover, the decision not to regard a lexical unit as metaphorical does not imply that its use in discourse is literal as other figurative meaning (e.g. metonymy or hyperbole) may be present. The Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) can be described simply:[45]

1. A general understanding of the entire discourse must be established.
2. The lexical units in the text are determined.
3. For each lexical unit:
    (a) the contextual meaning is established
    (b) an assessment is made as to whether or not there is a more basic meaning. Such basic meanings are often more concrete, precise and may be related to bodily action.
    (c) if there is a difference between contextual and the basic meaning a decision is made about whether the contextual meaning can be understood in comparison with it.
4. The lexical unit is marked metaphorical if the answer to 3(c) is yes.

The procedure in many aspects appears straightforward although several subtle decisions have to be made; the Group reports reliable results between individual analysts.[46]

This paper seeks to apply this type of procedure in order to identify words used metaphorically in Proverbs Chapter 2. To bring rigor and replicability to the procedure the use of a lexicon is suggested by the Pragglejaz Group to establish basic meanings of lexical units. In their initial description of the procedure they refer to the *Macmillan Dictionary*. Use has been made in this

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[43] Pragglejaz Group, 'MIP: A Method for Identifying Metaphorically Used Words in Discourse', *Metaphor and Symbol*, 22.1 (2007), 1-39. The term Pragglejaz is derived from the initial letter of the first name of each of the contributors.
[44] Pragglejaz Group, p. 3.
[45] Pragglejaz Group, pp 3-13. This is an abbreviated summary of the method.
[46] Pragglejaz Group, pp. 20-22.

study of *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*[47] and the *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament*.[48] The use of the procedure is best demonstrated by example:

The noun **מגן** in Proverbs 2:7.

The immediate discourse setting concerns the appropriation of wisdom and asserts that it is Yahweh who bestows wisdom, knowledge and understanding. The contextual meaning of מגן appears to describe the protection afforded by Yahweh to those who have acquired wisdom. Cohen suggests that מגן stands in apposition to תושׁיה which is certainly grammatically possible,[49] but it seems more likely to stand in apposition to יהוה who is the antecedent of the pronoun of verse 6b and is the subject of וצפן in verse 7a.[50] The basic meaning of מגן is a shield or buckler used by a warrior.[51] When the contextual meaning is considered with the basic meaning there appears to be a contrast between the two and the contextual meaning can be understood by comparison with it. The abstract protection of the Lord can be comprehended in terms of the physical protection afforded by a shield in warfare. Interestingly, the LXX and Vulgate appear to interpret the metaphor for their readers:

> ὑπερασπιεῖ τὴν πορείαν αὐτῶν
> proteget gradientes simpliciter

The metaphor identification procedure therefore marks מגן as used metaphorically.

The verb **תטה** in Proverbs 2:2.

The discourse presents an encouragement by the father to the son to pursue and acquire wisdom. The contextual meaning of תטה which is the 2nd person masculine singular imperfect of the Hiphil stem of נטה, concerns the diligent application of one's whole being to obtaining understanding. The most basic meaning of the Hiphil stem is 'to stretch out' or 'to turn'.[52] When the contextual meaning is considered with the basic meaning there appears to be a contrast between the two and the contextual meaning can be readily understood by comparison with it. Diligent intentional pursuit of wisdom can be comprehended in terms of physically stretching out a hand to grasp an object or turning to something to give attention to it. The procedure therefore marks תטה as used metaphorically.

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[47] *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, ed. by David J. A. Clines, 8 vols (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993-2011).
[48] *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament*, ed. by Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann, trans. by Mark E. Biddle, 3 vols (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 2004).
[49] Aelred Cohen, *Proverbs* (London: Soncino, 1967), p. 10.
[50] Waltke, p. 225.
[51] *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, V, p. 135.
[52] *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, V, p. 674.

It is important to note that the procedure only requires the researcher to identify a more basic sense than is used in the discourse under consideration. The determination to which precise conceptual domains the words belong is often complex; it is not part of the procedure and that exercise constitutes a different research question.[53] As researchers have worked with the method, it has become apparent, however, that many lexical units which trigger a metaphorical mapping from a source domain to a target domain are not identified by the procedure. The criterion of indirectness is the main phenomenon which Metaphor Identification Procedure seeks to identify in the search for metaphoric linguistic words. However, if metaphor is defined as a mapping between two conceptual domains, it follows that direct language may be the realisation of such cross-domain mappings.[54] This has led to a refined version of the procedure emerging in 2010 in work led by one of the Pragglejaz Group, Gerard Steen. He adopts the acronym MIPVU because Vrije Universiteit was the Dutch name of the university where the research was performed.

The modified procedure adds a step in the analysis to identify words that may express cross-domain mappings directly. Referrent and topic shift within discourse are sensitive signs of the possibility of such mappings and, in English, Goatly has identified lexis which flags the prompting of some form of similarity or projection.[55] These markers are much more varied and diverse in English than in an ancient Semitic language but for our purposes include copular similes and comparisons. The analyst must consider whether the comparison belongs to two distinct contrasted domains. If this is so, then the comparison is regarded as expressing a cross-domain mapping. A dictionary definition will not yield a differential meaning in situations such as this and so it is often useful to consider whether there is a mapping between the lexical unit under consideration and elements from the co-text. A situation where these findings are positive would be marked as a direct form of metaphor.[56] An example demonstrates best the nuanced thinking behind this modification:

The lexical unit **ככסף** in Proverbs 2:4.
This lexical unit consists of the particle preposition כ and the noun כסף. The wider discourse context comprises exhortation to the son to acquire wisdom. The contextual meaning of the noun is ‘silver’. The son is urged to seek wisdom just as he would search for silver. The picture has

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[53] Gerard J. Steen and others, *A Method for Linguistic Metaphor Identification* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co., 2010), p. 8.
[54] Steen, p. 10.
[55] Goatly, pp. 178-209.
[56] Steen, pp. 14-15.

changed from calling a desirable woman in verse 3 to the search for precious metal that must be mined. The basic meaning is 'silver'[57] and the contextual and basic meaning cannot be contrasted or compared since they are the same. On the basic metaphor identification procedure this unit would not be marked as metaphorical. However it is clear that the lexical unit does set up a cross-domain comparison between the concept of wisdom and valuable silver. The value of these entities is a motivation for the wisdom search. The word כסף is not used indirectly but cross-domain mapping occurs in conceptual structure and in this example is expressed directly at the level of the linguistic form.[58]

This is a significant modification of the original procedure but allows a much more sensitive evaluation of metaphorical concepts triggered in discourse. Personification can also be challenging to analyse. In Proverbs 2:11, discretion (מזמה) and understanding (תבונה) are said to watch over and to guard the son who has acquired wisdom. The contextual and basic meanings of verbs שׁמר and נצר seem identical but in fact there may be a novel application of the basic sense here in that wisdom is viewed as the guard and protector. This may be a nuanced example of what is known as 'violation of selection restrictions' and thereby suggest that these words are employed metaphorically.[59]

If words joined by *maqqēp* are counted as separate units, then Proverbs Chapter 2 comprises 143 lexical units. When the above analysis is undertaken, 57 lexical units (40%) might be considered to be functioning metaphorically in some way. Of these, three are designated 'direct' metaphors and six lexical units may display personification. In addition to these lexical units which appear to be functioning metaphorically, several words have a conventionalised use which is clearly metaphorically motivated. These are noted in any analysis although it is impossible to know if they are actively processed as metaphorical by a reader. The results are expressed in tabulated form at the end of this paper and an attempt has been made at an initial categorisation according to the sense of the source domains.

Some comment on the suitability of the Metaphor Identification Procedure for a text such as Proverbs 2 is appropriate. The terseness of Hebrew text and the paucity, for example, of prepositions, makes the procedure relatively straightforward to apply. The historical distance from the text however, makes many decisions about contextual and basic meaning very

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[57] *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, IV, p. 445.
[58] Steen, pp. 93-4.
[59] Steen, pp. 104-5.

subjective. In many situations it is impossible to know about the degree of conventionalisation of a Hebrew metaphor. It is important to note that the procedure aims to identify lexical units which may be metaphorical linguistic expressions. It makes no judgement on how such expressions are processed by readers of the text. Some words are clearly metaphorical whereas the judgement about other words is more challenging. Goatly discusses the notion that the degree of metaphoricity can be considered according to five clines: the similarity of topic and vehicle, the degree of conventionality of the figure, the presence or absence of markers of metaphoricity such as words which prompt comparison, the degree of contradictoriness in the metaphor and finally its degree of explicitness.[60] A word such as עקשים when colligated with ארחתיהם causes little difficulty in being recognised as metaphorical (verse 15); the perverseness and twisting of the behaviour of the evil men is readily evoked. The ascription of metaphoricity to a verb such as תקח in verse 1 is harder to explain although some commentators clearly sense the presence of metaphor.[61] It is best explained by considering the colligate אמרי and appreciating that here words are viewed as having a physical quality which can be grasped.

The main purpose of this paper has been to describe, demonstrate and discuss a metaphor identification procedure applied to a Hebrew text. But is there exegetical benefit to such an exercise? Detailed consideration of metaphors and their interplay adds a further dimension to considering how a text operates. There are certain metaphors in this text which are easily overlooked particularly if the frequency of the metaphors concerning 'walking in the way' are allowed to dominate the imagery of the chapter. Almost 30% of the metaphorically used words in this chapter concern 'walking in the way' and this may mask the powerful imagery of the appropriation and internalisation of wisdom as it makes an entry into the heart and becomes sweet sustenance to the soul (verse 10). Likewise the stark imagery of 'a point of no return' after union with the strange woman is easily passed over in the initial half of verse 19. If wisdom enters the son (תביא) he is assured of delivery from the destiny of the man who enters the strange woman (באיה). The metaphor of hiding the commandments within the heart (verse 1) is enriched by the counterpoint of Yahweh storing up resourcefulness for the upright. The metaphor of wisdom and Yahweh himself keeping watch over the path of the one who has sought and obtained wisdom is complemented by the obedient son metaphorically keeping to the good path.

The interplay of metaphors in this chapter is complex but important. There is clear repetition and emphasis of the metaphor of the way and this chapter has the highest density of this figure in the

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[60] Goatly, p. 39.
[61] Waltke, p. 177.

whole Book of Proverbs. There are many examples of compounding of this metaphor where the vehicle of 'the way' becomes the topic term in numerous second-order metaphors. Thus, the contours of the way are used to denote deviousness or righteousness whilst the way finally leads to life or death. Multivalency of metaphor is a term referring to the scope of a metaphorical source.[62] It describes the phenomenon where the same vehicle is used for different topics. This seems evident in Proverbs 2 in the attribution of the role of rescuer to both Yahweh and to wisdom. One of the effects of the use of multivalent vehicles is to reflect a close relationship between their topics.[63] At a profound level this is surely one of the teachings of the father in Proverbs: gain wisdom and one will know right relationship with Yahweh. Diversification is the opposite phenomenon where multiple vehicles have an identical topic. This is evident in the initial four verses of the chapter where many vehicles are used to emphasise the importance of appropriating wisdom. When the chapter is considered as a whole the dense reiteration and intertwining of the way metaphor almost becomes literalised and provides a framework for the concept of rescue from dangerous ways. This emphasis is created by the twofold emphatic occurrence of להצילך at the start of the four verse stanzas which commence at verse 12 and 16. In this complex interplay rescue itself appears to become a dominant topic for the chapter with perhaps the framework of the way serving that topic. The interplay and interaction of metaphor seems a promising avenue of research. This brief consideration of the interplay of metaphors in Proverbs Chapter 2 only emerges however, after careful delineation and assessment of all the metaphors present.

George Craig August, 2014.

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[62] Goatly, p. 274.
[63] Goatly, p. 275.

Table 1: Possible metaphorical lexical units in Proverbs Chapter 2

personifications	לחכמה (v.2) לתבונה (v.2 and v.3) לבינה (v.4)	מזמה (v.11) תבונה (v.11)
metaphors of appropriation and commitment	תקח (v.1) תצפן (v.1) תטה (v.2) תתן [1] (v.3)	תבקשׁנה (v.4) תחפשׂנה (v.4) תמצא (v.5)
metaphors of value	ככסף (v.4)	וכמטמונים (v.4)
metaphors of protection/ rescue	מגן (v.7) לנצר (v.8) תנצרכה (v.11) להצילך (v.12 and v.16)	ישׁמר (v.8) תשׁמר (v.11)
metaphors of movement/ travel	להלכי (v.7) ללכת (v.13) תלך (v.20) שׁחה (v.18) תבוא (v.10) באיה (v.19)	ישׁובון (v.19) ישׁיגו (v.19)
metaphors of the way	ארחות (vv. 8,13,19) ארחתיהם (v.15) וארחות (v.20) מעגל (v.9) במעגלותם (v.15) מעגלתיה (v.18)	ודרך (v.8) מדרך (v.12) בדרכי (v.13) בדרך (v.20) נתיבה (v.18)[2]
metaphors of orientation	עקשׁים (v.15) ונלוזים (v.15)	
metaphors of rejection	העזבים (v.13) שׁככחה (v.17)	
miscellaneous[4]	יתן (v.6) וצפן (v.7) ינעם (v.10) חשׁך (v.13) החליקה (v.16) תשׁמר (v.20)	יכרתו (v.22)[3] יסחו (v.22)[3]

Notes for table 1:

1. This is part of the idiom נתן קול which literally means 'to give forth a sound'. There may be partly a metonymic motivation to this idiom with a sound standing for a summons. The reification of the abstract entity of words as something which can be physically given may suggest that metaphor is also present.

2. See footnote 21 in main paper for the inclusion of this emendation.

3. Assessment of the four verbs in verses 21 and 22 that conclude the chapter demonstrates well the exegetical sensitivity which has to exercised in assessing metaphoricity. If Fox is right in his conclusion that in the Wisdom literature 'dwelling or remaining in the land' denotes long life (Fox, p.123) then the mapping between the two notions seems metonymic. The final two verbs of verse 22 with their meanings of 'cut off' and 'torn away' appear more certainly metaphoric in their motivation.

4. It may be wondered why זרה in verse 16 is not listed as a metaphoric linguistic expression. This word has certainly been subject to diverse and creative interpretations by commentators but Fox argues well that it simply means 'something that does not properly belong to or in a situation'. (Fox, p. 139). For this reason, it has not been listed as metaphorical.

Table 2: <u>Words used in Proverbs Chapter 2 which have a conventionalised meaning but whose origin may be metaphorically motivated.</u>

יִשְׁרִים	(vv.7 and 21)	righteous people/upright people
מִישָׁרִים	(v.9)	equity
יֹשֶׁר	(v.13)	uprightness/straightness
תֻּם	(v.7)	completeness/integrity
וּתְמִימִים	(v.21)	people of wholeness/integrity
רְפָאִים	(v.18)	the departed/the shades (possibly related to the root רפה 'drop, sink, withdraw, abandon')
תַּהְפֻּכוֹת	(vv. 12 and 14)	perversity/distortion (root is הפך, 'to overturn')

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Final Words: Righteousness in the Psalms

Introduction

"Righteousness" is an important aspect of any attempt to understand the theology of the Psalter.[1] The *ṣdq* word group occurs more often in the Psalms than in any other OT book.[2] Scholars have sought to make sense of the variety of moods encompassed within the Psalms, with lament and praise, petition and thanksgiving, side by side;[3] consequent reflections on the vacillation of the fortunes of the speaker(s) and the people of God tend towards discussions of theodicy, and thus wisdom and Torah literature.[4] Naturally there has been study of the Torah words in Ps 119, for instance, and consideration of the recurring related words, such as *tôrâ* ("law"), *dābār* ("word"), *mišpāṭ(îm)* ("judgement(s)"), *ʿēdōt* ("decrees"), *miṣwōt* ("commands"), *piqqûdîm* ("precepts"), *ḥuqqîm* ("statutes"), and *ʾimrâ* ("saying").[5]

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[1] For Psalms scholarship which focuses on the theology of the Psalter see e.g. Jerome F. D. Creach, "The Destiny of the Righteous and the Theology of the Psalms", in *Soundings in the Theology of the Psalms: perspectives and methods in contemporary scholarship*, 49-61, ed. Rolf A. Jacobson (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011); Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms*, ed. Keith R. Crim (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1986); J Clinton McCann Jr, "The Single Most Important Text in the Entire Bible: toward a theology of the Psalms", in *Soundings in the Theology of the Psalms: perspectives and methods in contemporary scholarship*, 63-75, ed. Rolf A. Jacobson (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011); for the Psalter as wisdom or instruction see e.g. Gordon J. Wenham, *Psalms as Torah: reading biblical song ethically* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012); J. Clinton McCann Jr, *A Theological Introduction to the Book of Psalms: the Psalms as Torah* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2011).

[2] David Reimer, "ṣdq", in *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology & Exegesis*, 744-769, ed. Willem A. VanGemeren (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1997).

[3] In particular Claus Westermann, *Praise and Lament in the Psalms*, trans., Crim and Soulen (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1981); Federico G. Villanueva, *The Uncertainty of a Hearing: a study of the sudden change of mood in the Psalms of lament*, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, vol. 121 (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

[4] On the Psalms, see e.g. Kent Aaron Reynolds, *Torah as Teacher: The exemplary Torah student in Psalm 119*bid.|, Cited Pages|. vol. 137 (Boston, MA, USA: Brill Academic Publishers, 2010); Richard J. Clifford, "Psalm 90: Wisdom meditation or communal lament?", in *The Book of Psalms: composition and reception*, 190-205, ed. Peter W. Flint and Patrick D. Miller (Leiden: Brill, 2005); J. Kenneth Kuntz, "Wisdom Psalms and the shaping of the Hebrew Psalter", in *For a Later Generation*, 144-160, ed. Randal Argall et al. (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2000). In the OT in general, see e.g. W. Brueggemann, *Theology of the Old Testament: testimony, dispute, advocacy* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 2005); James L. Crenshaw, *Old Testament Wisdom: an introduction* (London: SCM, 1982).

[5] E.g. David N. Freedman, *Psalm 119 : The Exaltation of Torah* (Winona Lake, IN, USA: Eisenbrauns, 1999); Frank-Lothar Hossfeld et al., *Psalms 3: a commentary on Psalms 101-150*, Hermeneia - a critical and historical commentary on the Bible (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011); David Reimer, "The Language of Psalm 119", in *SOTS Winter Conference* (Durham: 2014).

"Righteousness" words are related to "Torah" vocabulary insofar as they concern justice and judgement, obedience and faithfulness. These are two related but distinct semantic domains. Just as *ṣedeq* ("righteousness") is not one of the central roots of Ps 119, so *tôrâ* ("law") is not a necessary companion to the language of righteousness. The semantic fields may stand close by but they are not identical.

Analysis of semantic domains is a useful hermeneutic tool to probe the theology of a text.[6] I therefore offer a contribution to the discussion of theodicy in the Psalms by analysis of the "righteousness" semantic field and its occurrences throughout the Psalter. By this means I hope (a) to show that righteousness is an important concept in the theology of the Psalms; and (b) to explore the potency and function of this semantic domain in the Psalter.

The Semantic Domain of "Righteousness" and its occurrences in the Psalms

Some semantic analysis has been done of *ṣedeq* ("righteousness") and related words in general in the Old Testament,[7] and in the Psalter in particular.[8] Yet a survey of its occurrences in the Psalms is intriguing, showing that it falls significantly more frequently at the ends of Psalms than anywhere else in the text.

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[6] Samuel Balentine, *The Hidden God: the hiding of the face of God in the Old Testament* (Oxford: OUP, 1983); J. K. Aitken, *The Semantics of Blessing and Cursing in Ancient Hebrew*, Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement Series, vol. 23 (Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2007); James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford: OUP, 1961); Reinier de Blois, "Towards a New Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew Based on Semantic Domains," *SBL* (2000) (accessed 15 March 2014); David Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings: studies in the semantics of soteriological terms* (Cambridge: CUP, 1967); J. P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida, eds., *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: based on semantic domains*, 2nd ed. (New York: United Bible Societies, 1989); Enio R. Mueller, "The Semantics of Biblical Hebrew: some remarks from a cognitive perspective," (2002) (accessed 15th March 2014); T. Muraoka, ed. *Semantics of Ancient Hebrew*, Abr-Nahrain Supplement Series vol. 6 (Louvain: Peeters, 1998).

[7] Reimer, "ṣdq", in *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology & Exegesis*, 744-769, ed. VanGemeren.

[8] Gert Kwakkel, *According to my Righteousness : upright behaviour as grounds for deliverance in Psalms 7, 17, 18, 26 and 44*, Oudtestamentische studiën, vol. 46 (Brill: Leiden 2002); Creach, "The Destiny of the Righteous and the Theology of the Psalms", in *Soundings in the Theology of the Psalms: perspectives and methods in contemporary scholarship*, 49-61, ed. Jacobson; Bent Rosendal, ""...according to thy righteousness": the righteousness of God as motivation in the Hebrew psalms of lamentation", *SJOT* 27, no. 1 (2013), 43-52.

Work on the semantic domain of "righteousness" suggests that there are a number of words that should be included centrally within the field. First, there are the two common cognates of *ṣedeq, ṣadîq* and *ṣĕdāqâ*. Then a glance at what words are used in conjunction with these reveals two primary abstract noun contenders, *tōm* "integrity" and *yōšer* "uprightness". Cognates of these also occur, as in the adjective *tomîm* "blameless" and forms derived from the verb *yāšār* "be straight".[9]

A survey of occurrences of these words within the Psalter is revealing. Most strikingly, of 177 occurrences of this semantic domain in 158 verses, 21 occur in the last verse of a psalm.[10] It is this detail that I now focus upon. This is statistically significant[11] and as such it indicates that there is a reason for this semantic field occurring at the end of psalm texts. I therefore explore why this might be the case and how it affects a reading of the Psalter.

Canonical Criticism and the Placing of "righteousness" words

An obvious starting point for a study of the distribution of words across the Psalter and in each separate Psalm text lies in the arrangement of these texts. Canonical criticism has laid much emphasis on the "seams" between books within the Psalter:[12] could this be the same for the "seams" between the texts within these books?

Of the psalms where the "righteousness" words fall in the final verses, eight are in Book I, four in Book II, three in the short Book III, four in Book IV, and just two in the long Book V. Thus psalms with "righteousness" at their closure account for 20% of Book I, 13% of Book II, 18% of Book III, 25% of Book IV, and just 5% of Book V.

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[9] *ṣdq* and *yšr together* in one verse Pss 5:9, 11:7, 32:11, 33:1, 36:11, 64:11, 94:15, 97:11, 112:4, 119:7,137, 140:14; *yšr* and *tm* together in one verse in Pss 25:21 and 37:37; *ṣdq* and *tm* together in one verse in Ps 7:9.

[10] Last verses of pss 1, 5, 7, 11, 17, 22, 32, 35, 51, 58, 64, 71, 75, 78, 85, 92, 96, 97, 98, 140, 142.

[11] Calculated according to these occurrences across the 2577 verses in the Psalter as a whole. If there were a random distribution the figures would be very different. As it is, the probability of gaining this result by chance is extremely low, at 1/10000.

[12] E.g. Gerald H. Wilson, "The use of royal psalms at the "seams" of the Hebrew Psalter", *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, no. 35 (1986), 85-94.

Canonical criticism easily justifies a phase in the editing of the Psalter where Books I-III were finalised, suggesting that Books IV-V were added at a later stage.[13] However, recognizing a balancing between the weight of "righteousness" in Psalm 1, the rest of Book I, and throughout Book IV, may suggest that there was a middle stage of editing, when Books I-III were re-shaped with a more "righteousness" potency, with Book IV added at the stage at which Psalm I was added. This middle stage with its focus on "righteousness" may have allowed for a shaping of theodicy and justice, a "creation" theology which made space for God's relationship with the whole natural order.[14] At least parts of the rather more miscellaneous Book V may then have been added at a later stage, still displaying some elements of this "righteousness" editing but with less consistency beyond Ps 106.

This very tentative hypothesis lacks the existence of a concluding psalm to Book IV that would adequately balance the opening of Book I, but nevertheless one might posit that such a closing psalm was altered with the addition of the last psalms as Book V and the final editing of the Psalter that imbued it with its shape as received today. Indeed the "orphan" nature of the high proportion of untitled psalms in Book IV, and the discrepancy between Books IV and V if they are to correspond with Numbers and Deuteronomy according to the Pentateuchal hypothesis, at least allows for such a possibility.[15]

Even to raise such a suggestion as a plausible hypothesis indicates that semantic field analysis may be a useful tool in canonical criticism and contribute to Psalms scholarship. Given that there is such a significant occurrence of "righteousness" related words in final verses of the Psalms, and given that this varies widely in particular between Books I-IV and Book V, such statistics lead to the conclusion that there is a reason for these words being placed where they are, at the end of so many Psalms, and that this reason may not have been consistent throughout the editorial process of the Psalter.

Some more observations of semantic occurrences of "righteousness" words

[13] Primarily the Qumran Psalms Scroll evidences this. See also the arguments proffered by e.g. Gerald Henry Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter*, SBL Dissertation Series, vol. 76 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1985).

[14] E.g. J Clinton McCann Jr, "Righteousness, Justice, and Peace: a contemporary theology of the Psalms", *Horizons in Biblical Theology* 23, (2001), 116ff.

[15] Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter*, 214, 202, vol. 76. "The "original" conclusion of Book Four... must have fallen after Ps 118."

Furthermore, consideration of other occurrences of this semantic field shows there to be six instances in first verses of psalms,[16] ten instances in second verses of psalms,[17] and ten instances in penultimate verses of psalms.[18] Does this contribute further to the observation of how "righteousness" words are placed in emphatic points in psalm texts?

Statistically, occurrences in the first verse are roughly in line with a random distribution and there is nothing statistically significant about these occurrences by themselves. Nevertheless there are interesting points to be drawn about the coincidences of last verse occurrences with occurrences either in the first verse of the same psalm, or the first verse of the subsequent psalm and thereby "seam". There is one example of the first verse/last verse occurrences, and three examples of the last verse/first verse occurrences. Psalm 17 has occurrences both at the beginning and the end of the psalm. Psalms 32 and 33, 71 and 72, and 142 and 143 all instance occurrences in the final verse of one psalm and the first verse of the next. I will therefore consider these texts in more detail below.

Some psalms however clearly evidence the addition of a verse at the beginning of end of the text. This attracts attention also to second verses and penultimate verses. Consider, for instance, Ps 25. With its acrostic structure, and otherwise individual voice, the final verse seems awkward. While it is the twenty-second verse, it comes after the *taw* verse (which falls in v. 21 due to the omission of the *waw* verse), and this is the only verse in the psalm which suggests a community rather than an individual lament. However, Ps 25:21 features both *yšr* and *tm* and the latter also occurs in Ps 26:1. The largely acrostic shape of Ps 25 connects this text with wisdom literature and so the "righteousness" emphasis further resonates with this. Moreover, Pss 25/26 fall in Book I of the Psalter which already has a high number of "righteousness" occurrences at seams of psalms: including Ps 25:21 as a last verse occurrence would simply strengthen the suggestion of editorial connections by means of "righteousness" theology between Books I and IV. Should occurrences of the "righteousness" semantic domain in penultimate verses and second verses of a psalm therefore also be taken into account, to allow for the possibility of additions of verses to the beginning and end of individual texts – at a later stage than any such "righteousness" editorial input took place, but before the Psalter reached its final form?

[16] Pss 17:1, 26:1, 33:1, 72:1, 111.1, 143.1
[17] Pss 4.2, 11.2, 15.2, 31.2, 58.2, 71.2, 97.2, 98.2, 101.2, 112.2
[18] Pss 25, 26, 34, 37, 41, 55, 107, 112, 125, 143

Statistically, the second or second-to-last occurrences are harder to quantify and less significant. Since there are some very short psalms, of either two or three verses (Pss 117 and 134 respectively) thus without any "ordinary" verses (i.e. nor first or last) and consequently without scope for taking second or second-to-last verses into account, any calculations are complex and more detailed than this paper allows. A natural step would be simply to take these instances case-by-case rather than allowing for these further calculations to skew the analysis. However, the scope of the present paper is more limited than this would require, since taking into account second and second-to-last verse occurrences of the "righteousness" field results in another five instances where psalms include "righteousness" words towards both beginning and end of the same text,[19] and another three instances where psalms include "righteousness" words towards the end of one text and near the beginning of the following text.[20]

Yet these do require a little comment, even if not full analysis on this occasion. Of the psalms where this occurs (beyond those I note to be more convincing than others due to clearer evidence of textual addition during the development of the Psalter), most fall in conjunction with other occurrences. So for instance the dubious seams of Pss 71:2 and 71:24 fall alongside a "righteousness" occurrence in 72:1, and likewise Pss 142:1/143:11 fall immediately after a "righteousness" occurrence in 142:8. Similarly there is a glut of such dubious instances at the end of Ps 25, and then both beginning and end of Ps 26; and at the ends and beginnings of Pss 96, 97, and 98, so often considered by scholars to be central to the shaping of the Psalter.[21] Such observations certainly invite further investigation but that will have to wait for a future occasion.

I now therefore return to examine more closely Psalm 17, with "righteousness" occurrences both at the beginning and the end of the psalm; followed by Psalms 32 and 33, 71 and 72, and 142 and 143 with their occurrences in the final verse of one psalm and the first verse of the next.

Psalm 17

[19] Pss 58:2/58:12 is perhaps most convincing, given that 58:1 is simply superscription in the received text; otherwise 11:2/11:7, 26:1/26:11, 71:2/71:24, and 143:1/143:11.
[20] Pss 25:21/26:1 as discussed briefly here is most plausible; otherwise 96:13/97:2 and 97:1/98:2.
[21] REFS

Psalm 17 is a text sometimes associated with the posited *Sitz-im-Leben* of a Temple ordeal,[22] a life-setting that is tackled by Kwakkel, whose careful readings of the texts and consideration of the "Ordeal" more broadly leads him to conclude that there is little evidence for this connection.[23] Other cultic settings such as the Covenant Festival have been proposed,[24] or recognition made that whether or not it had developed away from its cultic roots, this was now a text to be used whenever the need arose.[25] Protesting his innocence, the Psalmist declares his righteousness throughout, and it is therefore no surprise that this should be emphasised and both top and tail the text.

The final verse is sometimes simply understood to be the theophany associated with such a reconstructed Temple ritual, but other readings of v. 15 may also be offered. Mays highlights the possibility that this is the psalmist's experience of how his relationship with God is made right.[26] On the other hand, McConville connects the language of theophany with the religious-ethical role of the king, where the *visio dei* implies *imitatio dei*, and where love of justice is closely linked with direct experience of God. This is not so much then about personal vindication but about the establishment of righteousness more generally.[27] Righteousness in the final verse of this psalm need not be related to cultic practices but may simply more powerfully be a meditation on justice more broadly, expressing the inseparability of worship and ethics.

Indeed, the superscription תְּפִלָּה לְדָוִד, "A Psalm of David", invites such a royal connection.[28] The psalmist appears to be taking on a royal identity. Goldingay's observation of the multiple references to the body in Ps 17 – which he argues "underline the concrete personal reality of suppliant, enemies, and Yhwh, and the nature of Y's real involvement with humanity" – could be considered to point more directly even to the kingly figure as a part of the body-politic.[29]

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[22] A useful discussion of this may be found in Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 1-59: a commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988), 246.
[23] Or indeed much evidence of this ordeal in the Psalms more generally. Kwakkel, *According to my Righteousness : upright behaviour as grounds for deliverance in Psalms 7, 17, 18, 26 and 44*, vol. 46.
[24] Artur Weiser, *The Psalms: a commentary*, trans., Herbert Hartwell (London: SCM Press, 1962), 180.
[25] A. A. Anderson, *The Book of Psalms*, New Century Bible (London: Oliphants, 1972), 147.
[26] James Luther Mays, *Psalms*, Interpretation (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1994), 89.
[27] J. G. McConville, in *Centre and Periphery: a European tribute to Walter Breuggemann*, 193-207, ed. Jill Middlemas, David J.A. Clines, and Else K. Holt (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2010) esp. 204-206.
[28] Translated simply as "A Royal Prayer" by J. H. Eaton, *Psalms: introduction and commentary* (London: SCM, 1967), 100.
[29] John Goldingay, *Psalms*, Baker Commentary on the Old Testament Wisdom and Psalms (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006), I.245.

"Righteousness" in v.1 is however the subject of some textual debate. שִׁמְעָה יְהוָה צֶדֶק, very literally translated as "hear righteousness, O Lord", in the MT contrasts with the LXX which includes the pronominal suffix, reading "my righteousness".[30] The vocative, "O righteous One" is considered less likely.[31] Thus a reading which understands the righteousness of v.1 to refer to the speaker rather than God is considered more plausible by scholars. Indeed עֵינֶיךָ תֶּחֱזֶינָה מֵישָׁרִים "let your eyes see the right" in v. 2 also has a sense in which the psalmist is asking God to judge him as righteous. Yet this also begins to illuminate the fact that man's righteousness (particularly when referring to the king) is profoundly connected with God's righteousness. This is an important aspect of the covenant relationship that means the psalmist may relate his righteousness to God's righteousness as a motivation for a petitionary prayer, as here.[32] Thus it may be said: "The prayer from its beginning depends on the righteousness of G and now pleads for that righteousness to be shown in the life of the community."[33] God's righteousness, the psalmist's righteousness, and the community's righteousness, are all intertwined. The question "whose righteousness is it?" is not a straightforward one to answer. The fact that the righteousness of God and of his people is so intricately related means that references to the "righteous" semantic field has broad relevance and is easily understood to be central to petition and praise alike.

Indeed, while a Temple setting *per se* may have been discounted, nevertheless the Temple may be seen as a refuge in Ps 17:8, a theme which is arguably throughout the early psalms.[34] That God's righteousness – rather than the enemies of v.9 – might be what surrounds the psalmist is an important theme and physical connection. The psalmist wants God to be present rather than his enemies. Thus "the psalm ends where it began, with the psalmist claiming to be righteous; and this righteousness will carry him through life, for he expects a glorious future in which he will be satisfied with God's presence."[35]

Righteousness – despite textual difficulties in v.1 – clearly tops and tails the Psalm because it is integral to the whole theme and theology of the Psalm. With *ṣdq* occurring

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[30] A.P. Ross, *A Commentary on the Psalms* (Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 2011), 415. Cf. also Kraus, *Psalms 1-59: a commentary*, 244.
[31] Ross, *A Commentary on the Psalms*, 415.
[32] Walter Brueggemann, *Psalms*, ed. W. H. Bellinger and William H. Bellinger, New Cambridge Bible commentary Y (New York : Cambridge University Press, 2013), 92-93.
[33] Ibid., 91; cf. also Ross, *A Commentary on the Psalms*, 423.
[34] Interestingly there is a fairly consistent overlap between such psalms and the occurrences of the "righteousness" field of words in last verses of the psalms. "One of the themes at the center of a study of the first psalms in the Hebrew Psalter is the centrality of the sanctuary (temple) as a place of refuge. Pss 3, 5, 7, 11, 15, and 16 all reflect this perspective, as does Ps 17." Brueggemann, *Psalms*, 89. Compare f.n. 10.
[35] Ross, *A Commentary on the Psalms*, 430.

in first and last verses, and *yšr* in v.2, "righteousness" encapsulates the text and is both a first impression and a parting thought.[36] It seems that Ps 17 has been crafted with this in mind and one might even go so far as to point out a degree of ring composition.

Psalms 32 and 33

Psalms 32 and 33 have long been regarded as textually connected.[37] The righteousness connection has been briefly noted: "Psalm 33 now delivers the praise of Y called for in Ps 32".[38] Scholars however differ between how closely related they are. Eaton[39] suggests that "otherwise they are quite different and our main tradition is surely right to separate them." Yet Grogan makes a realistic but persuasive argument for their linking, as he comments on Ps 33:

> This psalm has no heading, most unusual for book 1, possibly because it was regarded as a companion to Psalm 32, to which it has a number of resemblances including benedictions (32:1-3, 33:12) and the description of God as teacher (explicitly in 32:8 and by clear implication in 33:4). There is also the call to sing praise to the Lord, which ends 32 and opens 33. This last may even suggest that the two psalms were originally one, but this is uncertain, and moreover is unlikely as this twenty-two-verse psalm, although not an acrostic, has a structure imitative of acrostics.[40]

Both psalms display evidence of wisdom influence. While in a long church tradition, Ps 32 has been seen as one of the seven penitential psalms, "it could also be described as a Wisdom poem because it is reminiscent of sapiential literature".[41] From a form-critical standpoint, Weiser suggests it is a "mixed type",[42] and Kraus too reflects on didactic resonances in the thanksgiving song of Ps 32:

> The songs of thanksgiving in the Psalter tend toward reporting experiences and toward teaching, toward confession and challenge. This is where elements of

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[36] Cf. also the suggestion that the difficult v.14 [וּצְפוּנֶךָ =ק] [וּצְפִינֶךָ =כ] refers to God's "treasured ones" as his righteous people. Ibid., 429. This reading would re-introduce righteousness in the penultimate verse of the psalm; it would also make afresh the connections between God's righteousness, the psalmist's righteousness, and God's people's righteousness.

[37] Cf. e.g. Ibid., 724. "There are some Hebrew manuscripts that connect Ps 33 to Ps 32, but these may be attempts to supply a missing superscription."

[38] Brueggemann, *Psalms*, 164.

[39] Eaton, *Psalms*, 151.

[40] Geoffrey Grogan, *Psalms* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 86.

[41] Anderson, *Psalms*, 254.

[42] Weiser, *Psalms*, 281.

> didactic wisdom poetry gain entrance. In the course of the history of transmission this takes place at an increasing pace.[43]

Mays also reflects on the public testimonial value of such a prayer, recognizing further that:

> it has become outright instruction given in the form of sayings of congratulation as beatitudes... exhortation... and proverbial saying... The psalm is a prayer that advocates penitence. The instructional function accompanies and is as important as the function of praise. The psalm, then, probably belongs to the late phase of psalmody when the pedagogical role of worship because more significant.[44]

This pedagogical input is explored by Mandolfo as an example of the dialogic nature of the didactic voice in selected psalms;[45] Goldingay notes that this is the first occurrence in the Psalter of the superscription מַשְׂכִּיל, "A Maskil" or "Psalm of Instruction",[46] and reflects on the didactic opening and closing of the text.[47]

Kraus connects psalms 32 and 33 once again, noting that "the prayer song presented in v.11 as a *todah* in intention and with a formal point is strongly permeated with the wisdom characteristics of didactic poetry." Weiser and Anderson both place Ps 33 in a cultic setting, the former at the Festival of Renewal of Covenant,[48] the latter similarly relating it to the Autumnal Festival.[49]

Even if these scholarly views of the form of the psalms seem to differ fairly broadly, nevertheless there is some consistency of theology and its potential function as instruction throughout both texts. Such festal settings offer a meeting place for different generations of God's people, and a significant opportunity for transmission of tradition. Moreover, the themes of such reconstructed festival occasions specifically resonate with some of the theology that runs through both psalms. Anderson's "Autumn Festival" conjecture for instance involves celebration of traditions of creation and salvation history; while the addresses to the worshippers in 33:1 as "righteous" and "upright", again

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[43] Kraus, *Psalms 1-59: a commentary*, 368.
[44] Mays, *Psalms*, 145.
[45] Carleen Mandolfo, *God in the Dock: dialogic tension in the Psalms of lament*, JSOTSuppl., vol. 357 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002).
[46] Goldingay, *Psalms*, 3:664. For "Maskil" as superscription in Ps 142, he also suggests "contemplative poem" or "skilful poem". This certainly chimes with Wisdom language as well as the editorial possibilities of a redactor making connections between psalms.
[47] ibid., I.453: "the psalm closes as it began, with further didactic generalizations and with explicit exhortation to wisdom and invitation to other people to rejoice in Yhwh, on the basis of what this testimony implies."
[48] Weiser, *Psalms*, 290.
[49] Anderson, *Psalms*, 260.

combining *ṣdq* and *yšr*, were "generally regarded as honorific names of the cultic community. At least theoretically these qualities should characterise the worshippers of Yahweh."[50]

Again, the righteousness of God is connected with the righteousness of the cultic community. So 33:1 is both a recognition of the special relationship of the community to their God, and also an implicit challenge;[51] the occurrences of *ṣdq* and *yšr* may further be viewed as an introduction to the themes of the rest of Psalm 33.[52] These unfolding themes include how the righteous are in relation not only to God but also to the whole of creation (33:5ff), with whom God's righteousness means universal right relationship.[53]

Righteousness effectively means right relationship with God, between both individual and community.[54] Psalm 32 exemplifies a development in righteousness, in the learning and activity of penitence, where the one who is possibly even made ill by his need of righteousness[55] is a lesson in righteousness for the cultic audience.[56] The righteous exemplar is then carried over into Ps 33:

> It praises the God whom the righteous trust – therein lies their rightness, that they trust the Lord. At the same time, it teaches and encourages trust and hope by describing the Lord as the one who can be trusted.[57]

The psalmist is again importantly surrounded by righteousness – the righteousness of God and the righteous who are his community.[58] Individual and community are together growing in righteousness and helping one another in that quest. So indeed Pss 32 and 33 are both united in their emphasis of how deeply relational righteousness is:

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[50] Ibid.
[51] Goldingay, *Psalms*, 465.
[52] Ross, *A Commentary on the Psalms*, 726: "these two descriptions prepare the reader for what is to follow in the psalm, namely, that the word of the Lord is "upright" ... and that the Lord loves "righteousness" ... and therefore evaluates everyone righteously."
[53] Kraus, *Psalms 1-59: a commentary*, 375-376: "Ps 33 always emphasizes the fact that between Yahweh and the world of creation there exists not only an original relationship of creation but above all a historically contemporary life relationship."
[54] Weiser, *Psalms*, 291: "'Righteousness and justice' are the ordinance of the Covenant which God himself oversees and which is therefore binding also on the life of the God-fearing man; it is the ordinance which alone makes it possible for a community to remain in being."
[55] Kraus, *Psalms 1-59: a commentary*, 368.
[56] Ross, *A Commentary on the Psalms*, 718.
[57] Mays, *Psalms*, 148.
[58] Ps 32:7 incorporates the idea of being surrounded by righteousness; the "surround" it is paraphrased rather than translated in the Greek, and even more powerfully is repeated. Ross, *A Commentary on the Psalms*, 705.

> The Istraelite stood in a particular relationship to his God, his fellow men, and his world in general, and each of these relationships made certain demands upon him from day to day. The righteous man accepted his responsibilities and carried them out accordingly.[59]

An ideal of universal right relationships pervades these psalms, and this will also be seen to be the case in Pss 71 and 72.

Psalms 71 and 72

Pss 71 and 72 in their juxtaposition relate the poor of the community with the king, and with God. The connections between Pss 70 and 71 have frequently been stated;[60] less has been made of the links between Pss 71 and 72.

Hossfeld and Zenger, however, do make something of the placing of Ps 72 after Ps 71, the two last psalms of Book III of the Psalter. With the suggestion that a "poor people's" redaction edited the first Davidic Psalter, then shaped some prayers of its own and placed them at the end of the second Davidic Psalter, they count Ps 71 as Davidic, since Ps 72 is then a prayer for his son Solomon, a sequence which justifies the great doxology (72:18-19) and the colophon which claims to end the prayers of David (72:20).[61] This then also connects the justice and righteousness associated with the king to other royal psalms. On Ps 72 they write:

> From a thematic point of view this petitionary prayer for "righteousness" for his son, or rather for the kingship beginning with him, is a concretizing of his intention, formulated at the end of Ps 71, to hand on, "murmuring"… the justice he has experienced as rescue (cf. 71:24). In the body of the psalm itself, then, this righteousness or justice is, on the one hand, made explicit in terms of a theology of the poor, consistent with the horizon of the theology of the poor in Psalms 69-71, but in such a way that the king is defined as the rescuer of the poor. On the other hand, the "justice" YHWH gives, with the king as mediator, is universalized, and in this way Ps 72 becomes a bridge to the other royal psalms,

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[59] Anderson, *Psalms*, 62.
[60] Frank-Lothar Hossfeld et al., *Psalms 2: a commentary on Psalms 51-100*, Hermeneia - a critical and historical commentary on the Bible (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 199; Goldingay, *Psalms*, 365; Brueggemann, *Psalms*, 308.
[61] Hossfeld et al., *Psalms 2*, 199-200.

> especially Pss 2 and 89, but at the level of the completed Psalter also Pss 110 and 132.[62]

Such reflections relating the king to a theology of the poor connect also then with the royal psalms in Book IV of the Psalter, a book which is sometimes viewed as the "editorial 'center' of the Psalter, with the enthronement psalms at its "theological heart".[63] Wilson noted that there are Royal Psalms at the conclusions of books in the Psalter as well as at the beginning of the Psalter; Grogan pointed out how the closing psalms of both Books I and II emphasise the moral qualities of the king.[64] It seems that there is a powerful argument for the existence of a redactional stage of the Psalter in the hands of editors for whom the relationship between the king and the poor, in terms of righteousness, was important. The King is used as a specific example of right relationship:

> Book II comes to a close with this amazing prayer for blessings on the king. The Davidic monarchy has been behind all the palms in the first two books in one way or another. Here a psalm has been included that looks to the future of the monarchy. The petitions in this prayer reflect the needs of the nation, for the nation never had a king that did these things. In fact, there has never been a truly righteous king or a righteous government in the history of the world. And the world needs a righteous king.... This prayer becomes eschatological."[65]

Perhaps however there is more than eschatology here. This again could be taken as an example of didactic exemplarity. The king has a particular responsibility to be righteous; this is both a charge to present and future kings, and also instruction to the community to whom the capacity for righteousness will be poured out through the king.[66]

The king's righteousness was considered life-giving and a blessing to his people; it was only natural that the community should bless him and pray God's blessing on him.[67] As Kraus writes on 72:1-4: "The *ṣĕdāqâ* bestowed on the king is considered a dynamic sphere of power that is extended... to the entire land and that promotes fertility; it is

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[62] Ibid., 200.
[63] Wilson's ideas, taken up by McCann Jr, "Righteousness, Justice, and Peace: a contemporary theology of the Psalms", 116ff.
[64] Grogan, *Psalms*, 132.
[65] Ross, *A Commentary on the Psalms*, 545.
[66] Grogan, *Psalms*, 132; Mays, *Psalms*, 236: "power flowed to the people from deity through the king"
[67] Marvin E. Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 20 (Dallas, Texas: Word Books, 1990), 223. This was more generally true throughout the ANE, Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 60-150: a commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1989), 78. The language of blessing as effective chimes with the effectiveness of God's word, and the close relationship with word and action in these texts; there is not however space to digress on that here.

always applied to the people... for it is the responsible source of life for a community relationship."[68]

All this pivots on the prayer at 72:1,[69] the transition between the characterization of the old psalmist in Ps 71 and the kingly prayer of 72. "The whole psalm flows from the prayer of v. 1",[70] and indeed this is the only unequivocal prayer, the only invocation and imperative addressed to God in the whole psalm.[71] Continuing immediately on to refer to the poor, needy, and indeed crushed people in the chiasmus of vv. 1–4,[72] there seems to be some artful arrangement of this psalm, which chimes with its connection with Ps 71. The poor and needy return again in 72:12–14 and once again there is thus a connection with Ps 71 insofar as "old age means declining powers and can be read as a metaphor for neediness."[73] The only psalm where the speaker is identified as an old person (71:18, 20), the style of Ps 71 as an anthology of preformed parts also suggests a lifetime of prayer, its closing verses likewise.[74]

Just as the king's righteousness depends on God's righteousness, so the king's social responsibility to the people also derives from God's relationship with the community:

> The people for whom the king must ensure justice belong to God, for the prayer to God refers to them as "your people" and "your poor". The king was only the viceroy; the kingdom, meaning the people, belonged to God. And although not everyone in the nation was poor, the poor needed care the most. If a king did not judge them with righteousness and justice, he was not a righteous king.[75]

The whole realm depended on the wellbeing not only of the king, but also of those who needed care the most. Thus "it is *care for the poor* that becomes the basis for *economic*

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[68] Kraus, *Psalms 60-150: a commentary*, 77–78.
[69] The translation of this verse as a prayer is widely accepted, with only a few exceptions who choose to read it in the context of vv.2–7 (or 2–14) as a simple future depiction of what the reign will be. Ross, *A Commentary on the Psalms*, 533.
[70] Eaton, *Psalms*, 262.
[71] Goldingay, *Psalms*, 384.
[72] Tate, *Psalms 51–100*, 233, vol. 20.
[73] Mays, *Psalms*, 235.
[74] Hossfeld et al., *Psalms 2*, 193–196. Furthermore, p.198: "The concluding vow of praise, vv. 22–24, is strikingly constructed and awakens the suspicion that it was not merely created for the single Psalms 71." If this is so, not only is it an anthology, which creates the image of an old man whose language has been shaped by years of prayer, but it also potentially demonstrates editorial input once again.
[75] Ross, *A Commentary on the Psalms*, 536.

prosperity in the realm."[76] Indeed, the land was also crucial both to kingly reign but also the protection of the poor. God's people are commanded to "dwell in the land" (e.g. Ps 37:3, 9, 11, 22), and certainly a king's justice involved protecting the claim of the poor to the land.[77]

The theology of the poor and the king is thus undeniably interlinked in Pss 71 and 72, right at the end of this Davidic Book II. But what of other psalms placed later in the Psalter as a whole?

Psalms 142 and 143

Hossfeld and Zenger in fact relate Ps 142 back to the preceding Davidic Psalters, noting references to 16:5; 77:2-4; 107:5, 6, 13, 14, 19, 28; 116:6, 9, "which were not quoted but probably have been employed."[78] Goldingay too reflects on Davidic connections in Ps 142 with its superscription מַשְׂכִּיל לְדָוִד בִּהְיוֹתוֹ בַמְּעָרָה תְּפִלָּה, "A Maskil of David. When he was in the cave. A Prayer." (NRS) A more detailed form of the superscription already noted in Ps 32, this leads Goldingay to reckon the psalm heading as a later addition to the psalm, made on the basis of subsequent verbal connections. Yet in this text, "isolated from the other psalms with concrete headings, the verbal connections are more intrinsic to the psalm and appear too numerous to be coincidental. Perhaps… the psalmist wrote a "David psalm" for individuals' use, based on the David story."[79] Whatever the background to the superscription, nevertheless its Davidic nature reminds the reader of kingship, and here too there is a yearning for justice and righteousness.

In stark contrast to royal overtones, however, the tone of individual lament depicts a prisoner approaching divine judgement. His imprisonment is a symbol of helplessness

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[76] Brueggemann, *Psalms*, 314. Cf. also Walter Houston, "The King's Preferential Opinion for the Poor: rhetoric, idealogy and ethics in Ps 72", *Biblical Interpretation* 7, (1999).
[77] By proclaiming the jubilee. Mark D. Vander Hart, "Possessing the Land : As Command and Promise", *Mid-America Journal of Theology* 4, no. 2 (1988), 139-155; 147-148, citing A. van Selms, "Jubilee, Year of", in *The Interpreters' Dictionary of the Bible, Supplement*, 497ff (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1976) 498.
[78] Hossfeld et al., *Psalms 3*, 568.
[79] Goldingay, *Psalms*, 663.

and inescapable distress.[80] Kraus also suggests that Ps 143:3 images a prisoner, הוֹשִׁיבַנִי בְמַחֲשַׁכִּים, "making me sit in darkness",[81] and thus he connects Pss 142 and 143.[82]

Perhaps however it is not just the locational context of the prison/enemies that connects Pss 142 and 143. Rather, Kraus follows Schmidt in suggesting that "the persecuted person is not alone. The *ṣadîqîm*, who strive for an obedient way of life, faithful to the covenant, wait for the release of the one who was accused, though innocent. 'The remark that it is precisely they who are waiting for the release of the petitioner emphatically expresses once again the feeling of innocence; at the same time it reminds YHWH that with the help prayer for he is displaying the moral world order'."[83] The psalmist in Ps 142 may be physically close to his enemies in imprisonment, and therefore isolated, but in deliverance comes "praise and recognition of God's goodness by godly friends, who will then gather round the psalmist, dispelling his loneliness."[84] Moreover, in Ps 143, it may be argued that "the psalmist, like the psalm, is encompassed by a God who is his only source of comfort and strength" on the grounds of the psalm's structure: "In v. 1, righteousness stands in close parallel to "faithfulness" (*amunah)*, Yahweh's reliability. At the conclusion, Yahweh's "righteousness" parallels Yahweh's steadfastness (*hesed)*, an account also sounded in the middle of the psalm at verse 8".[85] Language and imagery of who surrounds or encompasses the psalmist unites both Pss 142 and 143.

The two adjacent psalms are also linked by a theology of righteousness that once again has the oppressed, the poor, at its centre. While it may differ from Pss 140–142 insofar as the former clearly display the Psalmist's own righteousness towards God, Ps 143 "thinks and speaks consistently in terms of its basic principle, that no human being is righteous before God, and it therefore avoids reference to righteousness and being righteous with regard to the speaker and human beings in general. Nevertheless, in its own way it continues the theology of the poor by presenting the designation of lowliness, "servant of

[80] Kraus, *Psalms 60–150: a commentary*, 531–532.
[81] Language of "sitting" elsewhere is suggestive of whose company one keeps. Thus Kwakkel, *According to my Righteousness : upright behaviour as grounds for deliverance in Psalms 7, 17, 18, 26 and 44*, 122, vol. 46, on Ps 26:4–5. It further chimes with the language of "surrounding" as explored previously. The psalmist wants to be in the presence of and associated with God, not in the presence of his enemies and associated with unrighteousness.
[82] Kraus, *Psalms 60–150: a commentary*, 536.
[83] Ibid., 533; Hans Schmidt, "Das Gebet der Angeklagten im Alten Testament (1927)", in *Zur neueren Psalmenforschung*, 156–167 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976).
[84] Grogan, *Psalms*, 221. Goldingay also notes the language of "surrounding" in Ps 142 and connects it with Ps 22:12[13].Goldingay, *Psalms*, 669.
[85] Brueggemann, *Psalms*, 596.

Yahweh", as the speaker's self-definition."[86] There is also word-for-word agreement in the 142:4 and 143:4:[87] it seems that there is some consciousness of the connections being made between the two psalms.

Psalm 142 may be understood as "an individual song of lament shaped and therefore altered by wisdom"[88]; Ps 143 likewise (another of the church's traditional psalms of penitence) is an individual lament,[89] and its anthological style[90] (again, like Ps 71) seems to suggest a conscious composition. There is much to connect Pss 142 and 143.

Just as there may be conscious ordering between and within these and other juxtaposed psalms, order in is indeed important also in a worldview. Sitting at the seam between the two psalms, the closing petition of Ps 142 "is about the preservation of a world order on behalf of the poor petitioner and his group of the righteous."[91] The editorial ordering of such psalms which feature "righteousness" at the end may even be an eschatological comment on God's righteous ordering of creation.

Conclusion

There are a number of themes which are in common amongst these psalms which either have the "righteousness" field of words in their final verse, or which have such vocabulary in the first verse following such a final verse. Such themes are interrelated.

There is "kingly theology" where the righteousness of the ruler closely involves the poor. The ensuing "poor theology" connects together the poor, the king, and God. God's righteousness is what pervades all these, and relates them together in a world order that is a right ordering by the Creator. It is no surprise then that it is often difficult to separate human righteousness from divine righteousness, since the righteousness of the creator

[86] Hossfeld et al., *Psalms 3*, 577.
[87] Ibid., 574.
[88] Ibid., 564.
[89] Kraus, *Psalms 60-150: a commentary*, 535.
[90] Christoph Buysch, *Der letzte Davidpsalter: Interpretation, Komposition und Funktion der Psalmengruppe Ps 138-145*, Stuttgarter Biblische Beiträge (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2009), 288.
[91] Hossfeld et al., *Psalms 3*, 567.

God imbues his creation and creatures, and the righteousness of both parties is bound together in covenantal as well as creation theology.

Community and relationship is therefore integral to "righteousness" at these seams of the Psalms. However individual the prayers may seem, there is yet a sense in which they are also instruction. They are not simply prayed for the sake of a divine addressee alone; they are prayed also for the sake of a human audience of the righteous. Together God's people, the righteous, seek the divine righteousness, and they do this in worship. Worship and ethics are integral to one another in the community of Israel. The wisdom that is displayed in these psalms, particularly in the emphatic final verses or opening verses, needs to be passed on from one generation to another, from the old to the young, from the needy to those who may one day themselves be in a position to stand by the oppressed.

The theology seen here has also been one of closeness. Keeping company with God is a sign of right relationship with him, and thus righteousness. It is also a means of growing in righteousness, insofar as keeping company with righteousness and unrighteousness alike can shape an individual. The psalmist yearns to be surrounded by righteousness both in the form of the presence of God and in the form of his community of righteous people. When individuals are in the presence of God and the community of the godly, it is possible to think of praying publicly not only as teaching, but also as a means of reminding both man of God's righteousness and God of his obligation to righteousness through the covenant. Thus righteousness – of both man and God – may be not only the subject of a petition but also a motivation for God to grant a petition. Likewise it may be both the subject of praise, and also the motivation for man to offer praise of God.

Relationship and closeness are integral to righteousness as seen in these psalms. Indeed, a glossary referring to the "righteousness" group of words, reads thus:

> [The "righteousness" group of words involves] Acting in the right way in relation to people with whom one is in a relationship. The EVV's "righteous, just, righteousness" thus lose the relationship connotations of the words, which do not directly refer to individual personal morality or to social justice as we understand that idea. They do not suggesting treating everyone in the same, just way but doing the right thing by one's relationships of community.[92]

[92] Goldingay, *Psalms*, 698.

Righteousness involves real relationship: relationship that is aware of other relationships with a consciousness of the position one holds with regard to others, whether other human beings, or God.

That "righteousness" words so often fall at the touching points of psalm texts – their closing or opening lines – perhaps echoes the importance of place and the other. It seems that there is a thread of "righteousness" that joins a number of contiguous psalms suggesting a didactic influence on these texts, probably at an editorial stage. The Psalms discussed here are only a few examples of where the "righteousness" field of words are positioned at the ends or beginnings of psalms, concentrating here only on those particularly "intense" places where they are both at the beginning and end of one psalm, or at the end and beginning of adjacent psalms. Other psalms which display similar features will also be worthwhile examining elsewhere.

The survey of here of these occurrences, and the exploration of why they might be thus positioned, leads to a sense (1) that their placing is deliberate; (2) that their placing is deliberately in emphatic verses in order to stress memorably the nature and importance of the righteousness that flows from God; (3) that their placing is deliberately at seams of psalms indicates editorial intention holding such a theme prominent; and (4) that the deliberateness of their placing varies between the books of the Psalter and therefore perhaps marks an editorial stage in the composition of the whole Psalter, that came at a late but not the latest date of its composition. Finally, these conclusions also point to how revealing a hermeneutic informed by semantic analysis may be, and how it may contribute to canonical Psalms scholarship as well as working alongside historical-critical, literary-critical, and form-critical methods.

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The Religion of ancient Israel: Gradual evolution or monotheistic revolution? Revisiting Wellhausen and Kaufmann

Setting the scene

Yehezkel Kaufmann introduces his *Toledot* as follows:

Biblical scholarship finds itself today in a peculiar position. There is a view of the history of biblical religion to which the body of biblical scholars subscribe; precisely why this view prevails, however, is not at all clear. At the end of the last century Julius Wellhausen formulated the now classic theory of the evolution of the literature and of the religion of Israel…Wellhausen's arguments complemented each other nicely, and offered what seemed to be a solid foundation upon which to build the house of biblical criticism. Since then, however, both the evidence and the arguments supporting this structure have been called into question and, to some extent, even rejected."[1]

In this telling quotation, several things are to be observed. Kaufmann draws attention to a dominant view in biblical criticism. He characterizes Wellhausen's hypothesis in biblical literature and religion as 'evolution theory'. Kaufmann concedes that Wellhausen's arguments offered a solid foundation. And he calls for reconsidering Wellhausen's legacy.

In his assessment of Kaufmann's position, Isaac Leo Seeligmann pointed out that Kaufmann's *Toledot* was basically directed against classic criticism of the Hebrew Bible as represented by Wellhausen. He mentioned that Kaufmann was preoccupied with issues related to history, history of religion, and biblical literature.[2] In point of fact, Kaufmann touched upon all relevant questions in the study of the Hebrew Bible. His *Toledot* (1937-1956) is a massive treatment of the history of Israelite religion and biblical literature. Early Israelite tradition in Canaan was the subject of Kaufmann's commentaries on Joshua (1959) and Judges (1961). In dealing with these issues, Kaufmann found himself in a company of biblical scholars and it was Wellhausen with whom he entered into discussion and controversy.

It should be mentioned that Kaufmann's critique of Wellhausen centres mainly on the history of Israelite religion and development of biblical literature. As for the history of Israelite religion, Kaufmann rejects Wellhausen's hypothesis on the origin of Israelite monotheism. In his opinion, Israelite religion was monotheistic from its very beginning and the prophets had taken popular monotheism for granted. Respecting biblical literature, it is obvious that Kaufmann accepts Wellhausen's division of the sources of the Pentateuch but he reverses their chronological order.

[1] Kaufmann. *Toledot I, introduction.* Cf., *The Religion of Israel, from Its Beginnings to the Babylonian Exile*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960, 1.

[2] Isaac Leo Seeligmann "Yehezkel Kaufmann," in: M. Haran, *Yehezkel Kaufmann Jubilee Volume: Studies in Bible and Jewish Religion*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1960.

He dates P before D and places the Torah's literature before literary prophets. In what follows I shall point out some aspects which I believe are particularly pertinent to an understanding of the real divide between Wellhausen and Kaufmann. I shall start by examining their view on the history of Israelite religion, followed by an outline of their respective histories on ancient Israel.

History of religious development

The most important area of confrontation between Wellhausen and Kaufmann is their understanding of religious development in ancient Israel. Wellhausen did in fact consider Israel's religion to be a product of Israel's history. It emerged with the beginning of the nation and determined the course of its history. As Wellhausen puts it:

> The foundation upon which, at all periods, Israel's sense of its national unity rested was religious in its character. It was the faith which may be summed up in the formula, Jehovah is the God of Israel, and Israel is the people of Jehovah. Moses was not the first discoverer of this faith, but it was through him that it came to be the fundamental basis of the national existence and history.[1]

Though Wellhausen emphasizes the great role of religion in Israel's subsequent history, he does not, to be sure, overstate its substance. For Wellhausen believes that religion in ancient Israel was the natural impulses of the people. Its function was to answer questions brought about by everyday life. In this, Israel's religion, like other religions, was not based on any special revelation:

> Es kann keine Frage sein, daß die alten Israeliten unter Religion wesentlich den Opferdienst verstanden. Aber dadurch unterschieden sie sich nicht von anderen Völkern, der Kultus beruht nicht auf besonderer Offenbarung und datiert nicht erst aus der mosaischen Zeit.[2]

Kaufmann holds Wellhausen's view, namely that religion had directed the rest of Israel's history. However, he rejects Wellhausen's assumption that religion was naïve, spontaneous and that its conduct was a reflection of the affairs of life. According to Kaufmann, religion came from the power of a new idea. This new idea, with its potential force, changed the life of the people. Kaufmann contends that a new religious idea cannot be simply connected with the life of the people. In supporting his view, Kaufmann gives two examples taken from Christianity and Islam. He explains that the new religious ideas of these two religions were not part of the life of the people and yet they had changed their lives and history. Likewise, the ideas of the Israelite religion marked a new beginning.[3] Kaufmann seems to have exaggerated the emergence of religion as a new idea. In his point of view:

> We should clearly think of religion as a product of intuitive ideas. Religion includes beliefs and views about the world. But its way, - at least in ancient times - was not to rephrase these concepts in theoretical notions. It expresses itself by signs and symbols. The historian can reveal the "essence" of these ideas and formulate them in abstract ideas. But the way by which these ideas were manifested is not abstract.[4]

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[1] Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 433.
[2] Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 16.
[3] Kaufmann, *Toledot, II*, pp. 111-113.
[4] Kaufmann, *From the Secret of the Biblical World*, 30.

Whether it was natural impulse or new idea, it appears that Wellhausen and Kaufmann agree with the central role of religion in ancient Israel. But how do they interpret its basic character? According to Wellhausen, Jehovah the God of Israel[1] was not the almighty god of the world. "Der Gott Israels war nicht der Allmächtige, sondern nur der mächtigste unter den Göttern. Er stand neben ihnen und hatte mit ihnen zu kämpfen; Kamos und Dagon und Hadad waren ihm durchaus vergleichbar, minder mächtig, aber nicht minder real wie er selber."[2] Wellhausen points out the essential character of Yahweh as warrior god.[3] "Jahve war das Feldgeschrei dieser kriegerischen Eidgenossenschaft, der kürzeste Ausdruck dessen, was sie unter sich einigte und gegen außen schied. Israel bedeutet „El streitet", und Jahve war der streitende El, nach dem die Nation sich benannte."[4] Moreover, Wellhausen affirms that the Israelite's perception of their God was not quite different from other nations. It is in the course of their history that the conception of the deity has changed. To quote Wellhausen:

> The relation of Jehovah to Israel was in its nature and origin a natural one; there was no interval between Him and His people to call for thought or question. Only when the existence of Israel had come to be threatened by the Syrians and Assyrians, did such prophets as Elijah and Amos raise the Deity high above the people, sever the natural bond between them, and put in its place a relation depending on conditions, conditions of a moral character.[5]

Disagreeing with Wellhausen's proposition, Kaufmann puts forward the idea of YHWH as supreme god. Kaufmann stresses everywhere that the essential and basic idea of Israelite religion is its conception of god. He articulates this understanding in the following manner:

> The essential idea of the religion of Israel which distinguishes it from the religions of the world, is the idea of God above all. The idea of God who control everything and is not subject to supra power which connects Him with mythology and magic. The key of the religion of Israel is: Yahweh is God. It is not the idea of numbers which sees God as one of many. But the idea of absolute sovereignty. This idea frees the God from mythology, magic, and paganism. This is what makes the Israelite religion unique in its origin and essence.[6]

It was not until the time of the prophets that the moral dimension in the religion of Yahweh appeared. According to Wellhausen, Amos was the first to introduce this concept:

> Nach dem populären Glauben war Jahve durch den Kultus an Israel gerufen wurde weil er nur dort mit seinem Namen bekannt war, nur dort angerufen wurde, nur dort seine Wohnung und seine Altäre hatte. Dieses Band durchschneidet Amos. Jahve ist kein Gott, der der Opfer und Gaben bedarf, der sich durch sie bestechen läßt, der um des Kultus willen blindlings die Partei seiner Verehrer und guten Bekannten ergreift. Was er von Israel verlangt, ist etwas Allgemeingültiges, nämlich die Gerechtigkeit.[7]

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[1] Wellhausen interprets the name of Jahve as follows "Der Name Jahve scheint zu bedeuten: er fährt durch die Lüfte, er weht." See: *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 23.
[2] Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 29
[3] For arguments against Wellhausen's See: John Day, *Yahweh and the gods and goddesses of Canaan*, Sheffield: Sheffield Acad. Press, 2000,
[4] Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 23
[5] Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 417.
[6] Kaufmann. "*The Religion of Israel*." (Hebrew) pages 729-730 in vol., 2 of Ensīqlōpedījā miqrāit.
[7] Wellhausen, *Grundrisse zum Alten Testament* , 91

In addition, Wellhausen asserts that Yahweh was not a universal god from the beginning. For Wellhausen, it would have been strange if Moses had introduced a new conception about god to his unknowing people:

> Jahve war nicht von jeher der Weltgott und wurde dann der Gott Israels, sondern er war von Haus aus der Gott Israels und wurde dann (sehr viel später) der Weltgott. Mit dem, aufgeklärten Gottesbegriff hätte Moses den Israeliten einen Stein statt eines Brotes gegeben.[1]

Thus, according to Wellhausen the Israelites perceived Yahweh as their notional god. Kaufmann, on the other hand, offers a new explanation as to the national character of Yahweh[2]. He proposes that Yahweh was conceived in Israel as a national god because he revealed himself only to the Israelites and therefore has become known נודע to them.[3] Nonetheless, Yahweh did not dismiss other nations, but his name and Torah were unknown נעלם to them. In order to overcome the problem of the universal concept of Yahweh, Kaufmann suggests that Yahweh was *known* in Israel and *unknown* to other nations.[4]

In Wellhausen's thinking, the religion of Israel changed in the course of its history."Die israelitische Religion hat sich aus dem Heidentum erst allmählich emporgearbeitet; das eben ist der Inhalt ihrer Geschichte. Sie hat nicht mit einem absolut neuen Anfang begonnen."[5] This is not the case with Kaufmann, who emphasises that monotheism was not a product of Israel's history. Israelite monotheism did not grow up gradually. Rather, it was monotheism that created Israel's history and determined its course. Kaufmann, in general, rejects the evolutionary theory and contends that it does not fit the peculiar character of Israelite religion.[6] He believes that monotheism emerged in Israel as an entirely new intuition idea without any precedent. For a better understanding of Wellhausen's and Kaufmann's position, we should examine their respective views on history of religious development in ancient Israel.

Based on his system of dating the sources of the Pentateuch to three different historical periods, Wellhausen proposed that Israelite religion passed through various stages of development. He built a structure according to which the course of Israelite religion moved from

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[1] Wellhausen, *Grundrisse*, 20

[2] It should be mentioned that Kaufmann criticized Martin Buber for accepting the developmental theory concerning the conception of God. According to Kaufmann, this theory put forward the idea that the Israelites God until entry into Canaan was conceived in Israel as God of shepherds and afterwards he became God of farmers in the land. The developmental theory postulates that until the time of Amos there was no 'lord of history,' and other nations have their own gods. Even during the exile, there was no 'god of the universe'. The real universalism began only with second Isaiah. See Kaufmann, *From the secret of the Biblical World*, 269.

[3] Kaufmann clearly affirms the national charchter of israelite religon. He writes „Although Israelite religion was universal in essence, it had evolved; in national forms. The land of Israel was its territorial sphere, the life of Israel was the sphere of its historic expression; its holy land was Palestine, its festivals, Temple, priests, and prophets were exclusively Israelite. Until the Fall it existed as a national religion, like the religions of Egypt, Canaan, Moab, and the other nations of antiquity." See, *The Biblical Age*, 76.

[4] Kaufmann, *Form the Secret of the Biblical World*, 41

[5] Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 32.

[6] Benjamin Mazar made the point that although Kaufmann does not say so explicitly, he "accepts the view of modern research as to the general ways of development: discontinuous development, invisible processes, and sudden revelation of the new". See:Mazar, Benjamin. *The World History of the Jewish People: Vol.3*. London: W. H. Allen, 1971, 219.

popular belief of the people where nothing seems to have been prescribed or fixed to the religion of the law. Between these two phases, Wellhausen saw in the prophetic religion a transitional period which distinguished Israel from Judaism.[1] Wellhausen's division of the history of Israelite religion into three periods implies that it was not basic system or unified belief. Rather, the religion of Israel went through successive stages, each of which bears the stamp of its time. Thus in Wellhausen's opinion, the religion of early Israel is characterized by close connection with the life of the people. By contrast, Wellhausen saw in the Judaism of the post-exilic period a complete degradation of spontaneity and naturalness. Judaism, in Wellhausen's view, separates life from religion and becomes immersed in rituals and ceremonies. Most important in Wellhausen's interpretation of Israel's religious history is the idea that monotheism was a product of Israel's history and did not exist from the very beginning.[2]

Kaufmann challenges Wellhausen's hypothesis on the history of Israelite religion. He dismisses the idea of religious *evolution* and argues instead for a religious *revolution*. According to Kaufmann, religious diversity in ancient Israel does not account for different beliefs. All forms of Israelite religion are the creation of the people of Israel. In Kaufmann's view the sources of the Torah are different manifestations of one basic and unified belief. In order to understand Kaufmann's position, we should clarify his conception of religious development in ancient Israel. In a telling quotation, Kaufmann propounds his view about religious development as follows:

> Israelite religion did not, of course, spring full-blown into existence. Like every cultural phenomenon, it underwent an evolution in time. It arose in the wilderness, took on new forms in Canaan, and reached a climax in the middle of the eighth century with the rise of classical prophecy. After the destruction of the Temple, it evolved forms enabling it to exist apart from its land. It developed a new doctrine of retribution. A stage was reached when it declared war upon the religion of the heathen and aspired to become a universal religion. But this development was organic, like that of a living organism, all of whose stages are latent in the seed but appear only gradually, one by one. In the life of Israel the seed of a new religious idea was sown in antiquity; throughout the ages this idea continued to realize and embody in new forms the latent possibilities it harboured.[3]

It turns out that Kaufmann does not refute the idea of development in itself, but he does not regard development as progress.[4] He tends to understand Israel's religious history in terms of development not *evolution*. For him, the history of Israelite religion is the historical development

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[1] Wellhausen differentiates between the religion of early Israel or preprophetic religion, prophetic religion, and religion of Judaism. He credits the prophetic reformation for introducing the moral and ethical dimensions to the religion of Yahweh. However, Wellhausen was aware that the prophets did not entirely transform the old practice of the people into a new form of religion. Herbert Hahn pointed out that Wellhausen felt strongly that post exilic Judaism rather than prophetic religion was the antithesis of the early religion of Israel. See Herbert F. Hahn. *Wellhausen's interpretation of Israel's religious history*, 1959, 301.

[2] Wellhausen adapted the same line of thought in his Arabic and Islamic studies. He assumed that religion moved from particularism and polytheism to monotheism. See, Wellhausen. *Reste Arabischen Heidentums*. Berlin: G. Reimer, 1897 , 217. Uffenheimer criticized Wellhausen's view on monotheism. He pointed out that Wellhausen's method "was based on the assumption that monotheism is basically an intellectual theory, arrived at by contemplation and speculation on the part of a small elitist group, the prophets, who fervently opposed the commonly accepted crude and primitive folk religion, pagan by nature..." see Uffenheimer, *Myth and Reality in ancient Israel*, 150.

[3] Kaufmann, The Biblical Age, 14

[4] Kaufmann articulated his position in this regard in *Gola Ve Nackar*, vol.1. 36.

of one basic idea that is monotheism.[1] As it seems to me, Kaufmann adopted an ambivalent view regarding the history of Israelite religion. On the one hand, Kaufmann claims that Israelite religion bore no relation to surrounding cultures and that its monotheistic idea is completely different from paganistic religions. On the other hand, he sees the development of Israelite religion as something that occurred in history, not as progress or evolution, but rather a revolution. In his view, Israelite monotheism is an entirely new religious idea unknown to other peoples or religions.[2]

Kaufmann's chief objection against religious evolution accords well with his interpretation of the history of Israelite religion. He asserts that the religion of Israel did not take the way from national-polytheistic religion to monolatry and monotheism. His view is based on two assumptions. First, Kaufmann contends that myth is absent from the historical development of Israelite religion. Second, Kaufmann puts forward the idea that biblical literature did not know the paganistic doctrine of belief in gods. Paganism in Israel, says Kaufmann, was conceived of as fetishism. He then concludes that polytheism is in essence mythological. To Kaufmann, the monumental characteristic of Israelite religion is the absence of mythological polytheism.[3] He postulates the idea that there was no struggle against mythological gods in Israelite religion.[4]

Furthermore, Kaufmann attempts to invalidate the assumption that popular religion was idolatrous. He connects the religion of the people with Israel's culture by coining the idea of creative force of national spirit. In this way, Kaufmann argues that the development of Israelite religion was not a gradual process or mechanical accumulation. Rather, the history of Israelite religion is a reflection of an organic embodiment of a basic idea. This Embodiment is in itself a development. Kaufmann goes further and maintains that monotheism in Israel was not merely notion or thought, nor a theological-philosophical dogma, but an essential idea of popular culture, a complete perception of the world. It was out of this new religious idea that the peculiar character of Israel's culture came into exist.[5]

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[1] See: Peter Slyomovics. "Yehezkel Kaufmann's Critique of Wellhausen," 79.

[2] Krapf has noted that Kaufmann makes a distinction between primitive religion and higher religion, which means that he utilized an evolutionary point of view. In addition, he observes that kaufmann's interpretation of the beginning of Israelite religion implies an evolutionist conception especially when considering kaufmann's view that Israelite religion emerged within the high culture and civilization of Babylon, Egypt, and Canaan. See: Krapf, *Yehezkel Kaufmann :Ein Lebens- und Erkenntnisweg zur Theologie der Hebräischen Bibel*, 1990, 101-104. In contrast, Mosche Greenberg supported Kaufmann's understanding of the history of religious development. He wrote "kaufmann's inclination to interpret the atypical in the light of the typical has resulted in the charge that he is anti-evolutionary, that he sees without perspective it is true that he denies an evolution from the pagan to the Israelite conception of deity. The biblical monotheistic idea is, for him, a new intuition or reality, not an arithmetic matter of diminishing the number of the gods... but in tracing the evolution of the monotheistic idea itself in Israel, Kaufmann has outdone his critics." See: Greenberg, *Studies in the Bible and Jewish thought* 1995, 182.

[3] For more details on Kaufmann's view see his article "The Bible and Mythological Polytheism."*Journal of Biblical Literature*. 70.3 (1951): 179-197.

[4] Kaufmann, *From the Secrets*, 38-39.

[5] Although Kaufmann seemed to have pictured the history of Israelite religion as something out of the laws of nature, he nevertheless sought to connect it with historical conditions. He says that the embodiment of Israel religious idea depends on the historical conditions of each period. But in the spiritual history, so Kaufmann, we have to consider this idea as independent force. This is the case with regard to the basic Idea of the early history of Israel's faith. For a discussion see Kaufmann, *Toledot, I,* 11.

It may not be out of place here to revisit Kaufmann's view concerning the role of the prophets in the history of Israelite religion.[1] Kaufmann's denial of Wellhausen's hypothesis on religious evolution in ancient Israel relates to his objection to the literary development of the Hebrew bible. It should be mentioned that Kaufmann dates the Torah literature as being prior to classical prophecy. Against the regnant view, Kaufmann inverts the order of biblical literature to Torah, Prophets and Historiography. For Kaufmann this means that Israel's earliest stage of religious history is to be traced back to the Torah. He contends that the Torah along with the historical books had developed independently of the literary prophets. The historical horizon of the Torah group differs from prophetic ideas.[2] It reflects the priestly and popular religion of the people.[3] Kaufmann seems to belittle the impact of prophetic influence on the history of Israelite religion especially in its formative period, that is, the age prior to classic prophecy.[4] Kaufmann's far-reaching conclusion is that the prophets were immersed in popular religion and built upon its basics. Moreover, Kaufmann dates the monotheistic idea to the desert period. The prophets took the popular monotheism in Israel for granted.[5] In Kaufmann's words:

> The opinion that it was the prophets who formulated the monotheistic explanation of the catastrophe is based on the assumption of the school of Wellhausen that prophecy preceded the law, which assumption is specious. The priestly-popular religion which is crystalized in the Pentateuch preceded classical prophecy…the people remained faithful to the ancient monotheistic belief.[6]

It thus appears that, in contrast to Wellhausen who saw in Isaiah's prophecy a radical change in the old popular religion,[7] Kaufmann credits the popular belief and says it was the stream from which the prophets derived their ideas. Here Kaufmann brings into focus the character of

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[1] For overview estimation of Kaufmann's view on prophecy and its impact on his interpretation of Israelite Religion, see Uffenheimer, *Y. Kaufmann: historian and philosopher of biblical monotheism* 1973, 14-15.

[2] According to Kaufmann "classical prophecy sprang from the soil of Israel's popular monotheism... was rooted in and grew out of the early religion. It does not so much repudiate the popular religion as rise above it…from the popular religion classical prophecy received its idea of the one God...". See, *The Religion of Israel*, 344. Moreover, Kaufmann emphasizes that the classical prophets create a new literature, but they are steeped in the literature of the past. to Kaufmann, Jeremiah is strongly influenced by Deut, Ezekiel, by the priestly code. See Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel*, 344–345.

[3] Kaufmann distinguished between two periods in the history of monotheism: the time of the popular religion which embodied in the literature of the Torah, and the prophetic religion which appeared in the prophetic books. See, *Toledot, I*, 623.

[4] Kaufmann assumed that Israelite religion before the exile was a popular religion. There was no impact of prophetic ideas on monotheism of the Torah-group. Kaufmann added that the books of Job, proverbs and psalms are pre-exilic product and contain no prophetic influence. This means that Kaufmann dated the Torah-group, psalms, Job and proverbs to the first temple period, which in his view confirms the popular character of Israelite religion. See introduction of his second volume *Toledot*.

[5] Kaufmann characterized the Israelite religion as folk religion not a product of elite group. He rejected Wellhausen's judgment that the prophets rebelled against the religion of the people. to Kaufmann, the prophets shared with the folk the same belief in Yahweh. The contribution of classic prophets from Amos onwards lies mainly in their ethical interpretation of the tradition. See Uffenheimer 1973, 15: *Mosche Greenberg; 1995*,179. Cf., Z. Zevit, *The Religions of ancient Israel* 2001, 44-45.

[6] Kaufmann. *History of the Religion of Israel, Volume Iv: From the Babylonian Captivity to the End of Prophecy*. New York: Ktav Pub. House, 1977, 22.

[7] Wellhausen "Israel," 485. It should be mentioned that Kaufmann regarded Second Isaiah's prophecies as mark for the end of idolatry of all men, not of Israel alone. See "the biblical age," 79.

popular religion in ancient Israel not as naïve and idolatrous, as classic scholarship would have it, but as a monotheistic religion. Kaufmann's view in this regard serves to support his understanding of the nature of popular idolatry and paganism in Israel.[1] In contrast to Wellhausen's view, that the prophets repudiated the idolatrous elements in the popular religion, Kaufmann argues that idolatry was a superficial phenomenon that did not penetrate into the religion of the people.[2]

In accordance with Wellhausen's system, Canaanite religion strongly affected the religion of Yahweh. The contact with the Canaanites left its deep mark on the sphere of Israelite worship. As Wellhausen puts it, "The cultus, as to place, time, matter, and form, belonged almost entirely to the inheritance which Israel had received from Canaan; to distinguish what belonged to the worship of Jehovah from that which belonged to Baal was no easy matter."[3] Kaufmann, an advocate of the uniqueness of Israel's religion, develops a different understanding. He minimizes the influence of Canaanite religion on the religion of Israel.[4] Kaufmann was convinced that Israel's religion remained intact and there was no foreign impact on its essentials.[5] Moreover, Kaufmann disputes syncretism in the form Yahweh-Baal and accuses the adherents of this view of distorting the history of Israelite religion. Nevertheless, Kaufmann concedes the existence of

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[1] Kaufmann admits that Israel was guilty of "idolatry" but it was not the idolatry of paganism. In his opinion, "The popular idolatry that prophetic books depict is thus a magical, fetishist, non-mythological worship of images, 'gods they knew not,' imported from abroad. See, the Religion of Israel, 144. This means that Israel's infidelity therefore was limited to the area of cult and rite and did not involve an acceptance of the basic postulate of paganism. The principle argument offered for this conclusion is the fact that the prophets consistently attacked idolatrous rite rather than myth. See, D. R. Dumm (1961): Review of Kaufmann's Religion. In *CBQ* 23, pp. 68–69. N. Saran, too, explained Kaufmann's view on the nature of popular religion that idolatry at no time had any popular roots, no syncretism. The religious derivation were very limited in scope and restricted to the cult and ritual, having very little bearing on the belief in monotheism. This indicates that Israelite idolatry was not authentic polytheism but vestigial idolatry, a vulgar phenomenon, superficial and devoid of creative force. See, N. Sarna, *From Wellhausen to Kaufmann*, 74.

[2] Kaufmann minimizes the idolatrous practices found in per-exilic Israel arguing that until the exile of Israel, no foreign gods are known by the book of kings to have been worshiped in the north. In Judah there is, during the time of Athaliah (Jezebel's daughter), one temple and one priest to Baal (2kig. 11: 18). Until the days of Manasseh the presence of foreign gods and attempts to extirpate them are recorded only for the royal city. Consequently, Kaufmann concludes "that the biblical arraignment is exaggerated; sins of particular groups are ascribed to the entire people...the historiographer could not account for what had taken place-the collapse of Israel's monarchy -without sin. had there been no sin he would have had to invent it." Kaufmann goes further and calls for careful evaluation of the prophetic denunciation of Israelite society, before using it as historical records. See, *The Religion of Israel*, 134–135.

[3] Wellhausen, "Israel," 469.

[4] Kaufmann restricted the Canaanite's influence on Israelite religion to the period before settlement. Thus, Kaufmann for examples, writes "Israel's sacrificial terminology (and surely its practice as well) was influenced by the Canaanites. These influences may be assumed to have been absorbed by the tribes during their wanderings in Canaan in patriarchal times." See, *The Religion of Israel*, 220.

[5] In supporting his position, Kaufmann confirmed the whole destruction of Canaanites. In his point of view "…biblical sources do not refer Israel's apostasy to the influence of domestic Canaanites. This has been shown to be in harmony with other lines of evidence pointing to the historicity of the biblical tradition that the Canaanites were subject to the *Ḥērem*." See, *The Religion of Israel*, 254.

what he calls fossil remains of pagan nations.[1] More important to Kaufmann is that idolatry did not grow to be a popular or national faith in Canaan.[2] Because the monotheistic idea was ingrained, idolatry was destroyed in one fell swoop. The battle was directed against the idolatrous cult only, not against the myth.[3] Furthermore, Kaufmann postulates the idea that idolatry in Israel was a result of biblical historiography.[4] He goes further to say that even the literature of the pre-exilic period was basically monotheistic.[5]

As far as Wellhausen is concerned, it should be made clear that he saw no differences between the worship of ancient Israelites and their neighbours. "Im ganzen und großen ist der Kultus der Brauch aller Welt, seit Noah, ja seit Kain und Abel; der Unterschied ist nur, daß die Israeliten ihn dem Jahve, die anderen Völker anderen Göttern weihen. Das ist die alte, gesunde volkstümliche Betrachtungsweise."[6] This is not the case with Kaufmann who makes a sharp distinction between Israelite worship and that of other nations. For example, Kaufmann says that Israel's religion in contrast to the pagan religion "is entirely ignorant of the close relationship between magic and the gods; it knows nothing of the cosmic-mythological basis of the pagan cult; it has no appreciation of the symbolic value of Images."[7]

Here we find another example that shows how Wellhausen and Kaufmann understood differently the nature of Israelite religion. While Wellhausen tends more to interpret Israelite religion in its context, Kaufmann prefers to put Israel's religion in opposition to its environment. In other words, Wellhausen holds that the history of Israelite religion is the history of interaction and adaptation from the Canaanite religion.[8] Kaufmann, on the other hand, rejects any kind of amalgamation between Israelite religion and other religions which in his opinion are paganistic.

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[1] For example, Kaufmann points out that "The religion of YHWH could take hold of the people only after overcoming the ancient faith, and the fossil remains of pagan notions that have been preserved in the Bible testify that it was never wholly eradicated." See, *The religion of Israel*, 8, 20, 114.

[2] Kaufmann arguments can be summed as follow: 1- all the Former Prophets to 1Kgs 16 (Ahab-Jezebel) there is no hints to popular worship of Baal. The story of Joash (Jud 6) is individual episode. None of the Judges is engaged in a conflict against Baal's worship. 2- there is no single story in the bible refers to the influence of the idolatry of Canaanite who lived within the real land of Israel 3- the only mention for the impact of Canaanite idolatry is found in (Jud3:5-6) as historical framework. But the reference here was to the Canaanite who lived outside the boundaries of the real land of Israel. 4- The Bible does not know the mythological polytheism. It knows only fetishist idolatry. Such conception cannot be existed within a polytheistic people. The religious revolution demolished the idolatry and replaced it with monotheistic faith. For more discussion see: The Religion of Israel 138-141.see also Kaufmann's commentary on the book of Judges, 34-35. Cf., *Commentary on Joshua*, 85.

[3] See, Toledot, I, 685. It is observed that Kaufmann pays much more attention to the problem of mythology and its relation to the Israelite Religion. He says "in contrast to the philosophic attack on Greek popular religion, and in contrast to the later Jewish and Christian polemics, biblical religion show no trace of having undertaken deliberately to suppress and repudiate mythology. There is no evidence that the gods and their myths were ever a central issue in the religion of YHWH. And yet this religion is non-mythological." See, *The Religion of Israel*, 20.

[4] See, *Toledot, II*, 160

[5] Toledot, II, 238. In Kaufmann's opinion, the biblical period did not know idolatry. He contends that biblical scholarship did not understand the nature of biblical age because it did not comprehend the secret of basic phenomenon of Israelite religion. Therefore, instead of allowing that the biblical age was a monotheistic period, it described it as idolatrous period. See, from the secret, 33.

[6] See, *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*, 17.

[7] *The Religion of Israel*, 19-20

[8] Wellhausen pointed out that the Israelite had taken up from the Canaanites their culture and religion. he wrote "Diese Veränderung ihres Lebens beeinflußte auch ihre Religion. Wie sie die Wohnstätten und Höfe, die Felder und

The merit of Wellhausen's interpretation is that he bases his view about the history of Israel's religion on the relationship of Yahweh and his people. "Jahve der Gott Israels und Israel das Volk Jahves - das ist zu allen Zeiten der kurze Inbegriff der israelitischen Religion gewesen."[1] "With the appearance of this relation," says Wellhausen, "beginnt die Geschichte Israels."[2] This was the constitution of Israelite religion and it was later on that new aspects appeared. As Wellhausen puts it:

> Es wurde späterhin auf einen bestimmten Akt der Bundschließung zurückgeführt, während es ursprünglich als natürlich galt, nicht als vertragsmäßig und lösbar. Die Teile waren älter als das Ganze, das Volk. Die Stämme und Geschlechter wurden zu einer nationalen Einheit zusammengefaßt durch die Religion, durch Jahve.[3]

One cannot fail to notice that the history of Israelite religion, according to Wellhausen, shows how it moved from the lower level of a primitive people to the higher religion of prophetic doctrine about the god of the world. In describing this process, Wellhausen writes:

> Jahve hat einen Kampf zu bestehen gehabt mit den anderen Mächten, mit denen er sich anfangs vertrug, und hat sie überwunden. Und er selbst ist in diesem Kampfe gewachsen...erst beim Untergangs des Volks, der von den Propheten vorausempfunden wurde, erhob er (Jahve)sich über dessen Grenzen zum Gott der Menschenwelt und der Welt überhaupt. Erst dann wurde er für seine Person ganz unabhängig vom Kultus.[4]

Looking for the history of religion in the sphere of human creativity, Kaufmann evaluates the character of Israelite religion in a different manner. The natural and lively features that Wellhausen ascribes to Israelite religion in its initial stage are absent from Kaufmann's construction. Thus, according to Kaufmann, Yahweh was a supreme god from the very beginning. He asserts that Israelite religion emerged out of original spirit. Monotheism is a product of Israel's national culture.[5] This culture was never idolatrous and monotheism could appear only among non-idolatrous people.[6]

It turns out that while Wellhausen distinguishes between different stages in the religious history of early Israel, Kaufmann prefers to see it as one basic and persistent faith.[7] In other words,

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Gärten, die Keltern und Tennen von ihren Vorgängern übernahmen, so auch die Heiligtümer, die sogenannten Bamoth, mit ihrem Zubehör, nicht selten wohl auch mit ihren alten Priesterfamilien." Compare, Wellhausen, *Grundrisse*, 82.

[1] Wellhausen, *Grundrisee*, 73.

[2] Wellhausen, *Die Christliche Religion: Mit Einschluss Der Israelitisch-Jüdischen* Religion. Berlin: B.G. Teubner, 1906, 8.

[3] Ibid, 8.

[4] Wellhausen, *Grundrisse*, 80-81.

[5] Kaufmann, *From the secret*, 22-23

[6] *Toledot*, I, 736.

[7] Slyomovics has pointed out that Kaufmann, in comparison to Wellhausen and Hegel, did not distinguish different categories of ideas. For Kaufmann considered paganism and monotheism to be two different types of religions and thereby representing two contrasting worldviews. Thus, Kaufmann did not discuss how monotheism develops out of

Wellhausen differentiates preprophetic religion in its primitive conception of god and prophetic religion which emphasizes the ethical dimension. He also degrades Judaism, which in his view had replaced the natural religion with institutions and laws. This image is utterly denied by Kaufmann, who insists that the history of Israel's religion is the history of its monotheistic idea and that it underwent no changes. As I see it, Wellhausen talks too much about Judaism and too little about Israel. Kaufmann tries to change the rules and talks too much about Israel, but little about Judaism. In other words, Wellhausen started from the end whereas Kaufmann looked at the beginning. There is, however, one aspect that deserves to be mentioned. Wellhausen saw in Deuteronomy, which crowned the work of the prophets, a transitional period between Israel and Judaism. Kaufmann, in contrast, was in favour of one basic and constant line of belief that persisted throughout the centuries.

History and history writing

The reader of Wellhausen's *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte* will realize immediately that Wellhausen was very critical as to the biblical account of Israel's history. In less than 50 pages, Wellhausen outlines Israel's history from the beginning to the rise of monarchy. This, of course, is due to the fact that Wellhausen downgrades the credibility of the biblical narrative, especially those parts which belong to the Jewish tradition of post-exilic time. Kaufmann, on the other hand, recounts Israel's history from the patriarchal period to the dawn of monarchy in more than 150 pages.[1] In fact, Kaufman deals with the data delivered by the biblical texts as telling the truth and was, to some extent, uncritical of its content.

We note that Wellhausen's history of ancient Israel before the Exile contains three main features. First, Wellhausen considers Moses as the founder of the nation of Israel. Second, there is the fusion of the Hebrew tribes with the Canaanites and acceptance of their culture. As for the third, it is the emergence of monarchy and the beginning of Israel's political history with Saul and David. According to Wellhausen, the patriarchal stories did not reflect authentic information about the earliest history of Israel. He assumes that Israel had not become a real unified people until the days of Moses. For him, Israel's history began with Moses. It was under Moses's leadership that Israel continued to be moulded. Moses was the first to elicit the feeling of Israel's nation unity. "It was also [Moses] who maintained it in life and cherished its growth."[2] Following this further, Wellhausen mentions that Israel's next step took place in Canaan. The tribes entered into the land of Canaan as nomads in search of pasture, not as the elected people with a promise and a covenant. The most important change in their lives occurred when the Hebrew tribes accepted the Canaanite's culture. In Wellhausen's words, "The Hebrews learned to participate in the culture of the Canaanites, and quietly entered into the enjoyment of the labours of their predecessors."[3] However, Israel's actual history started with monarchy. Wellhausen was impressed by figures such as Saul and David who "made out of the Hebrew tribes a real people in the political sense."[4] He maintains "It was they who drew the life of the people together at a

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polytheism, but focuses on the basic idea of both religions. See: *Y. Kaufmann's Critique of Wellhausen*,74. Cf., *Kaufmann, From the Secret*, 54.

[1] See, *Toledot*, II.

[2] Wellhausen "Israel," 434.

[3] "Israel," 446.

[4] Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 413.

centre, and gave it an aim; to them the nation is indebted for its historical self-consciousness. All the order of aftertimes is built up on the monarchy; it is the soil out of which all the other institutions of Israel grow up…"[1]

This so far is Wellhausen's sketch of the history of Israel up to monarchic period. When we compare Wellhausen's picture of early Israel with that of Kaufmann, we observe several things. Kaufmann seems to have accepted Wellhausen's reconstruction of ancient Israel, but differed from him in a few details. For example, Kaufmann does not entirely deny the patriarchs as historical figures, but he questions their monotheistic faith.[2] Moreover, Moses, according to Kaufmann, introduced a religious revolution.[3] It is here that we notice the gap that separates Kaufmann from Wellhausen. Although Wellhausen credits Moses as being the founder of Israel and its religion, he does not overstate the content of his message.[4] Kaufmann, in contrast, says that monotheism began with Moses and he is the first apostle prophet with a mission.[5]

Furthermore, Kaufmann refuses to regard Israel as a primitive, natural or ethnic community. In his point of view, Israel was a child of prophecy. In comparison to Wellhausen, who suggested that the history of ancient Israel did not rest on covenant theology[6] or principles of Mosaic Law, Kaufmann contends that Israel became a nation through a covenant which was based on a divine law. To quote Kaufmann:

> Covenant imposed a new moral responsibility on the tribes in addition to and beyond that of the individual. Having been elected *en masse*, and having heard together the divine moral commands, the people as a whole become answerable for their moral state. An intensification of moral demands is the outcome of the prophetic and communal nature of the Sinaitic Covenant.[7]

Again, Kaufmann's construction of Israel's history is based on his early dating of monotheism. This is why he supports the invasion theory according to which Canaan was conquered by massive war. In Kaufmann's thinking, it was the *Ḥērem* war that enabled the monotheistic people

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[1] Prolegomena, 413.

[2] for Kaufmann believed that historical monotheism started with Moses. See, *The Biblical Age*, 14-15. kaufmann claims that the patriarchal stratum signifies to their existence as "wanderings families." Actually, Kaufmann rejected the view which held the patriarchs as later constructed figures or "projections" of monarchic times as Wellhausen would have it. He stressed that the tribal elements preceded the patriarchs. See, commentary on Joshua, 50-5. Furthermore, Kaufmann suggested that the Israelite tribes "sons of Jacob" were at the beginning and among them appeared the stories of patriarchs. See, *Toledot*, II 15-16.

[3] Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel*, 227.

[4] In Wellhausen's view "To Moses, who had been the means of so brilliantly helping out of their first straits the Hebrews who had accompanied him out of Egypt, they naturally turned in all subsequent difficulties; before him they brought all affairs with which they were not themselves able to cope. The authority which his antecedents had secured for him made him as matter of course the great national "Kadhi" in the wilderness." See *Prolegomena*, 434.

[5] According to Kaufmann, the stories of Moses show that the Israelites did not know Yahweh in Egypt. They were not monotheistic people before Moses. Individual patriarchs were monotheistic but the people were paganistic. Historical monotheism of the people began with Moses. The monotheistic revolution of the Torah tells this story as happened among the tribes. Monotheism is associated with Moses. See, *Toledot*, II, 36

[6] According to Wellhausen „The expression "Jehovah is the God of Israel," accordingly, meant that every task of the nation, internal as well as external, was conceived as holy. It certainly did not mean that the almighty Creator of heaven and earth was conceived of as having first made a covenant with this one people that by them He might be truly known and worshipped." See: Wellhausen, "Israel," 437.

[7] The Biblical Age, 24.

to settle in Canaan. He goes too far, maintaining that monarchy grew out of the monotheistic idea.[1] To Kaufmann, David was a political figure and his kingdom was *hesed Elohim.*[2]

It is quite clear that both Wellhausen and Kaufmann agree on the beginning of Israel's history early with Moses but differ about what happened thereafter. Whereas Wellhausen did not see anything unique in premonarchic Israel except from reading Moses as founder of a nation, Kaufmann talked about covenant, apostle prophecy, and above all monotheism which affected Israel's subsequent history. To Wellhausen, Israel developed in Canaan and its real history began with David. To Kaufmann, the Israelites entered in a covenant with Yahweh and were given a divine promise to settle in the land of Canaan.

As for the question of their view on history, both Wellhausen and Kaufmann posed very stimulating questions about history and history writing. Wellhausen's famous statements "history, it is well known, has always to be constructed...The question is whether one constructs well or ill."[3] Though this seems to present a complete understanding of the task of the historian, Wellhausen does not intend to stop here. He ends the second chapter of *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte* with the following words:

> Warum die israelitische Geschichte von einem annähernd gleichen Anfange aus zu einem ganz andern Endergebnis geführt hat als etwa die moabitische, läßt sich schließlich nicht erklären. Wohl aber läßt sich *eine Reihe von Übergängen* beschreiben, in denen der Weg vom Heidentum bis zum vernünftigen Gottesdienst, im Geist und in der Wahrheit, zurückgelegt wurde.[4]

In his explanation of the uniqueness of Israelite religion,[5] Kaufmann raises a question similar to that of Wellhausen. But while Wellhausen stresses 'eine Reihe von Übergängen,' Kaufmann tells us about 'an ultimate mystery'. In Kaufmann's words:

> Why was Israel thus unique among all the peoples in its religious world view? The believer answers: Israel was chosen; the empirical historian can only say: here is revealed the creative genius of the nation. Neither answer is completely satisfying, for no creation of the spirit can be completely

[1] Toledot, II, 109.
[2] Toledot, II, 170, 171
[3] Prolegomena, 367.
[4] Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 33. (Emphasis is mine)
[5] Judging from his interpretation of Israelite religion, Kaufmann's approach to the history of ancient Israel seems to reflect a metaphysical point of view. This appears in his explanation of the role of what he calls רוח יוצר creative spirit (see Kaufmann, From the secret, 14, 16, 20-21, 27-28) . Menahem Haran supported Kaufmann's position and argued that his view does not assume metaphysical belief. He pointed out that Kaufmann's conception of spirit means that it cannot be reached by scientific research. See. Haran, *On the Border of Faith* (Hebrew), 54. E. Schweid has remarked that Kaufmann in his exposition of the function of the creative spirit as national consciousness, he had converted the idealistic-metaphysic conception to a sociological anthropological. See, Schweid, between scholar and philosopher (Hebrew), 424. Slyomovics has noted that kaufmann's defined ruah as a primal intuition ex nihilo as Hermann Cohen. Kaufmann did not connect his definition with development. And it was this that divided Kaufmann from Wellhausen and Hegel who connected ideas with development. See. Slyomovics, 73. Jindo has assumed that Kaufmann studies history "on the basis of verifiable facts, by applying a constant set of principles deduced from the observation of general cultural and religious phenomena. Kaufmann's empirical approach, however, was different from that of other empiricists, who would reject transcendental and metaphysical components all together. Kaufmann did not deny the existence of the transcendental and the metaphysical, but rather chose not to discuss them in his study of history." see, Jindo, *Revisiting Kaufmann*, 61.

> explained; there is an *ultimate mystery* which always eludes us. We may be able to describe the historical circumstances of its appearance; that is the most we can hope for.[1]

Perhaps we could say that both Wellhausen and Kaufmann realized the difficulties of historical reconstruction of the ancient history of Israel. Nevertheless, they gave us clues to deal with the problem. Wellhausen provides two criteria for how to grasp history in ancient Israel. As for the first, Wellhausen calls for critical reading of the text and analysing its tendency. This based on Wellhausen's conviction that "no fancy is pure fancy; every imagination has underlying it some elements of reality by which it can be laid hold of, even should these only be certain prevailing notions of a particular period."[2] The second criterion is analogy, which can be deduced from Wellhausen's statement "Die israelitische Geschichte wird erst dadurch zu einer wirklichen Geschichte und bleibt nicht außerhalb aller Analogie mit der Geschichte der ganzen übrigen Menschheit."[3]

Kaufmann, on the other hand, acknowledges the limitation of historical studies in explaining unique phenomena. When he attempts to explain the rise of monotheism in Moses's time, he declares "Why and how this idea arose in his mind we do not know. We should not know even if we possessed more than those remarkable legends relating the revelation made to Moses. It is possible, however, to delineate the social and historical background of that revelation."[4] In like manner, Kaufmann describes how it is difficult to explain some mysterious sparks. He argues that monotheism was something that cannot and need not be answered by historical studies.[5] Kaufmann calls for inquiry into the idea after its emergence, not of its motives.[6] In describing the emergence of monotheism, Kaufmann writes:

> Monotheism… was "created by the unique and creative word." It sparked like lightning inside the intuitive consciousness of the tribes that had left Egypt or in the intuitive vision of the first prophet-messenger, Moses. "It is impossible to 'explain' this spark of striking and original creativity. The birth of every novel and original idea happens with a mysterious spark, and therefore, any attempt to explain it is inconsequential-imaginative."[7]

[1] The Biblical Age, 14. (Emphasis is mine)
[2] Prolegomena, 161
[3] Grundrisse, 81
[4] The Religion of Israel, 227.
[5] As Amos Funkenstein explains it "Kaufmann interpreted the emergence of monotheism in ancient Israel as a true mental revolution that has and needs no further explaination-the outburst of a truly creative force, a true mutation of mental attitudes towards the sacred." See Amos Funkenstein, Percpetions of Jewish History, University of California Press, 1993, p. 346.
[6] Krapf has noted that Kaufmann's methodological approach shows three main features: 1) the central place of metaphysic in the biblical religion; 2) denial of evolution; 3) creative spirit as significant factor in the human history. see, Krapf, *Ein Lebens*, 43.
[7] See Kaufmann, *Toledot*, II, 41; Haran, on the Border of Faith, 54; translation is taken from Jindo, Revisiting Kaufmann, 64.

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Structures of Quoted Speech in Jeremiah 1-4

OTSEM Conference Hamburg (12-15 Sept 2014)

Focus of the discussion
- the dynamics and study of quoted speech
- structure and structuring devices in prophetic texts
- organization and approach specifically to the quoted speeches in Jeremiah
- the study of larger discourse units within prophetic texts
- literary and structural approach to the book of Jeremiah and the prophets

1. Introduction

While quoted speech, otherwise known as audience reaction, is a common phenomenon in prophetic literature, Jer presents a special case in that there is almost no chapter without someone quoting someone else: YHWH quotes prophet, people, and self, Jeremiah quotes YHWH and other prophets, and the people quote one another as well. In the past, the analysis of this phenomenon has been conducted almost entirely within the broader contexts and debates of authenticity, vox populi, and prophetic conflict. Scarcely has quoted speech been approached for its own sake and on its own terms. In response, my doctoral project advances a structural and functional approach which takes its departure from Overholt's exegetical groundwork on Jer 2 (1979) as well as from some tenets of recent quotation theory. While the present paper integrates these aspects of research history and method, its primary attention is devoted to an analysis of a variety of quotation texts from Jer 1-4. The aim here is not to give a complete commentary of every single quotation in this section, but rather to demonstrate the structural and functional significance of the device and thereby to suggest a new hermeneutical programme for quoted speech in Jer and the prophetic corpus at large.

2. Quoted Speech in the Prophets and Jer: Interpretation and Method

Being the first substantial treatment of quoted speech in prophetic literature, Wolff's *Zitat im Prophetenspruch* from 1937 assumes a special place in our brief review.[1] As a natural reflection of the general trend of biblical and prophetic criticism of his day, about ¼ of Wolff's discussion is devoted to the question of authenticity: did the quoted party actually say these words—"sind sie echt"—or did the quoting prophets fabricate them—"sind sie fingiert"?[2] Although Wolff accumulates an extensive catalogue of indicators which lead him to deem the majority of the quotations as prophetic *ad hoc* creations,[3] he leaves the door open for authentic quotations, if only so with important qualifications: they are rare and short[4] and they underlie entirely the prophetic design and intentions.[5] These conclusions and Wolff's study as a whole established themselves as a standard reference that was taken up and affirmed by subsequent writers like von Rad or Westermann.[6]

After Wolff's impressive work—and quite possibly because of it—few interpreters have devoted substantial attention to prophetic quotation as such.[7] Instead, quoted speech has been subsumed under other concerns, such as the study of irony and question-answer schemata or, and this is especially the case for Jer, the study of prophetic conflict and popular theology.[8] The work of Crenshaw serves here as a good example. Setting out "to

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[1] Hans Walter Wolff, *Das Zitat im Prophetenspruch: Eine Studie zur Prophetischen Verkündigungsweise* (BevTh 4; München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1937); repr. in Wolff, *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* (Neudrucke und Berichte aus dem 20. Jahrhundert: Altes Testament 22; München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1964), 36-129. All citations are taken from the latter reprint.

[2] Ibid., 55.

[3] "Schon eine vorläufige Prüfung ergibt deutlich, dass der grössere Teil der Zitate fingiert ist." Ibid., 68. In support of this verdict, Wolff lists, e.g., negative and conditional *Einführungsformeln*, the connections between quotations and their contexts (*Stichwortverknüpfung*), the self-accusatory content of some quotations (*Selbsturteil*), and the nature of the frequently attested future quotations.

[4] Wolff lists only six examples. Ibid., 55-60.

[5] "Das zitierte Menschenwort ist der freien Gestaltung des Propheten durch den Zusammenhang seiner Verkündigung überlassen." Ibid., 60.

[6] See Gerhard von Rad, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, Band 2: Die Theologie der Prophetischen Überlieferungen Israels (repr. 3rd ed.; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1964), 88. Claus Westermann, *Grundformen Prophetischer Rede* (BEvTh 31; München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1960), 40-44.

[7] Up to this day, Clark's 1984-dissertation on Ezekiel remains the only comprehensive treatment on the book level. Douglas R. Clark, "The Citations in the Book of Ezekiel: An Investigation into Method, Audience, and Message" (Ph. D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1984).

[8] Clark agrees: "Most references to citations in Old Testament scholarship over the past several decades have been general in nature and deal with them in the context of broader concerns." Ibid., 5. See e.g., Sheldon Blank, "Irony by Way of Attribution," *Semitics* 1 (1970): 1-6; Edwin M. Good, *Irony in the Old Testament* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1965), 119-121; James G. Williams, "Irony and Lament: Clues to Prophetic Consciousness," *Semeia* 8 (1977): 51-74; Burke O. Long, "Two Question and Answer Schemata in the Prophets," *JBL* 90, no. 2 (1971): 129-139.

look at Israelite religion as it really was," he finds in the quoted speeches in the prophets "a veritable goldmine," a "special source."[9] This status, Crenshaw's argument goes, derives from the fact that quoted speech contains authentic, first-hand information of the *vox populi*; it offers us a direct window into Israelite thought and religion. With this illuminating potential, quoted speech is thus vital for our understanding of conflicting, religious positions as manifested, most evidently, in the phenomenon of prophetic conflict.[10] In the service of this his primary concern, Crenshaw extracts selected quotation from the prophetic texts and groups them under six categories. While there is an awareness that "some of the citations are obvious creations of the prophets themselves," in essence, all quotations are used indiscriminately in his reconstruction.[11] Around the same time as Crenshaw's publications, other interpreters proceed along the same lines. With no or only minor discussion of the nature and capacity of quoted speech, the supposedly authentic information which it provides is employed to illuminate a variety of historical scenarios and problems. Beside its ability to open windows into religious thought,[12] quoted speech serves also as an authentication device for source criticism,[13] can help with the detection of false prophets,[14] and support arguments for the identity of the servant in Isa 53.[15]

As a striking deviation from these studies, Overholt's 1979-article on "the problem" of audience reaction in Jer 2 takes a step back and begins with some very basic questions:

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[9] James L. Crenshaw, "Popular Questioning of the Justice of God in Ancient Israel," *ZAW* 82, no. 3 (1970): 392; Ibid., *Prophetic Conflict: Its Effect Upon Israelite Religion* (BZAW 124; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1971), 21-22.

[10] "Indeed, the study of this material provides primary data about the obstacles confronted by the prophets and illuminates the thought-world of the masses." Ibid. "It is only as one becomes familiar with the voice of the people that he can understand false prophecy."Ibid., 24.

[11] Ibid., 34.

[12] Thomas Trapp, "Jeremiah: The Others Sides of the Story," in *Was Ist Der Mensch. . . ? Beiträge Zur Anthropologie des Alten Testaments,* ed. Frank Crüsemann (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1992), 228–42. John T. Willis, "Dialogue between Prophet and Audience as a Rhetorical Device in the Book of Jeremiah," *JSOT* 33 (1985): 63–82.

[13] William J. Horwitz, "Audience Reaction to Jeremiah," *CBQ* 32, no. 4 (1970): 555–64.

[14] A. S. van der Woude, "Micah in Dispute with the Pseudo-Prophets," *VT* 19, no. 2 (1969): 244–60; Ronald E. Manahan, "A Theology of Pseudoprophets: A Study in Jeremiah," *GTJ* 1, no. 1 (1980): 77–96.

[15] "The Servant Song in 49.1-6 gains credibility as an autobiographical statement of the prophet himself in response to this whole developing conflictful situation." John W. Miller, "Prophetic Conflict in Second Isaiah – The Servant Songs in the Light of Their Context," in *Wort, Gebot, Glaube: Beiträge Zur Theologie des Alten Testaments*, eds. Johann J. Stamm, Ernst Jenni, and Hans Joachim Stoebe (ATANT 59; Zurich: Zwingli Verlag, 1970), 79.

> What do these quotations reveal to us?. . . Can we assume that in each instance some person or persons is/are being quoted, and if so, are the words reproduced accurately?[16]

In the pursuit of these questions, Overholt carries out an example study in Jer 2. As he highlights the structural connections, stereotyped expression, logical inconsistencies, and ideological tenor of the numerous quoted speeches of the chapter, Overholt concludes that they "were created or adapted by Jeremiah to fit his own polemical purpose."[17] They are tightly integrated into the conceptual and literary framework of Jer 2 and as such fully absorbed under the prophet's control. In Overholt's view, these characteristics raise "serious doubts" about their veracity and thus about their usefulness for historical reconstruction.[18]

With these conclusions, Overholt's study comprises a crucial turning point in the study of prophetic, quoted speech. For the first time since Wolff's groundwork, the phenomenon is approached for what it *is* rather than for what it can or should *do*. Overholt must, therefore, be credited for re-directing our attention to the most basic—and most important—parameter for studying quoted speech, namely, the context in which it appears. Yet, despite these accomplishments, his analysis encompasses only one chapter.[19] Also, given the need to respond to earlier quotation studies and the general tenor of Jer studies of his day, his article is framed primarily to address the question of authenticity. For these reasons, it is worthwhile our efforts to supplement his important observations with some of the insights from contemporary quotation theory.

In the work of Sternberg, an established representative of this field, quoted speech is described as the coalescence of two discourse-events: the inset and the frame (i.e., the quotative context).[20] While these relate on the surface of syntax and deixis as two

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[16] Thomas W. Overholt, "Jeremiah 2 and the Problem of 'Audience Reaction,'" *CBQ* 41, no. 2 (1979): 263.

[17] Ibid., 270.

[18] "When studying the prophet and the social context in which he worked, we ought therefore beware of reading too much into a set of quotation marks." Ibid., 273. In his evaluation of Crenshaw's approach, George Savran arrives at the same conclusion. Cf. *Telling and Retelling: Quotation in Biblical Narrative* (IndStBibLit; Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, 1988), 9.

[19] His own projections invite closer scrutiny:"All of this suggests that we are here dealing with an element of the prophet's personal style and that the observations made above will have implications for the study of the remainder of the book." "Problem," 272.

[20] Meir Sternberg, "Proteus in Quotation-Land: Mimesis and the Forms of Reported Discourse," *Poetics Today* 3, no. 2 (1982): 107–108.

independent entities, the dynamics of quoting, of re-inserting speech from somewhere else, lead to intrinsic hierarchies:

> Even if the original could be copied down to the last detail, its transplanting and framing in a new environment would impose on it a new mode of existence. . . The framing of an element within a text entails a communicative subordination of the part to the whole that encloses it.[21]

By its very existence, then, quoted speech is defined and determined by its quotative context. This innate hierarchy of the device leads to Sternberg's challenge of the "Reproductive Fallacy" (elsewhere he calls it "Direct Speech Fallacy").[22] This fallacy assumes that quoted speech provides direct access to the original speech and speaker, just as we saw in the studies above. In Sternberg's view, however, the very dynamics of quotation leave no room for such a one-to-one correlation:

> Tearing a piece of discourse from its original habitat and recontextualizing it within a new network of relations cannot but interfere with its effect. . . To quote is to mediate and to mediate is to interfere.[23]

There are, at least, two conclusions which we must draw from this observation. As quotation exists and is defined only ever by its context, one cannot study quoted speech by un-quoting it, by removing it from this context.[24] In its context, however, quoted speech can *by definition* never provide non-mediated, direct access to the audience. The interference of the quoting agent cannot be bypassed; this is true even of verbatim quotations.[25] At the same time, the question of authenticity also seems to be misplaced. If, according to Sternberg, quoted speech is nothing but "perspectival montage," is it not much more important, even mandatory, to understand the aims of this montage, rather than whether or not the quoted party really said what the quoting agent said they said?[26] Sternberg himself sees severe problems with this latter approach, such as the absence of the original

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[21] Ibid.," 108.

[22] Ibid., 128. See also his "Point of View and the Indirections of Direct Speech," in *Language and Style* 15 (1982): 67-117.

[23] Sternberg, "Quotation-Land:" 108.

[24] In what can be considered his *magnus opus*, Sternberg criticizes this analytical programme also on a more general level: "Elements thus get divorced from the very terms of reference that assign to them their role and meaning: parts from wholes, means from ends, forms from functions." *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, 1987), 2.

[25] "In order to infiltrate an inset, the reporter need not tamper with its verbal makeup. . . What the traditional view overlooks is the extent to which the very structure of report gives rise to contextual clash or friction." Ibid., "Point of View," 72. This neatly echoes Wolff's observation above (see fn. 5).

[26] This is especially the case for prophetic, quoted speech, the vast majority of which comes to us with no means of comparison to the original speech.

material,[27] the irreproducible nature of intonation, gestures, and style, as well as logical discrepancies.[28]

3. Structures of Quoted Speech in Jer 1-4

Against the background of Overholt's analysis, Sternberg theoretical insights loudly affirm that the study of quoted speech cannot consist of studying the insets, even less of pulling them out of their given contexts. Instead, it is precisely to these contexts—to the literary, structural, and rhetorical composition of the frame—to which we must adhere. For the present project and paper, then, the supremacy of the frame sets the purpose and direction of inquiry. As we approach quoted speech within its context, two central questions emerge, namely, that of location and that of interrelationship.[29] As we delve into the discourse of Jer 1-4[30] and inquire where quoted speeches appear and how they relate to one another, these formal inquiries necessarily go hand-in-hand with functional observations.[31]

3.1 Quoting Jeremiah, Quoting YHWH (Jer 1.7 / Jer 4.10)

That the first instance of quoted speech occurs already in its seventh verse aptly reflects the centrality of the device for Jer, but also for the call narrative of ch. 1 itself. Framed here at the center of the book's first discourse unit (1.4-8), quoted speech contributes from the

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[27] "Supposing for the sake of argument that each direct quoter were able and committed to provide an accurate (verbatim, opaque) transcript of the original, *how could we tell whether he has acted accordingly*?. . . Reproductionist theories seem to share the assumption that the reader, too, is omniscient." "Quotation-Land," 142 (emphasis original).

[28] This applies, for instance, in the case of quotations of collectives or foreigners. Sternberg, for instance, refers to this as "translational mimesis, whereby Midianites (for example) speak pure Biblical Hebrew." Meir Sternberg, "How Indirect Discourse Means: Syntax, Semantics, Poetics, Pragmatics," in *Literary Pragmatics*, ed. Roger Sell (London: Routledge, 1991), 78. Overholt asks "what it means to 'quote' a group of people, anyway." "Problem," 273.

[29] The analytical program advanced here has, therefore, much in common with the study of Jeremiah's "Confessions" and its recent developments. See, e.g., A. R. Diamond, *The Confessions of Jeremiah in Context: Scenes of Prophetic Drama* (JSOT Sup 45; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1987); Kathleen M. O'Connor, *The Confessions of Jeremiah: Their Interpretation and Role in Chapters 1-25* (SBL Dis 94; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1988); Mark S. Smith, *The Laments of Jeremiah and Their Contexts: A Literary and Redactional Study of Jeremiah 11-20* (SBLMS 42; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1990).

[30] While I identify the first major block of the book as chs. 1-6, space permits only to include chs. 1-4 here. While this text has been examined with regard to polyphony, *Redeebenen*, and structural configuration, quoted speech has played a minor role in this discussion. See, e.g., Mark E. Biddle, *Polyphony and Symphony in Prophetic Literature: Rereading Jeremiah 7-20*, (SOTI 2; Macon, GA: Mercer University, 1996); Karin Finsterbusch, "MT-Jer 1,1-3,5 und LXX-Jer 1,1-3,5: Kommunikationsebenen und Rhetorische Strukturen," *BZ* 56, no. 2 (2012): 247–63.

[31] "Contrary to what some recent attempts at 'literary' analysis seem to assume, form has no value or meaning apart from communicative (historical, ideological, aesthetic) function." Sternberg, *Poetics*, xii.

very beginning to the programmatic themes of speech, word, and speakers, all of which are especially important in Jer.[32]

1.6	ואמר אהה אדני יהוה	And I said: "Alas, lord YHWH!
	הנה לא־ידעתי דבר כי־נער אנכי	Behold, I am unfit to speak, for I am but a young man."
1.7	ויאמר יהוה אלי	But YHWH spoke to me:
	אל־תאמר נער אנכי	"Do not say, 'I am but a young man.'
	כי על־כל־אשר אשלחך תלך	Be assured that wherever I send you, you must go,
	ואת כל־אשר אצוך תדבר	and whatever I command you, you must speak."

As an exception to the majority of quotation texts in the book, Jer 1.6-7 records the original speech. This scenario enables us to see that YHWH's quotation of Jeremiah's words is only partial; it is a selective quotation which draws attention not to the prophet's inability (לא־ידעתי דבר), but to the reason which underlies it (כי נער אנכי). The quotation thus highlights the key issue of the prophet's resistance (v. 5b), namely, his low standing in society.[33] Jeremiah refuses the divine mandate not because of an alleged speech impediment,[34] but because of his voicelessness and lack of influence in the public sphere. That it is this focus on the "Who" rather than the "What" that is brought out by the selective speech quotation is affirmed by YHWH's counter reply. As it is the deity who sends and commands (v. 7b) and who delivers the speaker (v. 8b), the identity and social status of the messenger are altogether irrelevant.

Driven by these selective and subordinative mechanics of the quotation, the very first conversation in Jer builds on the elements of response and dispute. The chorus of colliding voices which dominates the first chapters of the book strikes its first (dis)chord already after seven verses. Yet more importantly, it is YHWH who quotes, who reacts immediately to the human word and supersedes it in his sovereignty: do not say XYZ, but

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[32] In contrast to the focus on visionary accounts in the other major prophetic books (cf. חזון, Isa 1.1; מראות אלהים, Ezek 1.1), the first word in Jer is דברי. For the centrality of word and speech in Jer, see Andrew G. Shead, *A Mouth Full of Fire: The Word of God in the Words of Jeremiah* (NSBT 29; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2012), 41-106.

[33] Jeremiah's self-description as נער is not so much related to his age, but rather to his social context: "He is young and without a commanding presence and authority." William McKane, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah* (vol. 1, ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1986), 7. In the Hebrew Bible, the term נער is used for infants (Ex 2.6), young men of marriageable age (Gen 34.19; Josef: "17 years of age," Gen 37.2), and servants. Cf. *DCH*, 708ff.

[34] Here he diverts, therefore, from Moses who describes himself in his final attempt to refuse the office as a man with a heavy mouth (כבד־פה) and a heavy tongue (כבד־לשון) (Exod 4.10).

whatever I command, that you shall speak. The quoted speech which we find at the opening of the call narrative thus sets the tone for the supremacy of the divine word which governs so much of the ensuing discourse.

In the sequence of the book, divine-prophetic dialogue of ch. 1 leads to Jeremiah's first speech to Israel in 2.1-3.5. While some interpreters have attempted to separate the speaking parts of YHWH and Jeremiah within this lengthy discourse, there are, in fact, no clear markers in the text which allow such a distinction. While prophet and deity are again identified as separate entities in 3.6ff, Jeremiah does not appear as an independent speaker in this section.[35] It is, then, not until 4.10 that we find him again in this role.[36]

4.10	וָאֹמַר אהה אדני יהוה	And I said: "Alas, lord YHWH!
	אכן הִשֵּׁא הִשִּׁאת	How blatantly have you deceived[37]
	לעם הזה ולירושלם לאמר	the people and Jerusalem when you said to them:
	שָׁלוֹם יהיה לכם	'It will be well with you!'
	ונגעה חרב עד־הנפשׁ	But see, the sword is right at their throats!"

As in 1.7, we find here Jeremiah's typical address to YHWH and a speech quotation.[38] As an inversion of the call narrative, however, now the prophet quotes the deity. The appeal to YHWH's speech of days past, serves here to undergird Jeremiah's accusation of divine deceit (נשׂא). With such a charge in the mouth of the prophet, this passage has been deemed textually corrupt by some interpreters. Duhm, Rudolph, and Carroll, for instance, choose to emend the opening וָאֹמַר to וְאָמְרוּ, thus placing the preposterous quote on the lips of the leader mentioned in v. 9. Yet, since the opening address (אהה אדני יהוה) is found in the Hebrew Bible predominantly in *prophetic* address to YHWH and is spoken exclusively by individuals, it is unlikely to find it uttered here by the collective leadership of v. 9.[39]

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[35] See 3.6 and 3.11 (ויאמר יהוה אלי). Jeremiah is addressed by YHWH (הראית אשׁר עשׂתה משׁבה ישׂראל), yet no answer is recorded.

[36] The words in 4.10 are addressed to YHWH and the only preceding, independent 1cs-speaker thus far in the book is Jeremiah. It is, therefore, natural to attribute the וָאֹמַר to him.

[37] This infinitive absolute construction of נשׂא is unique in the Hebrew Bible. It is, then, an appropriate and noteworthy vehicle for Jeremiah's consternation. See Georg Fischer, *Jeremia 1-25* (HThKAT; Freiburg: Herder, 2005), 216.

[38] The same address occurs in 14.13 also just before a quoted speech. Other than that, it appears in Jer only in 32.17.

[39] The phrase אהה אדני יהוה appears only ten times in the Hebrew Bible, spoken once by Joshua (Jos 7.7), once by Gideon (Jdg 6.22), four times by Jeremiah, and four times by Ezekiel (Ezek 4.14; 9.8; 11.13; 21.5).

In its wider context, this quotation makes good sense as a Jeremian reaction to the preceding poem.[40] After the communal prayer in 3.22b-25 and YHWH's hopeful invitation for the people to return in 4.1-4, the announcement of destruction in 4.5-9 comes as a shock: as the people apparently heed the warning and as YHWH seems to strive for reconciliation, the reality of sword and death is, at first glance, inexplicable. An accusation of divine deceit is thus entirely warranted at this point. As startling as YHWH's wrath is to Judah (cf. 3.4-5), it is no less so to her prophet.[41]

Whatever the origin or reference for YHWH's promise of peace may be,[42] in the present frame it is utilized to introduce the question which governs so much of Jer 4-6: why is YHWH, who previously had only good intentions for Israel, no longer this God of שלום (cf. 2.2-3, 21a; 3.14-19)? The frame of 4.10-18 itself provides a first response. At the core of this section stands a severe pronouncement of judgment: a wind comes, not to winnow but to scorch (v. 11), a storm rises (v. 13), foreign siege draws near (v. 16). Whereas our quote in v. 10 leads into this announcement, the statement in v. 18 closes it:

4.18	דרכך ומעלליך	"Your way of life and your evil deeds,
	עשׂו אלה לך	they have brought these things upon you!
	זאת רעתך כי מר	Look at your evil—how bitter it is,
	כי נגע עד־לבך	how it dwells so near to your heart!"

What the unit of 4.10-18 articulates, then, is that YHWH's turn from peace to punishment is far from arbitrary and deceptive. The reason that the sword has reached Judah's throat (ונגעה חרב עד־הנפשׁ) is correlative to the depth dimension of her rebellion—her evil has reached her heart (נגע עד־לבך).[43] While Jeremiah's quote of YHWH functions as a reaction to

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[40] So, for instance, Walter Brueggemann, *A Commentary on Jeremiah: Exile and Homecoming* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), 55.

[41] See Terence E. Fretheim, *Jeremiah* (Smyth & Helwys BC; Macon, GA: Smith & Helwys, 2002), 103.

[42] As one continues to read Jer, it becomes evident that the prophet's quotation here echoes closely the words of the false prophets (e.g., 6.14/8.11; 14.13; 23.17!). In the book-context, 4.10 introduces, therefore, the issue of prophetic authenticity—who speaks rightly YHWH's word?—and it also begins the discussion of שלום which runs through the book (see Fischer, *Jeremia 1-25*, 216-217). At this point of the discourse of Jer, however, there is no reference to prophetic conflict. Ultimately, it is YHWH's prophet Jeremiah who utters the quotation in 4.10 and it is these dynamics which concern us here.

[43] With only six occurrences of נגע in Jer (1.9; 12.14; 48.32; 51.9), the phrase נגע + עד appears only in 4.10 and 4.18. Given this small and close attestation, the נגע inclusio in 4.10-18 exceeds some of Lundbom's examples of much more common and frequent words (e.g., הנה/הן in 3.1-5 or בעמי/ועמי in 5.26-31). Jack R. Lundbom, *Jeremiah: A Study in Ancient Hebrew Rhetoric* (SBL Dis 18; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1975), 37-41.

the poem of 4.5-9, it also sets in motion the dynamics of YHWH's *Gerichtslogik* which climaxes in 4.18.[44] Structurally, the quoted speech in 4.10 thus forms the nexus of all of the constituents of 4.5-18.[45] Rhetorically, it voices honest protest, yet only as a preparation for the ensuing justification of divine judgment.

From these observations of the quoted speeches in 1.7 and 4.10, a number of conclusions emerge. We note first that both insets are deeply integrated into their contexts: 4.10 is part of an inclusio and 1.7 stands in direct relationship with 1.6. As part of their respective frames, both instances are placed at important discourse junctures, namely, at the first conversation between YHWH and Jeremiah and at the centre of the unit 4.5-18. In these structural configurations, they function to establish important themes, such as the sovereignty and supersession of the divine word over the human word and the question whether or not YHWH's judgment is appropriate. The first two quoted speeches of God and prophet in 1.7 and 4.10 thus contribute significantly to Word theology and theodicy, arguably two major concerns of the book.

The relationship between these two quotation texts also yields important insights. Whereas 1.7 demonstrates YHWH's verbal supremacy, 4.10 depicts a prophet who is not hesitant to voice his concerns with the divine programme and also with his own mission.[46] Both the resistance of his call and the accusation of deceit in these first two quotations prepare later prophetic complaints and confusion.[47] At the same time, they create a literary portray of a prophet who moves from resistance to outright challenge. The quotations thus serve to vindicate the prophet; after all, it was YHWH who overruled his refusal (1.7) and YHWH who involved him in the deceit of Judah (4.10). However, the response which is elicited by Jeremiah's quotation (4.11-18) but also his search for potential YHWH-followers (5.4-6) will eventually lead up to his own affirmation of Judah's guilt in 6.27-30. By means of the divine-prophetic quotations in Jer 1-4, the troubled Jeremiah is thus integrated into a

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[44] For the metaphorical use of לב and its climactic function in v. 18ff, see Timothy Polk, *The Prophetic Persona: Jeremiah and the Language of the Self* (JSOT Sup 32; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984), 50.

[45] It is, therefore, unfortunate that Biddle's study of the communicative interaction in ch. 4 leaves 4.9-10 entirely out of the discussion. Cf. *Polyphony*,15-22.

[46] These quotation texts depict, therefore, an important difference to the "radical theocentricity" of the book of Ezekiel which does not allow prophetic speeches of this sort. There the prophet is "merely a medium." Thomas Renz, *The Rhetorical Function of the Book of Ezekiel* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 136-137. The quoted speech in 4.10 thus creates a counter perspective to Biddle's argument for a "relative 'absence' of the prophet" in Jer. *Polyphony*, 120.

[47] "The protest anticipates Jeremiah's series of laments." Leslie C. Allen, *Jeremiah: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2008), 66. See, e.g., 15.18; 20.7-9; 32.24-25.

rhetoric which makes space for honest discussion and struggle, yet which seeks ultimately to make a compelling case for YHWH's judgment.

3.2 Quoting Judah (Jer 2.1-3.5)

In close correlation to these quoted speech by YHWH and Jeremiah, the discourse of 2.1-3.5 involves also Judah in the dynamics of quotation of Jer 1-4, beginning in the unit 2.4-9.[48] If we leave aside the standard elements of addressee formula (v. 4) and closing statement (v. 9), the quoted speeches in v. 6 and v. 8 emerge as the structural centre of this first substantial prophetic indictment against Judah:[49]

2.6	ולא אמרו איה יהוה	And they did not say: "Where is YHWH?
	המעלה אתנו מארץ מצרים	He who brought us up from the land of Egypt,
	המוליך אתנו במדבר	who led us in the wilderness, . . ."
2.8a	והכהנים לא אמרו איה יהוה	And the priests did not say: "Where is YHWH?"
	ותפשׂי התורה לא ידעוני	Those who handle Torah did not know me,
	והרעים פשׁעו בי	those who are shepherds have transgressed against me.

Through the negative formulation of these quotations, the fictitious, ideal nature of the insets of Jer 2.6-8 is much more readily visible than in other quotations. Unarguably, what is expressed here is not an authentic record of earlier speech but a hypothetical version thereof. While these quotations are, then, more ideal than real,[50] they nevertheless fulfill all the necessary requirements of quoted speech—deictic and syntactical independence, marking, attribution, past tense—and need, therefore, be included in our study.

From a rhetorical perspective, it is not difficult to see that 2.6 and 2.8 function to highlight the lacking awareness and inquiry of YHWH by his people and that they seek

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[48] Jer 2.1-3 open the chapter with the desert memories; v. 9 functions as a janus that draws the results from 2.4-8 (לכן עד אריב אתכם) and introducing the lawsuit of 2.9ff.

[49] This structural significance and any closer attention to these quoted speeches is often absent in studies on Jer 2. See e.g., Heinz-Dieter Neef, "Gottes Treue und Israels Untreue : Aufbau Und Einheit von Jeremia 2:2-13," *ZAW* 99, no. 1 (1987): 37–58. Marvin A. Sweeney, "Structure and Redaction in Jeremiah 2-6," in *Troubling Jeremiah* (eds. A. R. Diamond, Kathleen M. O'Connor, and Louis Stulman; JSOTSup 260; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 200-218.

[50] In Overholt's estimate, "vv. 6 and 8 cannot be regarded as 'real' quotations." "Problem," 267.

thereby to urge the audience not to commit the same mistake.[51] While the centrality of the quotations within the structure of 2.4-9 has already been mentioned, it is important also to notice the dynamics among the pair. The immediate repetition of the inset איה יהוה in 2.8 makes it feasible to understand this verse as an abbreviated version of 2.6. This linkage between the quoted speeches naturally creates a link also between the two different groups of quoted speakers. This quotational structure in 2.4-9 highlights, therefore, that it is both the ancestors (אבותיכם, v. 5) and the present leadership in the land (v. 8) who have failed to seek YHWH's counsel. The quotational link thus articulates the continuous, transgenerational continuity of Israel's disregard for her God and applies the shortcomings of the fathers to the current establishment. Even now that YHWH has brought his people into their promised land (v. 7a), the people's desire to inquire, trust, and follow is lacking. With this structural and functional interplay between different quoted speeches as a precedent, it is worthwhile to extend the quotational context. In the sequence of the book, then, the negativity of Judah's quotations further develops the dynamics of YHWH's corrective quote of Jeremiah in 1.7: whereas the prophet spoke the wrong words and was re-directed, Judah did not speak at all! As ch. 1 introduces the prophet and ch. 2 introduces the people, the quoted speeches of both parties demonstrate and intensify the failure of YHWH's communicative partners to produce the appropriate verbal response to his speech.

With Jer 2.6-8 as a starting point, the structuring function of Judah's quoted speech takes centre stage in the discourse of 2.20-3.5. In this seemingly random catalogue of infractions and indictment, the quotations of the people occur not only at the outer borders of 2.20 and 3.5 but also systematically throughout.[52] As Overholt has shown, all of these quotations are deeply integrated into their frame. As such, they provide the point of

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[51] "The hearers, then, are encouraged to ask precisely what the people within the book are blamed for not asking." Naama Zahavi-Ely, "Voice and Persona: The Convention of Changing Speakers in Biblical Hebrew Poetry and Its Use in the Book of Jeremiah" (Ph.D. diss., Union-Presbyterian School of Christian Education, 2010), 160.

[52] The organization of Jer 2.20ff has long troubled interpreters. In general, proposals have failed to convince either because they have been too "atomistic" (see Biddle's review of proposed structures) or because they have been far too elaborate (e.g., the metaphorical double-inclusio outlined by Job Y. Jindo, *Biblical Metaphor Reconsidered: A Cognitive Approach to Poetic Prophecy in Jeremiah 1-24* (HSM 64; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 179-185. For an overview, see Mark E. Biddle, *A Redaction History of Jeremiah 2:1-4:2*, ATANT 77 (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1990), 44-52. While Biddle rightly identifies the quotation structure as "the most obvious feature discernible in Jeremiah 2," his redactional scheme unfortunately separates the 2fs quotes from the 2ms quotes (ibid., p. 46). While Biddle's estimation of gender switches as a reliable, redactional marker is difficult to maintain (see the critique by Sweeney, "Structure," 206), it also obscures the full force of the structural dimension of the quoted speeches in 2.20-3.5.

reference for YHWH's responses and rhetorical questions as well as for a wide array of imagery.[53] Due to restriction of space, we will comment here only on the structural trajectory within 2.20-3.5 and its relationship to 2.6-8.

The discourse of 2.20-3.5 opens by recalling the deliverance from bondage with which ch. 2 begins (כי מעולם שברתי עלך, 2.20aα; cf. 2.2-3, 6-7). Even then, YHWH maintains, Israel's response was one of defiance ("I will not serve," 2.20aβ). From this introduction, the following quotations focus on Judah's preference for other deities and foreign nations (2.23, 25, 27; cf. 2.11, 18), and match this with her abandonment of YHWH (לוא־נבוא עוד אליך, 2.31) and her embrace of false security (אך שב אפו ממני, 2.34). This quotational trajectory reaches its conclusion in 3.4-5:

3.4	הלוא מעתא קראת לי אבי	Truly, you have just now called out to me: "My Father!
	אלוף נערי אתה	You are the companion from my youth!
3.5	הינטר לעלום אם־ישמר לנצח	How will he stay angry, even keep his fury forever?"
	הנה דברת	See, this is how you have spoken
	ותעשי הרעות ותוכל	and yet you commit an abundance of evil.[54]

Before the clear break in 3.6, this quoted speech stands as a forceful complement to all the previous ones: although in stark contrast to her defiant words thus far, even these reverential words, this first appropriate, verbal response to YHWH only serves to highlight her self-interest and false security (3.5a). In a different context, this could certainly be an honest affirmation of Judah's devotion to YHWH. But here, as the culmination of all her quoted speeches in 2.20-3.5 and with YHWH's direct response, the framing of Judah's

[53] For quoted speeches and animal imagery in 2.20-3.5, see Benjamin A. Foreman, *Animal Metaphors and the People of Israel in the Book of Jeremiah* (FRLANT 238; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011). While Overholt points out that almost all of the quotations in Jer 2 are connected to rhetorical questions, this observation finds no mention in Brueggemann's seminal study. Walter Brueggemann, "Jeremiah's Use of Rhetorical Questions," *JBL* 92, no. 3 (1973): 358–74.

[54] Jer 3.4-5 comes with a number of challenges: 1) For the exclamatory use of the interrogative participle, see Paul Joüon, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Subsidia Biblica 14; Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1993), §161; 2) Q: קראת/K: קָרָֽאתִי. As in 2.20 and 2.33, the communication structure renders Q (2fs) preferable to K (1fs). The latter, however, could be pointed as a 2fs as well (see McKane, *Jeremiah*, 60-61). The same applies also to Q: דברת/K:דִּבַּ֣רְתְּ; 3) אלוף: Drawing from the few attestation outside the titular use in the genealogies of Gen and Chr, אלוף describes a close and trusted partner (see especially Ps 55.14; Prov 2.17, 16.28, 17.9; Mic 7.5). These references make McKane's proposal of "teacher" questionable (ibid.). Even less likely is Shield's "husband." Mary E. Shields, *Circumscribing the Prostitute: The Rhetorics of Intertextuality, Metaphor, and Gender in Jeremiah 3. 1-4. 4* (JSOT Sup 387; London/New York: T & T Clark, 2004), 35; 4) Jer 3.5bβ reads literally "and you have done evil things and you were able." For a variety of translations, see again McKane who, together with Allen and Carroll, supports the adversative waw.

confession achieves exactly the opposite. While the significance of appropriate speech has been highlighted as early as 2.6-8 and while 2.35 pronounces judgment upon her rebellious speech,[55] now her reverent speech also demonstrates the persistence and depth dimension of her defiance to YHWH. Under the guise of quotational indirection and the strategy of deliberate framing, the quoted speeches of Judah in 2.20-3.5 find thus here their rhetorical conclusion. The quotational structure and direction of this discourse unit prepares the divine monologue of Jer 3.6ff and supports the rhetoric of YHWH's fully justified judgment.[56]

3.3 Quoting Zion

Alongside YHWH, the prophet, and the people, Lady Zion also features in the conversation of Jer 1-4. The first text which one might attribute to her is 4.19-21. Whereas scholars have traditionally assigned this text to Jeremiah, the 'weeping prophet,'[57] Kumaki and later Biddle have made a good case to read this text as a Zion lament.[58] Given the reference to tents and curtains in 4.20b, this may appear as the natural reading. Yet, as Roberts has shown, 4.19-21 fits much better within the tradition of divine laments which is widely attested in the Ancient Near East.[59] Adding to this external evidence the internal parallel of Jer 31.20—same language and clearly identified as YHWH speech[60]—it is reasonable to conclude that Zion is not quoted in Jer until 4.31.

4.31	כי קול כחולה שׁמעתי	For a voice I hear, as that of a woman in labour,
	צרה כמבכירה	a cry as that of her who bears her first child.
	קול בת־ציון	The voice of the daughter of Zion is this,
	תתיפח תפרשׂ כפיה	gasping for breath, she stretches out her hands:[61]

[55] In 2.35, speaking is the reason for YHWH's judgment: הנני נשׁפט אותך על־אמרך לא חטאתי.

[56] Quoted speeches of Judah reappear at later points, for instance, in 6.16-17 which functions as the structural counterpoint to 2.20-35 and consolidates Judah's waywardness at the climax of the text block of chs. 2-6.

[57] So, e.g., William L. Holladay, *Jeremiah: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1986), 160-161.

[58] F. Kumaki, "A New Look at Jer 4.19-22 and Jer 10.19-21," *Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute* 8 (1982): 113–22; Biddle, *Polyphony*, 20-22.

[59] J. J. M. Roberts, "The Motif of the Weeping God in Jeremiah and Its Background in the Lament Tradition of the Ancient Near East," *Old Testament Essays* 5 (1992): 361–74.

[60] Compare 4.19 (מעי מעי אוחילה קירות לבי המה־לי לבי) and 31.20 (על־כן המו מעי לו). For מעי used for YHWH elsewhere, see Isa 63.15.

[61] Targum clarifies that 4.31b is in fact quoted speech by adding the *verbum dicendi* אמרא after the atnaḥ.

אוי־נא לי	"Woe to me!
כי־עיפה נפשי להרגים	For I dwindle away before murderers."

As the continuation of 4.27-30, it is YHWH who speaks here and who quotes the despairing, personified city. Before we launch into the clearly demarcated discourse of ch. 5, this quoted speech of Jerusalem poses the very climax to the foregoing indictment and judgment of ch. 4. As the fulfillment to the warning in 4.6 (שאו־נס ציונה העיזו), now Zion collapses and realizes the uselessness of her self-supportive strategies (see 4.30). This climactic function within the discourse of ch. 4 has its structural counterpart in the Zion-quote at the closure of ch. 10.

4. Conclusion

We set out to analyze quoted speech in Jer 1-4 from a structural and functional perspective. This analysis has yielded a number of fresh insights. In the examples above, we observed that quoted speech stands at important points within larger discourse frames. It can take the role of an introduction (1.4-8; 2.6-8), a structural centre (4.10) or trajectory (2.20-3.5), as well as a climax (3.5; 4.31). We also noted that there are relationships between these quotations, highlighting, for instance, the dynamics between YHWH and prophet in 1.7 and 4.10, the defiance of YHWH by previous and current generations (2.6-8), or Judah's characterization through what she did *not* say (2.6-8) and what she did say (2.20-3.5). Within these structural configurations, quoted speech serves to articulate and establish some of the important themes of Jer 1-4, such as the sovereignty of YHWH's word, prophetic vindication and struggle, and the justification of divine judgment. These observations for Jer 1-4 offer a first glimpse into the contextual, structural, and functional dimension in which quoted speech appears in the book. As the exegesis of the location and interrelationship of the device will be continued for the remainder of Jer, the observations drawn out in this paper are a promising outlook for a better understanding and appreciation of quoted speech in prophetic literature.

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PROPHET AND PROPHECY IN HOS 9:7-9

Introduction

The starting point of my thesis is the present form of the book of Hosea. This study as a whole will be based on two premises: first, the book as we now have it is a multi-layered composition, and second, the textual material in the book can be related at least to three different time periods which are 1) the authentic prophetic proclamation from the mid-late 8th century BCE, 2) the ideological and political concepts from the times of Hezekiah and Josiah in the 8th and 7th centuries BCE, and 3) a concept of hope for a new restoration in exilic and postexilic times in the 6th century BCE. In my thesis, these epochs are denoted as *prophecy*, *policy* and *restoration*. To define how the book of Hosea is multi-layered, I will focus on passages in which 1) Deuteronomic- or Deuteronomistic phraseology, 2) references to Judah, 3) criticism of kingship but positive picture of David 4) sharp criticism of religious practices of Israel but also positive picture on the relation between Israel and YHWH, and 5) use of Israelite traditions can be detected.

Although in exegetical scholarship there prevails a consensus that the present form of the book of Hosea is a composite work made by several redactors, the question whether on the basis of the book it is possible to reconstruct any of the authentic proclamation of Hosea, is a matter of discussion.[1] Many scholars seem to accept that in the book at least some reflections of the prophet's publicly delivered words can be identified, but also serious doubts about the possibility to distinguish any pre-exilic prophetic message has been expressed; even to the extent that the historicity of a prophetic figure of Hosea has been questioned, as the book has been regarded as a postexilic literary product.[2] Additionally, archaeological findings and ancient Near East parallels of prophecy have

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[1] For a detailed discussion, see, A. Laato, *History and Ideology in the Old Testament Prophetic Literature. A Semiotic Approach to the Reconstruction of the Proclamation of the Historical Prophets* (Stockholm: Almqwist & Wiksell) 1996.

[2] For the book of Hosea as a product of continuous *Fortschreibungen*, see, e.g. M. Nissinen, *Prophetie, Redaktion und Fortschreibung im Hoseabuch: Studien zum Werdegang eines Prophetenbuches im Lichte von Hos 4 und 11* (AOAT 231, Neukirchen-Vlyun: Neukirchener Verlag) 1991; E. Ben Zvi, *Hosea* (FOTL, 21a; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans) 2005; S. Rudnig-Zelt, *Hoseastudien. Redaktionskritische Untersuchungen zur Genese des Hoseabuches* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht), 2006.

given new insights on biblical texts, and it has become evident that the biblical text cannot be the only source in the research.[3] However, although doubts have been cast on the entire concept of ancient Israelite prophecy, I still think it is reasonable to assume that certain sayings in the book of Hosea may reflect central and important ideas dating back to the activity of the prophet in the 8th century BCE and in some cases to earlier times. These saying are far from being the *ipsissima verba* of the prophet, because the text has been gone through redactional processes, in which the redactors have intentionally and continuously reshaped and extended their source material according to their own understanding and contemporary ideological and political purposes. But, however, they have preserved some themes, as they have been integral to their time as well, and therefore the present form of the book can still contain passages which reflect the authentic prophecy. Therefore, all things considered, this postulation constitutes one of the tentative hypotheses in my thesis.

My overall topic is extensive, and the project is its early stages. Therefore, I will in this paper limit to certain issues aroused by Hos 9:7-9. In the scholarship on the book of Hosea, this passage has stirred up a number of various interpretations, which are of particular interest when considering the overall phenomenon of prophecy and especially, what might have been the part of Hosea in it. I will first explore some of the recent scholarly opinions on Hos 9:7-9 and then, in a brief conclusion, reflect on ideas aroused by them.

Textual analysis of Hos 9:7-9

The passage opens in v 7a with an announcement: בָּאוּ יְמֵי הַפְּקֻדָּה בָּאוּ יְמֵי הַשִּׁלֻּם, *The days of vengeance has come, the days of retribution have come.*[4] Here the perfect tense of the verb בָּאוּ indicates that the distress is already a reality: the days of punishment have indeed come. Typical of the book of Hosea, there is no direct allusion to any specific historical event, but on the basis of

[3]See, e.g. E. Ben Zvi "Biblical Books and Texts as Self-Contained Sources for the Study of Ancient Israelite History" *RST* 25 (2006) 211 -227; A. G. Auld "Prophets Through a Looking Glass: Between Writings and Moses. *JSOT* 27 (1983) 3-23; T. W. Overholt "Prophecy in History: The Social Reality of Intermediation. *JSOT* 48 (1990) 3-29; M. J. de Jong "Biblical Prophecy-A Scribal Enterprise. The Old Testament Prophecy of Unconditional Judgment Considered as a Literary Phenomenon", *VT* 61 (2011) 39-70; H. M. Barstad "No Prophets? Recent Developments in Biblical Prophetic Research and Ancient Near Eastern Prophecy", *JSOT* 57 (1993) 39-60. Barstad has questioned the view that the prophetic texts should be merely postexilic literary products. He claims that they, as their parallels form ancient Near Eastern prophetical texts indicate, represent edited collections of prophetical sayings, in which the nature of the original prophecies was not much changed. He further argues that the prophecies were written down at a very early stage and later collected; A. Laato *History and Ideology in the Old Testament Prophetic Literature* (1996); M. Weinfeld "Ancient Near Eastern Patterns in Prophetic Literature", *VT* 27 (1977), 178-195.

[4] All the translations in English are mine if not otherwise mentioned.

what we know about the overall political situation in the Near East during the mid-8th century BCE, which is the presumed time of the ministry of Hosea, it can be assumed that some military manoeuvres of Assyria are meant.[5] The following phrase, יֵדְעוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל, *Israel shall know*, poses a straightforward question: what shall Israel know, or what is this phrase referring to? What comes next is a pejorative characterization of the prophet: אֱוִיל הַנָּבִיא מְשֻׁגָּע אִישׁ הָרוּחַ, *The prophet is fool, the man of the spirit is crazy*, and in the end of v 7 there is a kind of explanatory statement: עַל רֹב עֲוֹנְךָ וְרַבָּה מַשְׂטֵמָה, *Because of your great guilt and your great hostility*. But how do these sayings in join to each other? Some scholars, as for example Wolff, have decided on replacing MT's verb ידע with ירע, "cry, give a shout".[6] Willi-Plein rejects this emendation by noting that the verb רוע refers to a kind of inarticulate crying, and as such the verb cannot be used here to refer to Israel's articulated shouting.[7]Andersen and Freedman have suggested that Israel's knowing relates to the announcement of the disaster in the beginning of v 7 and also to v 9.[8]

Many scholars, who accept 9:7-9 as an authentic proclamation of Hosea, read v 7 as a description of a situation, which demonstrates the attitude of Hosea's contemporary Israelites; so for example Macintosh, according to whom v 7 further indicates that Hosea's practised a public ministry and at least some of his contemporaries must have been aware of his opinions.[9] The accusation "the prophet is fool, the man of spirit is crazy" gives impression of a direct quotation, a comment made of Hosea or, alternatively, by Hosea. The overall structure of v 7 is so complicated that it is not obvious who the prophet in question is. If he is not Hosea, he may be some leading official at the sanctuary, perhaps the prophet who is mentioned in Hos 4:5.[10] Although many scholars regard v 7 as reflecting on Hosea's rejection and persecution by his contemporaries, alternative interpretations are of interest. Irvine suggests that the background of Hos 9:7-9 is a communal lament service at a national sanctuary, taking place soon after some recent disaster.[11] By replacing MT's word רֹב with

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[5] S. A. Irvine "Enmity in the House of God (Hosea 9:7-9)", *JBL* 117 (1998) 645-653.
[6] Against Wolff's translation "Israel schreit" (H.W.Wolff, "Hoseas geistige Heimat." In *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament.* Münich: C. Kaiser 1964, 236), see, I. Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese innerhalb des Alten Testaments: Untersuchungen zum literarischen Werden der auf Amos, Hosea und Micha zurückgehenden Bücher im hebräischen Zwölfprophetenbuch.* BZAW, 123; Berlin: W. de Gruyter (1971), 174. See also, Irvine (1998), 651, for his translate translation "Israel cries out!"
[7] Willi-Plein (1971), 174.
[8] F. I. Andersen & D. N. Freedman, *Hosea. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary.* Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc. (1980) 532.
[9] A. A.Macintosh *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Hosea.* Edinburg: T&T Clark (1997), lxvi.
[10] So e.g. Andersen & Freedman, 533. Nevertheless, they conclude that it is more likely that Hosea is recording his own experience.
[11] Irvine (1998), 652

רַב or רִיב, he presumes that the prophet who is accused of being fool is not Hosea, but some cultic prophet. This prophet, when he in the sanctuary presents the people's complaint of their distress to YHWH, in fact ends up claiming that YHWH has failed to protect his people, and this complaint of the prophet has stirred up people's hostility (מַשְׁטֵמָה) to YHWH.[12]

V 8 is syntactically difficult, which has resulted in numerous ways to read it.[13] MT reads the first part of the verse as צֹפֶה אֶפְרַיִם עִם־אֱלֹהַי נָבִיא. The word צֹפֶה has been interpreted syntactically in different ways, most often as a participle, denoting "a watchman".[14] Andersen and Freedman read צפה as construct, "The prophet is a watchman of Ephraim with my God".[15] Departing from MT, Willi-Plein has suggested that the phrase could be read, צֹפֶה אֶפְרַיִם עַמּוֹ אֶל הַנָּבִיא, "*Es lauert Ephraim, sein (eigenes) Volk, auf den Propheten*."[16] In this reading the verb צפה gets a hostile sense, noted also by Macintosh, who, following MT, translates "Ephraim stands in confrontation with my God".[17]

The rest of v 8 reads, פַּח יָקוֹשׁ עַל־כָּל־דְּרָכָיו מַשְׁטֵמָה בְּבֵית אֱלֹהָיו, *A bird trap on his path, hostility in the house of his God*. According to Andersen and Freedman, the hostile attitude towards Hosea is again expressed: the prophet who is looking after Ephraim on behalf of God and seeking the people's welfare, is in danger from them.[18] The way how בְּבֵית אֱלֹהָיו should be understood is not obvious. Macintosh considers it unlikely that בְּבֵית אֱלֹהָיו alludes to a sanctuary, the reference is rather to the "Land of YHWH".[19] Willi-Plein emends בְּבֵית אֱלֹהָיו to בְּבֵית אֱלֹהִים, in accordance with LXX.[20] Also Emmerson points out that the reference is not to the land but to the sanctuary of

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[12] His suggestion, however, necessitates that in MT, which reads, עַל רֹ֣ב עֲוֹנְךָ֔ וְרַבָּ֖ה מַשְׂטֵמָ֑ה, the word רֹ֣ב will be changed to רַב or רִיב, which leads to the translation "*Foolish are you, O prophet; crazy are you, O man of the spirit! Because of your iniquitous complaint, enmity is great*." For Irvine's interpretation that a specific prophet is in question, see especially note 15 on page 648 and note 24 on pages 650-654 and references therein, according to which the designations הַנָּבִיא and אִישׁ הָרוּחַ refer to false prophets of salvation as a class.

[13] R. Dobbie, "The text of Hosea IX 8", *VT* 5 (1955), 199-203.

[14] For various interpretations, see, Dobbie (1955).

[15] Andersen and Freedman (1980), 515, 533.

[16] Willi-Plein (1971), 176. In Hos 9:7-9, Willi-Plein regards the first part of v 7 and the entire v 9 as redactional,

[17] Macintosh (1997), 354-355. Macintosh, like Wolff, takes the word נָבִיא as a gloss. Dobbie (1995), 202-203, proposes that the original text is צֹפֶה אֶפְרַיִם אֶל־חַיֵּי נָבִיא, "*Ephraim spies on prophet's life",* in which צפה is used in the same sense as in Ps 37:32.

[18] Andersen & Freedman (1980), 533-534.

[19] According to Macintosh (1979), 356, the piel form שׁחת instead of the hifil השׁחית is found in predeuteronomic sources.

[20] Willi-Plein (1971), 275-276.

Bethel, which for Hosea Bethel was truly a house of God, an authentic and legitimate sanctuary, but the people who worshipped there, were corrupt.[21]

V 9 defines the people's guilt and enmity mentioned in v 7, and summarizes the passage Hos 9:7-9: הֶעְמִיקוּ־שִׁחֲתוּ כִּימֵי הַגִּבְעָה יִזְכֹּר עֲוֹנָם יִפְקֹוד חַטאוֹתָם, *They have become deeply corrupt as in the days of Gibeah, he will remember their evil doing, he will punish their sin.* In v 9 Hosea is summarizing the guilt of his people, and compares it to the events leading from a sexual crime to a civil war as described in Judges 19ff.[22]

Reflections on Hos 9:7-9

In Hos 9:7-9 the prophet – whoever he is - is referred with a term נביא. Depending on how we interpret v 7, he is either Hosea or some other prophet, but certainly Hosea is not calling himself with this designation. Could he then depict himself as "a watchman of Ephraim"? This image of a prophet is not further defined, but, according to Wilson, Hosea presumably understood the prophet as a mediator, a figure who stood between God and the people and who was to protect the people by warning them of approaching danger.[23] If so, then it is obvious that his message would have raised hostility among his contemporaries, and, as Macintosh points out, behind the accusation of Hosea could have been the same attitude as Amos (7:10-12) and Jeremiah (29:27) had confronted.[24] Thus, it may well be that Hosea belonged to the group of peripheral prophets.[25] Such prophets were not favored by the social elite, unlike those prophets who lived near the center of the power and were frequently characterized as being false.[26] Hosea could have been נביא, since Wilson, who has studied the occurrence of the designation נביא, has shown that the title occurs much more often in the Ephraimite tradition than outside it, which shows that the title has a role in the northern tradition of prophecy.[27] Another prophetic title, חזה, belongs to the southern tradition of prophecy; the terms

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[21] G. I. Emmerson, *Hosea. An Israelite Prophet in Judean Perspective*. JSOTSup 28, JSOT Press: Sheffield (1984), 133, 135.
[22] So e.g. Macintosh (1997), 357-358; Andersen & Freedman (1980), 534-535; Emmerson (1980), 109, 121; P.M. Arnold, "Hosea and the Sin of Gibeah", *CBQ* 51 (1989), 451-452, remarks on the complex redactional history of Judges 19-20, which make it quite likely that Hosea and his audience knew only an oral tradition of the event.
[23] R. R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press (1980), 229.
[24] Macintosh (1997), 353.
[25] Laato (1996), 205; Wilson (1980), 229-230.

[26] Laato (1996), 205.
[27] Wilson 1980, 136; for further analysis regarding the possible etymology of the word, 137-138. For a common etymology of Syrian and Hebrew cognate words, see Fleming: The Etymological Origins of the Hebrew *nābî'*: The one who invokes God. *CBQ* 55, 1993, 217-224.

נביא and חזה are related to different conceptions of prophecy in the south and north: in the north נביא is a covenant spokesman, in the south the role of חזה is in the royal court.[28]

In his study on Amos 7:12-17, Zevit notes that the difference between נביא and חזה was that חזה enjoyed a royal patronage.[29] This is in accordance with that Albertz depicts Hosea – like other 8th century prophets Amos, Isaiah and Micah – as one belonging to a group of individual prophets, who had no institutional ties, and who, possibly as members of a wealthy class - were financially independent.[30] This independency made them possible to present radical social and political accusations, and also explains how they could have achieved their insight into their contemporary social and international political situations.[31] Hosea could thus freely deliver his oracles, no matter how widespread hostility there was towards their message. Therefore, I conclude that Hosea could be called נביא by his contemporaries, and that the prophet in v 7 is Hosea.

But was he a "classical" prophet of judgment as the beginning of v 7 indicates? Another view on the prophecy of Hosea is provided by scholars who have drawn parallels to the ancient Israelite prophecy from the ancient Near Eastern prophecies. de Jong suggests that the imagery of a prophet as a figure "contra society" announcing the destruction of his own society due to YHWH's anger with his people, does not represent the authentic *ante eventum* prophetic message, but is an *ex eventu* interpretation and reformulation of the message.[32] This conclusion is based on the Near Eastern prophecies that were always pro-state, and if disasters were announced, the warning was intended to avert the evil predicted.[33] This view challenges the entire concept of the "classical prophets", whose existence, as de Jong mentions, entirely depends on the interpretation of the prophetic books.[34] De Jong does not, however, deny that the prophetic books would not have

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[28] *Ibid*., 254
[29] Z. Zevit, "Misunderstanding in Bethel. Amos 7:7-12." *VT* 25 (1975), 783-790. Zevit comes to the conclusion that when Amaziah addressed Amos, he did not challenge the authenticity of his oracles, but considered Amos as impropriate to prophecy against Jeroboam at the sanctuary of Bethel, only because Amaziah thought that Amos was patronized by the king of Judah
[30] R. Albertz, *A History of Israelite Religion in the Old Testament Period. Vol I-II.* London: SCM Press (1994), 163-164.
[31] *Ibid*., 164. Albertz interprets that the passage describes that Hosea, although he proclaimed in the name of YHWH, and could therefore claim authority to his oracles, became rejected. He concludes that it was this rejection and isolation from the society which in fact were the major factors that prompted his disciples or circles near to him to collect his oracles, which – once left without hearing in the contemporary public – could have been lost but now in written form were preserved.
[32] de Jong (2011), 45
[33] *Ibid*., 50.
[34] *Ibid*., 43.

prophetic roots.[35] As for Hosea, it is true that he is not mentioned anywhere else than in the book of Hosea, and his historicity is impossible to proof. So be it, it is the exactly the roots which are interesting. Based on my interpretation of Hos 9:7-9, I argue that Hosea's words were addressed to Ephraim. Hosea may have been "contra society" in that regard that he was a peripheral prophet, not harnessed for delivering oracles that were pleasant to hear, but he was not "contra Ephraim". In the aftermath of the reign of Jeroboam II the northern kingdom had went off the rails, and it was obvious that during the time of regicides Hosea could not support the monarchy in the northern kingdom as an institution. Maybe he therefore has turned his hope to Judah, which – unlike the religiously heterogeneous Samaria – had probably stayed more conservative due to its peripheral location, and its religion was more centered on one God.[36] Therefore, Hosea had probably not been merely a prophet of judgment, but some of his sayings have pointed to hope in the future.[37]

I assume that the sanctuary meant in v 8 denotes the sanctuary of Bethel, where YHWH was worshipped as god of the Exodus.[38] Exodus is the one of the central themes in the book of Hosea, no matter if it according to modern scholars is mainly devoid of historical foundation.[39] I agree with Emmerson in that the cult polemics directed to the sanctuary of Bethel and the designation of Bethel as Bethaven is not part of the authentic prophecy, but belongs to the ideology of later Judaen redactors.[40] Hosea criticized his contemporaries for corrupting the cult, not the sanctuary.

As for Hos 9:7-9, my conclusions are as follows: first, Hosea belonged to the Ephraimite tradition of prophets, and he saw himself as the watchman of Ephraim. Therefore, when we are looking for traces of the authentic prophecy, it is best to trace those elements which focus on the fate of Ephraim; and second, for Hosea, the sanctuary of Bethel was the house of his God, God of Exodus. Therefore, also the traces of ancient traditions, like Exodus, in the present form of book can provide the criteria for determining if some of the contents could be related to the authentic prophecy.

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[35] *Ibid*., 45.
[36] For this, see J. Pakkala, "The Monotheism of the Deuteronomistic History", *SJOT* 21 (2007), 159-178.
[37] See, Emmerson (1984).
[38] Albertz (1994), 145.
[39] For this, see N. Na'aman, "The Exodus Story: Between Historical Memory and Historiographical Composition." *JANER* 11 (2011), 39-69.
[40] Emmerson (1984), 159.

Inner-biblical allusions in 2 Chr 20.

Questions for discussion

Apart from the main focus of my presentation that is the influence of Exod 14, Isa 7, 41 and a number of Deuteronomistic passages on the structure and the use of particular phrasing in 2 Chr 20, I would like the discussion to focus on some general methodological issues. I am particularly interested in the issues of terminology and attributions of genre, that is whether we can talk about 'allusions' or 'citations', and whether such forms as 'oracle of salvation' or 'holy war narrative' are helpful for describing the material in question.

Introduction

It will not be an exaggeration to say that the narrative of 2 Chr 20:1-30 is a text of elaborate and creative composition that offers multiple layers of understanding. It contains numerous references to the texts and events both within and outside the books of Chronicles accessible to readers with different levels of knowledge of biblical traditions and applicable to different tasks. Its depiction of correct pious behaviour by the king and his nation in the time of military threat contains a straightforward didactic message. This message is clear and its understanding does not require any cross references to similar material outside this passage. Another level of understanding requires looking at the other passages within the Books of Chronicles that are connected with 2 Chr 20:1-30 on the textual level. There are at least two such passages and both of them attest to the general logic according to which the books of Chronicles function as a whole. Firstly, a part of Jehoshaphat's prayer in 2 Chr 20:6-12 almost cites Solomon's prayer of dedication in 2 Chr 6, which envisages just the situation that is happening in 2 Chr 20. David Petersen goes as far as to suggest that the repetition of a phrase in 2 Chr 6:28 and 2 Chr 20:9 may be an example of 'almost liturgical' use of a common earlier prayer.[1] However, apart from a peculiar shift to the third person and the succinct nature of the recited prayer there is no clear evidence to support its liturgical use or authentic origins, while the connection to 2 Chr 6 is clear and shows compositional logic. Another textual similarity may be found between 2 Chr 20:15 and 2 Chr 32:7, both speeches delivered to encourage the army/people in the face of the approaching enemy.[2]

[1] DL Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy: Studies in Deutero-Prophetic Literature and in Chronicles*, Scholars Press, Missoula, MT, 1977, p. 72.
[2] It will be discussed in more detail further.

Furthermore, the similarities between 2 Chr 20:1-30 and other biblical texts present an additional level of interpretation to this passage. Scholars suggest that a number of traditional forms such as holy war, national lament and oracle of salvation were employed by the author.[3] There are also verbatim similarities between 2 Chr 20 and a number of other biblical books.[4] However, the correlation between the textual borrowing and generic peculiarities of the chapter have not been studied to a full extent. An examination of the ways in which the author of the passage uses earlier (traditional) material in such a stylized and literary advanced narrative as 2 Chr 20:1-30 may help elucidate the meaning and significance of the passage as well as the level to which this narrative reflects the development of literary and theological traditions.

Preliminary remarks

Firstly, it is important to notice that 2 Chr 20:1-30 does not present a direct parallel to any of the texts in Sam-Kgs. The relationship between 2 Chr 20 and 2 Kgs 3 may exist, but it is clearly not that of a text and its *Vorlage* (be it 2 Kgs in its Masoretic form or a different, possibly earlier version of this book) and thus 2 Chr 20:1-30 is the Chronicler's *Sondergut*, unique material. Secondly, another defining characteristic of this passage is the abundance of rhetorical forms that it employs. Sarah Japhet notices that, even though these are typical for Chronistic war accounts, 2 Chr 20 'contains the greatest number and broadest variety' of them: 'Jehoshaphat's prayer before the campaign (vv.6-12); Jahaziel's prophecy of encouragement (vv. 15-17); the king's exhortation to battle (v.20b); and the singer's doxology (v.21b). In addition, the narrative makes oblique references to a blessing of the Lord (v.26) and a song of thanksgiving (v.28)'.[5] The three main speeches: Jehoshaphat's prayer (vv. 6-12), Jahaziel's oracle (vv. 15-17), and Jehoshaphat's admonition (v. 20b) determine the structure of the whole passage and like many other rhetorical units in the *Sondergut* material present a strong ideological stance. Thirdly and most importantly, like many other chronistic speeches (that are otherwise sometimes termed sermons[6]) rhetorical

[3] Cf. DL Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy*; S Japhet, *I and II Chronicles*, SCM Press, London, 1993; PC Beentjes, 'Tradition and Transformation : Aspects Of Innerbiblical Interpretation In 2 Chronicles 20', *Biblica* 74.2, 1993, pp. 258-268; MA Throntveit, *When Kings Speak: Royal Speech and Royal Prayer in Chronicles*, Atlanta, Scholars Press, 1987.
[4] Cf. for example HGM Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, W.B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1982, pp. 291-301; and S Japhet, *I and II Chronicles*, pp. 780-799.
[5] S Japhet, *I and II Chronicles*, pp. 782-3.
[6] See G von Rad, 'The Levitical Sermon in I and II Chronicles,' in *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays*, trans. EW Trueman Dickens, Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh and London, 1966, pp. 267-80; R Mason,

units in this chapter use allusions and quotations from earlier biblical[7] texts, which according to Pancraticus Beentjes 'were easily recognizable as constitutive elements from Israel's tradition'[8] both for the author and his audience While it may be impossible to determine to what extent the allusions would have been recognised by the Chronicler's audience, it is clear that they are of particular significance for both the formation and interpretation of this chapter.

Relationship with Exodus 14.

One of the most important texts for the understanding of 2 Chr 20 is Exod 14. Verbatim similarities between the two narratives have long been recognized[9], but the significance that the passage about the crossing of the Red Sea has for the passage in Chronicles is by far not confined to a mere citation. It is peculiar that while both passages are recognisable as examples of holy war ideology[10], very few scholars tend to appreciate the full extent of correspondence between them.[11]

The actual textual parallel between the two passages may be found in 2 Chr 17 and Exod 14:13-14:

וַיֹּאמֶר מֹשֶׁה אֶל־הָעָם **אַל־תִּירָאוּ הִתְיַצְּבוּ וּרְאוּ אֶת־יְשׁוּעַת יְהוָה** אֲשֶׁר־יַעֲשֶׂה לָכֶם הַיּוֹם כִּי אֲשֶׁר רְאִיתֶם אֶת־מִצְרַיִם הַיּוֹם לֹא תֹסִיפוּ לִרְאֹתָם עוֹד עַד־עוֹלָם יְהוָה **יִלָּחֶם לָכֶם** וְאַתֶּם תַּחֲרִישׁוּן

But Moses said to the people, "**Do not be afraid, stand firm, and see the deliverance**[12] that **the LORD** will accomplish for you today; for the Egyptians whom you see today you shall never see again. The LORD **will fight for you**, and you have only to keep still." (Exod. 14:13-14)

לֹא לָכֶם לְהִלָּחֵם בָּזֹאת **הִתְיַצְּבוּ** עִמְדוּ **וּרְאוּ אֶת־**יְשׁוּעַת **יְהוָה** עִמָּכֶם יְהוּדָה וִירוּשָׁלִַם **אַל־תִּירְאוּ**

Preaching the Tradition: Homily and Hermeneutics after the Exile, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990; D Mathias, '"Levitische Predigt" und Deuteronomismus,' *ZAW* 94, 1984, pp. 23-49.

[7] I understand that in this context the term 'biblical' is anachronistic, but it use in order to refer to the texts that are available to us as parts of the Bible.

[8] PC Beentjes, 'Tradition and Transformation', p 260.

[9] Cf. EL Curtis and AA Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles*, ICC, New York, Scribner's, 1910, p. 408.

[10] See G von Rad, *Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel*, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1969, pp. 45-47, 80-81.

[11] In fact, only PC Beentjes, 'Tradition and Transformation', p. 267, recognises the importance of this connection for the interpretation of admonition in 2 Chr 20:20.

[12] Here and further highlighted are the words and phrases that present parallel between Chronicles and other texts.

וְאַל־תִּחַתּוּ מָחָר צְאוּ לִפְנֵיהֶם וַיהוָה עִמָּכֶם

This battle **is not for you to fight**; **stand firm**[13] and still, **and see the deliverance**[14] **of the LORD** on your behalf, O Judah and Jerusalem.' **Do not fear** or be dismayed; tomorrow go out against them, and the LORD will be with you."
(2 Chr 20:17)

Both speeches in which these sentences appear have similar function in their corresponding immediate contexts – a reassurance in response to a complaint. 2 Chr 20:17 is a summary of an oracle delivered by the Levite Jahaziel in vv. 15-17. This oracle is a direct response to the prayer-complaint of Jehoshaphat in front of the assembly of 'all Judah and Jerusalem' about the undeserved danger that the military aggression from Eastern neighbours presents. The verses in Exodus are the response that Moses gives to the people who complain about approaching army of Egyptians. Both rhetorical units represent what may be interpreted as an oracle of salvation, hence the characteristic admonition 'do not fear'. Moreover, both express in more or less general terms the ideology of holy war, or perhaps an even more general conviction regarding the role of God in military campaigns. It is significant that ideological and generic correspondences between the two passages are supported by textual ones. These include not only common expressions, such as אַל־תִּירָאוּ or הִתְיַצְּבוּ וּרְאוּ, but also an exclusive parallel – an expression not used anywhere else in the Bible - יְשׁוּעַת יְהוָה. These textual correspondences together with a general thematic similarity between the passages would have been sufficient evidence to consider this a clear case of a deliberate allusion. However, the relationship between the two texts is not exhausted by this citation.
It is most important to notice a general correspondence between the structure of the two passages, both of which include a fast approaching enemy (2 Chr 20:2; Exod 14:8-10) that causes a great fear (2 Chr 20:3; Exod 14:10), which is expressed in a complaint (lament) with reference to the past and reported speech (2 Chr 20:6-13; Exod 14:11-12). To that complaint in each story there is a response with an oracle of salvation by a prophet/inspired figure (2 Chr 20:15-17; Exod 14:13-14). There is also a divine instruction regarding the following actions (2 Chr 20:16-17; Exod 14:16); a miraculous salvation (2 Chr 20:22-24; Exod 14:21-30); and a total destruction of the enemy (2 Chr 20:22; Exod 14:13, 30). Such close structural affinities may hardly be attributed to a coincidence or a simple correspondence on the level of

[13] NRS translation is altered in order to better reflect correspondences.
[14] NRS altered.

genre. In fact, it rather shows that the passage in Chronicles is modelled after that in Exodus and enters into a dialogue with it.

What presents the most significant ideological difference between the two passages is the fact that the events in Exod 14 result in the establishment of faith in the community (Exod 14:31b), while the events in 2 Chr 20 are determined by that faith (2 Chr 20:20b). Nevertheless, both Exod 14:31b and 2 Chr 20:20b are the ideological base for their respective contexts, so in the light of the previous discussion the suggestion that 2 Chr 20:20b presents a reflection on Exod 14:31b may not seem too far-fetched.

This parallelism is noted by Cornelis Houtman. He contends that both passages focus on 'Israel's acknowledgement of YHWH as Lord and the acknowledgement of Moses as his messenger'[15] He also interprets Exod 14:31 as crucial for the whole story since it results in the fact that 'the bond between YHWH and Israel [becomes] fully established, the track to the promised land can now begin. There is no more anything that stands in the way of Israel's unique relationship with YHWH.'[16] It is then not surprising that the verse that is understood by many as containing the main message of the whole passage 2 Chr 20:1-30[17] and expressing the author's own convictions corresponds to such an important episode and expression within the tradition.

The phrase הַאֲמִינוּ בַּיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם וְתֵאָמֵנוּ הַאֲמִינוּ בִנְבִיאָיו וְהַצְלִיחוּ ('**Trust** the Lord your God **and you will be entrusted**; **trust** his prophets and you will be successful'[18]) in 2 Chr 20:20b is much better known as a quotation of Isa 7:9. But the reference to Isaianic material explains only the first half of the expression, while the addition of the second may be attributed to the influence of וַיַּאֲמִינוּ בַּיהוָה וּבְמֹשֶׁה עַבְדּוֹ in Exod 14:31b. Then this expression in 2 Chr 20:20 presents a rare case of a double allusion in one saying.

At this point it is worth remembering that the phrase borrowed in 2 Chr 20:20 from Isa 7:9 is found in the Isaianic material in direct proximity to the exclamation 'fear not':

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל-יְשַׁעְיָהוּ צֵא-נָא
לִקְרַאת אָחָז אַתָּה וּשְׁאָר יָשׁוּב
בְּנֶךָּ: אֶל-קְצֵה תְּעָלַת הַבְּרֵכָה
הָעֶלְיוֹנָה--אֶל-מְסִלַּת שְׂדֵה כוֹבֵס

3 Then the Lord said to Isaiah: 'Go out to meet Ahaz, you and your son Shear-jashub, at the end of the conduit of the upper pool on the highway to the Fuller's Field,

[15] C Houtman, *Exodus, Historical Commentary on the Old Testamen*, vol 2, Kampen, Kok, 1996, p. 229.
[16] *Ibid*.
[17] Or even acts as a culmination and a turning point of a larger part of the book (e.g. MA Throntveit, *When Kings Speak*, pp. 127-129).
[18] Translation altered.

וְאָמַרְתָּ אֵלָיו הִשָּׁמֶר וְהַשְׁקֵט **אַל-תִּירָא** מִשְּׁנֵי זַנְבוֹת הָאוּדִים וּלְבָבְךָ אַל-יֵרַךְ הָעֲשֵׁנִים הָאֵלֶּה--בָּחֳרִי-אַף רְצִין וַאֲרָם וּבֶן-רְמַלְיָהוּ

4 And say to him: Take heed, be quiet, **do not fear**, and do not let your heart be faint because of these two smoldering stumps of firebrands, because of the fierce anger of Rezin and Aram and the son of Remaliah.

יַעַן כִּי-יָעַץ עָלֶיךָ אֲרָם--רָעָה אֶפְרַיִם וּבֶן-רְמַלְיָהוּ לֵאמֹר

5 Because Aram - with Ephraim and the son of Remaliah - has plotted evil against you, saying,

נַעֲלֶה בִיהוּדָה וּנְקִיצֶנָּה וְנַבְקְעֶנָּה אֵלֵינוּ וְנַמְלִיךְ מֶלֶךְ בְּתוֹכָהּ אֵת בֶּן-טָבְאַל

6 Let us go up against Judah and cut off Jerusalem and conquer it for ourselves and make the son of Tabeel king in it;

כֹּה אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה לֹא תָקוּם וְלֹא תִהְיֶה

7 Therefore thus says the Lord God: It shall not stand, and it shall not come to pass.

כִּי רֹאשׁ אֲרָם דַּמֶּשֶׂק וְרֹאשׁ דַּמֶּשֶׂק רְצִין וּבְעוֹד שִׁשִּׁים וְחָמֵשׁ שָׁנָה יֵחַת אֶפְרַיִם מֵעָם

8 For the head of Aram is Damascus, and the head of Damascus is Rezin. (Within sixty-five years Ephraim will be shattered, no longer a people.)

וְרֹאשׁ אֶפְרַיִם שֹׁמְרוֹן וְרֹאשׁ שֹׁמְרוֹן בֶּן-רְמַלְיָהוּ **אִם לֹא תַאֲמִינוּ, כִּי לֹא תֵאָמֵנוּ**.

9 And the head of Ephraim is Samaria, and the head of Samaria is the son of Remaliah. **If you will not trust, surely you shall not be trusted**[19].'

It is difficult to determine whether this passage may be described as an oracle of salvation. In fact, Marvin Sweeney believes that it should rather be classified as a 'Messenger Speech, introduced by the Messenger Formula in v. 7a'[20]. However, it is clear that this oracle is designed to 'dissuade Ahaz from turning to other means of support in this crisis, presumably the Assyrian empire, and to maintain faith in YHWH, who will provide protection against the Syro-Ephraimite threat'[21]. The king Jehoshaphat in whose short admonition we find the citation of this prophetic message enacts exactly that line of response to the military threat. The recognition of these correspondences adds another aspect to our understanding of the importance and meaning of the Chronicler's reinterpretation of the prophet's words in 2 Chr 20:20b. It must be added that the passage from Exodus 14 is 'constitutive for the insertion of the famous Isaian word within the theological concept of the Chronicler, on the one hand, and its peculiar interpretation, on the other'.[22] But the second part of Jehoshaphat's admonition refers not only to the outcome of the miracle of the parting of the sea and subsequent trust in

[19] Translation altered.
[20] MA Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39: with an Introduction to Prophetic Literature*, Grand Rapids, Mich., Cambridge, William B. Eerdmans, 1996, p. 149.
[21] *Ibid*.
[22] PC Beentjes, 'Tradition and Transformation', p. 267 and R Kasher, 'The Saving of Jehosaphat; extent, parallels, significance' (Hebr.), *Beth Mikra* 31, 1985, pp. 242–251.

Yahweh and Moses; nor does it only advocate trust in the Levitical or priestly officials and their role as prophets as may be deduced from a straight-forward reading of the narrative in 2 Chr 20[23]. The construed historical situation contains a strong allusion to the passage in Isaiah 7 and presents an ideal illustration of the cited words of a prophet and thus advances a clear argument to advocate the trust in the words of the prophet Isaiah.[24]

Oracles of salvation

As has been mentioned previously, both Exod 14:13-14 and 2 Chr 20:15-17 correspond loosely to the general description of an oracle of salvation or (in Chr's case particularly) a priestly oracle of salvation. The basic form of such an oracle as described by Joachim Begrich is tripartite including (1) the phrase "fear not" (Isa 41:10); (2) the designation of the addressed party (Isa 41:10); (3) the assurance that Yahweh has heard (Isa 41:14).[25] According to this structure Exod 14:13-14 is missing an address, while 2 Chr 20:15-17 contains all the mentioned parts in the first of three verses constituting the oracle, while verse 17 is a summary of what has been related earlier.

Other examples of the oracle of salvation include Isa 41:8-13, 14-16; 43:1-3a, 5 (44:2-5); 48:17-19; 49:7:14-15; 51:7-8; 54:4-8; Jer 30:10 = 46:27; 30:11 = 46:28; Ps 35:3; Lam 3:57.[26] This form is very common in the Second Isaiah material; in fact, Claus Westermann names an oracle or assurance of salvation 'the most characteristic form of Dutero-Isaiah's words of salvation' that conveyed the main message of the book[27]. It is significant that the text of 2 Chr 20 contains an exclusive textual parallel with one of the clearest Deutero-Isaianic oracles of salvation - Isa 41:8-13.

וְאַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל עַבְדִּי יַעֲקֹב אֲשֶׁר בְּחַרְתִּיךְ **זֶרַע אַבְרָהָם אֹהֲבִי**	**8** But you, Israel, My servant, Jacob whom I have chosen, **the seed of Abraham my friend**;
אֲשֶׁר הֶחֱזַקְתִּיךְ מִקְצוֹת הָאָרֶץ וּמֵאֲצִילֶיהָ קְרָאתִיךְ וָאֹמַר לְךָ עַבְדִּי-אַתָּה בְּחַרְתִּיךְ וְלֹא מְאַסְתִּיךְ	**9** You whom I took from the ends of the earth, and called thee from its farthest corners, saying to you: 'You are my servant, I have chosen you and have not rejected you';
אַל־תִּירָא כִּי עִמְּךָ־אָנִי אַל־תִּשְׁתָּע	**10 Do not fear**, for I am with you, do not be afraid, for I am your God, I will strengthen you, I will help you, I

[23] So DL Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy*, p. 75-77.
[24] Cf. R Mason, *Preaching the Tradition*, pp. 70-71.
[25] J Begrich, 'Das priesterliche Heilsorakel' *ZAW* 52, 1934, p. 83.
[26] *Ibid*, p. 81.
[27] C Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66: a Commentary*, transl. by DMH Stalker, Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1969, pp. 10-11.

כִּי־אֲנִי אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֹמֵצְתִּיךָ אַף־עֲזַרְתִּיךָ אַף־תְּמַכְתִּיךָ בִּימִין צִדְקִי

uphold you with my victorious right hand.

הֵן יֵבֹשׁוּ וְיִכָּלְמוּ כֹּל הַנֶּחֱרִים בָּךְ יִהְיוּ כְאַיִן וְיֹאבְדוּ אַנְשֵׁי רִיבֶךָ

11 Yes, all who are incensed against you shall be ashamed and disgraced; those who strive against you shall be as nothing, and shall perish.

תְּבַקְשֵׁם וְלֹא תִמְצָאֵם אַנְשֵׁי מַצֻּתֶךָ יִהְיוּ כְאַיִן וּכְאֶפֶס אַנְשֵׁי מִלְחַמְתֶּךָ

12 You shall seek those who contend with you, but you shall not find them; those who war against you shall be as nothing at all.

כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ--מַחֲזִיק יְמִינֶךָ הָאֹמֵר לְךָ **אַל-תִּירָא** אֲנִי עֲזַרְתִּיךָ

13 For I, the Lord your God, hold your right hand; it is I who say to you: **'Do not fear**, I will help you.'

In 2 Chr 20:7, that forms a part of the prayer or lament of the king Jehoshaphat, we read:

הֲלֹא אַתָּה אֱלֹהֵינוּ הוֹרַשְׁתָּ אֶת־יֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת מִלִּפְנֵי עַמְּךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל וַתִּתְּנָהּ **לְזֶרַע אַבְרָהָם אֹהַבְךָ** לְעוֹלָם

Did you not, O our God, drive out the inhabitants of this land before your people Israel, and give it forever to **the seed[28] of your friend Abraham**?

No other biblical text uses the expression לְזֶרַע אַבְרָהָם אֹהַבְךָ/ אֹהֲבִי and in the light of the generic correspondences between the text of Isaiah and the following passage in 2 Chr 20:15-17 this parallel may be accepted as a case of a clear borrowing and a deliberate allusion. Among other similarities between the two texts may be mentioned the repetition of the admonition not to fear in the final sentence of the oracle, which also presents a brief summary of the preceding verses (cf. 2 Chr 20:17 and Isa 41:13).

There are no clear parallels to any other text identifiable as an oracle of salvation. It is interesting that 2 Chr 20 (similarly to Exod 14) presents the oracle as a response to a lament, the function that was envisaged as an original *Sits im Leben* of this genre by Begrich. Such correspondence supports a highly liturgical interpretation of the passage.

Nevertheless, Edgar Conrad's analysis of the Deutero-Isaianic oracles of salvation suggests that 'the "fear not" oracles in chapter xli are more like the "fear not" oracles associated with war in Deuteronomy and Joshua.'[29] This supports the Deuteronomistic line in the origins and ideology of the passage in Chronicles. Thus, on the one hand, it is connected to Exod, possibly in its priestly, 'sacralising' redaction, while on the other, it is referring to a very

[28] NRS translation altered.
[29] EW Conrad, 'The "Fear Not" Oracles in Second Isaiah', *VT* 34, 2, 1984, pp. 134-5.

different type of the oracle tradition that includes Isa 41:8-13; 14-16; Deut 3:2/Num 21:34; Josh 8:1-2; 10:8; 11:6.

The same association with Deuteronomistic oracles is supported by the use of similar expressions elsewhere in the books of Chronicles. The combination of imperatives אַל־תִּירְאוּ וְאַל־תֵּחַתּוּ (in plural and in singular) is also used in 2 Chr 32:7 in the speech of the king Hezekiah, and in 1 Chr 22:13 and 28:20 – Davidic charges to Solomon. They are also preceded by two more imperatives: חִזְקוּ וְאִמְצוּ (in 2 Chr 20:17 different, but same as in Exod 14). A possible explanation for the Chronicler's consistent use of this phrase could be its association with the earlier material where this expression is used as a whole or in parts. Either one חזק וֶאֱמָץ or another אַל־תִּירָא וְאַל־תֵּחָת pair of imperatives is used repeatedly throughout the Moses-Joshua narrative. They act as a typical refrain in Deuteronomy and Joshua either addressed to Joshua encouraging him for the mission of leading the people into the land of Canaan or being addressed to Moses, but with regards to Joshua. The topic of him succeeding Moses as a leader of the nation is prominent in most of those contexts. The explanation that God himself will fight for his people and will be with them is a regular feature of these contexts as well (cf. Deut 31:6, 31:23; Josh 1:9).

The context of Josh 10:25 stands out as being the closest to the phrase used by the Chronicler (all four imperatives are the same), but also by being the only case where the addressees of this admonition are the people to whom Joshua speaks. The similarity in vocabulary and context allows us to argue for a strong case of allusion to this particular passage (but possibly to the whole story as well). For the Chronicler, the use of this expression in Deut-Josh material makes it applicable both in military context and in the context of transferring the power. In all the cases (in the case of David and Hezekiah as well as in the speech of Jehaziel) there is a strong reference to Moses, Joshua and the period of conquest. The story of Joshua succeeding Moses and conquering the land gives the Chronicler material for both David's succession speeches and encouragement for battle by Hezekiah and Jehaziel.

Deuteronomistic influence

The events from the time of settlement are invoked also in 2 Chr 20:6-7 and 10-11. There is a clear connection to Deuteronomy with its 'recurring formulaic reference to the giving of the land (Deut 1:8, 21; 4:1, 5, 21-22).'[30] Verses 10 and 11 briefly recount the establishment of 'the bounds of people' similar to that in Deut 2; 32:8, and Judg. 11:15-27. This reference is

[30] S Japhet, *I and II Chronicles*, p. 791.

strengthened by the choice of vocabulary. The use of the term יְרֻשָּׁה 'possession' in v. 11 not only supports the premise of Jehoshaphat's argument, but also strengthens the link with Deut 2 where it is commonly used.[31] In verse 6 'O Lord, God of our ancestors' is also a typically Deuteronomic expression.

In general, it is one of the very few passages in Chronicles (apart from genealogies) that actually discusses the period of settlement. Beentjes understands vv. 10-11 as the Chronicler's reinterpretation of two separate traditions. One concerns the prohibition of military action against certain nations, the other deals with the reasons for Israel having to change its course on the way through the territories of Edom and Moab. In Deut 2:1-22, God allows Israel to cross the territories of Seir, Moab and Ammon, but prohibits them to engage in battle with these peoples. In Num 20:14-21 and Judg 11:14-18 Edom and Moab categorically deny access to their territories, and this forces Israel to detour. In the Chronicler's account 'God's order to spare these three peoples has been linked with the motif of avoiding their territories'. This link expresses a new concept that 'brings about a very substantial accusation addressed at God.' [32]

Another passage from Deuteronomy that 2 Chr 20 recalls is Deut 20:1-4. Hugh Williamson suggests that Jehoshaphat here 'fulfils the role of the priest of Deut 20:1-4'[33] but a more direct correspondence to the message that is to be delivered to the army by the priest in Deut 20 may be found in the speech of Jahaziel, the Levite. The idea that 'the battle is not yours, but God's' creates a parallel between Deut 20:4, 2 Chr 20:15 and 1 Sam 17:47. It also 'expresses the fundamental conviction of the "holy war"' [34]. Japhet argues that 'the tenet that human wars and their outcome are in fact determined by divine intervention is common to all literary strata in the Bible, whether or not a war is presented within the genre-framework of a "holy war"'. She continues her argument saying that 'for the Chronicler, "war" is by definition God's domain'. Moreover, for a man it is always 'a divine test, one more arena demanding concrete expression of religious integrity. The Chronicler's main interest lies in the degree to which man has passed the test, his religious stature deciding the war's results'[35]. While it is a fair comment on the Chronicler's view of war in general, this particular passage has too many paradigmatic similarities with other specific holy war accounts to deny the

[31] Cf. Deut. 2:5, 9, 12, 19.
[32] PC Beentjes, 'King Jehoshapat's Prayer : Some Remarks On 2 Chronicles 20,6-13', *Biblische Zeitschrift* 38.2, 1994, pp. 264-270.
[33] HGM Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, p. 299.
[34] *Ibid*, p. 298.
[35] S Japhet, *I and II Chronicles*, p. 783.

significance that this framework has for it. Ritual gathering of all the people/the army, encouragement not to fear, supernatural and total defeat of the enemy – these are but few elements that occur in 2 Chr 20 and are typical for holy war narratives[36].

Among other holy war passages that 2 Chr 20 may be compared with Simon De Vries mentions Josh 11 (particularly 2 Chr 20:15 and Josh 11:6). He claims that the one in Chronicles is 'no doubt modelled after' the one in Joshua while resembling 1 Sam 17:47 as well.[37] In 2 Chr 20, however, unlike in Josh 11 the term מָחָר (2 Chr 20:16) 'is reduced to functioning in a command for decisive action, merely echoing its epitomizing role in primitive holy-war stories.' [38] Moreover, Williamson notices that morning (v. 20) is often the moment of divine victory.[39] De Vries also contends that הַשְׁכֵּם בַּבֹּקֶר formula is entirely conventional, 'doing no more than provide a transition between the day of preparation and the day of fulfilment'.[40]

Even though the function of temporary terms might be a point of similarity between the accounts of war in Josh 11, 1 Sam 17 and 2 Chr 20, the Chronistic account differs considerably from the other two in its lack of any military action. In this respect it is much closer to the account of the fall of Jericho's walls in Josh 6, which results from the priestly service with blowing trumpets and people raising a great shout, and does not require any military involvement, but rather a cultic one. In the case of Chronicles, however the shout and trumpets are transformed into a musical worship. It is worth noticing that national lament is not the only liturgical form that is inserted into this holy war framework. In fact, the (stylized) doxology in verse 21b takes the place of the battle proper.

Moreover, the story of deliverance from the Egyptian army in Exod 14, which is essential for understanding this passage in 2 Chr 20, is absolutely fundamental for all other holy war accounts. Another text that 2 Chr 20 has an allusion to and which may be understood as an application of holy war theory to a historical political situation is Isa 7[41]. Von Rad stresses the parallelism between the conception in Isa 7 and the account of Exod 14. The Chronicler was clearly aware of this connection since he not only inserts citations from both accounts in his narratives, but combines them in one verse (2 Chr 20:20b) taking the parallel use of the verb אמן to reflect the correlation between trust in God and prosperity from Isa 7:9, and

[36] Cf. G von Rad, *Der heilige Krieg*, pp. 5-12.
[37] SJ De Vries, 'Temporal Terms as Structural elements in the Holy War Tradition', *VT* 25, 1975, pp. 80-83.
[38] *Ibid*, p.104.
[39] cf. e.g. Josh 10:9f.; also Ps. 30:5.
[40] SJ De Vries, *'Temporal Terms*, p. 105.
[41] G von Rad, *Der heilige Krieg*, p. 103.

additional importance of having trust in God's prophet(s) from Exod 14:31 (but also by inference from Isaiah). Thus, the author here not only replicates the paradigm of a holy war story, but also acknowledges and engages in an interpretative dialogue with some of the key narratives within this tradition. Mason confirms that even though it is almost certain that there is a '"holy war" background to most of the Chronicler's terminology and ideology' it is also very plausible that 'these are now mediated through earlier scriptural examples which are being expounded and applied in a much more general hortatory and admonitory way'. Thus, the pattern undergoes a strong revision, elements are being replaced and assume double functions. For example, the oracle in vv. 15:17 acts as the salvation oracle in the lament pattern and as the divine decision about Yahweh's action in the holy war.

Summary

2 Chr 20:1-30 is clearly modelled after the story of the crossing of the Red Sea that is highly influential in all textual layers. It also alludes to a Deutero-Isaianic oracle that stands in line with the Deuteronomistic tradition, the tradition that the Chronicler utilizes in a number of ways. It combines a comment on the (possibly) famous Isaianic expression with the interpretation of the passage in Exod. 14. The author refers to the passages in Isaiah, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Exodus, and Psalms by founding his account on their ideological premise, and at the same time reworking and reapplying their messages. The fact that the author manages to combine so many traditions in such a coherent way shows a great literary ability and skill. This account is clearly in line with many other Chronistic reports of war all of which are designed to make it clear that threats of war afflicting the religious community of Judah can only be averted with God's help.

Von Rad's formulation of the ways in which the earlier tradition was changed by the Chronicler seems justified. He mentions three main dimensions: a) the cultic dimension, which was important in the early stages of the development of the concept of holy war and subsequently marginalized, but reappeared with new force in the Chronicler's narratives; b) 'the great clarity and transparency with which in prayer and preaching the concern for the dimension of faith is pressed upon people's consciousness', this clarity being the results of 'mature theological reflection'; c) a special concern for the role of the cult personnel and Levites in particular (expressed in the direct link between their singing and the victory, and in the 2 Chr 20:20 admonition to believe (Levitical) prophets. Thus, according to von Rad, the general trends of this account are clear (especially in comparison to other 'holy-war'

accounts), they are 'spiritualizing and leviticizing'.[42] However these are not the only ways in which the author reinterprets his material.

In general, Chronicler engages with earlier traditions in the narrative of 2 Chr 20:1-30 on different levels. On the level of structure, the narrative replicates the story in Exod 14 and more generally a holy war account. The narrative also engages with different genres that are clearly utilized in this passage, such as national lament, oracle of salvation or doxology. Ideologically the passage makes use of the conquest and settlement traditions while using terminology that invokes textual association with those accounts. Apart from similar terminology, more explicit citations are also used. Thus, the Chronicler here refers to traditional material on the ideological, structural, generic and verbal levels.

There are two more aspects of this passage that are important for the understanding of how it functions and what it aims to achieve. These are the level of historicity of the described events and the significance of it for the Chronicler's contemporary situation. These are, of course, subjects each deserving a paper (if not a book) be written about them, but for the aims of this discussion a few remarks will suffice to draw some general conclusions. The appreciation of the relationship between the passage in 2 Chr 20 and its biblical source material necessitates a negative view of the historicity of the event as described in Chronicles. Nevertheless, it should be noted that despite the complex literary composition of the passage and its strongly stylizes character we must accept that the author was using some source pertaining to a particular situation described here. Such additions as 'that is Engedi' (2 Chr 20:2) or 'for there they blessed the LORD; therefore that place has been called the Valley of Beracah to this day' (2 Chr 20:26) are clear evidence of this.[43]

The research of Philip Davies[44] and Jean Sapin[45] points out strong contemporary political and geographical significance of the passage interpreting it as a treatment of the current issues with neighbouring peoples. In terms of the knowledge and appropriation of earlier material it is interesting to think that the Chronicler might have appreciated various earlier traditions both in terms of their literary form and more generally ideologically. The fact that one could

[42] G von Rad, *Der heilige Krieg*, pp. 80-81.

[43] For the detailed discussion see M Noth, 'Eine palästinische Lokalüberlieferung in 2 Chr 20', in *ZDPV* 67, 1945, pp. 45-71; W Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, HAT 1.21, Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1955; P Welten, *Geschichte Und Geschichtsdarstellung In Den Chronikbüchern*, Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verl, 1973; HGM Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*; R Klein, *2 Chronicles*, Hermeneia: a Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible, Fortress Press, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 2012.

[44] PR Davies, 'Defending the Boundaries of Israel in the Second Temple Period: 2 Chronicles 20 and the "Salvation Army"', in UC Ulrich, JW Wright and RP Carroll (eds.), *Priests, Prophets and Scribes*, Sheffield, JSOT Press, 1992, pp. 43-54.

[45] J Sapin 'La "frontière" judeo-iduméenne au IVe s. avant J.-C.', in *Transeuphratène* 27, 2004, pp. 109-54.

read contemporary politics into it evidences firstly that (as expected) there is not only an antiquarian or didactic purpose in the writing of (this particular) history. It also shows clearly the author's appreciation of the paradigmatic value of the 'scriptures' for his present and a direct link between the two. Thus, in this passage the Chronicler uses a historical (possibly attested in some source) situation as an occasion to present a didactic narrative that is deeply rooted in the traditional material, but also reinterprets and applies it in order to correspond to the contemporary issues important for the author and his audience.

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THE WAY OF WAR: WELLHAUSEN, ISRAEL, AND BELLICOSE *REICHE*[1]

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> From those interested in engaging the piece, I would appreciate reflection on the effectiveness – or lack thereof – of my integrating Wellhausian historiography into Wilhelmine Germany more broadly. How efficacious is the tie between parts one and two? Does the essay read as two largely unconnected explorations? What might draw out the connection even more? Specific to part one, I wonder whether the social and biographic history becomes too detailed, burdensome, or factoidy for most biblical scholars interested in the history of the field. Conversely, I wonder whether part two seems to general or unengaged with the finer points of his military depictions with respect to ancient Israel. Furthermore, I note my own failure to engage his work on Islam and Christianity, but I would like to know whether readers find that the essay works without them or whether the absence of attention to Islam and Christianity in a piece dedicated to Wellhausen's historiography in general is really inexcusable. I would, of course, be grateful for reflections on the dissertation project more broadly, especially how to draw greater interest and attention from practitioners of biblical scholarship and what obstacles might prevent such desired interest and attention.

"War is what makes nations," added Julius Wellhausen to the second edition of his *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* nigh two decades before the onslaught of the First World War.[2] With this statement comes the historian of *Realpolitik* and admirer of Bismarck most clearly to the fore. Be they friends or foes, many readers of Wellhausen have long seen reflections of his own world in his work, often amidst unspoken or even patent debate over its continued relevance and legitimacy. Among such streams as historicism, liberalism, and Protestantism, yet another -ism flowed throughout the torrents of his time and in the currents of his thought: namely, militarism. Public pronouncements were rare for Wellhausen, but he did engage affairs both foreign and domestic throughout his personal correspondence, which focused far more on university politics and academic interests. Such discussion arose with William Robertson Smith, Abraham Kuenen, Enno Littmann, and Wilhelm Hermann especially. Though he left few speeches and wrote no treatise, scattered political

1. This essay is deeply indebted to Rudolf Smend's beautiful edition of Wellhausen's preserved correspondence (Julius Wellhausen, *Briefe* [ed. Rudolf Smend; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck], 2013). For their comments on an earlier draft, I am grateful to Michael Legaspi, Nathan MacDonald, Daniel Pioske, and Hermann Spieckermann. Helpful suggestions also came during presentation at the International Society of Biblical Literature/European Association of Biblical Studies (ISBL/EABS) conference in Vienna. At the Vienna conference, EABS kindly granted this essay the graduate prize for best paper in Hebrew Bible. My gratitude further extends to Paul Allen, Sam Boyd, Megan Brown, Reed Carlson, Joseph Cross, Malika Dekkiche, Andrew Sowers, Jonathan Soyers, TJ Thames, and Jamey Walters for their aid in procuring additional materials. All errors and deficiencies remain, of course, my own.

2. Cf. *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* (1st ed.; Berlin: Reimer, 1894), 14–17. Unless otherwise noted, I render the German myself.

statements preserved in extant dispatches provide essential if fractured and coincidental access to Wellhausen's non-academic ruminations. As a complement to most historiography composed in the field of biblical studies, this review seeks to unite the man and his work, fusing public proclamations with private meditations.[3] On the 100th anniversary of the Great War's beginning, the essay positions Wellhausen in the context of war and war in the context of Wellhausen.

I. Wellhausen Within a World At War

Wellhausen lived through tumultuous times. Born in 1844, he saw the revolutions of 1848, the First (1848–51) and Second (1864) Schleswig Wars, the Austro-Prussian War (1866), the North German Confederation (1867–71), the Franco-Prussian War (1870–71), and German unification all before starting his first academic post, at Greifswald in 1872. He died on January 7, 1918, ten months prior to the Great War's end and the dawn of the Weimar Republic (1919–31). Unremarkably, perhaps, he was a patriot dyed in the wool. In a lengthy necrology and fullest biography yet, Wellhausen's once resisted but finally befriended colleague Eduard Schwartz described a waxed political conservatism offsetting a waned religious one. "Though he never never joined a party," Schwartz set further forth, "he always retained a certain sympathy for everything on the right."[4] Wellhausen may have read the liberal *Vossische Zeitung*,[5] but he had equal distaste for the national liberals, social democrats, and (Catholic) center.[6] "Wildly conservative" he tagged himself, evoking Wilhelm von Meyer.[7] Another obituary by Judaephobe and jingoist Hugo Willrich reported that Wellhausen longed for nothing more than to see his fatherland triumph in the war to end all wars.[8] His confrère and confidant Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff even recalled Wellhausen's grief for having no son to sacrifice upon the altar of war.[9]

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3. Cf. Friedemann Boschwitz, *Julius Wellhausen. Motive und Maß-stäbe seiner Geschichtsschreibung* (repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft), 10–11; Otto Eissfeldt, "Julius Wellhausen" in idem, *Kleine Schriften*, vol. 1 (ed. Fritz Maas and Rudolf Sellheim; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1962), 52, 71.

4. Eduard Schwartz, "Julius Wellhausen" in idem, *Vergangene Gegenwärtigkeiten* (Gesammelte Schriften 1; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1938), 337.

5. Letter to Harnack, February 12, 1890, in Wellhausen, *Briefe*, 251–52; cf. letter to Littmann, February 21, 1915, in ibid., 631; letter to Adolf Jülicher, January 26, 1917, in ibid., 651.

6. Letter to Rudolf Smend, February 26, 1892, in ibid., 277–78; letter to Ernst Reimer [ca. January 1886] in ibid., 190–91; letter to Nöldeke, January 27, 1907, in ibid. 496–97; cf. letter to Wilhelm Herrman, January 20, 1891, in ibid., 264.

7. Letter to Harnack, February 12, 1890, in ibid., 251–52.

8. Hugo Willrich, "Zur Erinnerung an Julius Wellhausen" *Deutsche Rundschau* 175 (1918), 412.

9. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Erinnerungen, 1848–1914* (2nd ed; Leipzig: Koehler, 1928), 190. Wellhausen did have seven nephews in the field; see letter to Littmann, April 4, 1916, in Wellhausen, *Briefe*, 644.

Yet Wellhausen never suffered from the rabid hatred or fevered belligerence that characterized much of the intellectual elite preceding and persisting through the First World War. Such sentiment could reach now preposterous proportions, within the humanities especially.[10] As Suzanne Marchand writes, "the coming of the war seemed to spell doom for *Altertumswissenschaft*. Both domestically and internationally, the world war figured as a kind of *Existenzkampf* for neohumanist academe as well as for the German monarchy."[11] As usual, theologians were among the first to beat the drums of war. Up to and throughout the conflict, however, Wellhausen seemingly eschewed the grand efforts of mobilization.[12] He could even diverge from his family. In a letter to Enno Littmann but three months into the war, he confessed, "My wife and sister-in-law rejoice over every dead Englishman; I cannot take part when I see that the young people die while I sit at my oven and read the newspapers' sermonizing [*Salbadereien*] about our culture and our law."[13] Already ill and emeritus by 1914, Wellhausen delivered no lecture and printed no book comparable to Alfred Bertholet's *Religion und Krieg* and *Altes Testament und Kriegsfrömiggkeit*, Otto Eissfeldt's *Krieg und Bibel*, Hermann Gunkel's *Israelitisches Heldentum und Kriegsfrömmigkeit im Alten Testament*, or Rudolf Kittel's *Das Alte Testament und unser Krieg*.[14] His name did not appear on the "Manifesto of the Ninety-Three," a declaration addressed "To the World of Culture" (*An die Kulturwelt*), signed by 93 of Germany's foremost intellectuals, issued on October 4, 1914, and rendered into over ten languages.[15] Nor did he countersign the *Erklärung der Hochschullehrer des Deutschen Reiches*, published on October 16 that year and translated into English, French,

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10. See the classic Paul Kennedy, *The Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism, 1860–1914* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1980).

11. Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down From Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Gemrany, 1750–1970* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 231.

12. For an overview of these efforts, see Marchand, *Down From Olympus*, 228–62; Kurt Flasch, *Die geistige Mobilmachung. Die deutschen Intellektuellen und der Erste Weltkrieg* (Berlin: Fest, 2000); Roger Chickering and Stig Förster, ed., *Great War, Total War: Combat and Mobilization on the Western Front, 1914–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); cf. John Horne, ed., *State, society and mobilization in Europe during the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

13. Letter to Enno Littmann, September 26, 1914, in Wellhausen, *Briefe*, 626; Wellhausen followed the war, as one might expect; cf., e.g., letter to Ella Limpricht, December 28, 1915, in ibid., 640.

14. Alfred Bertholet, *Religion und Krieg* (Tübingen; Mohr [Siebeck], 1915); idem, *Altes Testament und Kriegsfrömmigkeit. Ein Vortrag* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1917); Otto Eißfeldt, *Krieg und Bibel* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck] 1915); Hermann Gunkel, *Israelitisches Heldentum und Kriegsfrömmigkeit im Alten Testament* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1916); Rudolf Kittel, *Das Alte Testament und Unser Krieg* (Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke, 1916); on the role of publishers in the war effort, see, e.g., Silke Knappenberger-Jans, *Verlagspoliitk und Wissenschaft. Der Verlag J.C.B. Mohr* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001).

15. See Bernhard vom Brocke, "'Wissenschaft und Militarismus': Der Aufruf der 93 'An die Kulturwelt!' und der Zussamenbruch der internationalen Gelehrtenpolitik im ersten Weltkrieg" in *Wilamowitz nach 50 Jahren* (ed.William M. Calder III, Hellmut Flasher, and Theodor Lindken; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1985), 649–710. Three years later, an article in *The New York Times* reported more than sixty original backers expressed regret for signing the appeal (March 2, 1921, 7).

Italian, and Spanish.[16] Both *cris de coeur* boasted names of respected friends and colleagues. Even more, the *Erklärung* was penned by Wilamowitz himself and bore at least 3,000 signatures from across Germany's 53 universities and research institutes, thereby encompassing almost all of higher education—which makes Wellhausen's absence all the more puzzling.

High moral ground seems highly unlikely, however. True, Wellhausen did resist political ends by scholarly means. He was certainly no crusader for the *Protestantenverein* of his pedagogue, the underestimated Heinrich Ewald; in his view, such involvement permitted politics to enter the spheres of church and state, especially a politics at odds with his own.[17] Still, he ostensibly distinguished intellectual exertion from political engagement. When abstaining from a statement on *fin-de-siècle* education reform, he cited neither credo nor conviction to warrant his restraint.[18] In affairs of the academy, he doubtless came out of the wings. Beyond the standard machinations for institutional appointments, he endorsed Max Löhr's 1915 proposal for a chair in Jewish Studies, albeit without great success.[19] Yet save for a single missive, his extant correspondence grants little insight into his thoughts on that German-made jihad,[20] though he did laud, laconically, the renewed U-Boat campaigns of 1917, extolling, "Vivant die Tauchbo[o]te!"[21] His want on appeals in the First World War may not be all that suggestive. As Josef van Ess suggests, he was likely too old for such verve.[22]

Indeed, Wellhausen affirmed the *Kaiserreich*'s cause. In the same letter to Littmann, he declared,

> But it is an inner miracle of God, the enthusiasm of the multitude and the revival of particular heroes, like [Paul] Hindenburg and [Otto] Weddigen. Now I myself have fallen into sermonizing, but at least not the cultural sermonizing that we

16. vom Brocke, "Wissenschaft und Militarismus"; see also Robert E. Norton, "Wilamowitz at War" *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 15/1 (2008): 74–97.

17. E.g., letter to August Dillmann, April 17, 1872, in Wellhausen, *Briefe*, 11–12; letter to Dillmann December 18, 1875, in ibid., 31–32; letter to Ernst Reimer [ca. January 1886] in ibid., 190–91; see further Hans Liebeschütz, *Das Judentum im deutschen Geschcihtsbild von Hegel bis Max Weber* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987), 249–51; for "apoliticism" and "objectivity" among the German professorate, see Fritz Ringer, *The Decline of the German Mandarins: The German Acadmeic Community, 1890–1933* (Hanover: Unviersity Press of New England, 1990).

18. Letter to Heinrich Ulmann, February 14, 1892, in Wellhausen, *Briefe*, 276–77; cf. letter to Wilhelm Hermann, January 20, 1891, in ibid., 264.

19. See Christian Wiese, *Challenging Colonial Discourse: Jewish Studies and Protestant Theology in Wilhelmine Germany* (Studies in European Judaism 10; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 410–19; cf. letter to Nöldeke, October 24, 1915, in Wellhausen, *Briefe*, 638.

20. Cf. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, *The Holy War: "Made in Germany"* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1915); see further Lionel Gossman, *The Passion of Max von Oppenheim: Archaeology and Intrigue in the Middle East from Wilhelm II to Hitler* (Open Book Publishers, 2013), esp. 61–63; cf. Wellhausen to Littmann, February 21, 1915, in ibid., 631.

21. Letter to Littmann, March 18, 1917, in ibid., 652.

22. Josef van Ess, *Dschihad Gestern und Heute* (Julius-Wellhausen-Vorlesung 3; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 28; cf. Peter Machinist, "The Road Not Taken: Wellhausen and Assyriology" in *Homeland and Exile: Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Bustenay Oded* (ed. Gershon Galil, Mark Geller, and Alan Millard; VTSup 130; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 473.

> have come such a glorious long way thanks to Schiller and Goethe and surpass all other nations in science and general education. It is enough that we need not be afraid to take up battle with the entire world; that is our legitimation.[23]

His vital element [*Lebenselement*] the tempest — "similar to and yet completely different than the ancient prophets" — Hindenburg had a face that alone could bring comfort to Wellhausen.[24] Other correspondence featured analogy with Hercules and Hydra as well as St. Michael and the dragon.[25] Even divine invocation arose, though perhaps disingenuous. "Malice is trump," he penned to his sister-in-law, "but God can overtrump it and strengthen our hearts."[26] Rather optimistic in the first months of the war, he foretold, "But in a year we will hopefully be able truly to celebrate Christmas; *glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to people of good will*."[27] At the time of this declaration, the Wellhausens were billeting two soldiers at their home in Göttingen, apparently on demand.[28]

Although the war aims debate revealed fault lines among the professorate, national ambition cemented consensus. Wellhausen adhered. In a rare instance of overt political action, he aligned himself with such (relative) moderates and (somewhat misnomered) liberals as Lujo Brentano, Albert Einstein, Max Planck, Ernst Troeltsch, and Max Weber and signed a petition organized by Hans Delbrück and Adolf von Harnack on July 9, 1915, to limit annexation and call for peaceful terms.[29] The statement itself was a failure, accumulating only 141 signatures compared to those 1,347 gathered by "ultra-annexationists" Reinhold Seeberg and Dietrich Schäfer: armed conflict ended only in 1918, with the Armistice of Compiègne. Despite opposition to westward expansion, many program supporters promoted an easterly advance.[30] Wellhausen was no different. In a letter to Wilhelm Herrmann three months before the petition, he expounded,

> State is power, and power is originally based on violence and injustice; but it is only from power that peace and culture come, the great predators putting an end to the small. The Prussian state did not arise without violence and injustice ei-

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23. Letter to Enno Littmann, September 26, 1914, in Wellhausen, *Briefe*, 626.

24. Letter to Littmann, August 25, 1915 in ibid., 635; cf. letter to Littmann, September 28, 1914, in ibid., 626.

25. Letter to Littmann, December 25, 1914, in ibid., 629, and August 18, 1915, in ibid., 635.

26. Letter to Ella Limpricht, May 18, 1915 in ibid., 633–34.

27. Letter to Littmann, December 25, 1914, in ibid., 628–29; the doxology appears in Latin. Cf. letter to Ella Limpricht, May 18, 1915, in ibid., 633–34.

28. Letter to Littmann, December 25, 1914, in ibid., 628–29; cf. letter to Littmann, March 9, 1915, in ibid., 631–32.

29. Cf. also letter to Littmann, April 6, 1916, in ibid., 644–45.

30. See, e.g., Klaus Schwabe, "Zur politischen Haltung der deutschen Professoren im ersten Weltkrieg" *Historische Zeitschrift* 193/3 (1961): 601–34; Fritz Fischer, *Germany's Aims in the First World War* (New York: Norton, 1967); cf. also Heinz Krießig, "Einführung" in *Die Altertumswissenschaften an der Berliner Akademie. Wahlvorschläge zur Aufnahme von Mitgliedern von F.A. Wolf bis zu G. Rodenwaldt, 1799–1932* (Studien zur Geschichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR 5; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1985), 44–45.

> ther, and it has the ambition to expand just like the English [state], under the pretense of culture's right over and against the barbarians and also under the pretext of mission. Now the [Prussian state] is doubtless fully justified with respect to its enemies, thank God! But even were it at fault, I would neither want nor be able to renounce it. I don't cudgel my Christian brains about it."[31]

Such views, for Wellhausen, were not at all new. As early as 1882, he had found eastward expansion essential and war with Russia fated. "But we must keep our powder dry, since opportunities could otherwise pass by that will not come again," he proclaimed, "Our drive westward is purely sentimental, the east is much more important for us practically speaking. Poland, for me, would be better than Alsace and Lorraine."[32] Likewise, when writing to Smith he envisaged, "I fear that we Germans will collide with the English in Asia Minor within 100 years. We simply must expand our territory eastward; war with Russia will scarcely be long in coming after the kaiser's death."[33] Five years onward, the future seemed all the more bleak: "[war] is definitely coming," he forecast to Abraham Kuenen, "For a long time I did not want to believe it, [but] now I do. [...] The future looks like misery to me; in swift victory, here and there; the very few believe only in a battle for life and death — with the smiling commune [of saints] in the background."[34] When annexation's apple of discord fell between the two, he disclosed again to Smith, "Sorry that I accost you with all this. Prussian chauvinism is also repugnant to me; but it is pandered by nothing else as much as such sentimental foolery from foreigners."[35] The same year, 1887, he continued to deem war with Russia "a fundamental necessity — for reasons of sustenance — and that with France caprice and folly," a conviction he echoed again, in 1891.[36] By 1892, he considered war an imminent if disregarded threat, predicting coincidental outbreak in the east.[37] Wellhausen showed restraint with the Province of Posen (now Poland), however. In another isolated instance of public declaration (and subsequent failure), he involved himself in the so-called "Wreschen School Strike" (*Wreschener Schulstreik*) of 1901 by petitioning the forced germanization of secondary education.[38] Incidentally, linguistic nationalism touched Wellhausen

31. Letter to Wihelm Herrmann, April 21, 1915, in Wellhausen, *Briefe*, 633.

32. Letter to Albert Socin, June 6, 1882, in ibid., 104–05.

33. Letter to Smith, August 24, 1882, in ibid., 108–09; cf. Letter to Smith, [October 10, 1882], in ibid., 111.

34. Letter to Kuenen, February 23, 1887, in ibid., 204–05.

35. Letter to Smith, September 19, 1887, in ibid., 208–09.

36. Letter to Smith, December 23, 1887, in ibid., 212; cf. letter to Smith, November 1, 1891 in ibid., 270.

37. Letter to Smith, March 19, 1892, in ibid., 280–82; cf. Letter to Smith, [October 10, 1882], in ibid., 111.

38. See Stefan Rebenich, *Theodor Mommsen und Adolf Harnack. Wissenschaft und Politik im Berlin des ausgehenden 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: de Gruyter 1997),536–37; cf. Christian Nottmeier, *Adolf von Harnack und die deutsche Politik, 1890–1930* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 183 n. 262.

himself when an 1883 review praised his elimination of "foreign words" from a second edition.[39]

If Wellhausen had something of Anglophilia, by no means was he a Francophile.[40] Beyond his personal friendship with William Robertson Smith, who died in 1894, he maintained professional contact with Albion through articles in *Encyclopedia Britannica* and *Encyclopaedia Biblica* as well as translation of his own work. Moreover, he served as consultant for *The Historians' History of the World* in a near intellectual pantheon.[41] He liked London more than Berlin, and visits came from abroad, from pastors and scholars alike.[42] Even further, he was slated to receive honorary doctorates from Edinburgh in 1905/1906 and Cambridge in 1913.[43] Though he believed Britain should overtake Egypt, he did disapprove of the Boer Wars, especially should Russia benefit.[44] Even amidst the Great War, he exclaimed no great aspiration for conclusive ruination of the British. As for contact with North America, he contributed to the expatriate Paul Haupt's Polychrome Bible, even if he only wanted to rid himself of older work lest it fall to the hands of an editor after his own demise.[45] In 1902, he became an honorary member of the American Oriental Society,[46] and over a decade later, at the Jewish Theological Seminary of New York, Haupt nominated him for honorary membership to the Society of Biblical Literature, where he reportedly won unanimous assent.[47] Both societies even appointed trios to present him congratulatory addresses for his 70th birthday the

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39. Adolf Jülicher, Review of Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, *Göttinische Gelehrte Anzeige* 145 (1883): 1453; on the longer history of such matters, see Anja Stukenbrock, *Sprachnationalismus. Sprachreflexion als Medium kollektiver Identitätsstiftung in Deutschland (1617–1945*) (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005).

40. Cf. letter to Kuenen, July 30, 1880, in Wellhausen, *Briefe*, 74–75.

41. Wellhausen's name appears among the "Contributors, and Editorial Revisers" for all 25 volumes apart from numbers 3 and 16 (pace Wellhausen, *Briefe*, 837).

42. Letter to William Robertson Smith, October 8, 1880, in Wellhausen, *Briefe*, 77; Rudolf Smend, "Julius Wellhausen and His *Prolegomena to the History of Israe*l" in *Julius Wellhausen and His Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (ed. Douglas Knight; Semeia 25; Chico: Scholars Press, 1983) 1–4.

43. *"The Universities, Edinburgh, University News and Notes" The University Review* 2 (Oct 1905–March 1906; London: Sherrat & Hughes, 1906), 600; cf. *Theologisches Literaturblatt* 27/8 [1906]: 96; Letter to Montague Rhodes James, December 11, 1913, in Wellhausen, *Briefe*, 611. Arteriosclerosis and deafness precluded his travel to Cambridge and thus his receipt of degree, as physical presence was presumably required. Save the academic senate's approval, moreover, I have found no other evidence for actual conferral from Edinburgh (letter to Ferdinand Justi [February 11, 1906] in ibid., 476?).

44. Letter to Abraham Kuenen [March 1, 1881] in ibid., 82; letter to Smith [October 18, 1882], in ibid., 111; letter to Smith [July 16, 1884], in ibid., 151–52; letter to Michael Jan de Goeje [November 11, 1899] in ibid., 373; letter to Theodor Nöldeke, December 27, 1899, in ibid., 377; letter to Charlotte Limpricht, February 9, 1900, in ibid., 379; letter to Ferdinand Justi [February 27, 1900], in ibid., 380.

45. Letter to Smith, March 19, 1892, in ibid., 280–82; cf. letter to Smith, May 31, 1892 in ibid., 286–88.

46. "Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, at Its Meeting in Boston, Mass., 1902" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 23 (1902), 360; "Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, at the Meeting in Philadelphia, Pa., 1919" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 39 (1919), 132.

47. "Proceedings, December 1913" *Journal of Biblical Literature* 33/4 (1914), ii. Haupt penned an article for Wellhausen's *Festschrift*, and Wellhausen had contributed to Haupt's "Polychrome Bible."

next year, just before the Great War's onset.[48] While Wellhausen visited Britain, he never journeyed to the States, nor did he seem all that interested in the first place. "This summer [Felix] Klein hopes to go to Chicago," he wrote, "I would just as soon go to hell."[49]

He was less than entirely fond of France, at least since the Revolution. In channeling the Athenian statesman Solon, he confessed in the year 1880, "As much as I like individual Frenchmen: *altogether your mind is empty*."[50] No longer did he fear another war with the Republic, though the idea would later irk him.[51] "I am curious whether London has as much to offer as Paris," he wrote Kuenen that same year, "If not, then at least the people in England are more appealing to me than [those] in France."[52] Disappointed in Prussia, Wellhausen likewise lamented, "Not the Germans but the British are the true antithesis of the French."[53] A decade later, in 1890, he criticized secondary-school initiatives for militance, intolerance, and orthodoxy in their attempts at uniformity, grousing, "In this respect, we are completely French and not at all 'German' [*germanisch*]."[54] Wellhausen did appreciate France before the First Republic, at least its erudition.[55] By 1912, he could even admire its parliamentarians.[56]

All this bellicose nationalism was standard for the German mandarins, an echelon on brilliant display in Fritz Ringer's classic monograph.[57] As Charles McClelland affirms, "Far from feeling intimidated into following the lead of government or of the dominant social forces in imperial Germany, the universities and their members confidently joined in with a feeling of belonging."[58] Academics were in the pocket of the government and filled their pockets by the same. As a condition of appointment, Wellhausen swore allegiance to the kaiser in 1872.[59] Later, in December, 1899, he joined the ranks of those most loyal to the sovereign and became privy government councilor (*geheimer Regierungsrat*), though he showed

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48. "Proceedings of the American Oriental Society at Its Meeting in Boston and Cambridge, Mass. 1914" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 34 (1915): 435–44 at 437; "Proceedings, December 1913" *Journal of Biblical Literature* 33/4 (1914): i–xv at ii, iv.

49. Letter to Smith, May 4, 1893 in Wellhausen, *Briefe,* 304–05; cf. Wellhausen to Smith, May 31, 1892, in ibid., 286–88.

50. Letter to Kuenen in July 1880, in ibid., 71–72; the quotation was, of course, in Greek (Solon 11:6); cf. letter to Smith, August 24, 1882, in ibid., 108–09.

51. Letter to Smith, November 1, 1891, in ibid., 269–70.

52. Letter to Kuenen, July 30, 1880 in ibid., 74–75.

53. Letter to Smith, October 8, 1880, in ibid., 77.

54. Letter to Smith, December 12, 1890 in ibid., 261–62.

55. Letter to Nöldeke, January 24, 1914, in ibid., 615; cf. letter to Littmann, [November 26, 1914], in ibid., 628.

56. Letter to Robert Vischer, February 2, 1912, in ibid., 586; cf. nn. 34 and 36 supra.

57. Ringer, *The Decline of the German Mandarins.*

58. Charles E. McClelland, *State, Society, and University in Germany, 1870–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 326.

59. See letter to Paul de Lagarde, December 17, 1872, in Wellhausen, *Briefe*, 16–17.

little ardor in private.[60] After signing the Delbrück petition in 1915, the philhellenic Wellhausen echoed Homer and remarked, "The Berliners have not annulled me from the privy council for the signature; *more terrible things I have suffered*."[61] The following month, on January 27, 1900, he delivered a lecture for the kaiser's birthday, even if enthusiasm wanted once again.[62] Elation did come, however, in May, 1901, when he received acceptance into *Pour le Mérite für Wissenschaften und Künste*, the civilian class of Prussia's highest order, which bestowed the title of knight (*Ritter*).[63] In 1906, Wellhausen reached as high as the Prussian Order of the Crown, Third Class *(Königlicher Kronenordnen*, *III. Klasse*).[64] Despite his academic prowess, he had little political pull, in Berlin much less the *Kaiserreich*. Wellhausen was no Wilamowitz, certainly no Adolf von Harnack.[65] Perhaps the remarkable thing is just how unremarkable Wellhausen really was.

II. War Within the World of Wellhausen

Wellhausen was an historian drawn less to the crash of falling nations than the sound of their construction. Consumed by an interest in statecraft, he admired the Iron Chancellor. Such devotion famously cost him his relationship with the Hanoverian loyalist Ewald upon his refusal to disparage the Prussian king and chancellor as miscreants (*Übeltäter*) and villains (*Schurken*).[66] *Au contraire*, he honored Thomas Carlyle and Abu Mus-

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60. *Chronik der Georg-Augusts–Universität zu Göttingen für das Rechnungsjahr 1899–1900* (Göttingen: Dieterischen Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1900), 13; cf. letter to Ferdinand Justi, September 25, 1899, in Wellhausen, *Briefe*, 369–70.

61. Letter to Littmann, September 9, 1915, in ibid., 637. Unsurprisingly, the Homeric riff (Odyssey 20:18) is in Greek.

62. *Chronik der Georg-Augusts–Universität zu Göttingen für das Rechnungsjahr 1899–1900* (Göttingen: Dieterischen Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1900), 54; cf. letter to Fredinand Justi, December 12, 1899, in Wellhausen, *Briefe*, 376–77. The address was published as *Ein Gemeinwesen ohne Obrigkeit. Rede zur Feier des Geburtstages Seiner Majestät des Kaisers und Königs am 27. Januar 1900 im Namen der Georg-Augusts-Univeristät* (Göttingen: Dietrich, 1900) and translated as "Tribal Life of the Epic Period" in *The Historians' History of the World: A Comprehensive Narrative of the Rise and Development of Nations as Recorded by Over Two Thousand of the Great Writers of All Ages*, Vol 8: *Parthians, Sassenids, and Arabs; the Crusades and the Papacy* (New York: Hooper & Jackson, 1909), 284–93.

63. *Chronik der Georg-August-Universität zu Göttingen für das Rechnungsjahr 1901* (Göttingen: Dieterischen Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1902), 27. Wellhausen was appointed for oriental philology and, to his great delight, history: see letter to Helene Justi, [March, 21, 1900], in Wellhausen, *Briefe*, 380.

64. *Chronik der Georg-August-Universität zu Göttingen für das Rechnungsjahr 1905* (Göttingen: Dieterischen Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1906), 14.

65. Wellhausen be critical of the kaiser: see, e.g., letter to Harnack, February 12, 1890, in ibid., 251–52; letter to Smith, December 12, 1890 in ibid., 261–62.

66. Schwartz, "Wellhausen," 336–38. On Ewald's political engagement, see Lothar Perlitt, "Heinrich Ewald: Der Gelehrte in der Politik" in *Theologie in Göttingen. Eine Vorlesungsreihe* (ed. Bernd Moeller; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987), 157–212); J.C. O'Neill, *The Bible's Authority: A Portrait Gallery of Thinkers From Lessing to Bultmann* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1991), 135–49.

lim with analogy to the statesman in private correspondence.[67] Those resemblances which permeate his historiography may or may not have been conscious, however. While Marchand rightly sees, "for Wellhausen, Muhammed's chief achievement was his statecraft, his Bismarck-like unification of the Arabs," Arnaldo Momigliano gives voice to the unspoken: "Alas, there had obviously been no Bismarck in the Jerusalem of the fourth or third century B.C. to teach a lesson to the Persians or the Macedonians."[68] Comprehensive scrutiny of his religio-political nexus lies beyond the scope of this study, and others have charted the course already.[69] Instead, the essay at hand locates the man in a world of war and war in the work of the man. Since any proper appraisal of Wellhausen demands inspection of his drudgeries in the formative period of Islam and that of Christianity, this assessment admits a certain insufficiency from the start. Nevertheless, his efforts on ancient Israel — short-lived as they may have been — do betray much of the same theoretical apparatus and methodological operation as that which was to surface within these later endeavors. More intellectual territory is yet to be conquered.

Wellhausen's work on ancient Israel came in several iterations.[70] After earlier studies in biblical text and composition, he published the first tome of an anticipated two-volume *Geschichte Israels* in 1878, with its second edition appearing five years later, in 1883, as the more modestly-titled *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*. Between these two editions, he wrote an article planned as "Jewish History" but printed as "Israel" for William Robertson Smith's ninth edition of *Encyclopedia Britannica* in 1881, which was affixed to the 1885 English translation of *Prolegomena* and impressed separately as *Sketch of the History of Israel and Judah* in

67. Letter to Smith, [October, 1881] in Wellhausen, *Briefe*, 93–95; letter to Fredinand Justi, March 30, 1900, in ibid., 382–83; cf. also letter to Heinrich Limpricht, April 20, 1896. in ibid., 337–38; letter to Smith, October 23, 1888, in ibid., 217–18; letter to Charlotte Limpricht, December 16, 1885 in ibid., 189; letter to Nöldeke, October 2, 1905, in ibid., 463–64. Friederich Giesebrecht gifted him a large portrait of the chancellor in splendid wooden frame (letter to Heinrich and Charlotte Limpricht, May 18, 1884, in ibid., 148–50).

68. Suzanne L. Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 188; Arnaldo Momigliano, "Religious History without Frontiers: J. Wellhausen, U. Wilamowitz, and E. Schwartz" *History and Theory* 21/5, Beiheft 21: New Paths of Classicism in the Nineteenth Century (1982), 52; cf. also Keith Whitelam, "Israelite Kingship: The Royal Ideology and Its Opponents" in *The World of Ancient Israel: Sociological, Anthropological and Political Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge Unviersity Press, 1989), 122–23; Jack M. Sasson, "On Choosing Models for Recreating Israelite Pre-Monarchic History" *Journal for the Study of Old Testament* 6/21 (1981), 3–24.

69. Boschwitz, *Julius Wellhausen*; Marchand, *German Orientalism*; Momigliano, "Religious History"; Josef van Ess, "From Wellhausen to Becker: The Emergence of *Kulturgeschichte* in Islamic Studies" in *Islamic Studies: A Tradition and its Problems* (ed. Malcom Kerr; Malibu, 1980), 27–51.

70. See Rudolf Smend, "The Work of Abraham Kuenen and Julius Wellhausen" in *The Nineteenth Century* (ed. Magne Saebø; vol. III/1 of *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament*; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 443–50; idem, "Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte. Zur Entstehung von Julius Wellhausens Buch" in *Geschichte–Tradition–Reflexion. Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag*, Vol 1. *Judentum* (ed. Peter Schäfer; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1996), 36–42.

1891. Wellhausen produced portions of this essay in a select German version of 1880 again entitled *Geschichte Israels*, subsequently revised and published in 1884 as *Abriss der Geschichte Israels und Juda's* in the first volume of his series *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, whereby the latter's final section, "Judaism and Christianity," was appended to the 1891 printing of "Israel" (i.e., *Sketch*). Only in 1894 did Wellhausen issue his long-awaited *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, untranslated as of yet. The essence of his entire corpus on ancient Israel ensued in an essay entitled "Israelitisch-jüdische Religion" and circulated in Paul Hinneberg's 1905 *Die Christliche Religion mit einem Einschluss der israelitisch-jüdischen Religion*. Despite long and hard resistance, Wellhausen finally conceded (somewhat) the importance of comparative ventures, and yet such accessions hardly affected his now well-worn path of historiography.[71] If no dramatic and little substantial change came between any of these explorations, earlier expressions do have the advantage of immediacy to his premises and thought while later ones show a terser prose.[72]

In perhaps the most stimulating of ruminations on Wellhausen's historical endeavors, Friedemann Boschwitz unveils the conceptual machinery at work in all his academic pursuits, from textual transmission through literary tradition and on to cultural reconstruction. Beyond that idealist or "sub-Hegelian"conceptual apparatus which underlay his empiricism and permitted not only reference to "the god of wishes" vis-à-vis "the god of historical necessity" but also such statements as "[Amos] considers the fate of the entire people and, in doing so, discerns between just and unjust as little as history does," "History does not take into account good will, certainly not persons, but deeds," and "Most of all, I must believe...that God stands behind the mechanism of the world, that he can act upon my soul to pull it up to himself and help it provide for its own self, that he is the cord of an invisible and eternal community of the spirits," Wellhausen favored simplicity.[73] For philological undertakings, he recognized "one must have a preconception [*Vorbegriff*] of the truth in order to find it," and he certainly had one for his reconstructive efforts as well: primitivity underwrote much of his intellectual enterprise, whether operation or evaluation.[74] The man who

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71. Cf. *Vorrede* to the first edition of *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*; "Israelitisch-jüdische Religion" in *Die Christliche Religion mit Einschluss der israelitisch-jüdischen Religion* (ed. Paul Hinneberg; vol. 1/4 of *Die Kultur der Gegenwart: Ihre Entwicklung und ihre Ziele*; Berlin: Teubner, 1906), 1–2. On that historiography, see n. 66 supra, Baruch Halpern, *The First Historians: The Hebrew Bible and History* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), 16–35; Machinist, "The Road Not Taken," 515–21; Robert A. Oden, Jr., "Intellectual History and the Study of the Bible" in *The Future of Biblical Studies: The Hebrew Scriptures* (ed. Richard Elliott Friedman and H.G.M. Williamson; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 1–18; John H. Hayes, "Wellhausen as a Historian of Israel" in *Julius Wellhausen and His* Prolegomena to the History of Israel (ed. Douglas A. Knight; Semeia 25; Chico: Scholars Press, 1983), 37–60.

72. Cf. also Boschwitz, *Wellhausen*, 16.

73. Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propehten* (Skizzen und Vorarbeiten 5; Berlin: Reimer, 1892), 94, 93; idem, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* (7th ed; Berlin: Reimer, 1914), 110, 371.

74. Julius Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1871).

praised Goethe and Herder and pined for a life among pastures was a *Bildungsbürger* moth drawn to the flame of simpler times.[75] Even more fundamentally, his historiography "championed the liberal ideas of his era: individual liberty, freedom of conscience, and the virtues of national, political autonomy."[76] Ancient Israel, for Wellhausen, embodied all "the Jews" did not.[77]

Like his intellectual ancestors, Wellhausen periodized Hebrews, Israelites, and Jews.[78] While his attention to the first was rather meager (corresponding to his estimation of sources), his devotion to the dyad was as fervent as it was conflicted. Ancient Israel was Wellhausen's true object of inquiry, betrayed quantitatively in pages written and qualitatively in language employed, and he severed Israelite and Jewish history even as he fused the former with all that went before. The foil for him was early and late, and exile was the rupture. Echoing Wilhelm Vatke (and Paul's missive to the Romans), Wellhausen could not only declare, "The law came in between," but also emulate Hesiod in judging, "the half is greater than the whole."[79] Those "two different worlds" he saw in the text Wellhausen wanted to order sequentially for "a genuine [*wirkliche*], i.e., genetic history of Israelite religion."[80] In the work subsequently reduced to a prolegomena, he plotted the path ahead: "There are in the Pentateuch three strata of law and three strata of tradition, and the problem is to place them in their true historical order."[81] Wellhausen would expend considerable time and effort for-

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75. See, e.g., letter to Albert Socin, December 10, 1889, in Wellhausen, *Briefe*, 241; letter to Heinrich and Charlotte Limpricht [post May 17, 1896], in ibid, 339–40.

76. Marchand, *German Orientalism*, 184; cf. already Boschwitz, *Wellhausen*, 45–46. This dimension of liberalism, however, diverges substantially from that of politics (cf. Marchand, "From Liberalism to Neoromanticism: Albrecht Dietrich, Richard Reitzenstein, and the Religious Turn in *Fin-de-Siècle* German Classical Studies"*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 46/S79 [2003]: 129–60).

77. In the 1980s especially, anti-Semitism in Wellhausen's work and world occasioned some debate: see Rolf Rendtorff, "Die jüdische Bibel und ihre antijüdische Auslegung" in *Auschwitz. Krise der christlichen Theologie* (Abhandlungen zum christlich-jüdischen Dialog 10; Munich: Kaiser, 1980), 99–116; Rudolf Smend, "Wellhausen und das Judentum" *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 79/3 (1982): 249–82. A more recent appraisal appears in Susannah Heschel's excellent *Abraham Geiger and the Jewish Jesus* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 209–13; cf. more broadly, Uriel Tal, *Christians and Jews in Germany: Religion, Politics, and Ideology in the Second Reich, 1870–1914* (transl. Noah Jonathan Jacobs; Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975); Wiese, *Challenging Colonial Discourse*; Anders Gerdmar, *Roots of Theological Anti-Semitism: German Biblical Interpretation and the Jews, from Herder and Semler to Kittel and Bultmann* (Studies in Jewish History and Culture 20; Leiden: Brill, 2009).

78. Already in 1875, Paul de Lagarde could describe such division as standard (Paul de Lagarde, *Ueber die gegenwärtige Lage des deutschen Reiches. Ein Bericht* (Göttingen: Dietrich, 1876), 84.

79. Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (trans. J. Sutherland Black and Allan Menzies; Edinburgh: A & C Black, 1885), 169, 363.

80. See, most succinctly, "Israelitisch-jüdische Religion," 4–7.

81. "This quotation first appears in the second edition, however (*Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, 366). On morphology/evolution or synchrony/diachrony in Wellhausen's work, see Paul Michael Kurtz, "Axes of Inquiry: Julius Wellhausen, Hermann Gunkel, and Religion's Reconstruction," forthcoming.

mulating — though not originating — the thesis of *lex post prophetas*. Yet his interest and inspiration lay long before the law, in that much preferred first half.

Those were heroic days indeed. As the eminently quotable Welhausen once wrote, "The foundation upon which, at all periods, Israel's sense of its national unity rested was religious in its character. It was the faith which may be summed up in the formula: Jehovah is the God of Israel, and Israel is the people of Jehovah."[82] This unity of deity and coterie found its fullest expression in war. If battle united the tribes, it soon became a business as holy as it was national. In fact, the "martial confederation" not only named itself for the deity — Israel meaning "El contends" and Yahweh being that El — but even correlated its relationship to other peoples with his relationship to other gods. Thus, Israel's triumph meant Yahweh's triumph. The god gave his nation victory over Egyptians, Canaanites, and Philistines.[83]

Yahweh may have been in the nation's midst, but his presence was no less holy. "The war camp, the nation's cradle," he averred, "was also the oldest sanctuary." Even further, Israel's ark bore the deity's presence, a standard for the nation and movable martial shrine with a presence both sanctified and sanctifying, for those cities which hosted the ark remained consecrated thereafter. The ban also showed a fusion of war and religion. Conceived as offerings to Yahweh, cities, kings, or plunder displayed a *do ut des* exchange, sacrifices vowed for the promise of victory. Identification of deity and nation meant the two marched forth in tandem. In times of peril, Israel united and Yahweh awoke; in times of peace, they slept. According to Wellhausen, though, battle's hard-won glories shone in tranquil times as well, for people and god alike: warlords became judges, and the war god imposed justice. This integration of juridical and martial affairs warranted his claim, "The true meaning of theocracy is therefore that war and justice were religion before they became compulsion and civil order."[84] In language resonant of Émile Durkheim's "collective effervescence" (by way of William Robertson Smith), Wellhausen concluded, "From the religious sense of community (*religiöses Gemeingefühl*) first sprang the state, and not a particularly holy state but rather

82. *Prolegomena*, 9. On the following description, see *Israeltische und jüdische Geschichte*, 23–25, cf. also 37. The song of Deborah, "the oldest monument of Hebrew literature," becomes a primary source for early history.

83. Here, and elsewhere, however, emic and etic fuse within Wellhausen's work. While such conflation might only reflect his reading of his object's own abstraction, such ambiguous statements do raise certain questions concerning the historian's assumptions of history. As but one example, and a rather mild one compared to others in his discussions of early Christianity, Wellhausen comments, "The men Yahweh inspired and filled with his spirit were thus primarily war heroes in antiquity, like the judges." Immediate reference to subsequent "description" and "painting" as well as the broader context of poetic analysis provide further foil to these potential betrayals of certain historical beliefs (*Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 24).

84. Ibid., 27.

the state as such. [...] Israel became a political unity only over time, through the preliminary work of religion, as the people of Yahweh."[85] Patriotism then was religion.[86]

If warfare joined the tribes, it also welded them together. "War is what makes nations (*Völker*)," proclaimed the fan of Bismarck. As an historian of *Realpolitik*, Wellhausen maintained, "war was both the task and resource [*Hilfsquelle*] of the young monarchy," "the fire in which the Israelite kingdom was forged."[87] His greatest deed the final defeat of the Philistines, David completed what Saul had begun. Having routed his enemies in Cisjordan, David conveyed his campaigns to Transjordan, where he trounced Moab, Ammon, and Edom. This "ancient king in barbaric times" led a "true pantheon of heroes," unsurpassed anywhere in Old Testament — and "Old Testament" it was for Wellhausen.[88] Although the first kings Saul and David "first made out of the Hebrew tribes a real people in the political sense" and endowed it with "historical self-consciousness," "decay set in even at the separation, and once the Assyrians were heard at the door, it advanced with steps not to be arrested.[89] "Partisan wars" would plague the northern kingdom and prove to be its undoing, no king powerful enough to rein in the forces of centrifuge.[90] Only demise would follow the death of David.

The olden days quickly lost their luster. With the prophets and ethical monotheism came a "new stage" in Israelite history. The prophetic, pastoral, and anti-clerical Amos — a triple win for Wellhausen — sparked that movement which "destroyed the national character of the old religion," severing the "natural bond" between the nation and god and beginning "the general diffusion and the individualisation of religion."[91] The priests and their law exacerbated this trend, much to his dismay. If war could found a nation, then war could also be its undoing. Assyria and Babylon drove an irreparable wedge into the history of Israel's inhabitants. Not even later Jewish revolts could secure the historian's favor, even if he did express a certain fascination in his private correspondence.[92] Though absolutely ignorant of military matters and undisciplined through and through, the "old Jews" triumphed over the Romans in a certain sense, unlike the Spartans and Athenians. "No more acutely have natio-

85. Ibid., 27–28.

86. Ibid., 51; cf. letter to Wilhelm Herrmann, April 14, 1915, in Wellhausen, *Briefe*, 633.

87. *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 53 and 59, cf. 52.

88. Ibid., 63.

89. *Prolegomena*, 413–14.

90. Cf. "Israel" in *Prolegomena*, 475.

91. Ibid., 473–74.

92. Cf., e.g., letter to Rudolf Smend, [January 27, 1892,] in Wellhausen, *Briefe*, 275–76; letter to Ferdinand Justi, June 2, 1894, in ibid., 315.

nal individuality and cosmopolitan empire ever crashed," he assessed.[93] With a few substitutions, however, what he said of Islam was equally true for Israel and Judaism: "Arabic antiquity ends with Islam. Allah triumphs over the plurality of deities, the solidarity of faith over the diversity of blood, the unity of a theocratic state over the anarchy of houses."[94]

The poetic age was past. Language and literature declined. In fact, Jewish historiography even masked the once great glories of old. "See what Chronicles has made out of David!" Wellhausen lamented, "The founder of the kingdom has become the founder of the temple and the public worship, the king and hero at the head of his companions in arms has become the singer and master of ceremonies at the head of a swarm of priests and Levites."[95] A once bellicose ruler has now become a priest. The historian's horror continued when the wars of a lionheart David prevented his construction of the temple: "that he had waged the wars of Jehovah, that Jehovah had given victory by his hand, would in the older warlike time have seemed no reason against but rather an argument establishing his fitness for such work."[96] While the Chronicler's historiography — "this plan of writing history, as it is euphemistically called" — disparages such endeavors, it extols the deeds of Yahweh.[97] Fortresses go unbuilt, armies unmustered, and battles unfought. Should a (righteous) king even have a military, it ultimately proves superfluous, as priests and deity seize the victory on their own.[98] Likewise, in his evaluation of Numbers, Wellhausen discerned, "the views taken of war by the Jews of the later time who had grown quite unaccustomed to it. The occasion of the war is also noticeable; it is undertaken not for the acquisition of territory, nor with any other practical object, but only to take vengeance on the Midianites for having seduced some of the Israelites to uncleanness."[99] His appraisal of earlier literature places such judgments in stark relief. Discussing the Jehovist, he expressed surprise at the patriarchs' pastoral passivity, "scarcely a true reflection of the character of the Israelites."[100] Condemnation did not befall these narratives, however. Rather, he justified them:

> Yet it is not difficult to understand that a people which found itself incessantly driven into war, not only dreamed of an eternal peace in the future, but also embodied the wishes of its heart in these peaceful forms of the golden age in the past. We have also to consider that the peaceful shepherd life of the patriarchs is necessary to the idyllic form in which the early history of the people is cast....

93. Letter to Ferdinand Justi, March 5, 1893, in Wellhausen, *Briefe*, 301–02.
94. Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentumes* (Skizzen und Vorarbeiten 3; Berlin: Reimer, 1887), 204.
95. *Prolegomena*, 182.
96. Ibid., 181.
97. Ibid., 207.
98. Ibid., 209.
99. Ibid., 356.
100. Ibid., 321.

These writings, along with his favored Judges, Samuel, Kings, and earliest prophets, constituted "the golden age of Hebrew literature," so their aversion to war was venial.[101] They shared his pleasure in the sylvan and suffered none of the rigid formality or theological rule he found so loathsome in any society. Keen on the days of old and himself with "a sense for the energy of the wicked," he judged the later literature all the more harshly."[102] Wellhausen may have been predisposed to a certain assessment of sources, yet their "distaste to war and to records of war" certainly did not aid their outcome in the end.[103]

The real issue in Wellhausian historiography lay in that nexus of mid-century liberalism, Bismarckian nationalism, and cultural Protestantism. Still within that long (and living) tradition which Mario Liverani correctly characterized as "a sort of paraphrase of the Biblical text," Wellhausen's was the story of a nation's rise and fall, with a special fondness for the former.[104] As Albert Hourani perceives, "...it is typical of the age in which Wellhausen lived, of its belief in the metaphysical importance of the state and in the nation-state as its highest form, that his special attention should have been given to one of the three elements [state, prophecy, and law], the Arabian nation-state."[105] Such description is equally apt for his work on ancient Israel. As he himself wrote in words quite far from minced,

> The Mosaic theocracy, the residuum of a ruined state, is itself not a state at all, but an unpolitical artificial product created in spite of unfavourable circumstances by the impulse of an ever-memorable energy: and foreign rule is its necessary counterpart. In its nature it is intimately allied to the old Catholic church, which was in fact its child.[106]

Beyond external affairs, inner strife figured prominently in Wellhausen's histories, arguably more so than war. Much of this historiography reflected contemporary concerns of a Catholic Church in an increasingly Protestant empire.[107] Yet the subject of statehood and the convictions that shaped its description also played an important if less-credited role within his historical ventures. Not only in his work but also in his world, warfare and militarism of-

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101. Ibid., 9.

102. Boschwitz, *Wellhausen*, 22; cf., e.g., Wellhausen, "Israel" in *Prolegomena*, 439–40.

103. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena,* 358.

104. Mario Liverani, *Israel's History and the History of Israel* (transl. Chiara Peri and Philip R. Davies; London: Equinox, 2003), xv.

105. Albert Hourani, "Islam and the Philosophers of History" *Middle Eastern Studies* 3/3 (1967), 240. These elements (or stages) of state, prophecy, and law correspond to the primitive worship, ethical consciousness, and elaborate ceremonial described by Herbert Hahn or the nature, history, and law identified by Patrick Miller (Herbert F. Hahn "Wellhausen's Interpretation of Israel's Religious History: A Reappraisal of His Ruling Ideas" in *Essays on Jewish Life and Thought: Presented in Honor of Salo Wittmayer Baron* [ed. Joseph L. Blau; New York: Columbia University Press, 1959], 299–308; Patrick Miller, "Wellhausen and the History of Israel's Religion" in idem, *Israelite Religion and Biblical Theology: Collected Essays* [JSOTSup 267; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000] 182–96).

106. Ibid, 422; cf. Marchand, *German Orientalism*, 182.

107. Cf., e.g., Boschwitz, *Wellhausen*, 34, 36 n. 5.

ten stood at the forefront. Perhaps continuing the legacy of Wellhausen may lie less in searching his sources as he did than taking his own histories as an object of inquiry: to see, like him, how concerns of the present made their way into portrayals of the past.

Reading the Book of Esther in the Light of the Concept of Diaspora: Towards an Alternative Heuristic Framework

1. Introduction

In this paper I intend to show how the concept of Jewish diaspora emerging from the memory of an experience of exile and itself amounting to an ongoing exile, is central to reading Esther. The narrative material of the book presents a literary world whose relation to actual history is difficult to judge. This is not to deny that the details of the narrative contain many features that seem to reflect accurately the Persian era. While the dominant view in modern Esther studies is that it is an aetiology for Purim, in this paper I wish to argue for an alternative interpretive model for the book, one that places significance on the concept of diaspora as a more viable heuristic key. By use of discussions in the field of diaspora studies, I am suggesting a reading that places behind Esther a Jewish community with a self-perception similar to that of modern-day diaspora communities. I am arguing that it is that community's diasporic consciousness that forms the bedrock of the story and should be the primary focus in all efforts to interpret the book.

2. Connection with Purim: A Dominant Heuristic Key

Due to the acknowledged historical accuracy of the Esther narrative, it is not unusual to encounter interpretations proceeding from an understanding of the book as a work of history. However, in those instances where the narrative turns to fiction it does so with a measure directly proportional to its accuracy. The excessive exaggerations and textual inconsistences make the story as fictitious as it is historical. This has necessitated referring to Esther in such expressions as 'historical fiction'[1]. Esther contains, in a very delicate balance, elements of both history and fiction. The said balance notwithstanding, scales seem to tilt more to a reading of Esther as a work of fiction, a position resulting in part from developments outside the confines of Esther studies. Carol Meyers commenting on the process of history-writing notes:

> It has also made clear that biblical sources from which we might attempt to write history were never intended to be eyewitness accounts or even general summaries of events. Rather are highly selective and imaginatively expanded accounts of the

[1] J. G. Baldwin, *Esther: An Introduction and Comentary* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1984), 17.

> meaning and nature of past times. That is, the texts themselves have strong ideological biases that distort or mask events and characters.[2]

With the rise of general scepticism towards biblical material as sources of history, alternative frameworks for reading Esther became necessary. Jo Carruthers offers an in-depth catalogue of reactions and discomforts concerning the inclusion of the book in the Hebrew Bible canon.[3] The tendency in Esther studies has been to explain the book's inclusion in the canon on the basis of its close association with Purim as is clearly spelt out in the text: 'Therefore these days are called Purim, from the word Pur' (9:26). As early as the turn of the twentieth century, S. R. Driver wrote matter-of-factly: 'The aim of the Book of Esther is manifest: it is to explain the origin of the feast of Purim, and to suggest motives for its observance.'[4] Writing almost seven decades after Driver's publication, Brevard S. Childs maintained the same position where he states: 'There is general agreement that the major purpose of the book of Esther is to provide the historical grounds for the celebration of the feast of Purim.'[5] In a 2010 publication, almost a century after that of Driver, Adele Berlin underlines the link between the book and Purim declaring:

> If we did not have Purim, with the reading of *Megillat* Esther as its centrepiece, Esther would languish in obscurity. In fact, it seems likely that Esther was included in the Bible because of the celebration of Purim.[6]

The link between the book and Purim does not only explain the book's inclusion in the Hebrew Bible canon but has also become the dominant heuristic key for its interpretation. The book is read as an aetiology for the festival. I concede to the importance of Purim in the text's transmission and reception. That the text says it is about Purim does not necessarily make it so. Employing a hermeneutic of suspicion, this study proceeds from an understanding that there is more to Esther than is given. I will summarise a few alternative ways to read Esther.

3. Inadequacy of Purim: In Search of Alternative Heuristic Keys

In calling for an alternative interpretive framework for Esther, mine is not a lone voice. The last thirty years have seen contributions to Esther studies that seek to interpret the story

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[2] C. Meyers, 'Early Israel and the Rise of the Israelite Monarchy' in L. G. Perdue, ed., *The Blackwell Companion to the Hebrew Bible* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001 61-86), 67.
[3] J. Carruthers, *Esther Through the Centuries*, 8.
[4] S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* 9th ed., (Edinburgh: T & T.Clark, 1913), 481.
[5] B. S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (London: SCM Press, 1979), 599.
[6] A. Berlin, *Esther* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 2001), ix.

independent of its connection to Purim. In offering brief summaries of three of these, I hope to set the stage for my suggestion to read the book with the concept of diaspora as not just an alternative, but as the heuristic key.

3.1. Story Plot as Key: A Literary Analysis

David Clines suggests two related ways of reading the Esther that would aid in our effort to establish how the story would have been shaped before it was finalised in the form in which we have received it. First, we need to ask questions related to plot, averring that 'a word of hesitation about the connection of the plot with the festival of Purim should be first expressed.'[7] The plot is clearly about the threat to a diaspora community of Jews at the mercy of a powerful Persian monarchy:

> If we focus on the threat to the Jews … we can narrow down the threat more precisely to the letter of Haman as the instrument or even the substance of the threat, and to the letter of Mordecai as the averting of the threat. The one is the complication, the other is the resolution.[8]

Esther must be read as comprising of the crisis of the threat of the Jews and its resolution, with the plot fully developed by the end of Chapter 8. Second, there are a number of narrative discrepancies that warrant putting aside Chapters 9 and 10 as later additions and seeking a reading of Esther that is justifiably independent of Purim. The language of Chapter 9 onwards is not only confusingly repetitive but also totally disjointed from the plot. Nowhere in this story, apart from Haman himself, are we told of anyone who could be called an enemy of the Jews, not even his sons. The massacres that constitute Chapter 9 are unnecessary and have no justifiable link to the story. Here David Clines implies that by delineating the core plot of the story of Esther we can and should rule out the employment of Purim as the reason why the story was told in the first place, which then compels seeking interpretive keys elsewhere. Put differently, it would seem the story of Esther can and should be read as complete without the Purim element.

3:2. Assyrian Mythology: A Jewish Adaptation

[7] D. J. A. Clines, *Esther Scroll: The Story of the Story*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Series 30. (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984), 26.
[8] D. J. A. Clines, *Esther Scroll*, 26.

Using vocabulary, names, and customs, Stephanie Dalley develops the theory that the story of Esther is about Assyrian gods. The close association of the names of Mordecai and Esther, so central to the plot of the story, to the names of Assyrian gods Marduk of Babylon and Ishtar of Nineveh respectively cannot be mere coincidence. In addition, 'Haman is a name which resembles that of Hamban, the main god of Susa.'[9] A conflict of one character refusing to pay obeisance to another is clearly a serious issue with gods more than with mortals. Haman does not cast the lot, rather 'they cast Pur … before Haman day after day' (Esther 3:7) as was the custom that lots were cast before gods. It was believed that gods paid kings for their loyalty:

> Letters to and from gods form a category in cuneiform Akkadian literature that is relevant to the background of the Hebrew book of Esther. In Mesopotamia royal heroism was sometimes backed by a letter which a god or goddess ostensibly wrote to the king, usually making a request in return for favours.'[10]

Haman's letter requesting the annihilation of the Jews is followed by a pledge to 'pay ten thousand talents of silver into the hands of those who have charge of the king's business, so that they may put it into the king's treasuries' (Esther 3:9). By adhering to the letter of the god Hamban without question, the king stood to benefit materially.

Where Clines explains the unnecessary massacre of the enemies of the Jews in Chapter 9 on the basis of textual disparity, Dalley sees evidence of gods at work. Such levels of genocide can only be explained in terms of divine vengeance. The character of Esther is in fact a 'mortalised' deity administering divine justice to the inhabitants of Susa. Dalley argues that the story of Esther is typical to the mind-set dominant in seventh century Assyria that revenge was the responsibility of the gods. Assyrian kings are known to have explained their own punitive campaigns as divine acts.[11] Reference to the Jews in relation to Esther is in possessive terms; the noun 'people' is often used in conjunction with a feminine possessive indication to read 'her people'. This is odd in a context where marriage was patrilineal; Esther should now be counted among Ahasuerus' household and people. One possible explanation for her continued reference to the Jews as *'ammî* (Esther 7:3) is that she was a goddess talking about her people. According to Dalley's theory then, with just mere tweaks and adjustments to an existing Assyrian myth, the author of Esther, if he can be called an author at all, pens out that

[9] S. Dalley, *Esther's Revenge at Susa: From Sennacherib to Ahasuerus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,2007), 170.
[10] S. Dalley, *Esther's Revenge at Susa,* 127.
[11] S. Dalley, *Esther's Revenge at Susa,* 52.

which we have received. Interpretation of the book of Esther must therefore be informed by the fact that it is a Jewish adaptation of a pagan myth.

3.3. Magical Calendar Concerns: A Narrative to Fill-in the Gaps

Helen Jacobus takes note of the book of Esther's fascination with chronology and dates and suggest that there is some sort of calendar within which the story is framed.[12] The theory here is that dates and calendars are not just mere markers of time in the world in which the story of Esther emerged. They are 'used for apotropaic reasons, that is, magic, to break a curse or avert a spell.'[13] That the *** (1:13) is taken to mean the ones knowledgeable of the times is in itself telling as such a usage implies 'astrologers and practitioners of the mantic arts.'[14] The story of Esther is told in the context of a world that held strongly that human destiny is tied to a calendar and those that would fare well were the ones who could magically manipulate future outcomes.

> This sequence illustrates the idea that the Book's world-frame of reality is about calendars and arithmetic, not realism. In the Book's terms, a year casting lots is not an incongruous length of time. Set within the exotic palace of a Persian king, the reader is coaxed into suspending disbelief and accepting excessive situations, whereas we need to realise that we are in the realm of a different genre, amid mathematical smoke and mirrors.'

The sort of neatness of plot such as Clines sought and the historiographical questions such as the ones dominating Esther studies are wrong questions in this view. It is on this basis that Jacobus refutes David Clines' claim that the core of the story of Esther ends with 8:17 as that would be tantamount to a disruption of a magical calendar. The author of the story of Esther and the original audience are not concerned with historical or even textual accuracy but rather a flow of events to fit into a calendar that made sense to them in terms of their aspirations and in the context of their circumstances. For Jacobus, interpretation of the story of Esther must proceed from an appreciation of magical calendar concerns.

4. Esther as a Diaspora Story: Rational for Diaspora as the Alternative Heuristic Key

There are several tenets that can be used to support the proposal to read Esther as a diaspora story. Here I will discuss only three.

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[12] H. Jacobus, 'Calendars in the Book of Esther: Purim, Festivals, Cosmology' in H. Jacobus, A. K. De Hemmer Gudme, and P. Guillaume, eds., *Studies in Magic and Divination in the Biblical World* (Danvers, MA: Gorgias Press, 2013), 51.
[13] H. Jacobus, 'Calendars in the Book of Esther', 52.
[14] H. Jacobus, 'Calendars in the Book of Esther', 52.

4.1. The Text's Allusion to the Diaspora Element

Diaspora is a detail admitted in the story. The connection between Esther and the rest of the 'biblical story' is established in the genealogical detail: 'Now there was a Jew in the citadel of Susa whose name was Mordecai son of Jair son of Shimei son of Kish, a Benjaminite. Kish had been carried away from Jerusalem among the captives carried away with King Jeconiah of Judah, whom King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon had carried away' (Esther 2:5-6). The mere mention of a Jew at Susa warrants attention, a location far away from *'Eretz Yishrael.* The explanation for that anomaly is given as the occurrence of the deportation by King Nebuchadnezzar. To say that the genealogical material provided here is ambiguous is axiomatic. However, its immediate effect is that it points to the fact that the community behind Esther had been in exile for a long time. For this study, this detail is important insofar as it points to a community self-understanding which had graduated from exile to diaspora:

> Though we cannot be certain of either its date or its place of composition, it would seem reasonable to assume that the book of Esther is a legacy of Persian Jewry and reflects a stratum of society with a very different understanding of Jewishness from that of comparable literature. This is a stratum that has come to terms with diaspora, and indeed, the book of Esther can be read as the story of the transformation of the *exile* into the *Diaspora*. If its author hopes for something beyond the normalisation and empowerment of diaspora Jewry, if he hopes for a messianic advent or an apocalyptic overthrow of Gentile power and a triumphant restoration of the elect to their promised land and to divine service in the Temple, he gives no hint of it.[15]

Dalley has noted a certain uneasiness felt by some Jews to this day about celebrating Purim.[16] Adele Berlin has referred to Esther as 'a story about, and presumably for, Jews in the Diaspora during the Persian period ...'[17] It is very unlikely that a story such as Esther would have generated interest within the geographical confines of the Persian province of Yehud. On the contrary, it is a story that would find resonance and make sense in the context of a displaced section of the Jews, a section away from *'Eretz Yishrael.* This study proceeds from an understanding of both Purim and its authenticating story as emerging out of a diaspora context. Susan Niditch alludes to the same where she says: 'I am inclined to believe that the work was written in diaspora, for a cultural group surrounded by overlords in an alien setting,

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[15] J. D. Levenson, *Esther: A Commentary* (London: SCM Press, 1997), 15-16.
[16] S. Dalley, *Esther's Revenge at Susa,* 187.
[17] A. Berlin, *Esther*. The JPS Bible Commentary. (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 2001), xv.

for a minority rather than for a conquered and culturally threatened majority in Palestine.'[18] Here I make two notations; first, that the diaspora element in Esther has been acknowledged and, second, that the acknowledgement has not translated with any prominence to an interpretive key for the story – a gap this study aims to fill-in.

4.2. Heightened Interest in Political Matters

One other element that lends credence to the thesis that diaspora should be central to reading Esther is the story's clear concern with political matters. Diaspora is directly linked to political fortunes. Dominic Pasura, a Zimbabwean sociologist and one of my primary interlocutors in the development of an analogy for this study, notes of one of his various research sites across the United Kingdom, a pub in Coventry frequented by Zimbabweans: 'Politics is the favourite subject in the pub …'[19] It is a reasonable deduction to make that those that find themselves exiled will be forced to continuously reflect upon their circumstances, wondering how things could have turned out had their governance story evolved differently. The perception of homeland politics is often negative as is exemplified by one of Pasura's respondents chiding as bogus the whole concept of Zimbabwe's independence, 'Independence for what, there is no independence.'[20] I read the inclusion of Shimei, in a made-up genealogy where any other name could have worked, as an act of glorifying an early voice of protest to the institution of the monarchy. It is a reasonable deduction to make that viewing homeland politics negatively and blaming homeland political structures for the horrors of diaspora is only typical. Esther as a story presents human monarchy negatively.

4.3. Preponderance of Royal Terminology

The Hebrew root *pwr* occurs in the current MT version of Esther eight times and of these, only twice is it mentioned, not in reference to 'the institution and regulation of the festival.'[21] Yet the dominant view, as has been pointed out already, is that the book of Esther has come down to us as an aetiology for Purim. The fact that in practice to this day, Jews read the book in celebration of this festival, has helped to buttress the idea that the story is tied to this merry-

[18] S. Niditch, 'Esther: Folklore, Wisdom, Feminism and Authority' in A. Brenner, ed., *A Feminist Companion to Esther, Judith and Susanna* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 45.
[19] D. Pasura, *African Transnational Diasporas: Fractured Communities of Zimbabweans in Britain.* Migration Diasporas and Citizenship Series. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 52.
[20] D. Pasura, *African Transnational Diasporas*, 55.
[21] S. B. Berg, *The Book of Esther : Motifs, Themes and Structure* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), 40.

making Jewish holiday. Comparatively, the root *mlk* tells a different story. Carey Moore laments the author's undeveloped syntactical prowess and remarks that 'the Hebrew vocabulary is scarcely what might be called "rich."'[22] It is a verdict Moore justifies by pointing to the preponderance of certain words, chief of which is royal terminology, with the root *mlk* occurring 167 times in approximately 250 verses[23]. The appearance of one root averaging more than once for every two verses is a terminological oversubscription that cannot be explained adequately in terms of a 'poverty of vocabulary'.[24] The frequent occurrence of the root *mlk* points to what must have been the major concern of the author of the story of Esther. Otherwise *pwr* must have featured with prominence. It is my submission that purely on the basis of numerical strength, the interpretive framework for Esther must be built around that evident concern with things monarchical. Diaspora is a direct consequence of the failings of the monarchy and therefore closer to the core of the story than Purim.

5. Application of the Diaspora Theory to the Book of Esther

While diaspora theorists identify four phases in the development of a theoretical framework for discussions of the phenomenon, this study will focus mainly on the first two. I am arguing here that the author of Esther and the community behind the book understood their experience in terms of the one diaspora known, that is, the Jewish diaspora. The line in Mordecai's genealogy connecting him or one or the other of his ancestors to the Babylonian exile (Esther 2:5-7) is not meant to provide any historical data but to anchor the experience central to this narrative into the standing tradition that there is only but one diaspora. Expanded diaspora will be employed to explain the material that does not fit into such a monolithic reading.

5.1. The Story of Esther as Prototypical Diaspora

Kevin Kenny, having traced the term diaspora to the proto-Indo-European root of 'spr' found in such English words today as 'spread' and 'disperse', posits that: 'It carried a distinct negative – though not a religious – connotation, which differentiated it from other more voluntary forms of population movement.'[25] However, its historical usage came about initially

[22] C. A. Moore, *Esther: Itroduction, Translation, and Notes* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1971), liv – lv.
[23] C. A. Moore, *Esther*, liv.
[24] C. A. Moore, *Esther*, lv.
[25] K. Kenny, *Diaspora: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 2.

in the Greek language in relation to the experience of the biblical Jews as already stated. Biblical traditions portray ancient Israel as formed around a continuous struggle to own land and a self-identity of a perpetual wandering lot. The 'biblical story' is littered with deportation as Robert Carroll summarises:

> … the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden, from which we may argue the case that the whole Bible takes exile as its clue to the normal condition of human existence; the stories of the movement of Abram's family, driven out (commanded) by God, from Babylonia to the land of Canaan, Jacob's self-imposed exile from his homeland for crimes against his brother Esau, and his son Joseph's deportation by his brothers (Jacob's other sons) from homeland to Egypt, followed by the consequent movement of all the sons of Jacob, and Jacob himself, to Egypt and then their descendants' expulsion from Egypt (back) to the land of Canaan.[26]

The LXX seems to make a distinction between the two closely related Hebrew concepts *za'avah* and *galut.* Kenny notes that *galut,* with the connotation of banishment or exile is often translated with the Greek *apoikia* meaning which covered the wide range from migration to captivity.[27] The Greek verb *diaspeirein* with more than forty appearances in the LXX and the noun *diaspora* appearing about twelve times are used for the Hebrew *za'avah* with the implication of 'horror' or 'trouble'.[28] Diaspora is the word used in the Greek version of: 'The Lord will cause you to be defeated before your enemies; you shall go out against them one way and flee before them seven ways. You shall become an object of horror to all the kingdoms of the earth' (Deut 28:25). While *galut/apoikia* may mean a mere political condition of exile, the term diaspora takes a spiritual and theological meaning, implying that it proceeds from an act of God, signifying divine anger and defining a soiled relationship with God. Any other group of people may be forced into exile or captivity but, in its prototypical usage, the term diaspora was used exclusively in reference to the spiritual anguish that transformed *galut* to *za'avah* specifically in the memory of the Jews. As Kenny notes: 'The veracity of the Bible is not the issue here: the important point is that the history the Jews told themselves, which still lies at the core of Jewish identity, was from the outset based on the idea of diaspora.'[29] The community behind the book of Esther perceived itself as a continuum of this tradition and told their story against such a background.

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[26] R. P. Carroll, 'Exile, Restoration, and Colony: Judah in the Persian Empire' in L. G. Perdue, ed., *The Blackwell Companion to the Hebrew Bible* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2001), 103.
[27] K. Kenny, *Diaspora*, 5.
[28] K. Kenny, *Diaspora*, 4.
[29] K. Kenny, *Diaspora*, 2.

5.2. The Story of Esther in terms of Expanded Diaspora

Martin Sökefeld argues that in the expanded diaspora particularly, 'the formation of diaspora is not a 'natural' consequence of migration but that specific processes of mobilization must take place for a diaspora to emerge.'[30] It is unlikely that searching for a homogenised group of Jews in or behind the story of Esther will yield much as in Sökefeld's reasoning, 'sentiments of belonging, attachment to a home and ideas of a place of origin do not constitute the 'substance' from which diasporas … are made but the codes in terms of which 'a' diaspora is imagined.'[31] While admitting proselytes into the community of the Jews later became a feature of Judaism, that in the story of Esther there is an 'openness' to receive non-Jews into the community is evidence for diaspora mobilisation. When the threat of annihilation had been thwarted we are told: 'Furthermore, many of the peoples of the country professed to be Jews, because the fear of the Jews had fallen upon them' (Esther 8:17). That those not born Jews could claim Jewish identity supports the suspicion that even as far back in time as when the story of Esther was written, the term diaspora could be applied to people who were not Jews by birth. The diaspora community behind Esther was not built around natural kinship ties but was mobilised to form an imagined transnational community.

6. Conclusion

This thesis offers the concept of diaspora as the heuristic key in reading the book of Esther. It is my observation that the primary question in interpreting the book of Esther has been, for a very long time, whether it can be said to be of any historical worth or just a work of fiction. The stringent conditions for historiography in recent years have meant a favour for the latter, with the consequent dominant view in Esther studies being that it is an aetiology for Purim. Put differently, reading the book of Esther has been tied to its liturgical function. My thesis develops from the conviction that there is more to Esther than Purim and I have noted that the last thirty years have witnessed an increasing number of explorations of alternative interpretive models for Esther. The contributions of David Clines, Stephanie Dalley and Helen Jacobus have opened up a gap for my thesis. I have come to the conclusion that exploring possibilities of interpretive keys to the book of Esther other than its liturgical connection with

[30] M. Sökefeld, 'Mobilising in Transnational Space', 265.
[31] M. Sökefeld, 'Mobilising in Transnational Space', 267.

Purim is not only viable but also necessary. The text of Esther's reference to the presence of a Jew at the Persian citadel at Susa (Esther 2:5) and the indication that this Jew was not alone but had an identifiable community around him (Esther 3:6; 9:18) have given me basis to argue for a diaspora community behind the text. The complexity of the text's explicit connection of the Jewish community with the deportations of Nebuchadnezzar (Esther 2:6) and the implicit inclusion of non-Jews into the community (Esther 8:17) have provided me with a window through which to explore the theoretical paradigms of prototypical and expanded diasporas. It is my submission that the key to read Esther is the concept of diaspora.

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The Transmission of Jubilees: Reevaluating the Textual Basis

Paper presented at the OTSEM seminar, Hamburg, September 2014
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Points for discussion:
This paper draws on several different strands of research to paint a picture of the direction of my research and some of the challenges in working with the text of Jubilees in current research. The following points would be important for discussion:

- Does the terminology work? I.e. Text, manuscript, work.
- Are there possibilities for positive results in research, not just deconstruction?
- Are the arguments for the discussion of the first sheet of 4Q216 convincing? What can be done to deepen this discussion?

1. The Text of Jubilees

Jubilees, like many other ancient works, has a long and complex history. The general trend in Jubilees research, since the discovery and publication of Hebrew texts from the Judean desert, has been to emphasize that despite the great distance both in time and geography between the composition of the work and the oldest complete manuscript, that the text of Jubilees is "in surprisingly good shape."[1] There is no doubt that there is a great degree of similarity between the work known from Ethiopic sources and the fragments found at Qumran – otherwise recognition and comparison would not be possible. Based on this assumption of the solid state of the Ethiopic sources, many scholars have endeavored to describe the practices of biblical interpretation and rewriting of scripture that are employed in Jubilees, and thus describe what was happening in Judea during the 2nd century BCE.

There are, however, several problems with some of the assumptions that lay behind such an evaluation of the evidence. The analyses of the shape of the text which have guided the discourse are done within the optimistic framework that permeates not only Jubilees, but also research in many areas of biblical and pseudepigraphical scholarship. The philological paradigm that this optimism builds upon assumes that we can know something about an *urtext* or some other previous stage of the work when it was most pure. Within this model, the variation seen between different manuscripts of the same work is not an interest of research, but rather an obstacle to the reconstruction of a more original text, generally represented by a critical edition of a work. However, the texts used to construct the work may be extant in a variety of different contexts, in works of a completely different origin and purpose than the text in question once was a part of.

[1] VanderKam, "The Manuscript Tradition of Jubilees," in *Enoch and the mosaic Torah: the evidence of Jubilees* (eds. Boccaccini and Ibba; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2009), 21.

What have traditionally been called "witnesses" to a given work may turn out to be the complete work in one manuscript, but they may also be something completely different, such as excerpts in an anthology, liturgies, lectionaries, quotes in theological treatises, or lines in a historiographical text.

1.1. Old and New Philological Approaches

Traditional philological approaches, which work to find the best readings and thereby reconstruct the best text, seem to take lightly the location, shape and history of an individual manuscript, and the actual text of that manuscript. Instead, the focus is on the value of witnesses as they relate to or give insight into the hypothetical best/most original reading. One of the most apparent problems with such methods is to be found in the results – critical or scientific editions of works that are not reflected in any single manuscript.

In recent years, as a challenge or complement to the old philological paradigm some scholars have begun to take more seriously the materiality of individual manuscripts.[2] Instead of an attempt to find an original text and reconstructing the work at an earlier stage, new philology acknowledges that the work does not exist apart from the manuscript, which itself is an artifact of a certain place and time.[3] The manuscript is viewed as an artifact, leading to questions about what the text is in its current form, what type of manuscript it is, what it was used for, how it was treated, what other texts or works it is found with; all of this used to ask questions about what can be learned from the manuscript itself. In asking and researching such questions, a new philological paradigm seeks to take seriously individual manuscript not as a witness to a work, but as a text in and of itself.

1.2. A Note on Terminology

Before moving on to a discussion of some of the ways this line of thinking influences Jubilees, I will make clear some terminological issues. In an attempt to distinguish between the different types of sources used in the discourse surrounding ancient and modern texts I will use the following terms as specifically and consistently as possible:[4]

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[2] See for example Driscoll, "Words on the Page: Thoughts on Philology, Old and New," in *Creating the Medieval Saga: Versions, Variability, and Editorial Interpretations of Old Norse Saga Literature* (ed. Lethbridge; Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2010). Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante: histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Seuil, 1989).

[3] Cf. Driscoll, "Words on the Page: Thoughts on Philology, Old and New."

[4] My terms here follow Lied, "Textual Transmission and Liturgical Transformation of 2 Baruch in Syriac Monasticism" (paper presented at The Rest is Commentary: New Work on Ancient Jewish Texts. Yale University, 2013). Cf. Driscoll, "Words on the Page: Thoughts on Philology, Old and New."

- Manuscript: A physical artifact, produced at a certain place at a certain point in time. A single, hand-written document that may contain several texts or works.
- Text: The actual words of a piece of writing, what is physically present on the page.
- Work: An abstract term for the complete composition in any or all of its many forms.
- (Critical) Edition: An edited, scholarly version of a work, based on literary critical criteria, and/or a commentary or apparatus to better understand a composite text.

To get a better picture of how these terms function within Jubilees research we can look to the works that most modern scholars use when working with Jubilees. The majority of scholars working on Jubilees base their studies either on a translation to a European language,[5] or for those who read Ethiopic,[6] VanderKam's *critical edition*,[7] which serves as the basis for his translation. In this edition "15 of the 27 manuscripts were collated completely"[8] meaning that not all *manuscripts*[9] are represented in the apparatus and that the *text* of VanderKam's *edition* is not a representation of any single *manuscript*. The *work* entitled Jubilees is thus analyzed based on a construction, or a translation of a construction.

In the remainder of this paper, I will discuss some of the traditions of manuscripts that have usually been described as witnesses to Jubilees. There are at least five languages represented in the scholarly discussions on the witnesses to Jubilees that traditionally have made up subgroups, each dealt with individually: Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, Latin, and Ethiopic.[10] I will not deal with the

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[5] Here I will be focusing on English versions: VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (vol. 511; Lovanii: Peeters, 1989), Charles, *The Book of Jubilees, or The little Genesis* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902), Wintermute, "Jubilees," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Expansions of the "Old Testament" and legends, wisdom and philosophical literature, prayers, psalms, and odes, fragments of lost Judeo-Hellenistic works* (ed. Charlesworth: Hendrickson Publishers, 2013). Other European translations have followed the work Dillmann's first translation Dillmann, "Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die kleine Genesis, aus dem Äthiopischen übersetzt.," *Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft* 2(1850), Dillmann, "Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die kleine Genesis, aus dem Äthiopischen übersetzt.," *Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft* 3(1851). Among the newer translations the most well-known are Berger, *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (vol. 3, 1981), Fusella and Sacchi, "Giubilei," in *Apocrifi dell'Antico Testamento* (ed. Sacchi; Torino: UTET, 1981), Corriente and Piñero, "Jubileos," in *Los apócrifos del Antiguo Testamento* (ed. Macho; Madrid: Ediciones Cristiandad, 1983), Caquot, "Jubilés," in *La Bible: Ecrits intertestamentaires* (eds. Philonenko, et al.; Paris: Gallimard, 1987).

[6] I have chosen here to follow the scholarly conventions and use the term Ethiopic both on the language of the manuscripts and the cultural tradition, though the term Gə'əz is now becoming common in linguistic literature.

[7] VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: a critical text* (vol. 510; Lovanii: Peeters, 1989).

[8] Ibid., XVI. Cf. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, XIX-XXXI.

[9] VanderKam cites family resemblance and corruption as the reasons for not including the others. Since the time of publication, some 20 additional manuscripts have come to light, cf. Erho, "New Ethiopic witnesses to some Old Testament Pseudepigrapha," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 76, no. 01 (2013).

[10] There is also some very fragmentary evidence of a Coptic tradition, but due to the very limited scope of the texts I will not address it here. Cf. Crislip, "The Book of Jubilees in Coptic: An Early Christian Florilegium on the Family of Noah," *The Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 40, no. 1-4 (2003).

Latin[11] or the Ethiopic tradition here as these discussions are inherently of a different nature than the other sources because in the Latin and Ethiopic manuscripts large portions of the text have been transmitted in the frame of the work Jubilees. I will treat the Hebrew manuscripts in section 2 and the Syriac and Greek tradition briefly in section 3. In section 4 I will conclude by discussing some of the insights a different philological model give us in the study of Jubilees.

2. The Hebrew Manuscripts

The Hebrew manuscripts[12] are the decidedly earliest texts that can be related to Jubilees. They are all found among the texts of the Judean Desert, mainly from Qumran. Despite the fact that the manuscripts are quite fragmentary, they are regularly used to provide variant readings and show the presence of *Jubilees* at Qumran. The manuscripts date from the last quarter of the second century BCE to the first century CE. VanderKam lists 14 manuscripts found at Qumran and calls this a "goodly number of copies of Jubilees, all written in Hebrew…."[13] To this list he adds 4 possible copies "about which some skepticism is in order."[14] The language here is evident of the model behind it – where there is a fragment there is a copy of the work. An example from the DJD edition of the fragments from cave 4 shows the direction of the comparisons: "If the fragment has been identified correctly, a major problem arises in connexion with both extant words in line 10….neither word corresponds with anything in the Ethiopic or Latin texts."[15]

These underlying assumptions about the existence of a work and its shape cause a clear bias in the reading of the fragments. There are difficulties in dealing with the materiality of the scrolls, i.e. their size, physical properties and fragmentary state. In many cases it is not clear whether we are dealing with texts from complete manuscripts of the work called Jubilees, or if we are dealing with smaller sections or even completely different works. The scrolls also vary greatly in size and style. It is difficult to assume that all the manuscripts normally listed as being "copies of Jubilees"[16] are fragments of complete works. It is also possible that several of these fragments belonged to shorter texts, or to other versions of Jubilees than the work known from the Ethiopic tradition. In fact, eight of the manuscripts listed in VanderKam 2009 retain words from

[11] The Latin palimpsest is known from manuscript *Ambrosiana C73* published in Ceriani, *Monumenta Sacra et Profana* (vol. 1; Milan: Bibliothecae Ambrosianae, 1861), 15-54.
[12] The manuscripts are discussed in various settings, cf. Flint, "Noncanonical Writings in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Bible at Qumran: text, shape and interpretation* (eds. Flint and Kim; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2001), 101.
[13] VanderKam, "The Manuscript Tradition of Jubilees," 4-8.
[14] Ibid.
[15] VanderKam and Milik, "Jubilees," in *Qumran Cave 4, VII, Parabliblical Texts, Part 1* (ed. Harold Attridge; vol. 13 of *Discoveries in the Judean Desert*; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 82.
[16] Cf. For example VanderKam, "The Manuscript Tradition of Jubilees."

less than 10 verses from Jubilees and of the more complete texts, the size of the sheets and writing varies greatly.[17]

A second issue is the relationship of these texts to each other and to the text Jubilees as known from other sources. The presence of other texts using language similar to Jubilees, i.e. the Pseudo-Jubilees[18] texts from Qumran and Masada, shows that there is a wider range of texts that are similar to Jubilees in style and in content. There is very little overlap between the Jubilees manuscripts making it difficult to determine the nature of the texts in relation to one another. While there is a clear relationship between the Hebrew manuscripts and the Ethiopic tradition, there are many variants and textual questions.

A good example of the problems outlined above is the case of 4Q216, also known as 4QJubilees[a]. In the following section, I will present a cursory material analysis of 4Q216 to illustrate how a different approach can lead to different insights.

2.1. 4Q216

2.1.1. Material Analysis

The remnants of manuscript 4Q216 are made up of 18 fragments, which vary greatly in size and condition. A large portion of the text has been lost, but nonetheless the fragments can be positioned in relation to the Ethiopic text.[19] The scroll itself is relatively small in size, approximately 14.5 cm in height[20] with only 17 lines of text per column.[21] The length cannot be reconstructed from the remaining fragments, but portions of 6 columns are retained. The first sheet, containing columns I-IV[22] has fewer letters per line than sheet two.[23] The first two columns of the first sheet are very similar in size, averaging 44.7 and 44.8 letters per line,[24] respectively.

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[17] In addition to this is another glaring problem: fragments of Jubilees that are very close to the Biblical narrative may be misinterpreted as being biblical manuscripts.

[18] 4Q225-227 are labeled as "Pseudo Jubilees" because "the texts employ language that is familiar from and to some extent characteristic of *Jubilees*, but the documents themselves are not actual copies of *Jubilees*." VanderKam and Milik, "Jubilees," 142-185, Talmon, *Masada VI: Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965 Final Reports* (eds. Aviram, et al.; vol. VI; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1999), 117-119.

[19] Note that in this edition of the Qumran manuscripts the Ethiopic text is VanderKam's critical edition.

[20] VanderKam and Milik, "Jubilees," 1.

[21] With only 17 lines of text per column, 4Q216 is quite small compared with manuscripts such as 4Q222, which has 54 lines per column. It is much more likely to find the entire work in a manuscript with 54 lines per column than one with only 17. This is in line with other findings from other manuscripts from Qumran, cf.Tov, *Scribal practices and approaches reflected in the texts found in the Judean desert* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

[22] In this analysis I am using the established column numbers as found in VanderKam and Milik, "Jubilees.", though I will argue below that the column numbers also must be discussed as they assume a reconstruction for which there is no evidence. See below 2.2.1.

[23] Cf, ibid.

[24] Letter counts here following ibid., 1., are based on the reconstruction from the Ethiopic, and therefore are hypothetical and thus only approximate.

Column III is completely lacking, a problem that will not be addressed here, but which also exemplifies the problematic nature of the text and its reconstruction.[25] Column IV, the final column on the sheet has noticeably shorter lines, averaging at 35.1 letters per line. The second sheet has longer lines, column V averaging 49.2 letter per line, column VI averaging 50.4 and column VII averaging 57.6. It seems plausible that the length of the last column on sheet two also reflects the fact that it was at the end of a sheet, and therefore was stretched to fill the space. The state of the manuscript is quite poor, with no complete lines being retained. There are many lacunae, though where there is extant text it is possible to place the fragments in relation to the Ethiopic edition, though numerous differences can be observed.

A very interesting feature of 4Q216 is the fact that there is visible stitching between columns IV and V, clearly connecting not only the columns but also two separate sheets of parchment. The stitching is in a straight line vertically and indicates that there was a clean break at this point. The sheet of parchment containing columns I-IV is copied by a different hand and is dated to the mid-1st century BCE – somewhat younger than the remaining sheet, containing 3 columns (V-VII), which is dated to 125 – 100 BCE. It is clear that we have a single manuscript that connects two different sheets of parchment, which were copied at different times. VanderKam and Milik[26] theorize that the outer sheet of the scroll was damaged, possibly due to wear, and was replaced, the original first sheet being recopied. There is, however no evidence that clearly suggests that the first sheet was part of the original scroll. The fact that the two were stitched together at some point before the abandonment of the scrolls at Qumran is clear, but it is not discernible whether the first sheet is meant to be a replacement of a ruined part of the original, an addition written at the time of attachment, or the combination of two existing manuscripts to create a (new) continuous text. When viewed in light of the materiality of the find, the theory embracing the new sheet as a replacement of a part of the original is *a priori* no less likely than the other options. Below, I will reexamine the evidence in light of other material finds from Qumran.

2.1.1.1. Evidence of Replacement Sheets at Qumran

There is limited evidence of the replacement of first sheets at Qumran. According to Tov,[27] 4Q216 is one of only three manuscripts that clearly retain a *first* sheet stitched to one or more

[25] In the DJD edition, a third column is posited based on evidence from the Ethiopic Jubilees, though there are no traces of it in the remnants of 4Q216. A problem arises in the reconstruction of the text because according to the measurements and placement of fragments in the edition, there would not be room for the entire text that is "missing".
[26] VanderKam and Milik, "Jubilees," 1. cf VanderKam, "The First *Jubilees* Manuscript From Qumran Cave 4: A Preliminary Publication," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 110, no. 2 (1991): 246.
[27] Tov, *Scribal practices and approaches reflected in the texts found in the Judean desert*, 118.

sheets in a different hand, the two other instances being 4Q41[28] (4QDeuteronomy[n]) and 11Q19[29] (11QTemple[a]). These, however, warrant further examination here.

Concerning 11Q19, Yadin[30] speculates that the scroll was originally copied by a scribe, who completed the entire work. Over the course of time the first sheet, containing the first 5 columns became worn, and a second scribe recopied it on a new piece of parchment. Other than the obvious change in parchment and handwriting, the relationship between the two sheets is further strengthened by the fact that there is overlap in content. The last few lines of column V are repeated at the top of column VI. Yadin interprets this to mean that the scribe did not want to leave open space between the columns and continued the text to the bottom of the column. Further evidence in support of the replacement of the first sheet in 11Q19 is the fact that there are noticeable patches and reinforcements in the manuscript, (e.g. Col. XXVII, XXIII-XXIV).[31] The fact that 11Q19 is clearly patched and cared for, along with the clear overlap of content in columns V and VI are strong arguments for sheet one being a true replacement sheet.

4Q41 is a different story. The manuscript itself is small in size, made up of 6 columns of text. Column I, the only column on a complete sheet, is attached to the right of columns II – VI, but there is evidence of stitching on both sides of the sheet. The passages represented in this manuscript are Dt. 8:5-10 and 5:1-6:1,[32] in that order. Column I is the complete text of Dt. 8:5-10 and does not reflect a preceding text nor does it anticipate a continuation, as the column retains open space at the bottom. In other words, it is quite clear that Column I is meant to be a single text on a single sheet of parchment. Also, the text beginning on sheet two (column II) begins at the start of Deuteronomy 5. Thus, it is not clear that one would have to reconstruct a preceding text to make the text fit. Based on all this, White Crawford has convincingly concluded that 4Q41 "is not a true biblical manuscript, but a text made and used for some devotional and/or study purpose."[33] While the actual purpose may be a matter of debate, it seems clear that a purpose other than an entire copy of Deuteronomy is both reasonable and possible here.

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[28] White Crawford, "4QDeut[n]," in *Qumran Cave 4, IX, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings* (ed. Ulrich; vol. 14 of *Discoveries in the Judean Desert*; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).
[29] Yadin ed, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society, 1983).
[30] Ibid., 11-12.
[31] Ibid., 12.
[32] White Crawford, "4QDeut[n]."
[33] White Crawford, "4QDt[n]: Biblical Manuscript or Excerpted Text?," in *Of Scribes and Scrolls* (ed. Attridge; Lanham: University Press of America, 1990).

2.1.1.2. Sheet 1 of 4Q216

The first sheet of 4Q216, like 4Q41 and 11Q19, is obviously attached after the copying of the rest of the scroll and is written by a different hand. Like 4Q41, and unlike 11Q19, the first sheet does not contain overlapping text showing that the two originally were meant to be together. Also, like 4Q41, the text beginning on sheet 2 of 4Q216 is the beginning of a chapter or section, meaning that there is no clear evidence that sheet 2 actually was originally the second sheet of a work, but could have been the first (or only) sheet of the original manuscript.

The literary structure of *Jubilees* as also supports viewing chapter 2 (sheet 2) as a complete unit, amended at a later point by a framing text. Chapter 1 is clearly an introductory text that is an addition to the following sequence, setting the scene for the events that are to unfold and explaining the existence of the book at all. Chapter 2 begins the creation narrative and though it is not easily confused with the MT's creation story, it is discernible as parallel in many aspects.[34]

2.2. The Text of 4Q216

4Q216 retains parts of Eth. Jub. Prologue, 1:1-2,4-15,26-28 and 2,1-4,7-24. The text must be viewed from two points of view at once. On the one hand, it is clear that the extant fragments are close enough to the Ethiopic Jubilees tradition to be ordered and placed. On other hand, there are important differences between the text of 4Q216 and the Ethiopic Jubilees tradition, which shows that the state of the text is not entirely static. In general, the placement of the fragments in DJD XIII is convincing, and I see no reason to challenge them, especially considering the small amount of text. However, it is clear that there are major differences as well, considering that VanderKam and Milik find 34 smaller or larger variants (not including orthographical issues) between the Hebrew and the Ethiopic in the 72 lines of very fragmentary text that make up 4Q216.[35] In addition, this number does not take into account the discussion on column III, which I will present below. In the following I will discuss a few of the issues that arise in the reading of the Hebrew text in light of the other versions of Jubilees.

2.2.1. 4Q216 of *Jubilees* 1:27

A very interesting and important variant is found in 4Q216 fragment 12i.1 (=Column IV 6=Jubilees 1:27). The text of this passage has been the subject of detailed examination in recent scholarship.[36] The Hebrew text reads:

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[34] For a full discussion of the relationship between the creation story in Jubilees and the Hebrew Bible cf. Ruiten, *Primaeval history interpreted: the rewriting of Genesis I-II in the Book of Jubilees* (Boston: Brill, 2000).
[35] VanderKam and Milik, "Jubilees," 4.
[36] VanderKam, "The Putative Author of the Book of Jubilees," *Journal of Semitic Studies* (1981): 209-217, Davenport, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees* (Leiden: Brill, 1971).

[מלאך ה]פָּנִים להַכתיב

[*The Angel of P*]*resence to dictate*

The majority of Ethiopic manuscripts read:

…*write for Moses*

This small fragment is of great importance to the understanding of how the book of Jubilees is perceived, whether it was written by the hand the Angel of Presence, or if it was dictated by the angel and written down by Moses. The Ethiopic manuscripts are completely in agreement on this verse, reading a G-stem imperative *write*.[37] There are 3 manuscripts that read "say to Moses, write", the accusative *lä-Muse* is here located before the imperative, making Moses the writer, not the Angel.[38] It is clear, however, that the majority of other manuscripts read this verse to imply that the Angel of Presence wrote the law for Moses. Within the Ethiopic Jubilees, there are contradictions as to who the author of Jubilees was, Moses or The Angel of Presence, between this passage, along with the text of 30:12, 21; 50:6,13; which clearly point to the Angel of Presence as the author, against 1:5,7,26; 2:1; 23:32; 33:18; which seem to point to Moses as the author.[39]

Already in 1981 James VanderKam proposed that the Ethiopic manuscripts of 1:27 likely reflect a mistranslation into Greek of the Hiphil imperative as a Qal, thus the causative "to dictate" being simply "to write."[40] Thus, the Hebrew manuscript offers evidence of the reading that VanderKam proposed. In the history of research on Jubilees this is quite an important find, but the question remains what is the value of finding this "older" or "more original" reading in the Hebrew text.

The Ethiopic tradition has clearly read this important verse not as a "to dictate" but "to write", thus placing the initial and paradigmatic text on the authorship of Jubilees not in the hands of Moses, but in the hand of the Angel of Presence. The implications of the understanding of the text are broad, even though there is internal inconsistency, it is clear from the framing texts of 1:27 and 50:13 that the Ethiopic Jubilees places the revelation of the text in the hand of the Angel of Presence. That the Hebrew text read "to dictate" shows that in the 1st century BCE the text was understood as being written down by the hand of Moses – much in the same way as the

[37] Following the terminology of Lambdin, *Introduction to Classical Ethiopic* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006).
[38] VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: a critical text*.
[39] VanderKam, "The Putative Author of the Book of Jubilees."
[40] Ibid.

Torah was perceived. This does not, however, change the fact the Ethiopic tradition has consistently and up to this day perceived the author as divine. It is even possible that the difference is theologically motivated and not the result of a mistranslation. It is quite conceivable that the changing theological climate motivated a slight move from revelation through Moses to revelation through an Angelic presence.

2.2.2. 4Q216 of *Jubilees* 2:17

This example comes from f18:5-8 = col. VII:5-8 = Jubilees 2:17, the final column of 4Q216. The Hebrew text here is very fragmentary, but there appears to be about a line and half more space in the Hebrew text than can be reconstructed from the Ethiopic text. In other words, there is a large section that is present in the earliest Qumran material that is lacking in the Ethiopic. The Syriac Chronicle and Epiphanius have a different text following verse 16, where the Ethiopic and Hebrew have v. 17. The Hebrew text reads:[41]

vii.5 אשר בשמים ובארץ [ובימים ובתהומות ובאור ובחשך ובכל. ויתן לנו אות גדול את יום][42]
vii.6 השבת אשר שבת ב[ו]
vii.7 עשוים ששת ימים [ ]
vii.8 ונשבותה ביום השׁ[ביעי מכל מלאכה. כי אנחנו כל מלאכי הפנים וכל מלאכי הקודש שני]

5. *that was in the heavens and on earth [in the seas, in the depths, in the light, in the darkness and in every place. (and) he gave us as a great sign the day]*
6. *the Sabbath which he rested on...*
7. *(they) were made (in) six days…*
8. *And that should keep the Sabbath on the sev[enth] day [from all work]…*

The Ethiopic edition reads:

> *He gave us the Sabbath day as a great sign so that we should perform work for six days and that we should keep Sabbath from all work on the seventh day.*[43]

The Syriac Chronicle (29.9-30.7) and Epiphanius share a reading here:[44]

> *God rested from on his works on the seventh day.*

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41 Cf. VanderKam and Milik, "Jubilees," 19-20. I have included part of the reconstructed Hebrew, based on the Ethiop

42 Hebrew text is taken from Martin G. Abegg, "Qumran Sectarian Manuscripts," (Bellingham, WA: Logos Bible Software, 2003).

43 Following VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*.

44 Chabot, *Chronicon ad Annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (2vols.; Paris: E Typographaeo Reipublicae, 1920). Cf. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: a critical text*, 260. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 329-330.

The phrase אשר שבת ב is not extant in the Ethiopic, but may be compared to the phrasing of the Syriac. The rest of the line must also be reconstructed as a phrase that is lacking in the later versions. The phrase ששת ימים is extant in the Ethiopic as well, but seems to fit a different context than the Hebrew. No matter how it is read, nearly all of the Ethiopic text is accounted for, but the Hebrew text leaves a gap of at least a line and a half. The Syriac Chronicle and Epiphanius, while possibly retaining part of the Hebrew text that is not extant in Ethiopic, still do not fill the gap. In other words – there was text at this point in the Hebrew that is not clearly reflected in the later versions.

While this example is not meant to create the image that there is no connection at all between the Hebrew manuscripts and the Ethiopic tradition of Jubilees, it does illustrate two important points. 1) The close correspondence between the texts of the manuscripts in the Hebrew and Ethiopic tradition claimed by some scholars does not mean that there are only minor details that are different and 2) The relationship between the different manuscripts is not yet clear.

2.2.3. Conclusions on 4Q216

Based on these observations of the materiality and contents of 4Q216, my position is that this particular scroll should not be classified as a "manuscript of Jubilees" without qualification. Though it is obvious that we are within the realm of what can be described as Jubilees, it is not clear whether or not the scroll ever contained the entire text of what we have in the Ethiopic Jubilees. It would thus be better to describe 4Q216 as a manuscript containing texts known from Jubilees. The small difference in terminology serves to emphasize the fact that the manuscript was not necessarily intended to be more than the first two chapters of what was later known as Jubilees. This could be because the text itself was still being developed/redacted at this point, or it could be an excerpt that served some other purpose.

2.3. Variance within the earliest witnesses

A final issue related to the Hebrew manuscripts that I want to mention is the fact that *Jubilees* not only exists at Qumran in the form that it is likely related to that of the latter Ethiopic sources, but there are also 3 manuscripts, labeled 4Q225-227 that have been called *Pseudo-Jubilees*.[45] The text of these manuscripts shows clear parallels with that of *Jubilees,* most notably employing language relating to weeks of years and jubilees, for example in 4Q226 f1 5-6:

5 ◌י שנים עשׂת מ̇ן השבוע̇[ ]
6 היובל הזה כי קדש הוא[ ]

[45] VanderKam and Milik, "Jubilees," 142. On the Masada text, cf. Talmon, *Masada VI: Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965 Final Reports.*

…years you did from the week…
…this jubilee, for it is holy…

Also important to the connection with *Jubilees* is the mention of Mastemah in the Abraham/Isaac story in 4Q225f2.ii 14:

שר המ[ש]טמה. וישמע בליעל א^ל^[...

The prince of the Mastemah. Belial listened to…

These details merely serve to confirm the parallel seen when reading the fragments as a whole, that the contents of the so-called *Pseudo-Jubilees* texts are very close to *Jubilees,* and represent at the very least a reflection of the same tradition, and perhaps, an example of the variant lines of development of the text of *Jubilees.*

The mere presence of such examples shows that *Jubilees* is not simply a singular text. It is a composite tradition, found in different forms in different contexts and manuscripts. It may be more fitting to speak of Jubilees within a continuum or tradition of texts that use a common framework, including linguistic and cultural elements. The difficulty is that few of these texts have survived in whole, only where happenstance has preserved the right lines of a text are we able to identify the close ties between the texts.

3. The Greek and Syriac tradition(s)

The Greek and Syriac traditions are closely related when it comes to Jubilees, mostly due to the nature of the Syriac literature. There is one major difference, however – though there is clear evidence that Jubilees was translated into Greek at some point, it is still unclear whether or not there was a Syriac version of Jubilees. It may be that Jubilees is only known to Syriac sources through Greek versions or intermediaries. In the framework of this paper it is interesting to note the locations and manuscripts we are dealing with when we hear of Greek and Syriac "witnesses" to Jubilees.

3.1. Greek

There are a number of Greek works that include passages that seem to be citations from or allusion to Jubilees. It is widely accepted that there was at some point an entire Greek version,[46] but at present it is still lost, so it is impossible to test the citations to a Greek text. Thus, it is

[46] For arguments cf. VanderKam, "The Manuscript Tradition of Jubilees," 12, VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, XI-XIV.

uncertain whether we can consider them citations of *Jubilees* or if the author was simply knowledgeable of the same traditions as *Jubilees*. Most importantly here, the works which retain these so-called citations or allusions are works such as Epiphanius' *De mensuris et ponderibus* and *Panarion*, and Cedrenus' *Historiarum Compendium*.[47] In other words, we are dealing with historiographical and chonographical works, not Jubilees. It seems that the Greek tradition was carried on into Syriac literature, where a similar collection of texts and dependencies appears.

3.2. Syriac

Syraic material is mainly from three principle sources: Epiphanius' *De mensuris et ponderibus*, originally written in Greek but translated to Syriac, which was mentioned as such in the previous section; the so-called *Syriac Chronicle of 1234*[48]and British Library Add 12.154. For Ephiphanius, it is clear that the entire work comes to Syriac from a Greek original.[49] The same situation attains in the Syriac citations in the *Chronicle of 1234* as in the Greek historiographies; it is difficult to distinguish between citation and allusion, making it difficult to discern whether *Jubilees* serves as a source or if the author in some other way knew the traditions. Also, where texts are attributed to a source, the assumed Jubilees texts are not always attributed to the same source. The same conclusions apply to these texts as to the Greek texts – they are not Jubilees the work, and can fruitfully be viewed within their current work.

As for British Library Add 12.154, I will elaborate more to show how this type of source is treated in the literature and connected to Jubilees as a work.

3.3. Add 12.154

In the recent overview of the Syriac Apocrypha,[50] Alain Desreumaux contributes a list of the works that can be identified as part of the Syriac Apocrypha.[51] Included in this list we find the following reference to Jubilees:

> JUBILES
> - *Livre des Jubilés* (1 ms. du VIII[e]-IX[e] siècle ; éd. 1863.)

Upon further examination of this citation it is clear that the *manuscript* that is referred to here must be British Library Add. 12.154, or more specifically folio 180 (R/V) of this rather

[47] For a complete list cf. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, X-XIV.
[48] Chabot, *Chronicon ad Annum Christi 1234 pertinens*. Cf. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, XV-XVI.
[49] Cf. Brock, "Epiphanius of Salamis," *Georgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*.
[50] M. Debié ed, *Les apocryphes syriaques* (vol. 2 of *Études Syriaques*; Paris: Geuthner, 2005).
[51] Desreumaux, "Esquisse d'une liste d'œuvres apocryphes syriaques," in *Les apocryphes syriaques* (ed. M. Debié; vol. 2 of; Paris: Geuthner, 2005).

fascinating codex, that was edited by Ceriani and published in 1863[52] under the name "Nomina Uxorum Patriarcharum Priorum Juxta Librum Hebraeum Jobelia Nuncupatum," which is a direct translation of the Syriac title of the folio, *The names of the wives of the Patriarchs according to the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*. Here, Ceriani refers to the text as "exiguum *Parvae Genesis* excerptum"[53] – a small excerpt of Little Genesis (Jubilees).

Charles also discusses the text in question, reproducing the Syriac text as an appendix to his critical Ethiopic edition of Jubilees, calling it "The Syriac Fragment." [54] In his 1989 edition of Jubilees, VanderKam claims Add 12.154 is one of "two Syriac documents that contain material that is definitely cited from Jubilees."[55] In addition, VanderKam discusses the text in his 2009 "The Manuscript Tradition of Jubilees."[56] Here, he includes it as evidence that "there may have been a Syriac translation of the Book of Jubilees, possibly made from a Hebrew base."

So what is this text that is so important to the establishment of a Syriac version of Jubilees? It is in fact one page (r/v) in a large codex that contains a wide range of texts – most of them completely unrelated to the list of names.[57] Folio 180 is part of a section of texts in this codex which stretches from 175v – 184r. This section is labeled "Another allegory of certain words which is made from the Holy writings for the instruction of the pupils and for the sake of salvation." The text directly preceding f180 is called "Comments on certain words from the Books" and it is followed by a text called "Commentary on the Hebrew names that are in the holy books." In other words, this section of the manuscript in question is concerned with names and words – and these are to be for the sake of the pupil. We do not know much more about the setting in which this manuscript was written or used, but it is quite clear that we are not looking at a manuscript of Jubilees.

As for the text of this folio, it is quite simply a series of sentences stating the names and relation of the wives of the patriarchs. Names of the wives are found in Jubilees, so the connection between the text and Jubilees is clear, it is not clear how the person copying or composing the sections of Add 12.154 came to have this list of names. Several of the names show up in passages

[52] Ceriani, *Monumenta Sacra et Profana* (vol. 2; Milan: Bibliothecae Ambrosianae, 1863).
[53] Ibid., 9.
[54] Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895), 183.
[55] VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: a critical text*.
[56] VanderKam, "The Manuscript Tradition of Jubilees."
[57] I am grateful to Prof. Liv Ingeborg Lied who viewed the manuscript in London and brought to my attention some of the details that are discussed in this section.

from the Greek chronographies, and others are known from other sources.[58] Among these sources is an Armenian text that lists the names[59]as well as the peculiar case a manuscript of the Septuagint found at the University Library in Basel (Univ. Lib. AN. III. 13.). In this manuscript the names and relationships to their husbands are written in the margins of the text at places that correspond to genealogies of their husbands. The lists are all very similar, but it is unclear whether Jubilees should be seen as a source for these lists, or as sharing a common source with the other lists. It is entirely possible that one or both of these lists are dependent not on Jubilees, but on another list or text. All this is to say that the tradition of keeping the names of the wives of the patriarchs need not stem 100% from Jubilees. Though the idea is intriguing, we simply do not have enough evidence.

So, we see that this text has been called a manuscript, an excerpt, a fragment and a document, as well as a citation. The text, however, is not a citation from Jubilees, nor is it a paraphrase or allusion. It is in fact just what it claims to be: a list of the names of the wives of the patriarchs.

4. Conclusion

The examples given above have been intended to illustrate the glaring need for a reevaluation of how we deal with manuscripts in general and more specifically how we establish and discuss the textual basis of a given work, in this case Jubilees. The current paradigm of literary and textual criticism has given rise to a situation where it is no long necessary to defend the notion of the critical edition of a text. The analysis of 4Q216 has shown that different assumptions as to the nature and importance of the materiality of the text impact how a given manuscript can be interpreted in relation to the work.

In the case of Add 12.154 f 180, there is simply no way the text in its current state was part of the *work* known from the Ethiopic Jubilees, even though this list of names has parallels to names found in Jubilees or Jubilees-like literature and gives its authority to "The Hebrew Book of Jubilees." The problem here is more than just terminological; it exemplifies a treatment of a text as though its value is solely as a witness to a hypothetical *work* which is said to be (re)constructed based on the sum of its witnesses. All of the manuscripts and traditions of Jubilees should be treated in the same way, and this serves as the basis for my continued research over the next several years.

[58] See the notes in Charles, *The Book of Jubilees, or The little Genesis*.
[59] Lipscomb, "A Tradition from the Book of Jubilees in Armenian," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 29(1978).

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The Use of Rhetoric amidst Literalism in the Septuagint: Ambakoum as a Case Study

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Preface on Focal Points

I would like to have focus placed upon the nature of translation in antiquity, specifically the Hellenistic period and how rhetoric was an important part of scribal training. As a result of this there would be expectation of its use in translational activity. I would also like to see focus on the inadequacy of the terms literal or free as a way to explain the technique of Ambakoum, and in some respects the Septuagint as a whole.

1.0 Causation and Septuagintal Literalism

This study shows that there were more causes for the nature of the Septuagintal texts[1] than the simple difference between literal or free technique. It is true that the lion's share of discussions regarding the translational style/technique of the Septuagint have accepted, for the most part, an axiomatic paradigm: the technique in the Septuagint was mostly literal and sometimes free, with few exceptions, e.g. Proverbs and Job being freer than most. In the first case, it is classed as literal due to the presence of certain features such as stereotypical word-choices, matching of word-order, semantic accuracy, etc.[2] When it deviates from this statistical pattern, notwithstanding

[1] In this study, the abbr. LXX refers to *the OG translation of Torah*, the Pentateuch, something about which Jerome was emphatic (Greenspoon), whereas the term *Septuagint* refers to the entire corpus, Gen-Bel. The use of the abbr. OG (Old Greek) refers to the earliest translation of other books that are in relative continuity with the LXX, e.g. OG Hab would refer to the OG translation that occurred after the LXX in the second century. Critically speaking, this often refers to the eclectic texts from the *Septuaginta-Unternehmen* from Göttingen. Deviations from this are made clear in the study. Ambakoum (Αμβακυμ), abbr. Amb, always refers exclusively to *the OG translation of Hab*, or its literary character/prophet Αμβακυμ. Also, all references that do not reference a specific book are in reference to Amb, e.g. 1:17 = Amb 1:17. Cf. Leonard J. Greenspoon, "The Use and Abuse of the Term 'LXX' And Related Terminology in Recent Scholarship," *BIOSCS* 20 (1987): 27.

[2] Cf. James Barr, *The Typology of Literalism* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 279-325; Emanuel Tov, *The Text-critical Use of LXX* (JBS 8; 2d ed.; Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 17-29; Emanuel Tov, "Did The Septuagint Translators Always Understand their Hebrew Text?," in *De Septuginta* (eds. Albert Pietersma and Claude E. Cox; Mississauga: Benben Publications, 1984), 53-70.

errors, the technique is classed as free, which is sometimes exegetical. This puts things rather simply. But discussion on the nature of a given translator's style is incapable of leaving the orbit of this dialectic. The force of attraction to this model appears to be indomitable.

This is understandable. With additional help from computer technology there is good evidence that the translators followed a kind of approach to certain "norms of quantitative and serial fidelity."[3] There is a significant degree of isomorphic correspondence to the ST. This way of interpreting the statistical data – as data cannot speak for itself – does lend merit to this particular view of literalism.

However, one must be careful to not beg the question on this subject. Simply because a translator shows certain *kinds* of literalistic features does not mean that that was his approach; hence the conclusion: translator X of book Y translated it literally because the interpretation of the data states it. The data must also be reconciled in accord with all relevant contexts: literary, linguistic, historical, and cultural, to name but a few.

Maybe the question of whether the translators of the Septuagint, or more specifically for Ambakoum, our text of study, translated literally or freely is the wrong one, viz. if we wish to accurately deduce what was the translational style. In fact, the causes for the textual data are not sufficiently explained by appeal to literalism or free technique. Trained scribes entering into the transformational aspect of the translation process – interpretation no less – would have been well aware of the literary forms of Greek rhetoric and poetry. So, numerous questions arise: did the trained scribe of Ambakoum employ Greek rhetorical forms at all? What should one expect a translation from the Hellenistic period to be like? Or more philosophically, what must be in order for what is to be what it is? In other words, if the Septuagint is a true translation from the Hellenistic period, Ambakoum in particular, what should we expect to find?

2.0 Greek Rhetoric in Ambakoum

By asking other questions of the Septuagint that relate to its literary provenance and cultural context, the textual evidence appears to yield additional insight with respect to its nature. So what were translations like in the ancient world, particularly those made into Greek during the Hellenistic period? Although we do not have anywhere near as much evidence as for Latin, Greek "translated texts of different types survive,"[4] giving us a glimpse into the different approaches that

[3] Ross J. Wagner, *Reading the Sealed Book* (FAT 88; eds. Konrad Schmid, Mark S. Smith, and Hermann Spieckermann; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 228.

[4] Theo A. W. van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint* (Dudley: Peeters, 2007), 32.

were used.[5] We know that the different Greek schools of philosophy propagated different systems of understanding of language, especially not only to what words relate but the rhetorical effect they carry when used in certain ways. Thus logic and rhetoric/poetry eventually became fused through use by professional orators.

Today's system of rhetoric (ῥητορική) has developed much beyond its conception by Plato in the fourth century.[6] Later sophists would focus more on style and communicative form. The importance of truth became garbed in the "expression of emotion,"[7] which became known as poetry and rhetoric. This was not to detract from logical coherence. Truth conveyed in words, which was often concerned with what they denoted as expressions of reality, could be "shared or strengthened by way of persuasion."[8] An emotive quality accompanied logical debate. This became increasingly true for literature in the last three-centuries B.C., where "much Greek and Latin literature is overtly rhetorical in that it was composed with a knowledge of classical rhetorical theory and shows its influence."[9] Moreover, the dispersive spread of Greek literature and thought meant that other cultures, absorbed into this milieu, began to literarily contribute, having been studied in the forms.[10] Pernot goes so far as to state that "[l]a constitution de la rhétorique en systeme est la grande creation de l'époque hellénistique."[11]

There has always existed some negative connotations to the use of rhetoric, which has been concerned mostly with the motivation behind this art of persuasion, or whether it is done well.

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[5] Although there is something of a lack of Hellenistic data in this regard, because of the literary continuity between the Greek and Roman period there is a critical continuation of the categories and forms, see Vanderspoel. So, for example, as van der Louw points out, we know that Cicero indicated three different genres that were to be translated along certain principles: rhetoric (*rhetorica*) "ut orator" as an orator; poetry (*poetica*), competitively, viz. culturally dominated; and science and philosophy (*historia*?), literally, which itself still requires further definition. See John Vanderspoel, "Hellenistic Rhetoric in Theory and Practice," in *A Companion to Greek Rhetoric* (ed. Ian Worthington; Chichester: Blackwell Publishing, 2010), 124-5; Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 37.

[6] See George A. Kennedy, "Historical Survey of Rhetoric," in *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric* (ed. Stanley E. Porter; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 3-20. Although forms of rhetoric existed earlier, with Hermes considered the inventor, so Pernot, Plato's stern criticism led to a change in the nature of it. His dialogues (*Gorgias, Menexenus, Symposium* and *Phaedrus*) significantly developed its definition and application, such that later systems would borrow heavily from him, and to some extent also Aristotle. With respect to the Hellenistic period, Vanderspoel sees Theothrastus, a philosopher straddling both the Classical and Hellenistic periods, as a significant contributor towards further defining the nature of rhetoric (and in part poetry), having come out of the Platonic and then Aristotelian schools. Cf. Laurent Pernot, *La Rhétorique* (Paris: Librarie Générale Française, 2000), 13-23, 54-77; Vanderspoel, "Hellenistic Rhetoric," 125.

[7] Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 29.

[8] Ibid., 27.

[9] George A. Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 4.

[10] See Pernot, *La Rhétorique*, 82-83; Vanderspoel, "Hellenistic Rhetoric," 124.

[11] Pernot, *La Rhétorique*, 83.

The Greek system of rhetoric affected numerous European cultures, and its expression can be observed in different ways within each of them today. It may be positively defined as a system "of effective and artistic composition, whether in speech or in writing, originally concerned with public address in civic and religious life…[and] adapted to literary composition, including poetry, and letter-writing."[12]

As stated, not many ancient translations into Greek have survived when compared to Latin. Although van der Louw notes a handful of important translations, such as the Imuthes-Asclepius and the Tefnut legend,[13] the Septuagint is the largest body of Ptolemaic Greek along with thousands of documents and ostraca from the Koine period.[14] As a result, it provides evidence of the "Greek Koine spoken and written within the confines of Egypt,"[15] reflecting something of the dialect of Egyptian Greek literature. Moreover, as "one of the first major work[s] of Hellenistic Judaism,"[16] it is "(possibly) the largest work of translation literature from antiquity."[17] By virtue of this it provides insight into "developments within the Greek language,"[18] offering a window into the "bilingual interference in one branch of a language widely adopted by speakers of other tongues."[19] As a translational work, showing the nature of "sub-literary Greek that demonstrates the complexities of Greek register,"[20] its value is too often overlooked by scholars of related fields. Hence the Septuagint contributes significantly to the body of knowledge, advancing "the knowledge of translation practice in pre-Ciceronian antiquity."[21] The significance of the Septuagint situated within Hellenistic Judaism is hard to overstate.

Some years ago Aitken showed that translators were concerned with ensuring that their translated texts possessed a degree of literary quality, emulating in some measure the rhetorical devices of natural Greek literature – even in a very *literal* translation.[22] As Dines also recently noted "the importance of euphony and variety in a text is stressed in manuals of Greek rhetoric and it is hard to imagine that these well-established norms did not affect his [i.e. the translator's]

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[12] Kennedy, "Historical Survey of Rhetoric," 5.

[13] Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 32-35.

[14] See Francis T. Gignac, "The Papyri and the Greek Language," in *Papyrology* (ed. Naphtali Lewis; YCS 28; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 155.

[15] Ibid.

[16] James K. Aitken, "February 8th is 'International Septuagint Day'," Facebook entry on Aitken's timeline, entry posted 7th February, 2013, https://www.facebook.com (accessed 9th June, 2014).

[17] Ibid.

[18] Gignac, "The Papyri and the Greek Language," 155.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Aitken, "'International Septuagint Day'."

[21] Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 12.

[22] See James K. Aitken, "Rhetoric and Poetry in Greek Ecclesiastes," *BIOSCS* 38 (2005): 55-77.

work."[23] What may be observed in this study is that the translator of the Twelve, Ambakoum in particular, creatively captured the meaning and general thrust of his ST while also working Greek rhetorical devices into the TT. These devices exist and they sometimes occur in Ambakoum independently of the ST.

Some Hebrew phonological connections were matched by Greek rhetorical devices. Yet in a number of instances the translator introduced devices that were not derived from Hebrew poetics, nor from the accidence of the words. This initially indicates that the translator of Ambakoum was aware of both linguistic and literary distinctions in both languages. It is unclear whether he understood such literary features of the ST to heighten its meaning.[24] But what is apparent is that he sought to, for example, match lexical variations, paronomasia and alliterate clauses in order to embellish the text. This sometimes *agreed* with the nature of the source poetry. There is no good reason to neglect such translational phenomena as not following rhetorical structures simply because they correspond to the Hebrew on some level.[25] This is also because there are a number of rhetorical devices that exist apart from the Hebrew patterns. This reveals that such features are part of the translator's overall style.

In some cases the translator was able to either adapt or improvise his work toward such things. This occurred despite the non-isomorphism of the languages. Although this can naturally occur between very different languages, such as the representation of repeated articles, pronouns, or case endings, etc., in some instances this is not possible, especially when the device is dependent on a language specific feature, e.g. a Hebrew sibilant, or an anaphoric repetition dependent upon a particular word.

The translator was able to adapt his TT through selecting words that, although have less semantic correspondence (and sometimes none) with the ST, had register in the TL. Sometimes

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[23] Jennifer M. Dines, "Was LXX Pentateuch a Style-Setter for LXX Minor Prophets?," in *XIV Congress of the IOSCS* (ed. Melvin K. H. Peters; SCS 59; vol. 14; Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 410. The discussion by van der Louw on the nature and function of rhetoric in the Roman Period also supports this point, see Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 35-46.

[24] See Adele Berlin, *Biblical Parallelism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 1-10; 130-41. Also, note the following abbreviations: ST = Source Text; SL = Source Language; TT = Target Text; and TL = Target Language.

[25] The main reason behind this is that the authors (translators) were creating a particularly Greek text and sought to employ Greek rhetorical devices where possible. The reasons for the connections made in Heb. are different to those made in Greek even through the translational effort. The translators were concerned with the Greek design not the Heb. one, even though working within certain paradigms of meaning, which were restricted by an ancient concept of linguistic theory. This is in disagreement with the otherwise excellent article by Lee, cf. John A. L. Lee, "Translations of the Old Testament. I. Greek," in *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric* (ed. Stanley E. Porter; Leiden: Brill, 2001); Jan Joosten, "Rhetorical Ornamentation in the Septuagint: The Case of Grammatical Variation," in *Et Sapienter et eloquenter* (eds. Eberhard Bons and Thomas J. Kraus; vol. 241; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 16-17.

this is accomplished without great difference in the essential meaning of the text. When the text of Ambakoum is read in literary chunks these rhetorical features rise to the surface. Such appreciation for the nature of the TT is a mark of literary creativity. As van der Louw comments, "the task of *rhetoric* is to adorn the content in such a way that it will not only reach the addressee, but actually be effective with him."[26] Therefore, this effort would likely also be done in an attempt to appeal to Greek hearers, including learned ones. After all, these structural cues were meant to be heard, being "intended for the ear, not the eye."[27]

2.1 Variation

It is encouraging that in recent years scholars have begun to point out that the Septuagint shows evidence of these literary devices.[28] Although presentation of this evidence is not a new venture, it is gaining the attention it deserves.[29] This might be because of the moors that have historically bound the reading of the Septuagint to the Hebrew are being let go. When the TT is set free in this respect the features are quite observable, and appear to be present so that the text may communicate on its own two feet.[30] One well-known Greek rhetorical device in this regard is μεταβολή, or "elegant variation" (*variatio*) between connective parts of speech.[31] This is often (ironically) more obvious when compared to the ST because in every instance shown here the same Hebrew particle or adverbial construct is repeated. This occurs in a number of places within

[26] Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 39.

[27] Paul Achtemeier, "*Omne Verbum Sonat*: The New Testament and the Oral Environment of Late Western Antiquity," *JBL* 109/1 (1990): 25.

[28] There are a handful of recent works in the use of Greek rhetoric throughout literal-translated texts of the Septuagint: Aitken, "Rhetoric and Poetry in Greek Ecc," 55-77; James K. Aitken, "The Significance of Rhetoric in the Greek Pentateuch," in *On Stone and Scroll* (eds. James K. Aitken, Katherine J. Dell, and Brian A. Mastin; Berlin: De Grutyer, 2011), 507-21; Eberhard Bons, "Rhetorical Devices in the Septuagint Psalter," in *Et Sapienter et eloquenter* (eds. Eberhard Bons and Thomas J. Kraus; vol. 241; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 69-79; Dines, "Was LXX Pentateuch a Style-Setter for LXX Minor Prophets?," 397-411; Jennifer M. Dines, "Stylistic Invention and Rhetorical Purpose in the Book of the Twelve," in *Et Sapienter et eloquenter* (eds. Eberhard Bons and Thomas J. Kraus; vol. 241; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 23-48; Joosten, "Rhetorical Ornamentation in the Septuagint," 11-22. Aitken also mentions a handful of scholars of the past century that have also pointed to this same kind of literary feature, see Aitken, "Rhetoric and Poetry in Greek Ecc," n. 7.

[29] See Aitken, "Rhetoric and Poetry in Greek Ecc," n. 7.

[30] Harl is right to rhetorically ask: "Ceux d'entre nous qui considèrent la LXX seulement comme une traduction hésitent à chercher dans elle des traits stylistiques propres. Mais si l'on est persuadé que toute traduction est à son tour « texte », pourquoi ne pas observer les « effets » de ce texte ?" See Gilles Dorival, Marguerite Harl, and Olivier Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1988), 265-6.

[31] See Lee, "Translations of the Old Testament," 776.

Ambakoum. First, in chapter one, the translator has alternated repetition of the Hebrew phrase **על-כן** by use of *διὰ τοῦτο* and *ἕνεκεν τούτου* respectively:[32]

MT	1.4	Amb
עַל־כֵּן תָּפוּג תּוֹרָה	aA	**διὰ τοῦτο** *διεσκέδασται νόμος*
וְלֹא־יֵצֵא לָנֶצַח מִשְׁפָּט	aB	*καὶ οὐ διεξάγεται εἰς τέλος κρίμα*
כִּי רָשָׁע מַכְתִּיר אֶת־הַצַּדִּיק	bA	*ὅτι ὁ ἀσεβὴς καταδυναστεύει τὸν δίκαιον*
עַל־כֵּן יֵצֵא מִשְׁפָּט מְעֻקָּל	bB	**ἕνεκεν τούτου** *ἐξελεύσεται τὸ κρίμα διεστραμμένον*

Similarly in chapter two, the translator has varied his choice for the Hebrew particle **כי**. In both instances shown here the variation also has phonologically linked the particles.

MT	2:3	Amb
כִּי עוֹד חָזוֹן לַמּוֹעֵד	aA	**διότι** *ἔτι ὅρασις εἰς καιρὸν*
וְיָפֵחַ לַקֵּץ	aB	*καὶ ἀνατελεῖ εἰς πέρας*
וְלֹא יְכַזֵּב	aC	*καὶ οὐκ εἰς κένον*
אִם־יִתְמַהְמָהּ חַכֵּה־לוֹ	bA	*ἐὰν ὑστερήσῃ ὑπομεινον αὐτόν*
כִּי־בֹא יָבֹא	bB	**ὅτι** *ἐρχόμενος ἥξει*
לֹא יְאַחֵר	bC	*καὶ οὐ μή χρονίσῃ*

In another sweeping example, the translator chose to alternate **הוי** across chapter two, first with the less common *οὐαί* and then alternating with the general *ὦ* (2:6, 9, 12, 15, 19).[33] This consistent pattern indicates that the translator understood the broad literary comport of his TT. The interjectional particle forms the literary backbone of chapter two, each designed to introduce a calamity against the impious. The decision to switch between the synonymous Greek particles has literarily improved the TT.

[32] This kind of variation can be observed by other translators too. Sometimes *διὰ τοῦτο* is repeated, but more often, when **על-כן** recurs in close proximity to itself, an alternate Greek rendering, e.g. *ὅτι*, is selected, i.e. Est 9:26; Isa 24:6; 30:16; 50:7; Jer 48:36.

[33] This pattern may be part of a larger pattern that extends from Amb 2:6 to Zech 2:18, as noted by Dines. The pattern here creates a chiasmus (ABAB´A´). It is unclear, however, if all the patterns across these books were meant to be integrated into one large extended one. The variation in Amb also exists in G^A where, if the interj. is not at the beginning of the physical line, a small space of about three to four letters sets off the start of the next woe intj. from the end of the previous text. This partly demonstrates the literary backbone of this section of the book, and also that the variation was appreciated by later copyists, not being altered back to a Heb. *Vorlage*. See Dines, "Was LXX Pentateuch a Style-Setter for LXX Minor Prophets?," 407; Dines, "Stylistic Invention in the Twelve," 40-41. And cf. Stanley E. Porter, review of Eberhard Bons and Thomas J. Kraus, eds., *Et Sapienter et eloquenter: Studies on Rhetorical and Stylistic Features of the Septuagint*, *JSCS* 46 (2013): 122-125.

2.2 Polyptoton (Variation of Forms)

The Greek rhetorical device of polyptoton (πολύπτωτος) is the repetition of variant forms of the same, or very similar, lexeme or root, through case or inflection, within the same sentence.[34] There are three particularly distinct features of verbal variation in Ambakoum. The first example in 2:8 is the use of the second person aorist of σκυλεύω, which is followed in the next clause by the plural aorist of the same verbal word. This matches the MT pattern that repeats שלל.

MT	2:8	Amb
כִּי אַתָּה שַׁלּוֹתָ גּוֹיִם רַבִּים	aA	διότι σὺ **ἐσκύλευσας** ἔθνη πολλά
יְשָׁלּוּךָ כָּל־יֶתֶר עַמִּים	aB	**σκυλεύσουσί** σε πάντες οἱ ὑπολελειμμένοι λαοί

In 2:16 there is another example. Here two similar verbal words are used in parallel to explain the shaking that will occur to these scoffers. Perhaps the meaning of the word ערל (*to count as uncircumcised, show the foreskin*) eluded the translator. He improvised by doubling the word in order to gain access to the meaningful use in context, using διασαλεύω followed by its much more common synonym σείω.

MT	2:16	Amb
שָׂבַעְתָּ קָלוֹן מִכָּבוֹד שְׁתֵה גַם־אַתָּה	aA	πλησμονὴν ἀτιμίας ἐκ δόξης πίε καὶ σὺ
וְהֵעָרֵל	aB	καὶ **διασαλεύθητι** καὶ **σείσθητι**

The last example of this kind of variation is in 3:2. In this passage, which represents a bit of a textual enigma, the translator seems to have expanded his text for, what appears to be, theological reasons.[35] The text has been expanded by three additional clauses, with modifications to another. The expansion of the text, not uncommon to the style in Ambakoum, was likely to disambiguate a reference to the LORD appearing in the temple at an appointed time. The use of γινώσκω followed by its cognate ἐπιγινώσκω, especially in light of the textual expansion, is a very clear use of polyptoton.

MT	3:2	Amb
בְּקֶרֶב שָׁנִים חַיֵּיהוּ	aA	ἐν μέσῳ δύο ζῴων **γνωσθήσῃ**
בְּקֶרֶב שָׁנִים תּוֹדִיעַ	aB	ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν τὰ ἔτη **ἐπιγνωσθήσῃ**
[MT-/OG+]	aC	ἐν τῷ παρεῖναι τὸν καιρὸν ἀναδειχθήσῃ

[34] The device of anaphora (ἀναφορά or ἐφαναφορά) is not present in Amb. This is where a word(s) or verbal form(s) is repeated in any combination of *successive* phrases, clauses, sentences or lines, e.g. Ps 23:8.

[35] See James A. E. Mulroney, "Rethinking Hab 1:12 in Light of Translation Style and the Literary Prophet of Ambakoum," *JSCS* 45 (2012): 77-93.

2.3 Assonance, Consonance and Alliteration

There are a number of devices of Greek rhetoric that are similar in the way they sound words together (*συνήχησις*). The idea here is that an echo can be heard between the parts of words as they are set together in clauses and across sentences. When this is done repetitively across clauses and sentences, with the right cadence, there is a kind of harmony heard between the words. It strikes meaning and audible art to the hearer. The effect is pleasant to the ear. The difference between consonance (consonant-rhyming), which "designates the repetition of the same or similar sequence of consonants with a change in the intervening vowels,"[36] and alliteration (*παρήχησις*) is that, in the latter, the phonetic connection is repeated at the beginning of a clause-initial word. Alliteration is clause initial dependent. Assonance is vowel-rhyming between two or more words, syllables or diphthongs in "nonrhyming stressed syllables near enough to each other for the echo to be discernible."[37]

In 1:4 the translator has used a combination of compound verbs (διεσκέδασται and διεξάγεται) as part of the final point of the prophet's complaint, which all begin with the conjunction διά. Read swiftly together the words have clear alliteration. Additional consonance is heard with the words κατα<u>δυ</u>ναστεύει and <u>δί</u>καιον, completed *terminus ad quem* by the final word, <u>διε</u>στραμμένον. In addition to all the other kinds of rhetoric in use (see pp. 7 and 13), the translator has artfully lifted the Greek literary quality of the text.

MT	1:4	Amb
עַל־כֵּן תָּפוּג תּוֹרָה	aA	διὰ τοῦτο **διε**σκέδασται νόμος
וְלֹא־יֵצֵא לָנֶצַח מִשְׁפָּט	aB	καὶ οὐ **διε**ξάγεται εἰς τέλος κρίμα
כִּי רָשָׁע מַכְתִּיר אֶת־הַצַּדִּיק	bA	ὅτι ὁ ἀσεβὴς κατα**δυ**ναστεύει τὸν **δί**καιον
עַל־כֵּן יֵצֵא מִשְׁפָּט מְעֻקָּל	bB	ἕνεκεν τούτου ἐξελεύσεται τὸ κρίμα **διε**στραμμένον

Sometimes the translator was able to retain the poetic effect in the ST only be switching it to another kind of rhetorical play. There are two clear examples of this in the first chapter. In the first example, v. 8, the translator shifted to consonantal alliteration (ἐξαλοῦνται/ὀξύτεροι) from the assonance heard in the final syllables of the ST (וְקַלּוּ / וְחַדּוּ). Although the phonetic connection is altered, an alternate resonance remains. The assonance across the first three lines is quite audible. This may have contributed to the translator's choice of the Septuagint-rare word ἐξάλλομαι,

[36] T. V. F. Brogan, ed. *The New Princeton Handbook of Poetic Terms* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 103-4.

[37] This term may sometimes refer to word-initial consonants that are unstressed. Ibid., 12, 21.

meaning *leap* or *spring forth*, which would have also been in consideration of the adjective in the second clause. The repetition of ξ provides some assonance, with end-rhyming for *his horses/cavalry*:

MT	1:8	Amb
וְקַלּוּ מִנְּמֵרִים סוּסָיו	aA	καὶ **ἐξ**αλοῦνται ὑπὲρ παρδάλεις **οἱ ἵπποι αὐτοῦ**
וְחַדּוּ מִזְּאֵבֵי עֶרֶב	aB	καὶ **ὀξ**ύτεροι ὑπὲρ τοὺς λύκους τῆς Ἀραβίας
וּפָשׁוּ פָּרָשָׁיו	bA	καὶ **ἐξ**ιππάσονται **οἱ ἱππεῖς αὐτοῦ**
וּפָרָשָׁיו מֵרָחוֹק	bB	καὶ ὁρμήσουσιν μακρόθεν

The other similar example along these lines is in v. 11. In this case there is a kind-of inversion of the ST assonance. The end-rhyme consonance through the repetition of the third person case endings (καὶ διελεύσε**ται** / καὶ ἐξιλάσε**ται**) is grammatically altered in the sentence from the final syllable assonance, by use of pronouns, in the ST (זוּ כֹחוֹ לֵאלֹהּוֹ).[38]

Although a TT may be adapted to appreciate the poetics of the ST, it does not always follow it. Sometimes it would seem that when it might be easy and obvious to form an assonantic pairing in the TT, the translator does not – even when it exists in the SL. One example, in v. 10, is the poetic parallelism heard through repetition of שחק, where the translator opted for παίγνια to translate מִשְׂחָק, which means *play-toy*, as for an infant. It is unclear why the translator did not instead choose the nominal equivalent, ἔμπαιγμα. This would have been alliterative, and also conveyed a double consonance with ἐμπαίξεται.[39] While there is *some* consonance with the syllable -***παί***, it is more diminished than would have been with the alternative. In either case, the choice to repeat π, which is known to have been favoured by the ancients in alliteration,[40] does mark some audible echo between the two lines:

MT	1:10	Amb
וְהוּא בַּמְּלָכִים יִתְקַלָּס	aA	καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν βασιλεῦσιν ἐντρυφήσει
וְרוֹזְנִים מִשְׂחָק לוֹ	aB	καὶ τύραννοι **παί**γνια [**ἔμπαι**γμα] αὐτοῦ
הוּא לְכָל־מִבְצָר יִשְׂחָק	bA	καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς πᾶν ὀχύρωμα **ἐμπαί**ξεται
וַיִּצְבֹּר עָפָר	bB	καὶ βαλεῖ χῶμα
וַיִּלְכְּדָהּ	bC	καὶ κρατήσει αὐτοῦ

[38] Arguably, the uvular fricative pronunciation of the *hêt* in the first clause, lost in the Greek, is also a poetic device that is not carried over into the TT.

[39] Other such obvious examples, some noted by Muraoka, indicate at least nothing else except that translators were not consistent, which is not uncommon even in modern translations. See T. Muraoka, "Literary Device in the Septuagint," *HUB* 8 (1973): 20-30.

[40] See Aitken, "Rhetoric and Poetry in Greek Ecc," n. 26.

In 1:17 the use of *ἀμφιβλήστρον* for חרם is at first puzzling, especially as the translator had in the previous verse made the closer semantic choice of *σαγήνη* for חרם. However, when this is viewed from within the paradigm of Greek stylistic concern, the anaphoric relationship between the verbal word **ἀμφιβ**άλλω and **ἀμφιβ**λήστρον is apparent. What might appear to be a translational error looks like a subtle use of rhetoric.

MT	1:17	Amb
הַעַל כֵּן יָרִיק חֶרְמוֹ	aA	καὶ **ἀμφιβαλεῖ** τὸ **ἀμφιβλήστρον** αὐτοῦ
וְתָמִיד לַהֲרֹג גּוֹיִם לֹא יַחְמוֹל	aB	καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἀποκτέννειν ἔθνη οὐ φείσεται

Similarly, in 2:9, the verse opens with assonance between the subject and verbal word – variations of each other.[41] The use of *ν* within these two words is alliterated and repeated so that there is an audible reverberation between them. This continued repetition of the letter *ν* is followed closely by the following adjective (*κακήν*), which is heard in the following parts of speech. This composition of repetitions strikes the ear in a way that the ST does not:

MT	2:9	Amb
הוֹי בֹּצֵעַ בֶּצַע רָע לְבֵיתוֹ	aA	ὦ ὁ **πλεον**εκτῶν **πλεον**εξίαν *κακὴν* τῳ οἰκῳ αὐτοῦ
לָשׂוּם בַּמָּרוֹם קִנּוֹ	aB	τοῦ τάξαι εἰς ὕψος *νοσσιὰν* αὐτοῦ
לְהִנָּצֵל מִכַּף־רָע	aC	τοῦ ἐκσπασθῆναι ἐκ χειρὸς *κακῶν*

As can be observed elsewhere in Ambakoum,[42] often when the translator has some kind of textual difficulty he resorts to use of creative rhetorical devices to help resolve it. This is likely one of the reasons behind how he translated the idiomatic phrase עריה תעור קשתך in 3:9. Consonantal similarity of the word ערה, *to lay bare*, or *uncover*, with the substantive עריה is apparent. In the old script, the first word can very easily be read as an infinitive absolute. The following word, omitting the *wāw*, may be read as a 2ms imperfect, an adaptation not uncommon when improvising for a translated text, thus עָרוֹה תַּעֲרֶה.[43] Read this way the translator may then

[41] I have omitted other examples from 2:5, 2:8 and 3:8 in the interest of space.

[42] See also 1:5; 2:16.

[43] The word ערה has varied meaning depending on the stem, i.e. *qal* is closer to the substantive, meaning *to expose oneself (in nakedness)*; or the *nipʿal*, which once seems to mean *pour out*; and the *hitpaʿel* without the conj., so Weiser, indicates a meaning of "sich spreizen" (*to stretch oneself out*), e.g. MT Ps 37:25. This latter meaning, though not reflexive, was made the dominant in the Greek in order to make sense of the phrase, which helps to explain the semantic choice for the verbal interplay of *ἐκτείνω*. It may also indicate that this meaning could be derived from the *Grundstamm*. Cf. Artur Weiser, *Die Psalmen* (ATD 14; eds. Walther Eichrodt et al.; 2 vols.; vol. 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959), 211, 217.

adapt the words to the context, employing the translation formula of a substantive plus a finite verb (akin to the inf. abs. + finite verb) to affirm an action. By reading his text this way, the two words rhyme and improve the reading.

MT	3:9	Amb
עֶרְיָה תֵּעוֹר קַשְׁתֶּךָ	aA	**ἐντείνων ἐντενεῖς** τὸ τόξον σου
שְׁבֻעוֹת מַטּוֹת אֹמֶר סֶלָה	aB	ἑπτὰ σκῆπτρα, λέγει κύριος. διάψαλμα

A last example of a similar kind of alliteration exists in chapter three. In the first case, this is heard in the creatively expanded text of 3:2. Each successive clause begins with the preposition ἐν, and lines bB-bD begin with a double alliteration of this preposition plus the dative article. There is also a rarer grammatical chiasmus (χιασμός).[44] All the lines audibly connect, and some more.

MT	3:2	Amb
בְּקֶרֶב שָׁנִים...	bA	**ἐν** μέσῳ...
בְּקֶרֶב שָׁנִים...	bB	**ἐν τῷ** ἐγγίζειν...
[MT-/OG+]	bC	**ἐν τῷ** παρεῖναι...
[MT-/OG+]	bD	**ἐν τῷ** ταραχθῆναι...
בְּרֹגֶז...	bE	**ἐν** ὀργῇ...

2.4 Homeoteleuton (End-Rhyming)

The implementation of end-rhyming (ὁμοιοτέλευτον) occurs in a number of places throughout the translation, as is also observed in other places of the Septuagint.[45] Due to the nature of the Greek language, this is most acutely heard in the near repetition of case endings. There are numerous instances of this device in Ambakoum. The first instance is in 1:5 where the Chaldean nation is first described in eschatological terms. The clever use of accusative case endings creates a three-times-heard phonetic pattern. Although the first two Hebrew words have a similar phonological connection through repetition of the article and the letter *reš*, the Greek increases the phonetic connection by the use of a participle. The Hebrew participial form cannot do this, though repetition of articles is clearly heard:

[44] Another example of a chiasmus is in 3:13-14a, see p. 106.

[45] See Aitken, "Rhetoric and Poetry in Greek Ecc," 55-77; Lee, "Translations of the Old Testament," 775-83.

MT 1:6b	Amb 1:6b
הַגּוֹי הַמַּר	τὸ ἔθνος τὸ πικρ**όν**
וְהַנִּמְהָר	καὶ τὸ ταχιν**όν**
הַהוֹלֵךְ	τὸ πορευόμε**νον**...

Another instance of this technique is again in 1:4. Here there are two kinds of end-rhyming. First, the third person endings -***ται*** recur three times across the verse, which continues into the first line of the next verse with καταφρονη***ταί***. Second, the accusative endings in the final two lines of v. 4 repeat the sound from the neuter singular case ending -ον, helped also by the article for δίκαιος. All these are word-final echoes that are beyond that in MT:

MT	1:4	Amb
רְאוּ בַגּוֹיִם	aA4	διὰ τοῦτο διεσκέδασ**ται** νόμος
וְלֹא־יֵצֵא לָנֶצַח מִשְׁפָּט	aB4	καὶ οὐ διεξάγε**ται** εἰς τέλος κρίμα
כִּי רָשָׁע מַכְתִּיר אֶת־הַצַּדִּיק	bA4	ὅτι ὁ ἀσεβὴς καταδυναστεύει **τὸν** δίκαι**ον**
עַל־כֵּן יֵצֵא מִשְׁפָּט מְעֻקָּל	bB4	ἕνεκεν τούτου ἐξελεύσε**ται** τὸ κρίμα διεστραμμέν**ον**
רְאוּ בַגּוֹיִם	aA5	ἴδετε οἱ καταφρονή**ται**...

Two more similar examples are found in 1:7-8. The repetition of both the singular -***ται*** and plural -***νται*** case endings creates a phonetic resonance between the two verses, both which rhyme the actions (verbal words) that describe the basis and manner of the Chaldean invasion.

MT	1:7, 8	Amb
אֵים וְנוֹרָא הוּא	aA7	φοβερὸς καὶ ἐπιφανής ἐστιν
מִמֶּנּוּ מִשְׁפָּטוֹ	aB	ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸ κρίμα αὐτοῦ ἔσ**ται**
וּשְׂאֵתוֹ יֵצֵא	aC	καὶ τὸ λῆμμα αὐτοῦ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξελεύσε**ται**
וְקַלּוּ מִנְּמֵרִים סוּסָיו וְחַדּוּ מִזְּאֵבֵי עֶרֶב	aA8	καὶ ἐξαλοῦ**νται** ὑπὲρ παρδάλεις οἱ ἵπποι αὐτοῦ καὶ ὀξύτεροι ὑπὲρ τοὺς λύκους τῆς Ἀραβίας
וּפָשׂוּ פָּרָשָׁיו וּפָרָשָׁיו מֵרָחוֹק	aB	καὶ ἐξιππάσο**νται** οἱ ἱππεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁρμήσουσιν μακρόθεν
יָבֹאוּ יָעֻפוּ כְּנֶשֶׁר חָשׁ לֶאֱכוֹל	aC	καὶ πετασθήσο**νται** ὡς ἀετὸς πρόθυμος εἰς τὸ φαγεῖν

Another example of end-rhyming is observed in the use of aorist passive imperatives in 2:16, 19. As noted above, the employment of the two words in 2:16 shows a high degree of conscious

effort because the MT word was doubly translated. It is noteworthy that in every instance where the translator improvised using double translation he employed a Greek rhetorical device.[46]

MT	2:16	Amb
שָׂבַעְתָּ קָלוֹן מִכָּבוֹד שְׁתֵה גַם־אַתָּה	aA	πλησμονὴν ἀτιμίας ἐκ δόξης πίε καὶ σὺ
וְהֵעָרֵל	aB	καὶ **διασαλεύθητι** καὶ **σείσθητι**

The opening of the final woe oracle in 2:19, which itself has been carefully structured with rhetorical variation, phonetically links the follies of speaking to inanimate objects, as if they were alive. Akin to 2:16, there is a textual (semantic) inconsistency in relation to the ST. The rare particle דומם has been read as the verbal word רומה, which is then naturally translated as an imperative from ὑψόω. Ignorance of the MT word due to its rarity may have been the cause for improvisation. There is a qualitative rhetorical effect by reading it in this new altered way. As a result, the stupidity of calling out to both trees and rocks is made with rhyme.

MT	2:19	Amb
הוֹי אֹמֵר לָעֵץ הָקִיצָה עוּרִי	aA	οὐαὶ ὁ λέγων τῷ ξύλῳ Ἔκνηψον ἐξεγέρ**θητι**
לְאֶבֶן דּוּמָם	aB	καὶ τῷ λίθῳ Ὑψώ**θητι**

Another example of this kind is a creatively combined interchange between the use of the aorist passive and infinitive. This is heard in the second section of the expanded text of 3:2. As this does not correspond closely to MT, it is further evidence that the translator was aware of Greek rhetorical devices and employed them where he could. Commenting on the aorist forms, Dines notes that this is "a particularly striking example…creating a strong rhyme-like effect not found in MT."[47]

MT	3:2	Amb
בְּקֶרֶב שָׁנִים חַיֵּיהוּ	bA	ἐν μέσῳ δύο ζῴων γνωσ**θήσῃ**
בְּקֶרֶב שָׁנִים תּוֹדִיעַ	bB	ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν τὰ ἔτη ἐπιγνωσ**θήσῃ**
[MT-/OG+]	bC	ἐν τῷ παρεῖ**ναι** τὸν καιρὸν ἀναδειχ**θήσῃ**
[MT-/OG+]	bD	ἐν τῷ ταραχθῆ**ναι** τὴν ψυχήν μου
בְּרֹגֶז רַחֵם תִּזְכּוֹר	bE	ἐν ὀργῇ ἐλέους μνησ**θήσῃ**

In the final example, akin to other such cases, there is a combination of multiple kinds of rhetorical device at play. In 3:8-9, as we saw above, the translator employed alliteration and

[46] See Amb 1:5; 2:16. See also 3:9, which is not strictly a double translation but reflects this stylistic approach.

[47] Dines, "Was LXX Pentateuch a Style-Setter for LXX Minor Prophets?," 403.

assonance. He also used end-rhyming through repetition of the second person pronoun, something which is not uncommon to a TT that matches such a linguistic feature of the source:

MT	3:8aB-9aA	Amb
אִם בַּנְּהָרִים אַפֶּךָ	aB8	ἢ ἐν ποταμοῖς ὁ θυμός **σου**
אִם־בַּיָּם עֶבְרָתֶךָ	aC8	ἢ ἐν θαλάσσῃ τὸ ὅρμμά **σου**
כִּי תִרְכַּב עַל־סוּסֶיךָ	bA8	ὅτι ἐπιβήσῃ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους **σου**
מַרְכְּבֹתֶיךָ יְשׁוּעָה	bB8	καὶ ἡ ἱππασία **σου** σωτηρία
עֶרְיָה תֵּעוֹר קַשְׁתֶּךָ	aA9	ἐντείνων ἐντενεῖς τὸ τόξον **σου**

3.0 Conclusion

The above analysis has shown that the translator of Ambakoum was keenly aware of both the poetic nature of his ST and that of Greek rhetoric. Sometimes the translator *followed* the Hebrew poetical device(s), which was easier to do with final syllable assonance. Sometimes he could not *match* the phonological connection and created a uniquely Greek pattern. Quite often the translator created new phonological connections through a combination of different kinds of rhetorical devices, which was markedly clear in 1:4 and 3:2. Moreover, in a number of instances the translator chose to use rhetorical devices as a way to resolve translational difficulties. Such problems were like an open door, he improvised by implementing meaningful rhetoric. By creating a text that would be creatively literary, in relative accord with contemporaneous ideas, the translator appealed to the sensibilities of his audience. This would be in spite of the awkwardness that would have been felt in the re-organisation of the grammar in the TT.

This naturally raises questions on translator intentionality, which goes beyond the scope of this brief study. The evidence of Greek rhetorical devices, indicates a fairly high-level of conscious effort. The mesh of intentional rhetorical ornamentation with that of textual interpretation is here meshed, especially as these things convey new themes or concepts apart from the ST. The three prophetic visions of the prophet Ambakoum have a Greek Hellenistic flavour to them. They read as an independently Greek literary product. What Hebrew or Aramaic interference existed for the hearers of the original production would have been vaguely apparent. The religious context would have been an intuitive aid. The hearing of a grammatically strange Greek series of prophecies, within the Hellenistic setting, would have been self-didactic. This is how *Ambakoum* sounds. This is how the proclamations of salvation and portents of doom ring in the Greek Hellenistic ear. The art of the literature denotes a creative hand that was in relative linguistic harmony with its religious ST.

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I. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to argue that one of the basic problems that the Deuteronomist, in the classical composition, raises is that of spatiality: At the border of the land one specific locality for worship is pinpointed (though not given a literal name). At the end of the composition, this place is dismantled.[1]

It is not difficult to imagine that a basic deuteronomistic problem is a spatial problem: the confirmation of the final place, for both the ark and the covenant, in the consecration scenes, is disassembled at the end of the composition. This creates a tension visible in the traditional DH-composition from the beginning in Deuteronomy to the end in 2 Kings. In the beginning, the concept of the covenantal ark on its way to the proper place is established. At the end, this place is desolated. Noth, in his classical study, argued most seriously out of a chronological aspect as the base for a Deuteronomistic composition.[2] The project behind the present paper gives priority to locality.[3]

In this paper, I will first compositionally reconsider the way the stories are constructed, comparing the deuteronomistic story with the chronistic one; the difference between using a spatial/chronological landscape compared to a more atemporal genealogical map.[4]

Secondly, out of a cartographical perspective, a more detailed analysis will be persued of the geographical localities and their disposition in the consecration scenes in both compositions. We will especially focus on the city name of Jerusalem. The Northern kingdom, with its different residential cities, is not neglected by the Deuteronomist. How does that affect the spatial field of the composition as such?

Thirdly, the paper will follow the ark from its position at the border of Moab to its disappearance with the exiled (as a concept already after the consecration of the temple in 1

[1] This paper asks if a Deuteronomistic problem basically is a spatial problem: the lost land and the lost place. I will use, for the analysis, the categories of composition, cartography and concept. My question to the seminar is to what extent can you agree to this way of detecting the Deuteronomistic work?

[2] It is a fact that it was the idea of one composition as such that made the approach of Noth possible. The time-period as such set the frame for the composition: from the Exodus to the Temple establishment down to the Exile. Noth (1967:18) "Dieses durchgehende chronologische Interesse ist ein weiteres Argument für die Einheitlichkeit der Person und die Geschlossenheit der Werkes von Dtr." Out of a space-time concept this project stresses the aspect of space.

[3] The basis for the concept of locality visavi temporality is drawn from the concept of spatiality. When Jammer (1993:4ff.) introduces his history of theories of space in physics, he remarks that it is generally not until Leibniz (1646–1716) that movement (like the concept of time) is considered prior to that of localization. There must be some kind of spatiality for there to be movement. In this case, the composition is primarily an artefact in itself and testifies to a more or less interpretable story. Our double concept of space and time is congruent with Kant. They have been inseparable since Einstein: space-time. We localize our discussion to the Greek/Persian period, with a relative spatial concept, and look for more or less real localities where the history may have taken place. There is no smaller space than a field. When identifying a locality, a field, we will look for no less than three parts to relate to it.

[4] The approach is formed out of a form critical perspective with a compositional and genre analysis of 1 and 2 Chronicles: A historical sermon. A universalistic history with clear genealogical interest and composition. A special interest for liturgy, telling the story of the people of the temple in Jerusalem.

Kings 8:21). Along the way, something happens to the conceptualization of the presence of the confirmation of the place where the signs of the covenant are.

What is the relevance for asking about a deuteronomistic spatiality? The name of the project behind this paper is ”Priority to Locality versus Temporality: A Historiographical Study of 1 and 2 Chronicles”.[5] In the fourth and final chapter I intend to describe a deuteronomistic spatiality in comparison to a chronistic. Traditionally, a Chronicler has most often been defined in comparison to a Deuteronomist.[6] The Chronicler tends to become a more or less atemporal historiographer.[7] However, it has been clarified that many characteristics of the Chronistic redactor were quite self-evident: the temple-interest, the genealogies and the city-phenomenon as such.[8] The questions on temporality were not prioritized.[9] Lately, there has been a shift in the scholarly historiographical focus: from a primarily chronological way of thinking to a priority given to spatiality.

The trend shifted with an increased interest among biblical scholars in sociological studies. Earlier sessions on spatiality, e.g. in the SBL-community, have explored this approach.[10] The influence of the narratological studies is apparent. Relevant for this paper on Deuteronomistic history is the new exegetical syntheses which can be seen in commentaries such as Otto´s on Deuteronomy and Dietrich´s on Samuel (1 Sam 1-12).[11]

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[5] The present main focus in the project is to clarify the setting for the composition out of a spatial perspective in a Persian/Greek context.

[6] For a long time, ever since the classical study of de Wette 1806, 1 and 2 Chronicles has been considered the second historical work after Sam. - Kings, see e.g. Peltonen (1996:94ff).

[7] In the study of Magnar Kartveit (1989) the image of a not primarily temporally defined historiography for 1 and 2 Chronicles was further unveiled. Kartveit argued (1989:116): “1 Chronicles 1 is not just Genealogy, at the same time it is a *mappa mundi*, maybe even an expression for an *imago mundi*, where Israel is placed in the centre.” (My translation). An atemporal story-line proves to represent a contemporary world as will be shown.

[8] Genealogical and city interests of the Greeks have been exemplified e.g. in a Socrates-conversation in Hippias Major 285D: “When Socrates asks what it was that struck their fancy, Hippias answered: ‘They take most pleasure, Socrates, in hearing about the genealogies of heroes and men, and about foundations—how cities were founded long ago—and in general about all archaeologia…’” Drews (1973:147n.27). This is Drews´ own translation of Hippias Major 285D. When Plato had Socrates speak of archaeologia we have to keep in mind that it is not our modern word ‘archaeology’ that is meant. Greek archaeologia deals with the beginnings. Therefore, the question of genealogies is one of the first questions formulated. Since Chronicles deals more than others with genealogies, interests of a contemporary audience are acknowledged.
Attending the temples was one of the more common activities discussed by Herodotus. Consulting the oracles was of decisive importance, H 1.46f., 53, 54ff., 78 with another 36 counted examples. Finally, in the light of Persian temple culture it seems plausible to imagine different groups of temple servants. In the description of a royal procession of Darius III, the following image emerges: “In front on silver altars was carried the fire, which they called sacred and eternal. Next came the Magi, chanting their traditional hymn. These were followed by three hundred and sixty-five young men clad in purple robes, equal in number to the days of a whole year; for the Persians also divided the year into that number of days.” Briant (2002:188). Briant refers to Quintus Curtius *History of Alexander* (III.3.9–11), see Briant (2002:1137).

[9] Compare the commentary by Nicolai (2011:13): “At least up until Herodotus there is no interest in chronology, either absolute or relative ((---) for archaic Greece one can speak rather of an extreme interest in genealogical sequences)”. When Brettler discusses the Chronicler and temporality (1995:41ff.) Brettler supposes that it is the Chronicler who has changed a more original (Deuteronomistic) understanding of sequence and temporality, as if it was self-evident that a logical understanding of sequence for us was the starting-point for the Chronicler.

[10] George (2007) offers an overview to this field but clarifies at the same time the dependence on sociological studies and approaches, rather than historical. The approach of the project of this paper is primarily historical, starting with the questions concerning the availability and usefulness of the artefacts, literal sources included. The chronological aspect should not and cannot be neglected as in a contemporary, sociological approach.

[11] The commentary on Deuteronomy 1–11 by E. Otto (2012) consistently uses the concepts of synchronic analysis visavi diachronic for each pericope. Each section of the commentary concludes with a specific synchronic aspect. In the introduction to Samuel (2010), Dietrich uses more space for the synchronic aspects than for the diachronic.

One further clarification is needed to set the frame of the project behind this paper. This paper is part of a historiographical study. The project differentiates between the three levels of historical investigation: gathering of facts, reconstruction, and finally, representation. In this project we are studying the representation of our redactor or historiographer. At this time, we are neither focusing on a source discussion, nor on the basic work of reconstructing a history out of the sources, but rather, on the representation, the result. It is to be underscored that the reconstruction and the representation out of such a reconstruction are two distinctively different phases. Such a statement is not dependent upon which way the realistic data for the representation is interpreted.

The first problem to be solved was how we can claim and set a historical written image (chapter two of the project). My questions last OTSEM, as how to identify the scenes (which concepts that were relevant to clarify differences), belong to this representational third phase. In this final part of the project we intend to compare images of a Deuteronomistic history with the fragments we have identified of a Chronistic representation.[12] The specification in the title of this paper, basic *compositional* problem, draws attention to the representational level. We test if there are comparable images in these two major historiographical works. The texts form abstract syntheses. We compare the concepts as well as the image. The content of the image depends on the beginning, the end and the centre of the composition, due to the emplotment.[13]

When the idea of a deuteronomistic history today is deconstructed, the project and this paper follow the traditional definitions of Martin Noth.[14] We discuss what happens if we take not what looks like an obvious chronological schema as our starting point, but rather a spatial perspective. Such a spatial aspect is, due to the importance of the composition, indeed present through all of Noth´s study, but it can be further developed.

Since Noth, the deuteronomist is considered the more temporal one of the two (the chronicler the more atemporal). Van Seters draws attention to the consecration pericope in Kings. Van Seters highlights that the Deuteronomistic fixation of the temple-project, four hundred and

[12] The project follows a functionalistic way of treating the material, not the older absolutistic. We ask how we can use the sources in a reasonable way. Since the last century, the historical questions were raised anew. The former absolutist way of treating the sources shifted to a functionalist one. The first question is not if the source is trustworthy or not, or how to extract such a phenomenon, but how we can use the existing sources in a trustworthy way. The classical study of Noth is an example of this latter group.

[13] The concept, emplotment, focuses on how the plot works in reading, "the operation that draws a configuration out of a simple succession", Ricoeur (1984:65). Plots combine submission to paradigms with deviation from the established models. The emplotment process oscillates between servile conformity with respect to the narrative tradition and rebellion with respect to a new paradigm received from that tradition (ibid:207f.). In this project we speak of images in process to clarify that what is seen cannot be argued as something final but primarily depends upon the scope of the pericope involved. Further involved texts change the image, but the frame of the images to be discussed should be delimited to the actual content of the texts, the image written. When Noth searches for the "Geschichtspunkt" of the deuteronomist he includes the question concerning the centre of the work: "Dabei kommt es nicht auf eine Einzelexegese des ganzen Werkes oder der von Dtr selbst formulierten Partien an, sondern auf eine genauere Prüfung der Frage, unter welchen Geschichtspunkten und mit welchen Mitteln Dtr unter Verwertung des vielgestaltigen ihm zur Verfügung stehenden Überlieferungsstoffes seine Arbeit als ganze aufgebaut hat." (1967:27).

[14] Noth (1967) reads Deuteronomy primarily as something different from the preceding, introducing the following story. *If* the P-material is to be integrated in an enlarged Dtr-concept we would have two almost complete parallel, historical works. In the Dtr volume of De Pury and Römer (2000) the overview finally formulated, more or less outspoken, the question where the Dtr should be regarded to begin. We do not comprise compositionally today´s Primary History since such a composition brings this paper beyond its scope. Schmid argues that Deut. chapter 4 as it now stands becomes a bridge in Gen.–2 Kings for such a Deuteronomist (2012:27ff.). Schmid does highlight the importance of the beginnings for the colour of the overall theological Deuteronomistic profile (alternatively Gen./ Exod./ Deut. 6) (ibid:30). The only serious perspective today is to speak of Dtr-history in plural (Schmid 2012:28). This project sticks to the original Dtr but asks questions out of a different perspective.

eighty years after the Exodus from Egypt (1 Kings 6:1), is something clearly different from the Chronicler´s account. The Chronicler primarily refers to the Moriah mountain due to the interest of legitimatizing the temple and the city.[15] Van Seters argues out of an ideological analysis.

But, such a conclusion must be nuanced with the likewise apparent spatial notions. That has turned out to be the apparent alternative aspect as this paper will demonstrate. The deuteronomistic work is the one with the wider spatiality.[16] It is the Chronicler who forms an even more condensed time-arch from the beginning of times, from Adam to the confirmation of the present praying king/audience.

To summarize, we use three categories when investigating the Deuteronomistic work as formed out of a spatial problem: (a) concepts connected to a certain location (primarily to the ark), (b) the field or synthesis of localities as a basic geographical context (the field of local names and their cartographical implications) and finally, (c) the text-composition as a map (the character of a landscape). We begin with what kind of map (c) can be seen.

II. In an ever-widening Context, a Specific Place for Worship, finally lost in Exile.

First of all, the problem is considered out of the criteria of the composition. The starting point for us is the end of the composition in 2 Kings 25; the catastrophe in losing the land and the place towards which we move through the work.[17] What does the historical landscape, formed in the composition, look like? We have fixed our goal and now we pay attention to the beginning of the composition, as did Noth. Noth discussed the composition and the relation to its sources. We consider the composition as representation, analysing the overall image from a spatial point of view. We join Noth but from another perspective.

Already from the beginning of Deuteronomy, a localization of the sermon outside the land, at the plains of Moab, is clearly stated.[18] Noth underscored the unique way of presenting the place and made a point out of such an impervious precise localization.[19] Such a note supports the image that the present audience is geographically located, and there is significance to the point that it is impossible to determine the precise address which is far away. Noth explained and identified the first chapters of Deuteronomy as the unique introduction to the deuteronomistic history, more connected to the story which follows in Joshua than to Deuteronomy itself.[20] Millar questions such a separation and puts forward the idea that the first chapters stress the contemporaneity of the present locality: “The people of Israel standing at Moab are not simply *observers* of the journey, but are addressed as *participants* in it”.[21]

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[15] Van Seters (1997:289f.).

[16] The reference in 1 Kings 6:1 clarifies the Exodus and Egypt connections. In addition, from a genealogical perspective, 480 years can be understood as 12 generations.

[17] See Schmid (2012:19ff.) who asks (1) what exactly is the offense that led to the disaster and (2) who is counted among those responsible? We see, on the other hand, the contrast between the beginning of the composition and its end. With all of the possible interpretations, it may be intentional that not one particular figure or reason is selected; but that it is primarily an appeal to the audience to understand that their future is not yet finally summoned.

[18] With the Deuteronomist, Israel is preparing to enter a new land. The Chronicler, on the other hand, forms a condensed landscape of genealogies in which the following story can emerge.

[19] Noth (1967:28).

[20] Noth (1967:14).

[21] Millar (1994:31f.). Millar refers to some of the historical discussion in how the first chapters should be related to the following (ibid:17ff.). The place for the gathered on the plain then turns out as a similar place as for the present listening audience. The distance in time is set in brackets. Millar (and McConville) focuses our concepts of time and place, but they do not clarify a prioritization.

Placed at the plains of Moab, the historical exposition is presented. Otto points out that the exposition that follows has its peak after the rewritten stone tablets with the signal to decamp (Deut. 10:11).[22] The assignment to enter the land already at Kadesh-barnea, is recapitulated there, in the beginning of the tenth chapter as well as in the first chapter of Deuteronomy, just before the renewal of the covenantal signs (9:23).[23]

Our point of departure now, analysing the composition, is at the end of the Deuteronomistic History. When Noth treated the first chapters of Deuteronomy, he considered the first four chapters as a frame. At the end, he comments only on the final four chapters, "When Moses had finished speaking all these words to all Israel" (Deut. 31:1ff). Noth emphasized the connections to what followed (1967:31ff), especially in Joshua but also in 1 Kings (ibid:36).[24]

Before entering the land in our reading, it is also relevant to pay attention to the Samaritan tradition, excluding everything but a Pentateuch. Reading Deuteronomy from a Samaritan perspective, the composition does not speak of a lost land and a lost space, but rather of a pinpointed place and, although with a number of warnings, a promised land to be entered. We return to the reading of Otto, summing up his key passage in Deut. 10:11 in a synchronic reading, connecting the first chapters with the final in Deut. 31:25–29. For Otto, at the end of Deuteronomy, Deut. 9–10 becomes a counterpoint, recapitulating the new stone tablets, given a second time, offering a new hope.[25] Such a reading implies that the situation at the plains of Moab may not be absolutely dependent on a certain historical time, but rather speaks of new perspectives.

Entering this land, there is a specific place to look for "But you shall seek the place that the LORD your God will choose out of all your tribes as his habitation to put his name there" (Deut. 12:5). McConville raised the question that should be kept in mind, namely, not to exclude the Samaritans; it is not selfevident that the monarchic stage of the story is the crucial one, especially if we change the form of the composition as we have shown above.[26] There is a clear tension already within Deuteronomy, on the one hand entering a land, on the other hand, looking for a specific place chosen by Yahweh.[27] McConville adds his own and Millar´s notice of the analogy between Horeb and the chosen place. Horeb gives way to Moab (though a

[22] Otto (2012:941f.). The picture of the Moses as the intercessor becomes the theological as well as the narrative centre (ibid).

[23] Otto himself points out that the author uses the localization to connect the first chapter with the ninth (Deut. 9:23a with Deut. 1:19b, 46), see (ibid:944). But Otto also includes the whole post-priestly composition within this arch, referring as well to Exod. 4:1–17 as Num. 11:3,34 (ibid).

[24] As we have already pointed out, for Noth it was important to differentiate between what preceded and what followed in Deuteronomy.

[25] Otto refers, finally, to Deut. 30:6 and the circumcision of the hearts (2012:1001f.). Otto uses as a key for the interpretation the difference between the time told and the time of the interpretation using the concept of *bā'et hahiw'* (Deut. 1:9, 16, 18; 9:20),"erzählte Zeit/ Erzählzeit" (ibid:987). With the concept of "departure" *massa'* the post-exilic interpreters allude to the post-priestly reception of Exod 40:36–38, and to the departure concept in Num 10:2–10. They connect this interpretation with the Mosaic promise of the land to the fathers (Deut. 1:8), and with what was to become, Deut. 10:11 (ibid:997).
Weinfeld on the other hand, in his commentary on Deuteronomy some years earlier, exposed the associations rather to the following text corpus of the DH. Weinfeld connected the understanding of the golden calf, not as Otto with a second chance within Deuteronomy, but with the apostasy of the nothern Israelites in a context of historical retrospect (Weinfeld 1991:424).

[26] See note 13. McConville himself refers to Shilo, the alternative mentioned in Jer 7:12 (1994:92). He also mentions that Deuteronomy LXX removes the MT ambiguity about whether a single sanctuary is meant, or one per tribe (Deut. 12:5/12:14) with the formula εν μια των φυλακων, see McConville (1994:102).

[27] McConville (1994:122) relates the uniqueness of the place to an aspect of sovereignity. This should also be related to the question of the development of Israel´s monotheism.

rhetorical identity is established between the two places). Such a succession of place now extends to the "chosen place" of the altar-law.[28]

The first form of this new community is the order of the tribal names given in the blessing of Moses (Deut. 33). The order refers primarily to Jacob´s blessing in Gen. 49, though giving priority to Joseph among the Northern tribes. The order is (still) not geographically oriented. It differs significantly from the order of the distribution of land, which follows (Josh. 13–21). The distribution of land, in the second part of Joshua, becomes the basic landscape for the continuing story.

Upon entering the land, the gate of Jordan opens. The first locality to be focused on is Jericho.[29] Before campaigning through the south (Josh. 10) and the north (Josh. 11), a second city, the locality of Ai, with its own king, is captured (Josh. 8). The Jericho story speaks about conquest. Ai speaks on *hērem,* the rules of the devoted.[30] At the end of the first half of the two halves in Joshua (Josh. 1–12 and 13–24), something resembling a royal ancient oriental inscription is presented - Joshua 12 - the list of the defeated kings.[31] Joshua may be characterized as the basic geographical map of the composition. In the centre of the map, a type of inscription is seen.

The study of Svensson concerning the toponyms in Joshua 14–21 clarifies the Judean background for the land distribution. So, already after finishing all the localities of Joshua, the focus on Judah is clear. Thanks to the locality of Shechem, a clear connection with the promises to Abraham is confirmed.[32] At the end of the presentation of the land the Joshua-figure points to the different gods and their options: With whom do they want to continue?

When Noth turns to Judges, the contrast in comparison to the treatment of Joshua is clear.[33] Each section of Judges, in which Noth also includes half of 1 Samuel, is considered important.[34] For Noth it is the connected sequence-line that is important, and since Joshua speaks of only one generation, Judges offers more. Thanks to the sequence of Judges until Samuel, the storyline is kept.[35] We can see that with a focus on the sequence and movement, Judges becomes the key. Here, temporality is prioritized. But, as they are ordered in all Bibles, Joshua is the first of the two, which puts the emphasis on locality.[36] First the space, then the

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[28] McConville argues that there is a paradox present - a tension built in - between chapters 4 and 12. Basically, chapter 12 which is consciously on a time line of promise – fulfilment, like chapter 4, emerges from Deut. 12:20 ("as he has promised you"). Though the fulfilment is not a necessary final end; the possibility of the loss of everything that is given is contained in the warnings not to be ensnared by the practices of other nations, and the implied similarity between their fate and Israel´s (Deut.12:30), McConville (1994:138).

[29] It is evident that Joshua may go with Deuteronomy (Hexateuch), but also that Moses may be the divider of the generations. A third option, out of a spatial reading, suggests the locality of Jordan as the borderline. Jordan may be the argument as to the difference between the compositions. Jordan becomes the gate and the ark the key to that gate.

[30] Nelson (1997:101ff).

[31] Nelson (1997:1, 159). We will not discuss the relationship between the Deuteronomistic parts and the pre-deuteronomistic versions at this time.

[32] The plain conclusion of Svensson (1994:97) is that the territory can only be discerned as the Davidic Kingdom. Most commentators hitherto have read the final layers in the context of Josiah, see Svensson (1994:98) and Nelson (1997:269–72). Joshua becomes a type for every good judge or king, so Svensson (1994:93).

[33] In his classical study Noth uses twice as many pages for "The time of 'Judges'" compared to "The distribution of land in west Jordan land".

[34] Though that half of Joshua: "nicht von Hause aus in dem Werke von Dtr gestanden", Noth (1967:45f.) emphazised that the work of the redactor is clearly recognizable also in that part.

[35] Noth marks the interrelationships between the preceding and the following texts: the death of Joshua mentioned in Judg. 2:6f. and the speech of Samuel in 1 Sam. 12 which renders the same character as the text at the end of Joshua (Josh. 23).

[36] This is one of the major arguments for a focus on spatiality in the deuteronomistic composition.

movement; locality prior to temporality. To a modern mind it would have been as plausible to offer the overall picture at the end.

The form critical study of Frolov has tried to set Judges in an Enneateuch context.[37] As Noth, Frolov does not read Judges isolated from what precedes and what follows. For Frolov, Josh. 1:1–2 Kings 25:30 is a postlude to Deuteronomy. The distribution of land is completed in Judges 1:26 with wages of observance. Then, wages of transgression follow to the bitter end. Frolov believes that Judges justifies Israel´s transformation into a monarchy all the way to 1 Sam. 8:1, with warnings as well as with promises. Judges within the book, become examples for those returning from Babylon with the new leadership.[38]

The need of a leadership and the problems of kingship are clarified in Samuel and Kings. In Kings, the geographical context is widened to also include an Assyrian and Babylonian world. Noth stressed the periodization of the kings. From a spatial point of view, the focus is on the city of Jerusalem as the final residential city. For the Chronicler, the city is both the beginning, with the people centred around the service of the temple (1 Chr. 5:27–6:66), as well as the final point, when Cyros is set to rebuild the temple (2 Chr. 36:22–23). With the alternative residential spots in the deuteronomistic composition—which periodically may be even stronger than Jerusalem—the problem of spatiality is sharpened.

We summarize our arguments for a priority to locality when describing the land into which the Deuteronomist brings his readers. The way the composition is formed and interpreted sets the basic spatial frame. It is not self evident that Deuteronomy exclusively focuses on Jerusalem. At any rate, legitimitization of the locality is underscored. There is an interest in not exposing the precise localities, while stressing the importance of the present position of the reader. Joshua can be classified as a map. Joshua becomes a key for the orientation and vision for the continuing story especially, the Davidic Kingdom. Also, Judges gives spatial priority to the southern parts of the land, to Judah. Especially in Kings, the spatial field is widened. Jerusalem is the City, also as the centre of Judah, all the way to its desolation.

III. Jerusalem in the Field of Localities as a Geographical Context.

Secondly, we consider the problem of Deuteronomistic spatiality out of the criteria of cartography.[39] We use the concept of cartography; as a synthesis of reading and imagining the

[37] Though a serious study, Frolov´s final characterization of Judges as ambiguous, so his own commentary must be characterized. When Frolov looks for a diachronic trajectory he recognizes the similarities with the idea of Noth locating the redactor around 560. (Frolov reconstructs a story at the court in Babylonia [with not too many referred sources] and the interests of the recently released Jehoiachin. There the Enneateuch should have had its final form). But, questioning redaction critical identification, Frolov himself finds only three sources (2013:350f.).
[38] Frolov (2013:344f.). Brettler also finds such a pro-monarchial pro-Judean theme present in the conclusion, in the introduction as in the middle material, Brettler (2002:111). He argues: "A clear pattern falls into place, which mirrors chapter 1: It is the Judean judges who are unambiguously good, and the northern leaders who are bad. Noting that the judges, like the tribes in chapter 1, are described geographically, from south to north, is not sufficient – it is crucial to realize that this geographical patterning is connected to a set of value judgements, as in chapter 1." (ibid:113).
[39] As Long (2007:110) points out, biblical, cartographical issues have been analysed but primarily out of a sociological Third Space perspective. In the same volume, Schweitzer refers critically to Camp concerning this dominating approach as too unrealizable work for intellectuals (2007:145f.). With an absolute understanding of sources, historical nuances are weakened, which are seen in the fact that our sources at the same time are artefacts as well as stories. The text is more than just a message. The text is an artefact in itself. Since the functional understanding of sources gained acceptance within historical research, there is always a narrative as well as an archaeological aspect to consider. Paying attention to the distribution of the localities we can identify possible patterns that have been of less interest. The Greek versions and their very different way of treating these difficulties show that the question was early discussed, a problem clearly recognized by Svensson (1994:21–23).

description.[40] When we ask how to treat the many local names we start with the present text and the net of relationships between the names. Given an absolute understanding of space our geographical associations often relate to specific geographical spots or localities. Our intention here is to stay in the very thin level of representation of the composition.

The consecration scenes of the temple in the two compositions are keys in understanding the whole picture.[41] We have distilled the local names, as follows in the chart below, and focused on how Egypt (from where the fellowship arrived) and primarily Jerusalem (the final goal) are exposed. Egypt is present from the beginning. With the Chronicler, Jerusalem dominates. In both compositions, the city of David is a key location. We do not suppose that the redactors ordered the localities in detail intentionally but, rather, ask what kind of cartographical field that is formed in each work. Comments will follow after the overview. The many names make up the spatial field. Egypt and Jerusalem are to be focused.

Deuteronomistic locality (1 Kings 3:1–11:43).[42]	Chronistic locality (2 Chr. 1:1–9:31)
I. Political relations Jerusalem – Egypt (1 Kings 3:1–3).	**I. All Israel go to Gibeon for cult (2 Chr 1:1–6).**
*Egypt, City of David, **Jerusalem** (3:1)*	Gibeon (1:3),Kirjath-Jearim, **Jerusalem** (1:4)
II. Gibeoncult and Yahweh-visit in the night (3:4–15).	**II. Nightmeeting Yahweh and Solomon (1:7–13).**
*Gibeon (3:4), **Jerusalem** (3:15)*	**Jerusalem** (1:13)
III. The women and their disagreement (3:16–28).	**III. Capabilities and resources (1:14–17).**
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IV. Officers, prefects and districts (4:1–19).	(1:15), Egypt, Kue, Kue (1:16), Egypt (1:17)
Hill country of Ephraim (4:8) Makaz, Shaalbim, Beth-shemesh, Elon-bet-hanan (4:9), Arubboth: Socoh–Hepher (4:10), Naphath-dor (4:11), Taanach (4:12), Megiddo and all Beth-shean (4:12), Ramoth-gilead (4:13), Mahanaim (4:14), Naphtali (4:15), Asher, Bealoth (4:16)	**IV. Support from Tyre for the project (2:1–17).**
Issachar (4:17), Benjamin (4:18), Gilead, Judah (4:19)	Tyre (2:2), Judah, **Jerusalem** (2:6), Lebanon
V. Concourse, land and resources as the sand by the sea (4:20–5:14).	(2:7), Tyre (2:10), Dan, Tyre (2:13), Lebanon,
Euphrates, Philistia, Egypt (5:1), Euphrate: Tiphsah–Gaza (5:4)	the Sea, Joppa, **Jerusalem** (2:15),
Dan even to Beer-sheba (5:5), Lebanon (5:13)	**V. Staged project at chosen place (3:1–5:1).**
VI. Dressed stones from Hiram for the foundation (5:15–32).	**Jerusalem**, Mount Moriah, Floor of the
Tyre (5:15), Lebanon (5:20), the Sea (5:23), Gebal (5:32)	Jebusite (3:1), Parvaim (3:6), Valley of
VII. Interior and exterior of the temple project (6.1–7.12)	Jordan, Succoth and Zarethan (7:46)
Egypt (6:1)	**VI. Yahweh´s glory and the Temple-Ark, (5:2–14)**
VIII. In the valley of Jordan and in the treasuries (7:13–51).	**Jerusalem**, City of David: Zion (5:2), Horeb
Tyre (7:13), Valley of Jordan, Succoth and Zarethan (7:46)	Egypt (5:10)
IX. Solomon´s speech, prayer and dedication (8:1–66).	**VII. Solomon´s speech, blessing and prayer(6:1–42).**
***Jerusalem**, City of David (8:1), Horeb, Egypt (8:9), Egypt (8:16), Egypt (8:21), Egypt (8:51), Egypt (8:53), Lebo-hamath to the Wadi of Egypt (8:65)*	Egypt (6:5), **Jerusalem** (6:6)
X. Yahweh-visit II as in Gibeon (9:1–9).	**VIII. Fire, hymns, music, celebration (7:1–10).**
Gibeon (9:2), Egypt (9:9)	Lebo-hamath to the Wadi of Egypt (7:8)
XI. Exposé of city business and plans (9:10–28).	**IX. Meeting at night II (7:11–22).**
Tyre, Galilee (9:11), Tyre (9:12), Cabul (9:13), Hazor, Megiddo (9:15)	Egypt (7:22)
XII. Queen from abroad reads the impressions (10:1–13).	**X. Fullfilled; further projects and cult (8:1–18).**
*Sheba (10:1), **Jerusalem** (10:2), Sheba (10:3, 10, 13)*	Hamath-zobah (8:3), Tadmor, Hamath (8:4)
XIII. Devastating wealth (10:14–29).	Upper and lower Beth-horon (8:5),
*House of the Forest of Lebanon (10:17), Tarshish (10:22), **Jerusalem** (10:26), Shephelah (10:27), Egypt, Kue (10:28), Egypt (10:29)*	Baalath, **Jerusalem**, Lebanon (8:6),
XIV. Stuck in passionate relations (11:1–13).	Hittite, Amorite, Perizzite, Hivite
Moab, Ammon, Edom, Sidon, Hittite land (11:1),	Jebusite (8:7), City of David (8:11), Ezion-geber, Eloth, Edom (8:17), Ophir (8:18),

[40] Though the basic idea of the map is to reproduce an image more or less directly related to real topography, the map cannot be understood without interpretation of the symbols, Harley (2001:2-32).

[41] That is compositionally clear with the Chronicler. It is also clear with the Deuteronomist stressing the importance of the confirmation of the definite site for real worship (1 Kings 8:14–21). The scenes are divided as their locality change. The first listeners probably could not imagine what we believe is a precise map of our day. They had their own associations to the named localities. We suppose that basic associations can be understood within the composition.

[42] All localities according to NRSV. When the localities are compared within the parallel consecration scenes, a second major argument for a spatial deuteronomstic aspect is seen (the first due to the order of Joshua and Judges). In Kings, this key pericope is wider, with more localities. In this chart they should be interpreted as background in the image.

*Sidon, Ammon (11:5), Moab, **Jerusalemx2** (11:7, 13)*
XV. Adversary from the north and from the south (11:14–25).
Edom (11:14), Egypt (11:17), Midian, Paran, Egypt (11:18, 21) Zobah (11:23), Damascus (11:24), Aram (11:25)
XVI. Alternative dynasty exposed and brought to Egypt (11:26–40).
*Ephraim, Zeredah (11:26), Millo, City of David (11:27), **Jerusalem**, Shilo (11:29), **Jerusalem** (11:32), Sidon, Moab, Ammon (11:33), **Jerusalem** (11:36), Egypt (11:40)*
XVII. End, in peace? (11:41–43).
***Jerusalem** (11:42), City of David (11:43)*

XI. Solomon´s responses to all interests of Q (9:1–12)
Sheba **Jerusalem** (9:1), Sheba (9:3, 9, 12)
XII. Ivory throne, new horses and stalls (9:13–28).
Jerusalem (9:15), House of the Forest of Lebanon (9:16, 20), Tarshish (9:21), **Jerusalem** Euphrate--Philistia-Egypt (9:26), **Jerusalem** (9:25), Shephelah (9:27), Egypt (9:28)
XIII. Peaceful ending (9:29–31).
Shilo (9:29), **Jerusalem** (9:30), C David (9:31)

With the Deuteronomist a spatial involvement with Egypt is seen in the marriage mentioned at the beginning of the composition and the new wife´s movement through the scenes (1 Kings 3:1; 7:8; 9:16, 24; 11:1).[43] The statement concerning the distance from the Exodus out of Egypt (1 Kings 6:1) confirms the dependence.[44] A spatial orientation is further confirmed when the Deuteronomist is about to illustrate the strength of Solomon (1 Kings 4:1–19). The Deuteronomist exposes the field of the districts which the Chronicler does not. The warnings in the speech of Solomon (1 Kings 8:1 ff. and 2 Chr. 6:1ff) are clear in both works, but it is the Deuteronomist who brings them to light with the further geographical, international references (1 Kings 11:1–25). The Promised Land concept most easily explains the spatial tendency.[45]

In the Chronistic composition of the consecration scenes Jerusalem as locality is present everywhere. The influence of Egypt is limited in that pericope, which Japhet gently notes.[46] With our overview, the contrast with the Deuteronomist should be noted. Egypt is a counterpart and becomes the first real threat in Shishak, taking all treasures from the temple and the king´s house (1 Kings 14:25ff.).

The Deuteronomist has a clear interest in Jerusalem though not as convinced as the Chronicler. The interest is clear ever since the conquest in 2 Sam. 5, but the locality is pointed out as a strategical sight and a key point as early as when Ai is burnt in Joshua (10:1).[47] Both in Joshua and Judges the spatial problem around Jerusalem is recognized. Neither the Judeans (Josh. 18:63) nor the Benjaminites (Judg. 1:21) could drive out the Jebusites.[48] When

[43] What we classify as lists in 1 Kings 4:7–15, Cogan identifies as districts, either by traditional tribal designations, by topographical features or by city names, reasonably Canaanite centres, Cogan (2001:218). Cogan, in his turn, refers primarily to the lists in Josh. 13–21. When Svensson (1994:13) presents the land of Joshua he distinguishes three concepts: (1) the Land of Canaan, (2) the Davidic Kingdom, and (3) the Land promised through the Deuteronomist for the end of Days. Svensson recognizes that each of them has its own historical reality. They are used as a literal ideal in different biblical settings. As we continue, we focus on Jerusalem and the ark as a key.

[44] Despite the weight of Van Seters´ arguments (1997), the period may be interpreted in genealogical terms as well. For such a genealogy see Laato (1994:78, Table 1). At the same time as the Exodus the ark was built.

[45] Svensson (1994:15) refers to the promise in Josh. 1:4 where the region is named, "From the wilderness and the Lebanon as far as the great river, the river Euphrates, all the land of the Hittites, to the Great Sea in the west shall be your territory."

[46] Japhet´s analysis (1993:590) follows the traditional understanding of the relationship between the Chronicler as the second after the Deuteronomist (note 6). Person (2010:172) formulates a slightly different basic perspective in the present discussion, "Rather than envisioning one original, authoritative, determinant text, we should envision a collection of coexisting parallel editions, none of which preserves the tradition in its entirety and, therefore none of which can be authoritative alone. (---) from the perspective of the scribe and the ancients, both the Vorlage and the new copy may equally have represented the broader tradition, although imperfectly, so that in one sense nothing was changed in the process of copying."

[47] Nelson (1997:128) connects the declared status of the Gibeonites in Josh. 9:16–17, 22–27 with the circumstances described in the consecration scenes thus underlining Joshua as a royal reforming figure.

[48] Nelson (1997:189) points out that Josh. 18:63 frames a Judean town list, 18:20–63. In itself the verse emphasizes that non-Israelites remained at strategic locations as in Josh. 16:10, 17:12. At the same time, the verse contradicts the boundary description e.g. Josh. 15:8. Brettler reads Judges 1:21 – when explaining the failure as a

David conquers the city in 2 Sam 5 the step-by-step procedure is underlined. He began with the stronghold of Zion which became the city of David (2 Sam. 5:7). Reminiscences of these tactical spatial aspects are also seen in the consecration pericope, especially in our scene VII (1 Kings 7:1–12). The connections with Tyre are also visible at the Davidic conquest of Jerusalem (2 Sam. 5:11ff.). However, these connections certainly were complicated in light of marriages between the house of Omri and the other city-king of the coast, king Ethbaal of Sidon (1 Kings 16:31). These connections, contrasting the interest in Tyre, cause Baal altars to be erected in Samaria, the reason for Elijah´s entrance into the story (1 Kings 17:1).

In this spatial net of localities we interpret at a representational level. Joshua offers the basic map. Four basic nets for Jerusalem are seen in the DH. It is clear that the content of the net depends on which composition we read, which local names are counted. Certain localities can be supposed, as Jerusalem in Deut. 12, but without the names given, there is a question concerning them. The four nets presented here are ordered thus: (1) before an Israelite king in Jerusalem, (2) the period of only one Israel-king in Jerusalem, (3) one king in Jerusalem and kings over the northern tribes, and finally (4) Jerusalem on its own.

Already the first net speaks indirectly of Jerusalem related to Judah. The strategic point of the city, with its earlier king (Josh. 10:3), is pointed out. Gibeon, also a part of that net, is presented after the Ai-story. The people around Gibeon, located as the third city on a line from Jordan and westwards, save their city thanks to a tricked oath. Their future as servants around the temple is already sealed (Josh. 9:27).[49] Hebron is said to be the first neighbour to which the king of Jerusalem turned after the rumour of the conquerors from east (Josh. 10:3). Hebron is also a key site already in Joshua.[50] The threads are represented by the cities of the Philistines (Judges and 1 Sam.). In 1 Samuel, Bethel, Gilgal and Mispa are in focus (1 Sam. 7:15)[51]. Bethel is the first mentioned locality in Joshua after the conquest of Jericho. Shekem is the last mentioned. As marked by cultic references, these cities will be treated in our third part concerning the ark. Shilo is the place where the final lots are distributed. The final layer of the map is located at Shilo (Josh. 18:1ff.).

The second net is formed with Jerusalem as the one and only centre, with no other related residential cities around. The net reaches outside the land. The consecration scenes become the mirror as we pointed out earlier.[52] The Ark Narrative confirms this ideal period of Jerusalem, 2 Sam. 6. The localities named at the temple-project prove an international context, to the south, north and east (Damascus and Aram) (1 Kings 11:24-25).[53] Reading Frolov (2013:345f.), the final form of an Enneateuch should be interpreted in such a context abroad (with the release of Jehoiachin), especially since a covenant confirmation was given after the installation of David as king in Jerusalem together with the ark (2 Sam. 5-6).

Benjaminite failure – as an attempt to glorify Judah (2002:101). Svensson (1994:58) acknowledges the Benjaminite tradition and the Davidic claims.

[49] The mark as a levitical city in Josh. (21:17) underscores the priestly influence.

[50] Nelson explains the presence of Hebron in Joshua with the intimate association between the patriarchs and David (1997:180).

[51] Related at the end of Judges, Gibeah, the city of Saul, becomes a shadow, even as Saul is forgotten. Brettler (2002:111f.) tries to recover the understanding connecting the story of the rape in Gibeah with the good Benjaminite of Ehud, placed as the second judge. Benjaminites who have integrated into Judea with proper alliances are fine.

[52] Already LXX (Vaticanus) saw the Jerusalem name given in the consecration scene 1 Kings 8:16, so Cogan (2001:282). BHS does not refer to the Greek text but suggests a reading according to MT (2 Chr. 6:6a). We note that LXX 2 Chr. 6:6a does not write the Jerusalem name, so Vannutelli (1931:267). We have already referred to a LXX tendency to remove an ambiguity in Deut. 12:5/12:14, whether one single sanctuary is meant, or one per tribe.

[53] The clearest label is the reference to Sheba (1 Kings 10:1-13) supposedly of southern Arabia. Still the reference must primarily be interpreted just as such an international stamp. Cogan refers historical arguments (2001:315).

Such a confirmation can be recognized when compared to Ancient Near Eastern royal ideology.[54]

In our third net of Jerusalem, Samaria and Tirzah are the counter-cities. As the residential place for the northern tribes, Tirzah illustrates the problem of a proper understanding of the local names. Tirzah also appears in Joshua, whose king is the last mentioned in the king list, Josh. 12:24. The locality is to be interpreted as a Canaanite stronghold, a lot given to a daughter of the Manasse tribe (Josh. 17:3), and finally a political part around Jerusalem.[55] Noth points out the scanty impressions of the northern charismatic leadership.[56] Though the city Samaria primarily becomes the counter city to Jerusalem, at the same time, in the story, its ups and downs turn out as a contrast to what happens in Jerusalem.[57]

Finally, Jerusalem is on its own. Next door cities are the world powers which are not pleased with its behaviour. Due to the Assyrian decline, Jerusalem gets a second opportunity. In the end, Babylon dismantles what looks like another stronghold.

In summary, these four nets of localities around the city offer a sharper context for Jerusalem: (1) A period preparing for the ideal period of the city. (2) The ideal position as the key city centre. (3) The problematized period finally settled without a future. (4) Surrendered to neighbours that finally desolated it. So, what about its promises?

IV. An Abstract Idea of An Objective Place?

What difference does the concept of the chosen place make for a deuteronomistic spatial problem? We return to one of the keys to deuteronomistic self-understanding, the confirmation of the place with the ark and the stone tablets inside, as seen in the light of the consecration scenes.[58] What happens with that confirmation after Jerusalem? The ark connects the composition. Does the ark´s travelling provide some explanation concerning the promises?

We formulate two questions for this final part of the paper: 1. Did the promises also leave for Babylon? 2. Is the deuteronomistic understandning of the chosen place, in and of itself, a part of its definition on how to formulate its spatial understanding?

Ahlström unwrapped the travels of the ark as propaganda of religio-political importance out of an absolute understanding of the textual material as well as of the actual region.[59] We clarify

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[54] Laato compares Assyrian and Babylonian royal building inscriptions as prophecies from Mari and Neo-Assyrian royal prophecies. He finds clear parallels (1997:262ff.). At the same time, our problem is obvious; this blessed place is reported desolated in the end.

[55] Tirzah as a locality in the kingdom-history is attested in 1 Kings 14:17; 15:21, 33; 16:6, 8, 9, 15, 17, 23, 2 Kings 15:14, 16).

[56] Noth also points out that for the historywriting it is the chronicles saved with the temple in Jerusalem that are important, not the kingdom in the north (1967:74ff.).

[57] Cogan (2001:419) comments on the choice of the location of Samaria as a wise choice, also due to its topographical features. The Deuteronomistic priority to Judah on the one hand, and the final desolation of Jerusalem on the other, form the tension that sets Samaria in a counter perspective. However, despite northern Ahab-influence through Athaliah in Jerusalem (2 Kings 8:26ff), an also prosperous longer period can be seen in Samaria. There are blessings of Jerobeam II, the fourth and final part of the fourth dynasty, once anointed by Elisha. They are described with associations to the consecration scenes, compare 2 Kings 14:25ff. and 1 Kings 8:65, though hardly by a Deuteronomistic hand. Tadmor/Cogan (1988) counts on possible pre-Deuteronomistic traditions (1988:144/163).

[58] Noth (1967:105f.): ”Die positive Bedeutung, die der Tempel von Jerusalem für ihn hatte und die ihn seine Errichtung durch das lange Tempelweihgebet als einen Markstein in der von ihm dargestellten Geschichte bezeichnen (---) lag (---) in der Rolle (---) ’Wohnstätte für den Namen Jahwes’ (---) die heilige Lade mit den Gesetzestafel (---) endlich auch darin, dass es, da ein Opferkult nun einmal geplegt wurde, die nach Dt einzig legitime Kultstätte war.”

[59] Ahlström (1984). Even how to define political power in this context is a problem. Ahlström argues that Yahweh became a national and supreme god with the move of the ark into Jerusalem (1984:146). We will use his

that we analyse the level of representation of the deuteronomistic work in order to be able to identify parts of a deuteronomistic spatiality. We analyse the ark phenomenon in a composition from a variety of source-materials. We pay special attention to the localities to which the ark is associated.[60] We continue where Zobel stopped his primarily source-redactional critical overview. We focus on the ark in the Deuteronomistic composition.[61]

Including the function of the ark in our interpretation forms a different context for the understanding which already exists at the plains of Moab; we know the catastrophe at the end. The ark at its place in the temple is the confirmation of the deuteronomistic paroll in the composition: seek the place (Deut.12:5). The problem for the Deuteronomist is that this place is exiled, as this paper has underscored. Most often 2 Sam. 6–7 is interpreted as the solution.[62] But the key is connected primarily to the city itself. David captures Jerusalem in 2 Sam. 5, but we find the final synthesis in the consecration prayer (1 Kings 8:1-66). Ahlström refers to the idea that as the ark had been imprisoned and released, so the exiled people would be released.[63] But the travel of the ark concerns more than just the move. Recognizing the solution in the actual final consecration scenes may be a better solution. At the final place there is a basic, plain confirmation. In our opinion, it is confirmed twice:

As a first confirmation, it is clear that it is the same (ark) covenant that left Moab in the chest that is meant to have arrived in Jerusalem (1 Kings 8:9).[64]

As a second confirmation, this place presented in the temple is not only named with the neutral term the *māqôm* (Deut. 12:5, 11; 1 Kings 8:6, 7) as in the classical deuteronomistic formula *'el-habbayit hazzeh layilā wāyôm 'el-hammāqôm 'ᵃšer āmarttā yihye šĕmiy šām* (1 Kings 8:29), but soon also as *mākôn*. Before the invocation itself (1 Kings 8:31–53), in 1 Kings 8:30 the prayer intermixes the place at the spot and the place in heaven: *'ᵃšer yitppalĕlō 'el-hammāqôm hazzeh wĕ'attâh ttišma''el-mĕqôm šibttĕkâh 'el-hāššâmāyim*. So, when the prayer refers to Yhwh´s dwelling, a different root for the ma-nomen *kōn* is used: *haššāmayim mĕkôn šibttekā* (1 Kings 8:39, 43, 49). *Kōn* – to be firm instead of *qôm* – arise, stand up.[65] The common standing-place concept, *māqôm,* is intermixed with an established-place concept, *mākôn,* connected with the heavens.[66] The items in the prayer also concern exiled people.

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conclusions, but was it really a national god in a political sense? It was the new god of the city which by then turned out as the key point in the area. Ahlström finds it curious (in a note) that the narrator did not mention more newly annexed territories since it would have been an excellent means of glorifying the Davidic state (ibid:146, n.23). We try to differ between facts, reconstruction and representation. That there is a tendency, an interest of the author/redactor, is not surprising.

[60] We will stay primarily with the classical understanding of the composition by Noth (1967), remembering the Enneateuchic frame which Frolov (2013) uses as frame, and we will relate different P and D ark interests.

[61] Zobel closes his article on the ark with the question on the final purpose of the ark (1974:373f.), a question to which Otto in his synchronic exegesis of Deuteronomy has now proposed an answer (2012:997).

[62] Richter offers a recent overview on the discussion (2012:71ff.). She questions the traditional understanding of the presence related to the god-name itself in favour of an authority in the plain act of inscribing the specific name upon the monument in question (ibid:69). She compares with ANE material, but Laato´s evidences (1997) are still convince.

[63] Ahlström (1984:144). In our reading; it is a realization of what is promised inside.

[64] Rad (1966:79) pointed out the parallel.

[65] BDB: 465 and 877.

[66] BDB does not refer to specific traditions for the *mākôn* concept, probably due to their poetic interpretation. Except for the consecration scenes (parallels in Chronicles) the word is only attested once in Exod. (15:17), twice in Isa. (4:5, 18:4), four times in Ps. (33:14; 89:14; 97:2; 104:5), once in Dan. (8:11) and once in Ezra (2:68). In the psalms the theme of the heavenly founded throne granting Yhwh´s over-Lordship dominates. But there is also the aspect of foundations from beneath (Ps 104:5). The explicit, parallell connection between the *mākôn* and the Yhwh sanctuary is found in Exod. 15:17.

This indicates that the presence of dwelling of the Yhwh goes beyond the present place and cannot be understood as bound exclusively to the city-temple of Jerusalem. The frame in Deuteronomy indicates already that what is done there exceeds the present story.[67] Horeb was the first place for revelation, and the new *ha-māqôm* place turned out to be the new locality with the sermon of Moses on the plains of Moab.[68] Finally, with the consecration scenes in the temple, the foundation for the prayers turns out to be founded *mākôn* in the heavens. This can also explain why the ark is not mentioned in the deuteronomistic composition after the installation in 1 Kings 8:21. The very idea was to point beyond the place itself since it was broken down. If we are correct, there should be hints of praying even before the final prayer in the temple.

When we single-out the deuteronomistic ark we compare it primarily with the representation of the Chronistic work to identify nuances concerning our focus on spatiality/locality.[69] We have identified thirteen stops for the ark, from Moab to the temple in Jerusalem. Is it possible to interpret these stops within a frame of the Deuteronomistic composition? Aren´t the promises with which we associate the chest a too simple solution? On a source level, yes, it is.[70] On a representational level, probably no, we will argue. Deuteronomy as the program at the plains of Moab stresses what is put into the chest (Deut. 10:1f.). Immediately, before the order to break up, fragments of the itinerary are seen and the organization is underlined.[71] We form four groups out of the thirteen stops; the pre-Jerusalem story localities, (A) with Israel, (B) with the Philistine enemies; and the Jerusalem story, (C) all the way into the temple and finally, (D) with the king.[72]

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[67] So the synchronic reading of Otto (2012:1001): ”Priester- und Levitendienst treten in eine argumentative Lücke, die die mosaische Erzählung von Gegossenen Kalb nur durch den Rückbezug auf Dtn 4,31 schliesst. So konstatiert die Erzählung in Dtn 10,10 dass JHWH das Volk nicht mehr vernichten wolle, was gelten solle, obwohl in Dtn 9,6 konstatiert und in Dtn 9,13 bestätigt wird, dass es ein gegenüber JHWH halsstarriges Volk sei, was im Gegensatz zu JHWHs Vernichtungsankündigung nicht zurückgenommen wird. In diese Lücke tritt vom »Bucherzähler« vorgetragen direkt in die nachexilische Erzählzeit sprechend der kultische Dienst von clerus *maior et minor*. Dtn 31,25–29 ist intensiv mit der Erzählung vom Gegossen Kalb in Dtn 9,1–10,11 verknüpft. (---) Die Erzählung vom Gegossenen Kalb in Dtn 9–10 setzt zu JHWHs Vernichtungsankündigung in Dtn 31,16–26 einen Kontrapunkt. Der Gebotsbruch des Volkes am Gottesberg, der in synchroner Perspektive des Pentateuch ein Bundesbruch ist, habe nicht die Vernichtung durch JHWH nach sich gezogen.Vielmehr habe JHWH dem Volk am Gottesberg eine neue Zukunft eröffnet.”

[68] Otto (2012:955f.) stresses the possibility of a ”gesamtpentateuchischen Horizont” in the post-exilic situation and re-reading.

[69] When spatial issues form a field, we speak of locality. The ark-related discussion on the sociologically- defined shift from a seminomadic to a monarchic society system should be noted, see Ahlström (1984:148f) and Laato (1997:264f.). Concerning the ark in Samuel, Campbell gives the short form; Yhwh is moving from the Israel of Shilo to the Israel of Jerusalem (2003:303).

[70] We relate into one image the different ark-concepts with the different appositions; relevant when a growth of the Ark Narrative is to be told, see Campbell (2003:304). We adhere, on the one hand, to an understanding where the ark as such is to confirm the chosen place. On the other hand, the chest carries the deuteronomistic program in two aspects. One aspect of the programme offers the new hope told in the historical sermon, summoned up in the march order Deut. 10:11. The other aspect summarized in the concept of ten commandments, yet inside the box and a program to be materialized, known to the readers of the deuteronomistic programme, see Otto (2012:997 and 992f.). Von Rad (1966:79) highlights the contrast in different ark images, between what looks like a container in Deutr. 10:1 and earlier ones, such as those interpreted as the place of Yahweh´s throne (Num, 10:35f.; 1 Sam. 4:4 etc.).

[71] Von Rad (1966:79) as well as Mayes (1979:205) suggest reasons for the extra hands in Deut. 10:6-9. Otto (2012:992f.) suggests the post-exilic period, with the interests of Persia and Aronides and Zadoqites, as the realistic formative and interpretative situation.

[72] These groups are formed out of the present position in the deuteronomistic composition:
A. At Jordan (Josh. 3:13–4:18), at Jericho (Josh. 6:4–13, 7:6), in between Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal (Josh. 8:33), at Bethel (Josh. 7:6-7, Judg. 20:27), at Shiloh (1 Sam. 3:3–4:22).
B. In Ashdod (1 Sam. 5:1–7), in Gath (1 Sam. 5:8–9), in Ekron (1 Sam. 5:10–6:11), in Beth-shemesh (1 Sam. 6:13–18), at Kirjath-jearim (1 Sam. 7:1–2).

Pre-Jerusalemite stops with Israel (A).

In Joshua, at Jordan, these promises and this program open the waters. The pericope brings (again) its reader into something of a contemporary experience. Soggin refers two reccurring roots in chapters 3–4: to pass over (*'br*) and to stop, stand (*'md*). The crossing becomes synonymous with the conquest.[73] The Deuteronomist relates the liturgies, which, at the same time, confirm the Gilgal´s ancient cult site.[74] The Chronicler refers to Jordan but only when locating the distributions of Levitical cities (1 Chr. 6:78) and the activities of king David (1 Chr. 12:15, 37; 19:17; 26:30). There is nothing in Chronicles on Gilgal.

At Jericho, the liturgical conditions are basically the same as at Jordan.[75] Concerning Chronicles, it is the same as with Jordan.

In between Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal (Josh. 8:33) we have the same reading context as at Jordan and Jericho; a liturgical literary form. Here the ark relates the cultic aspects together with clear deuteronomstic priorities.[76] For the Chronicler, the mountain-site is the same as Shekem, referred to in 2 Chr. 10:1. That´s where the opposition gathers, thrice mentioned in the genealogies.

Bethel is mentioned once by the Chronicler in one of the three verses connected to Shekem (1 Chr. 7:28). Bethel is more present in the Deuteronomistic work where it becomes the symbol of the apostasy of the Northern tribes confronted in the end by Josiah, 2 Kings 23:15-18. Nevertheless, the ark stayed in Bethel (Judg. 20:27). Joshua adhered to the ark for inquiries. If Bethel is banned by the Chronicler, the oracular function was not. The properly performed oracular is probably one of the more important themes in Chronicles (1 Chr. 10:13-14).

Before the summarizing conclusion, we will add two final notes concerning the ark route.

Among the enemies (B).

When the ark is taken into the Philistine area (B), the story becomes a mirror of what happens in the exile, as Ahlström reminded. In the exile, Israel goes into enemy land as the ark had done. The confirmed chosen place is dismantled, but, as such, the content of the chest, the promises of the chosen place, together with the stipulations of the covenant which are symbolized in the two stone tablets, goes with the exiled. At the end of 2 Kings a lawbook is seen. The interpretation is that the blessing of the chosen place can be known also in the diaspora.

With the king (D).

We find a parallel in the story of king David leaving Jerusalem due to Absalom´s revolt (2 Sam. 15:24-29). The blessings and confirmation of the chosen place may leave but are still programmed for a return.

C. At Baale-judah in the house of Abinadab, (2 Sam. 6:2–5), at the threshing-floor of Nacon (2 Sam. 6:6–9), at the house of Obed-edom the Gittite (2 Sam. 6:10–11), from city of David into the Temple (1 Kings 8:1–6).
D. In booths (2 Sam. 11:11), with the king (2 Sam. 15:24–29).

[73] Soggin (1972:54). Nelson has called into question a dominant interpretation of cultic legitimation (1997:67).

[74] Soggin (1972:51) points to the fact that at Jordan the Passover liturgy finishes the act; at the Exodus from Egypt it is introduced. Noth (1967:42) points out the position of the ark given in the history of the tradition and says that it is the Deuteronomist who adds to the priests, "who bear the ark."

[75] Soggin compares with the holy war-formula in 2 Chr. 13:13–16 (1972:86).

[76] When Noth comments on Josh. 8:33 (1967:43), he cannot see anything but the Deuteronomistic hand, no need for further sources. Boling, acknowledging the second hand Dtr 2, criticizes Soggin, who wants to rearrange the text to follow 24:27 (1982:251ff.). Boling (ibid:250) underscores, with many, the *qāhāl* concept in Josh. 8:35, as extremely important to Deuteronomy; in Samuel and Kings it is used almost only when Solomon is in charge, especially in the consecration prayer (1 Kings 8:14, 22, 55, 65). Exception in 1 Kings 12:3.

To summarize, and in answer to our two questions of this third part, the promises could have left for Babylon thanks to an abstract idea of the ark being taken away. The idea of the chosen place and the chosen land seems to change the presuppositions on how to evaluate a spatiality of the Deuteronomist.

V. Summarizing conclusion

This paper asks if one of the basic problems that the Deuteronomist wants to raise is a spatial problem; the lost land and the lost place. For the analysis the categories of (1) composition, (2) cartography, and (3) concept have been used out of a basic form critical approach.
The background of the paper is the project "Priority to Locality versus Temporality: A Historiographical Study of 1 and 2 Chronicles". In the fourth and final chapter I intend to describe a deuteronomistic spatiality in comparison to a chronistic. I do not intend to contradict the concepts. They go together in today´s space-time, but to try to give priority to the spatial aspect. The temporal aspect has dominated, especially when Noth gave form to the deuteronomistic composition. Though there is the chronological framework for the composition, the spatial aspect should not be forgotten.

The Chronicler is already recognized as a more atemporal historiographer, especially due to the genealogical framework but also due to the liturgical interests. Chronology was not of major popular interest. The genealogies can be considered like something of a map. In this framework decisive topics are interwoven: Levites in the middle of the tribes as the temple consecration in the middle of the composition (Ezra Nehemiah is considered as a composition of its own). The narrative focuses on king David from the beginning. The work can be characterized as a story of Jerusalem and its temple in the middle of the people of Israel, in the middle of the world.

Also in the Deuteronomistic work spatial aspects are evident.
(1) The composition. The story starts as the people are to enter the promised land. At the outset, a specific chosen place is announced for the proper worship. This place is interwoven in the covenantal stipulations, renewed at the border, characterized by the care and prayer of their retired leader. As soon the group has entered, the land is distributed according to the historiographer´s interests; the kingdom in focus is prioritized. Something of a map is offered also here. The consecration scenes, when the temple is built, become a mirror. In Samuel and Kings, wider geographical perspectives are established.
(2) The cartography. The Chronicler sharpens its focus on the city of Jerusalem. The Deuteronomist also has Jerusalem in mind but not in an equally condensed form
. We have defined four phases of nets of localities: 1) A period preparing for the ideal period. 2) The ideal period. 3) The problematized period with no future, and, finally 4) The period surrounded by neighbours that finally desolated it. Within the composition there are a number of what looks like city stories. The spatiality is wider.
(3) The concept in the composition. One of the decisive concepts related to the Deuteronomistic composition is the chosen land and the chosen place. This place is in a special way connected to the Ark of the Covenant as bearer of the covenantal stipulations and as (such a) symbol for it (the paper has not been able to relate the many cultic aspects yet, therefore no (C) above). The special moment is when the ark is installed in the Jerusalem temple. There are formulations concerning the foundation of the symbolic place for the final confirmation at this installation. Basically, the place is named by the common name *ha-māqôm*, the standing-place. But later on in the procedure, the formulation speaks of *ha-mākôn*, the established-place related to the spatiality of the heavens. It is a common ANE-concept, but in this composition, since this ark is not mentioned again, it becomes a key, as the same ark is supposedly dismantled and exiled to Babylon. The impression is that the land of the people is ever widened since the now dismantled ark was probably also brought there.

With such a perspective, a spatiality of 1 and 2 Chronicles is rather modest.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Task

A characteristic feature in the book of Jeremiah is the frequency of accusations where Yahweh is *patient*. That is, Yahweh in person is the offended part of the people's behavior: E.g., "they have forsaken (עזב) me" (1:16; 2:13. 17. 19; 5:7. 19; 16:11; 19:4), "went far (רחק) from me" (2:5), "turned their back (פנה ערף) to me" (2:27; 32:33), "have forgotten (שׁכח) me" (2:32; 3:21; 13:25; 18:15), "were treacherous (בגד) to me" (3:20; 5:11), "rejected (מאס) me" (15:6). In the book of Jeremiah these accusations provide a plain an unambiguous answer to the central question in the book: Who is to be blamed for the defeat of Judah and fall of Jerusalem? No doubt, the people are the ones to be blamed. And yet, rhetoric and literary contexts indicate that in many of the accusations there is more going on than just that of providing a "blunt answer"[1] to the question of blame. Yahweh does not simply point out the disloylaty of the people in order to justify his punishment, which has very much been the traditional understanding of the accusations. An increasing number of scholars argue that a lament of Yahweh rings in many of the accusations and that Yahweh speaks as suffering victim of the broken relationship with his people. In the understanding of the meaning and function of these accusations the focus has thus been moved from the justification of Yahweh as judge, to the suffering of Yahweh as the offended part of the people's behavior. The move is closely related to the attempt to read the accusations in light of new contexts, new images of Yahweh and new

[1]Cf. Joo 2006:229

configurations of the relationship between Yahweh and his people. In the end this affect the reading of the book of Jeremiah and the understanding of the central issue of theodicy in the book of Jeremiah. This not only affect the reading of individual accusations, but the understanding of the central issue of theodicy in the book of Jeremiah, and, in the end, the reading of the book as a whole.

My task and contribution is to closely read selected accusations in light of their present literary context (MT) in order to define their meaning and function. While agreeing that there in fact is a lamenting tone of Yahweh in several of the selected accusations I find it essential, however, to discuss anew the nature and character of it, and to raise the questions of why and what Yahweh does lament. Therefore, though my focus is primarily textual, I aim at contributing also to the discussion of the increasingly popular topic of the suffering of Yahweh,[2] and its role in the book of Jeremiah.[3]

Delimitations and Focus of the Study

The study limits its focus to the meaning and function of what I will call Yahweh's עזב-complaints in the book of Jeremiah. That is, to the accusations where Yahweh charges his people for having forsaken (עזב) him. In the book of Jeremiah there are ten of them, of which all are to be found in the first half of the book, i.e., chapters 1-

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[2]Ronald Goetz, for instance, argues that the teaching that God suffers became "the new orthodoxy" in twentieth-century theology (Goetz 1986:385). The topic has also been touched upon in various studies involving the book of Jeremiah. In Old Testament studies the topic was put on the agenda first and foremost by Terence Fretheim in his *The Suffering of God* (Fretheim 1984), in which he made extensive references to the book of Jeremiah. He certainly stood on the shoulders ofFretheim 1984 predecessors, not least Abraham J. Heschel (cf. Heschel 1962; repr. 2007), but it seems fair to say that together with Walter Brueggemann, Fretheim very much opened a new field in Old Testament studies.

[3]In connection with studies of the book of Jeremiah, the topic has been highlighted both in commentaries (Brueggemann 1988; Fretheim 2002; Stulman 2005), in studies of the theology of the book (Brueggemann 2007:esp. 81–86) and various studies and articles (Smith 1990:esp. 44–50, 61–64; Roberts 1992; Bak 1990; O'Connor, K. O. 1998:esp. 179–185; Scalise 2002:esp. 418–419; Kiss 2003; Bosworth 2013).

25: 1:16; 2:13, 17, 19; 5:7. 19; 9:12; 16:11(2x); 19:4). In truth, accusations that the people have forsaken (עזב) Yahweh are also to be found in 17:13(2x) and 22:9, but since Yahweh is not speaker in any of these they will only play a secondary role in this study.[4] In short, therefore, my study is focused on the meaning and function of Yahweh's עזב-complaints in Jer 1-25. First, what does it mean to forsake Yahweh? How is the forsaking of Yahweh acted out by the people? Second, what does it mean for Yahweh to be forsaken by his people? What is at stake in the people's forsaking of Yahweh? Finally, how do Yahweh's עזב-complaints function, and with what do they contribute to the issue of theodicy in the book of Jeremiah?

Compared with other aforementioned accusations, in the book of Jeremiah the עזב-complaint is by far the most prominent. The term עזב is a recurrent and important theological term in the Hebrew Bible in general.[5] As a theological term עזב is used in several ways and in a variety of different contexts, saying something about the condition of the relationship between Yahweh and (members of) his people,[6] but in the book of Jeremiah the term is used primarily in accusations against the people.[7] And though the

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[4]Jer 17:13 and 22:9 will be dealt with in an brief excurse in relation to the discussion of what it means to forsake Yahweh.

[5]Regarding עזב as a theological term, Erhard Gerstenberger argues that עזב is used "almost as a leitmotif" in the so-called Deuteronomistic history and the Chronicler's history and traditions related to them, cf. Gerstenberger 1999:590

[6]The term עזב frequently appears in prayers addressing Yahweh in terms of laments, petitions, and confession of trust (cf. Ps 9:11; 16:10; 22:2; 27:9; 37:25. 28. 33; 38:22; 71:9. 18; 94:14; 119:8; Isa 49:14; Lam 5:20; Ezra 9:9; Neh 9:19. 31). To these categories one may also add people's self-obligations and confessions of sin (cf. Jos 24:16; Judg 10:10; 1 Sam 12:10; Ps 119:87; 2 Chr 13:10; Ezra 9:10; Neh 10:40). The term is also often used also in admonitions and accusations against, and promises to (members of) the people of Yahweh (cf. Deut 28:20; 29:24; 31:16; 31:6. 8; Jos 1:5; 24:20; Judg 2:12. 13; 10:6. 13; 1 Sam 8:8; 1 Kg 6:13; 9:9; 11:33; 18:18; 19:10. 14; 2 Kg 17:16; 21:22; 22:17; Ps 89:31; Isa 1:4. 28; 42:16; 65:11; Jer 1:16; 2:13. 17. 19; 5:7; 9:12; 16:11(x2); 17:13(x2); 19:4; 22:9; Hos 4:10; Jonah 2:9; Dan 11:30; 1 Chr 28:9. 20; 2 Chr 7:19. 22; 12:1. 5; 13:11; 15:2; 24:18. 20. 24; 28:6; 29:6; 34:25).

[7]In 12:7 the term עזב forms part of an announcement of judgment in which Yahweh speaks about leaving his "house" (בית). Likewise in 9:1 where Yahweh reveals his desire to leave (עזב) his people (עמי).

book of Jeremiah contains a rich vocabulary describing the people's apostasy from Yahweh,[8] the עזב-complaint is among the most central ones.[9] This is so not only because of its number of occurrences.[10] The complaint is to be found both in prose (5:19; 9:12; 16:11; 19:4; (22:9)) and poetry (1:16; 2:13, 17, 19; 5:7; (17:13) in Jer 1-25, and not least, it appears in the prologue of the book of Jeremiah in chapter one (1:16).[11]

Moreover, regarding the issue of theodicy, I would argue that even a cursory reading cannot fail to recognize the central role of the עזב-complaint in the theme of theodicy in Jer 1-25. This is so not least because of the עזב-complaints in 5:19, 9:12, 16:11 (and 22:9), which form a particular group of עזב-complaints in Jer 1-25. They occur in literary contexts that seem to have been cut from the same pattern. The contexts are short prose units that are structured in a characteristic question-and-answer pattern (i.e., 5:19, 9:11-13, 16:10-13 and 22:8-9) which consist of basically three elements: (i) setting for the question; (ii) question; (iii) answer.[12] After their content and function these units

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[8]Cf. Boda 2009:227–230

[9]Georg Fischer, for instance, defines the עזב-complaint as "eine der zentralen Anklagen von Jer" (Fischer, 2005, 528). Another commentator, Terence E. Fretheim, argues that the עזב-accusation in combination with accusations of idolatrous praxis (e.g., קטר and חזה) *in sum* refer to idolatrous infidelity and that "[i]nfidelity is the most basic metaphor that Jeremiah will use for this breakdown in Israel's relationship with God" (Fretheim, 2002, 53).

[10]The book of Jeremiah (Jer 1-25) is in fact the foremost exponent of עזב-accusations in the Hebrew Bible. It is found three times in Deuteronomy (28:20; 29:24; 31:16); 13 times in DtrH (Judg 2:12. 13; 10:6. 13; 1 Sam 8:8; 1 Kg 9:9; 11:33; 18:18; 19:10. 14; 2 Kg 17:16; 21:22; 22:17); three times in Isaiah (1:4. 28; 65:11); once in Hosea (4:10); once in Jonah (2:9); once in Daniel (11:30); and 10 times in 2 Chronicles (7:22; 12:1. 5; 13:11; 24:18. 20. 24; 28:6; 29:6; 34:25).

[11]Jer 1 is seen to function as an anticipatory summary of the message of the book. Cf. Schmidt 2008:42 and O'Connor, K. M. 1988:154

[12]Nicholson defines the three elements somewhat differently, i.e.: (i) question; (ii) answer and explanation; (iii) "restatement of the circumstances which prompted the question" (cf. Nicholson 1970:59, 61).

In his form-critical study on these and parallel units Long argues that there are two different question-and-answer patterns in *Jer*: "one (type A), in Jer 22:8 f. and parallels [i.e., Deut 29:22-28; 1 Kg 9:8-9]; the other (type B), in Jer 5:19; 9:11-15; 13:12-14; 15:1-4; 16:10-13" (Long 1971:130). The difference concerns the form of the question and the answer. In type A the question and answer are given as

have been defined as units of "Strafgrunderfragung".[13] That is, in the units explanation is sought to the destruction and desolation of Judah and Jerusalem. And in all four instances the answer opens with an עזב-complaint. In other words, the עזב-complaint plays an essential role in Jer 1-25 and in the discussion of theodicy in Jer 1-25. In other words, to focus on the עזבcomplains and appears to provide a useful entry into our discussion.

Current Research

As already indicated above, two different approaches and interpretations of Yahweh's עזב-complaints prevail in current research. To keep it breif, H.-P. Stähli's interpretation may serve as an example of the traditional and still dominating interpretation.[14] His interpretation is characterized by three factors. Stähli takes the עזב-accusation to be "chiefly at home in the covenant tradition," in which the complaint is used "to characterize the abandonment and thus the disruption of the covenant relationship as devotion to heathen deities," and function "as the justification for Yahweh's abandonment of the people and for their punishment".[15] Although Sähli does not clarify to what form of covenant tradition he refers it seems evident that he has the deuteronomistic covenant tradition in mind.[16] To be sure, the term עזב and accusations

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"direct quotations", whereas in type B the question is "envisioned" as an event in the future and the answer thereby being "prescribed". Cf. Long 1971:130, 134.

[13]Skweres 1970:181–182

[14]Nuances can be made, but here Stähli represents commentators otherwise as different as Wilhelm Rudolph (HAT), E. W. Nicholson (CBC), William L. Holladay (Hermeneia), William McKane (ICC)), Robert P. Carroll (OTL), J. A. Thompson (NICOT), Peter C. Craigie, Page H. Kelley and Joel F. Drinkard, Jr. (WBC), Gunther Wanke (ZB), Werner H. Schmidt (ATD), Leslie C. Allen (OTL) and Jack R. Lundbom (AB).

[15]Stähli 1997:868

[16]Gerstenberger appears to be less specific and conclusive on this point when saying: "The usage here is strongly schematized, and we can no longer determine the sources from which the theologians of the time were drawing (the language of law? prayer?). They were probably preaching from the perspective of

that the people have forsaken Yahweh appear rather frequently in Deuteronomy and DtrH (cf. Deut 28:20; 29:24; 31:16; 2:12. 13; 10:6. 13; 1 Sam 8:8; 9:9; 11:33; 18:18; 19:10. 14; 2 Kg 17:16; 21:22; 22:17),[17] and has long been identified as typical deuteronomistic phraseology.[18] Moreover, several of the עזב-complaints in Jer 1-25 appear in literary contexts that bear close resemblance to so-called deuteronomistic literature (especially, 1:16; 5:19; 9:12; 16:11; 19:4; 22:9).[19] And Stähli's emphasis on idolatry and justification of punishment correspond indeed with central theological concerns in the deuteronomistic tradition. In accordance, the general tendency among Jeremiah commentators in their interpretation of the עזב-complaints, is to put emphasis to the formal - i.e., the contractual and legal - aspect of the covenant relationship between Yahweh and his people, and to see Yahweh behaving as an offended suzerain who, fairly and properly, punishes the people for their disloyalty. In other words, the עזב-complaints simply serve to justify Yahweh's punishment.

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some form of covenantal theology (cf. Jer. 22:9; Dnl. 11:30) only distantly related to the patriarchal religion and early Yahweh religion." Gerstenberger 1999:591

[17]To these עזב-accusations we can add the use of עזב in the communal confessions of sin in Judg 10:10 and 1 Sam 12:10, in the admonition in Jos 24:20, in self-obligation in Jos 24:16, in the petition in 1 Kg 8:57, and finally also in the promise of Yahweh: ולא אעזבך in Jos 1:5 (cf. Deut 31:6. 8; 1 Kg 6:13).

[18]Weinfeld 1972:337; Stulman 1986:33

[19]In accordance with what we see in Deuteronomy and DtrH the עזב-accusations in 1:16, 5:19, 16:11a, 19:4, and 22:9 follows a rather schematized pattern: the term עזב in perfect form is followed by verbs in the *wayyiqtol*-form referring to idolatry ויקטרו and וישׁתחוו in 1:16; ותעבדו in 5:19; וילכו אחרי, ויעבדו, and וישׁתחוו in 16:11a; וינכרו and ויקטרו in 19:4; and וישׁתחוו and ויעבדו in 22:9. In fact, the literary contexts of 1:16; 5:19; 9:12; 16:11; 19:4 and 22:9 bear in various ways close resemblance to and sometimes even parallel phrases and passages in Deuteronomy and/or DtrH. First, Jer 1:16b (אשׁר עזבוני ויקטרו לאלהים אחרים וישׁתחוו למעשׂי ידיהם) parallels 2 Kg 22:17a (תחת אשׁר עזבוני ויקטרו לאלהים אחרים למען הכעיסני בכל מעשׂה ידיהם). Moreover, the עזב-accusations in 16:11 and 19:4 appear in context of so-called prose sermons, 16:1-15 and 19:2b-9 respectively, which most commonly have been ascribed to the so-called deuteronomistic C material in the book of Jeremiah (cf. Stulman 1986:67–70, 76–79). Finally, the עזב-accusations in 5:19, 9:12, 16:11 and 22:9 are part of a question-answer form paralleled in Deut 29:21-27 and 1 Kg 9:8-9 (cf. Nicholson 1970:59–61). Another parallel to this form is found in a passage in the Annals of Ashurbanipal concerning a situation in which a certain king Uate "had not kept the oahts sworn to me [Ashurbanipal]" (cf. Pritchard 1969:299).

However, scholars like Walter Brueggemann, Terence Fretheim, Louis Stulman and Kathleen O' Connor in particular, have challenged the traditional interpretation and called attention to some other interesting aspects. First, Yahweh's עזב-complaints in the book of Jeremiah are paralleled and countered in the lament psalms (Ps 22:2; 27:9; 38:21; 71:9; see also Isa 49:14; Lam 5:20).[20] In other words, Bruggemann *et al*., argue that in the עזב-complaintsYahweh use the language and rhetoric of the lamenting psalmist. Based on this, they tend to transfer both the lamenting tone and the characterization of the psalmist to Yahweh in his עזב-complaints. In the lament psalms the psalmist is *patient* and the one accusing Yahweh for having violated the relationship. And as *patient* the psalmist is characterized as lamenting and suffering victim of the broken relationship with Yahweh, a characterization that in the end implies the psalmist's relatedness to and dependence upon Yahweh. Though there are significant nuances of difference between Brueggemann, Fretheim, O'Connor and Stulman in their understanding of Yahweh's עזב-complaints, in one way or another, they do all see Yahweh as a lamenting and suffering victim of the broken relationship. As for the lamenting psalmist, the suffering of Yahweh is rooted in his relatedness and dependence upon the people. Thus, for Yahweh too, being forsaken is unbearable. Second, the term עזב is used in a variety of contexts in the Hebrew Bible, including, but not least, that of intimate interhuman relationships. Of particular interest is the fact that עזב used on contexts of marital relationships.[21] Based on this, and in combination with the fact that marital metaphors are widely used to describe the relationship between Yahweh and his people in the book of Jeremiah (esp. Jer 2-3), Brueggemann argues that Yahweh's עזב-complaints in the book of Jeremiah in general,

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[20]The similarity between several of Yahweh's accusations in the prophetic literature and the personal lament of the psalmist was pointed out already by Claus Westermann in his *Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech* (cf. Westermann 1991:202–203).

[21]Cf. Gerstenberger 1999:590–591

are “better understood in terms of marriage,”[22] and “primary allusion to marital fickleness”.[23] What is at stake in these accusations is not so much a formal, i.e., legal and contractual relationship, as a “a deeply felt intimacy,” as Brueggemann puts it.[24] Thus, in the עזב-complaints Yahweh speaks as a spurned and, when followed by accusations of idolatry, a betrayed lover, lamenting the infidelity of his beloved, the broken relationship and . Understood in such terms, in Yahweh’s עזב-complaints there is certainly more going on than just that of providing a “blunt answer” to the question of blame. On the one hand, the image of Yahweh as a spurned and betrayed lover is somehow seen to give meaning to the harsh language of judgment and punishment in the book of Jeremiah. While Fretheim simply suggests that “the anger (mixed by other emotions) felt by a spouse at a partner’s unfaithfulness may be used to signal something of the depth of the feelings of God,”[25] Brueggemann goes a step further and argues that “[s]uch infidelity evokes the scornful anger of YHWH, who is not only sovereign but a betrayed, shamed lover who goes nearly berserk in rage.”[26] On the other hand, that Yahweh laments being forsaken and cannot stand being without his people.

On the other hand, Yahweh’s love and the unbearable in being forsaken opens for a glimmer of hope for the future of Yahweh’s relationship with the people. As Stulman says: “gratuitous love - that is, love that is an unguarded, open-handed gift and thus wholly independent of merit or virtue - begins where suffering love ends.”[27] Or,

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[22]Brueggemann 1988:35

[23]Brueggemann 1988:60

[24]Brueggemann 2007:85

[25]Fretheim 2002:34

[26]Brueggemann 2007:82.

[27]Stulman 2005:25

according to Fretheim, "[b]ecause of the suffering of [...] God [...] tears will not have the last word".[28]

Approach and thesis/findings

In my study I focus on the present form of the text (MT) and seek to define the meaning and function of Yahweh's עזב-complaints in their present literary contexts of Jer 1-25. While commentators tend to focus on the typical and to read the עזב-complaints as a fixed concept regardless the literary context, I highlight the literary context and the particularity in form and rhetoric of each עזב-complaint. For in the book of Jeremiah Yahweh's עזב-complaints appear in various forms of literary contexts and display variety in both form and rhetoric. For instance, some complaints occur in prose units and/or are closely connected to accusations of idolatry formulated in the language and style typical of deuteronomistic literature (1:16; 5:19; 9:12; 16:11; 19:4; 22:9).[29] Others, on the other hand, appear in poetic units. Style and language are different and the עזב-complaints are more loosely connected to accusations of idolatry (2:13, 17, 19; 5:7; 17:13).[30]

Anyway, in my dissertation I argue for the following points. First, with regard to the question of what it means to forsake Yahweh - how the forsaking of Yahweh is acted out by the people - I argue that the עזב-complaints address various problems in the people's way of relating to Yahweh as God. For instance, in 2:13, 17. 19 Yahweh addresses the stupidity of the people in not recognizing and acknowledging their

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[28]Fretheim 2002:9

[29]See above, n. 20.

[30]One could argue that among the עזב-accusations in 2:13. 17. 19, 5:7 and 17:13, only in 2:13 the עזב-accusation is explicitly associated with accusations against idolatry. It is noteworthy, however, that the people's forsaking of Yahweh and their worshipping of foreign deities here are counted as "two evils" (שׁתּים רעות). That is, the people's forsaking Yahweh and their worshipping foreign deities are defined as two distinct evils.

relatedness to and dependence upon Yahweh - their "fountain of living water" (מקור מים חיים). In 5:7 (5:1-9) and 5:19 (5:10-19) the people have opposed and refused to submit to Yahweh as moral lawgiver (5:7) and denied him being their judge and capable of punishing them. In other words, in the עזב-complaints the focus is not so much the motif of the people's betrayal of Yahweh - their unfaithfulness, disloyalty, or infidelity in terms of worshipping foreign deities. The worshipping of foreign deities should, at least in some cases, rather be seen to be a problem that follows as a consequence from the people's forsaking of Yahweh. That is, it follows from their not relating properly to Yahweh as God.

Second, with regard to the questions of what it means for Yahweh to be forsaken by his people - of what is at stake in the people's forsaking of Yahweh - already the point made above challenges the idea of Yahweh as spurned lover and victim of the people's betrayal. And in light of the literary contexts of Yahweh's עזב-complaints it becomes clear that it is the people, not Yahweh, who are the true victim of the people's forsaking of Yahweh. This is highlighted by the ways the consequence of and Yahweh's response to the people's forsaking of him are depicted. In stead of being depicted as subject Yahweh's berserk rage (see Brueggemann above), the general tendency is that the people suffer from self-destruction of forsaking Yahweh. For instance, in 2:13, 17, 19 the people suffer from their own stupidity of exchanging their "fountain of living water" for "broken cisterns". In 5:7 from having forsaken the one who actually is willing and capable of forgiving (סלח) and rescuing Jerusalem. In 16:11 (16:1-13) Yahweh responds with complete withdrawal.

This does not mean, however, that Yahweh does not lament the people's forsaking of him; that there is no such thing as a lamenting tone in Yahweh's עזב-complaints in Jer 1-25. Though this actually seem to be the case for Yahweh's עזב-complaints in 16:11 and 19:4, for all the complaints within the bulk of Jer 2-10 (i.e., 2:13,

17, 19; 5:7; 5:19; 9:12) there are features in rhetoric and/or literary contexts that somehow indicate a tension in Yahweh, i.e., a tension/conflict in how to relate to and deal with the people who have forsaken him. The problem, however, is not the forsakenness of Yahweh, nor the violation of the relationship *per se*, but the consequences of forsaking him for the people/land/city of Jerusalem and for Yahweh's way of approaching and relating to the people. Instead of understanding the lament of Yahweh in terms of Yahweh's loving relatedness to the people, I argue that it is better understood in connection with Yahweh's out of love concern for the people's well-being and desire to do good to the people. The realization of his concern and desire is ruined however by the people's forsaking of him as God. And herein lies the source of the tensions found in the utterances and/or literary contexts of Yahweh's עזב-complaints i 2:13, 17, 19; 5:7, 19; 9:12. In 2:13, 17, 19, while confronting the people for having forsaken him, Yahweh highlights his benevolence to the people and continues to refer to the people as "my people" (עמי, 2:13) and his wife (2fs, 2:17, 19). In 5:7 (5:1-9) Yahweh is clear both about his basic willingness to forgive (סלח), and its impossibility. In 5:19 (5:10-19) Yahweh struggles with the meting out of the punishment, while in 9:12 (9:9-15) Yahweh struggles with the result of the punishment.

Third, regarding the function of Yahweh's עזב-complaints in context of Jer 1-25 I must admit that I've still got some work to do before I'm able to clarify my thesis/findings. Just brief bullet points:

- Instead of highlighting Yahweh's relatedness to and dependency upon the people (cf. Brueggemann *et. al.*), Yahweh's עזב-complaints in Jer 1-25 implies the people's relatedness to and dependency upon Yahweh. By forsaking Yahweh the people have created and brought about their own disaster.

- The lamenting tone, however, convey the image of Yahweh compassionate and suffering with his people, struggling with defeat of Judah and fall of Jerusalem and his

own role in it. And even though the lamenting tone disappear in the final complaints, the lamenting tone in the first complaints offer a glimpse of hope for the future of the people and their relationship with Yahweh. A hope grounded, not in Yahweh's relatedness and dependency upon the people, but in Yahweh basic concern for the well-being of his people, basic desire to do good to them.

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TRANSLATION AS INTERPRETATION

Translational Sensibility and Exegesis in the Swedish Bible Translation *Bibel 2000* – Old Testament Anthropology as a Case Study

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PREFACE

I am very pleased to have the opportunity to present this paper to you. My thesis project is only at its very beginning, and therefore I am grateful to whatever thoughts you may have to share with me. Still, some feed-back on the theoretical considerations concerning "levels of interpretation" and "exegesis" would be especially welcome. Can these notions be used as I have formulated them? Is the way I relate levels of interpretation to exegesis meaningful or useful? Some thoughts on the possibility of getting hold of the intention(s) of the translators would also be welcome. I look forward to an interesting discussion.

1. INTRODUCTION

Introductory summary

This paper outlines briefly the central themes, questions, as well as theoretical and methodological considerations of my thesis project. First, I shall say something about the background and translation process of the Bible translation *Bibel 2000*. I will then present the aim of my thesis project and the questions that I will attempt to answer, as well as some methodological deliberations. I will thereafter develop the most important notions: *translational sensibility*, as well as *levels of interpretation* and *exegesis*, which are central for analysing the Bible translation as an interpretation. I will also say something about the object of the case study, namely the OT anthropology, and its suitability for analysing a biblical translation. The biblical texts that have been selected for the analysis as well as the criteria for the selection of texts will then be presented.

The background of Bibel 2000

The latest official Swedish Bible translation, *Bibel 2000*, has now been in use for some 15 years.[1] Apart from a few biblical translations of more private character, *Bibel 2000* is the one used by an overwhelming majority of people – academic students and teachers, as well as several denominations, including the former state church *Svenska kyrkan*. It was not until year 2000 that the church and the state were separated, and that is why, when the question concerning a new official Bible translation in Swedish arose in the 1960's, the task was commissioned by the state via the Department of Education (*Utbildningsdepartementet*). The

[1] The completed translation of the whole Bible was published in 1999 (*Bibel 2000*), although the translation of the New testament was published already in 1981 (*NT81*).

work with the new Bible translation was thus a state concern, and governed by principles formulated by a commission (*Bibelkommissionen* – the Bible Commission) appointed by the Swedish government.[2] One of the tasks was to produce a religiously neutral translation; no regard would, for example, be given to the traditionally Christian interpretation of a number of Old Testament passages.[3] This supposedly neutral character, and especially the fact that the translation was commissioned by the state, makes *Bibel 2000* quite unique. Moreover, the work with *Bibel 2000* began at a time of extensive Bible translation throughout Europe. This context is thus one of intense and immense work of biblical translation.[4] Furthermore, *Bibel 2000* came about in a historical context when presuppositions about how to translate the Bible were being challenged in different ways.[5] This concerns a number of features of the biblical texts; among these features are the Old testament anthropology, which displays certain characteristics that are interesting with regard to biblical translation. A prominent feature of the OT anthropology is its dependence on a number of key terms.[6] As I will argue further on, the anthropological key terms are a certainly suitable object for analysing *Bibel 2000*. This is so mainly because of their translational sensibility.

2. AIM OF THE STUDY

Translation has rightly been described as interpretation.[7] There is an interpretational element inherent in the process of translation. A Bible translator is not seldom confronted with the demand that he or she translate the text as it is, without interpreting it. This, however, is not possible to do. The translator is not a fully neutral or objetive mediator of an untouchable

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[2] These principles are formulated by the commission mainly in two publications: *Nyöversättning av Nya testamentet – behov och principer. Betänkande avgivet av 1963 års bibelkommitté* (SOU 1968:65), Stockholm 1968; *Att översätta Gamla testamentet. Betänkande av 1971 års bibelkommitté för Gamla testamentet* (SOU 1974:33), Stockholm 1974.

[3] The intention was that it would be suitable for a number of different denominations, as well as Jewish and Muslim congregations; it would not be a Bible translation exclusively for the church.

[4] Cf. Barr, James. *Bible and Interpretation. The Collected Essays of James Barr, edited by John Barton. Volume III: Linguistics and Translation.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 223.

[5] Not least as a consequence of the beginning globalisation and growing secularisation. This would be even more the case at the end of the 20th Century, when criticisms from feminist and post colonial studies furthermore challenged the norms for Bible translation in the ”post-missionary time”. Cf. Edesio Sánchez-Cetina, ”Word of God, Word of the People: Translating the Bible in Post-Missionary Times” in *A History of Bible translation* (ed. P. A. Noss; Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2007), 387-408.

[6] Mainly נפשׁ, בשׂר, רוח and [ל]בב. See further on, Section 4, p. 5.

[7] For example, Werner Schwarz, *Principles and Problems of Biblical Translation. Some Reformation Controversies and Their Background* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), 1: ”Every modern translation is an interpretation of the original work.”

”message” from one language to another. Neither is it possible to express in one language exactly the same as has been said in another, since no two languages are identical. Thus, the translator must always perform an act of interpretation.

The aim of this study is to investigate the interpretational character of the Swedish Bible translation *Bibel 2000*, as it is expressed in certain texts concerning the Old testament anthropology, and, more specifically, by the four anthropological key terms which are prominent in these texts. The translation *Bibel 2000* as we have it will, first and foremost, be related to the Hebrew source texts. The translation will then be related to different stages of the translation process: the documents of the translation process including earlier versions of the translated texts selected for the analysis,[8] as well as texts and articles published by the translators where they state their different principles. This aims at trying to establish the motivations of the translators and their various translation principles, and to seek explanations that can be found for the various target language renderings of the key terms.[9]

The material will be analysed by using the notions *levels of interpretation* and *exegesis*, both in discussion with Septuagint studies, which has been the main field for methodological discussions of interpretation and exegesis in biblical translation. This will hopefully clarify the great (methodological) differences between Septuagint studies and studies of modern[10] Bible translations such as *Bibel 2000,* and perhaps contribute to a method for analysing a modern Bible translation with regard to the understanding of a translation as an interpretation.

3. QUESTIONS – for the study and to the texts

The main concern and question, governing this whole project, is this: In what ways, and to what extent, can we speak of a Bible translation as an interpretation?

The following set of questions will be used for achieving the aim of investigating the interpretational character of *Bibel 2000*:

[8] These documents are deposited in the *Landsarkivet* in Uppsala. See further on, Section 4, p. 5.
[9] To the extent that it is possible to get hold of these motivations; I do think, though, that it to some extent is. Cf. Jan Joosten, ”Interpretation and Meaning in the Septuagint Translation” in *Translation – Interpretation – Meaning* (ed. Anneli Aejmelaeus and Päivi Pahta; Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 2012), 55, who speaks of ”[…] passages [in the Septuagint] where a deliberate option to clarify the text *can be observed*.” (my emphasis.) This will require some hermeneutical considerations.
[10] In the chronological, so to speak, sense of the word.

- In what ways have the anthropological key terms, in the selected texts, been translated into Swedish; what different renderings are there? What motivations can be found for those renderings?
- In the selected texts, are the key terms consistently translated by the different translators[11] and through the translation process over time, or are there discernible fluctuations between the completed translation and the drafts and between the different translators? If so; what explanations are there for such fluctuations?
- Are the the key term renderings an expression of *one* discernible exegesis of the anthropological key terms in *Bibel 2000*, consistently implemented on a certain level of interpretation?

4. A METHOD FOR ANALYSING A MODERN BIBLE TRANSLATION

The analysis of *Bibel 2000* will take place in several stages. These will, hopefully, cumulatively form a result that will answer the above-mentioned questions. The different stages will be made concrete by some methodological questions.

1) The selecteds texts in the completed translation *Bibel 2000* will be analysed: How have the four anthropological key terms (נפשׁ, בשׂר, רוח and [ב]לב) been translated into Swedish? The translated (target) texts will be contrasted to the source texts, with a special emphasis on any possible shift that may have appeared in the target texts.[12] This part is a close reading of the selected texts, focusing on the anthropological key terms.

2) From the work with the Bible translation, the OT Bible Commission has left behind itself a great deal of archival material, which is deposited in the *Landsarkivet* in Uppsala. The material contains several draft translations of the OT texts, as well as surrounding materials such as meeting records and concordance lists. This material will, respectively for the selected texts, be researched for gaining information on the translation process prior to the completed translation. The material will be confronted with the texts analysed under section 1) so as to

[11] The Bible Commission (*Bibelkommission*) consisted of a number of translators who each translated different biblical books. On this, see further Section 6, p. 12.

[12] The concept ”translation shifts” was introduced by John Catford in his *A Linguistic Theory of Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 73-82. There is a problem, though, that this concept is closely tied to the notions *equivalence* and *equivalent*, which have been questioned by many translation theorists. Cf. the definition of translation according to Catford: ”*Translation* may be defined as follows: *the replacement of textual material in one language (SL) by* ***equivalent*** *textual material in another language (TL).*” (p. 20; my emphasis.) This has to be further developed.

discern fluctuations between the completed translation and the draft texts. Are there obvious differences between the completed translation and the draft texts? Furthermore, can this material inform us about the various motivations of why the translators have rendered the key terms in the different selected texts?

3) The results from the examination of the texts in translation, contrasted with the archival material will be analysed with the help of the set of questions mentioned in the previous section. What grounds or motivations can be found for the interpretation of the anthropological key terms? Is this approach consistent with an overall approach, and if so; is this approach an expression of a certain exegesis, as it is being defined in dialogue with the notion of interpretation and levels of interpretation?

5. TRANSLATIONAL SENSIBILITY AND EXEGESIS

Translational sensibility

In his work *Descriptive Translation Studies,* Gideon Toury laborates with the notion of *translation-specific lexical items.*[13] According to Toury, such lexical items deviate from the (semantic) meaning of the lexical items in the source text (ST), and hence modify the meaning of the source text. This discussion is useful, since it points to what the very process of translation does to the text it translates, not least in terms of semantic accuracy. There are features in the translated text – the target text (TT) – which are the outcome of the translation process.[14] This is not least the case when lexical items or key terms in the source text have very wide semantic ranges, to the extent that a translation/translator has to choose between a wide range of target language renderings. Thus, the translation, and hence the interpretation, of these lexical items or linguistic elements have widely different implications for the understanding of the meaning of the text. For describing this phenomenon, I suggest the notion *translational sensibility*. I will develop this notion further on.

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[13] Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and beyond* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1995), 208-211.

[14] Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 209, exemplifies with a comparison between the Hebrew ST and the LXX TT of Deut 14:7; the Hebrew word שׁפן is rendered with χοιρογρύλλιον in the LXX, and is the one and only occurrence in the whole LXX. It is thus to be considered as a translational *hapax legomenon,* which is a product of the translation process. This is of course an extreme example, which is not likely to have any correspondence in a modern biblical translation, since the translational *hapax legomenon* is probably due to the lack of source language knowledge of the LXX translator. In the terminology of Toury, this phenomenon is an example of a *translationese*.

The translational sensibility of the anthropological key terms

As I briefly mentioned, one of the aspects of the OT text(s) that have been challenged with regard to biblical translation is that of the anthropology.[15] The anthropology of the OT is discernible in a number of texts, concerning the creation of man, the human body and the conditions of human life in different ways.[16] There has been a wide consensus that the anthropology – the view of man – in the OT is expressed through certain key terms which denote different aspects of human life and the human body.[17] These anthropological key terms (*Hauptbegriffe*), mainly נפשׁ, בשׂר, רוח and (ב)לב, are of great importance for the interpretation of these OT texts, and, by extension, for biblical translation.[18] This leads to the question on their *translational sensibility*.

The anthropological key terms show a translational sensibility since these terms in Hebrew are included in, or connected to, very wide lexical and semantic fields.[19] Their source

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[15] The notion anthropology and its inherent anachronisms will be further discussed.

[16] One important aspect of the OT anthropology is the holistic or ”synthetic” view of man. By this is meant that the human body and its different parts represent different functions as part of one whole being. This is the reason why the anthropological key terms have been thought to be more or less synonymous. This is much due to Johannes Pedersen and his very influential work *Israel* (1920/1934). This view would be challenged by Wolff, who regarded the key terms as not being synonymous, but rather denoting different aspects of the human being.

[17] The supposed importance of the key terms for understanding the anthropology of the OT, or the limitation to three or four key terms, has recently been challenged. Cf. Andreas Wagner, “Les différentes dimensions de la vie. Quelques réflexions sur la terminologie anthropologique de l’Ancien Testament” in *RevScRel* 3 (2007): 391-408; as well as Silvia Schroer and Thomas Staubli, 2013: “Bodily and Embodied: Being Human in the Tradition of the Hebrew Bible”, *Interpretation: A Journal of Bible and Theology,* 67 (2013): 5-19. However, the view that the anthropology is mainly expressed through or via a set of key terms was still the prevailing during the translation process of *Bibel 2000.* This means that the task of examining the interpretation of the anthropology by a study of these key terms in the translation avoids the possible anachronisms that would be the case if a later research context would be taken as departure point for the analysis. The focus on four key terms is, for example, the point of departure of the main work on OT anthropology in the context of *Bibel 2000*, Hans Walter Wolff’s *Anthropologie des Alten Testaments* (München: Kaiser, 1973).

[18] Lynell Zogbo, “Introduction: The Field Today” in Noss, *A History of Bible translation*, 350: ”Dealing with key terms is an essential part of the Bible translation process.”. Cf. Wolff, *Anthropologie*, 21: ”Wenn die häufigsten Hauptwörter in der Regel mit ’Herz’, ’Seele’, ’Fleisch’, und ’Geist’ übersetzt werden, so sind damit folgenschwere Missverständnisse erzeugt werden.”

[19] This terminology, and the distinction between the two terms, is not altogether clear. Some do not distinguish between lexical fields and semantic fields. A basic distinction between the two could though perhaps be as follows: A semantic field can be described as an over-arching ”conceptual domain” (Lehrer), or ”conceptual field” (Lyons), while a lexical field consists of a number of lexemes that express the ”conceptual domain” or semantic field. One conceptual or semantic field can comprise several lexical fields. Cf. John Lyons, *Semantics I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 252-253; Adrienne Lehrer, ”The Influence of Semantic Fields on Semantic Change” in *Historical*

language connotations are thus very broad,[20] which means that they can be rendered with a number of different target language possibilities. This is *not* the case with terms that have, or are connected to, a narrower lexical or semantic field, and which therefore cannot be regarded as translation sensible – at least not to the same extent, since their possible target language renderings are limited.[21] The interpretational character of a Bible translation is especially distinguishable when it comes to how translation sensible source language key terms or linguistic elements have been rendered in the target language. That certain key terms or linguistic elements can be said to be translation sensible is also a prerequisite for the analysis of a Bible translation, since it is not possible or meaningful to analyse whole texts in more general terms. On the contrary, minor stylistic or linguistic parts of the text need to be isolated, and thence form the basis for the analysis of the translation. This is a method that has shown to be useful in former research regarding modern, as well as ancient, Bible translations.[22]

Furthermore, the reception history of the OT anthropology shows that the anthropological key terms have been loaded with heavy presuppositions as to how to interpret and translate them, which has also left traces in Bible translations in most of the European languages.[23] This is

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Semantics, Historical Word-Formation (ed. Jacek Fisiak; Berlin: Mouton, 1985), 283-296; Siegfried Wyler, *Colour and Language: Colour Terms in English* (Tübingen: Günter Narr Verlag, 1992), 30-31.

[20] For an example of the very different implications of various translations/interpretations of לב(ב), Cf. Carolyn Leeb, "Translating the Hebrew Body into English Metaphor" in *The Social Sciences and Biblical Translation* (ed. Dietmar Neufeld; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 110-118.

[21] Terms or words that are not translation sensible would, for example, be numerals. There are, as well, such anthropological terms as אִשָּׁה ("female") or אֱנוֹשׁ ("man[kind]").

[22] Cf., for example, Elisabeth Bladh, *La Bible traduite en francais contemporain. Étude des équivalents du participle grec dans sept traductions de récit de la Passion dans les quatre Évangiles: forme, signification et sens.* (Stockholm: University of Stockholm, 2003), who analyses greek participle renderings of some selected verbs in seven modern French NT translations; Thor Strandenaes, *Principles of Chinese Bible Translation, as Expressed in Five Selected Versions of the New Testament and Exemplified by Mt 5:1 – 12 and Col 1* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1987) who analyses stylistic figures in Matthew 5 and Colossians 1 in five modern Chinese translations; Rolf Furuli, *The Role of Theology and Bias in Bible Translation: With a Special Look at the New World Translation of Jehova's Witnesses* (2d ed.; Oslo: Awatu Publishers, 2011), who analyses the interpretation of יהוה in several Bible translations. Alongside these investigations of modern Bible translations, there are a number of surveys on LXX which all, in one way or the other, take their point of departure from lexical items or stylistic or linguistic elements in the source text.

[23] Ironically, if one considers the supposed difference of "Hebrew thinking" vs. "Greek thinking", נפשׁ, for example, have very often been translated with "Soul", "âme", "Seele", and so on, which is probably due to the great influence of the LXX rendering *psychae.* Cf. H. Seebass, "נפשׁ nepesh", *TDOT* IX:508-509. For a critique of the traditional renderings of the anthropological key terms in most European languages, see Wolff, *Anthropologie*, 21.

yet an argument why the key terms would be a suitable object for analysing a Bible translation. Moreover, the key terms are discussed in several different contexts by the members of the Swedish Bible Commission themselves.[24]

Levels of interpretation

As James Barr has pointed out, there are different kinds, or, if you will, different levels, of interpretation in a translation.[25] Barr mentions two main levels: the first one is the syntactic-semantic interpretation which aims at establishing a basic meaning of the source text and its linguistic elements.[26] Without this first level no translation is possible. The other level is one of more or less intentional interpretation of the semantic content of the text, which takes place only after the identification of the ”basic linguistic elements” of the source text. The truism that all translation is interpretation could thus be qualified, in the words of Barr: ”There are enormous differences in the degree to which a translator interprets, and the degree to which he interprets or does not interpret lies to some extent within his control.”[27] I find this reasonable. However, it is not likely that Barr intends a sharp division between the two different levels of interpretation. Such a sharp division between only two levels of interpretation, would, anyhow, be impossible to maintain. Rather, it is a division between two *degrees* of interpretation, where the second implies a much higher degree of interpretation of the source text content.[28] Furthermore, the absence of a sharp division between the two levels of interpretation opens up for more than two levels. Or rather: The different *degrees* of interpretation can equally be described as different *levels* of interpretation. Anneli Aejmelaeus has elaborated the concept *levels of interpretation* in a recent article.[29] Again, this is *à propos*

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[24] Staffan Olofsson, *Guds ord och människors språk. En bok om bibelöversättning.* (Uppsala: EFS-förlaget, 1986), 130-133; Bertil Albrektson and Christer Åsberg, *Det nya Gamla testamentet. Från forntida hebreiska till nutida svenska* (Örebro: Libris, 1996), 96-100; Bertil Albrektson, *Kapitlet om Jehu och andra uppsatser om Gamla testamentet.* (Stockholm: Verbum, 1978), 108.

[25] James Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in ancient biblical translations* (Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens XV*,* 11; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 275-325. The discussion of Barr concerns the LXX, but it can equally well be applied to a modern Bible translation.

[26] ”[I]t is a very basic and low-level kind of interpretation: it is a minimal location and identification of likely semantic values for the Hebrew lexemes.” Barr, *Typology of Literalism*, 291.

[27] Barr, *Typology of Literalism*, 290.

[28] The translational interpretation can lead as far as to a distortion of the assumed semantic meaning of the source text key terms, which is the case when Barr considers ”literal” translation literal to such an extent that in a sense becomes ”free”, since the semantics of certain parts of the target texts come to differ from the source texts, which is the case not least when the translator applies a high degree of consistency. Barr, *Typology of Literalism*, 288, 303.

[29] Anneli Aejmelaeus, ”Levels of Interpretation. Tracing the Trail of the Septuagint Translators” in *Translation – Interpretation – Meaning* (ed. Anneli Aejmelaeus and Päivi Pahta; Helsinki: University

the Septuagint, but I will try to further elaborate this and show that it is applicable on a modern Bible translation as well.

Since this, in some respect, takes hold of the intentions or motivations of the translator, it furthermore presupposes that a translator is not only, or perhaps not even mainly, a kind of victim of surrounding expectations from the local community, socio-cultural standards, or academic contexts.[30] The degree of interpretation that lies within the control of the translator is the one that is sought after by analysing the motivations[31] of the translators of *Bibel 2000*, which is assumed to be accessible through the study of the translated texts, and of the translation drafts and other documents of the Bible Commission, stemming from the translation process, where the different members of the Commission explain and defend their renderings and the principles behind them, and even explicitly may state why they have opted for certain rederings.[32] Like Aejmelaeus, I find it important to try to ”estimate the different motivations behind the interpretative steps taken by the translators […]”.[33] Compared to Septuagint studies, this is, presumably, a less complicated estimation, since the Bible

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of Helsinki, 2012), 4-22. The different levels of interpretation that Aejmelaeus distinguishes are 1) ”Interpretation on the Level of Decoding”, 2) ”Interpretation on the Level of Recoding”, 3) ”Interpretation as Adaption or Reinterpretation”, 4) ”Interpretation as an Emergency Solution”, and 5) ”Interpretation on the Level of Reception”.

[30] One could speak of these as ”translational norms”: Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and beyond* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co., 1995), 58-61; Cf. Jeremy Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies* (3d ed.; London: Routledge, 2012), 227, who speaks of translation being ”[…] manipulated by the ideology of the sociocultural context.” It is of course not possible that a translator be fully unbiased or able to refrain from being subject to different expectations and presuppositions. What is my point is that a translator, after all, to a certain degree or extent can control his or her interpretation.

[31] Or, if you will, the intention(s). Cf. Yeshayahu Maori, “Methodological Criteria for Distinguishing between Variant *Vorlage* and Exegesis in the Peshitta Pentateuch” in *The Peshitta as a Translation. Papers Read at the II Peshitta Symposium Held at Leiden 19-21 August 1993,* (ed. P. B. Dirksen, P. B. and A. van der Kooij, Leiden: Brill, 1995), 112. ”When we spoke of the translator’s independent exegesis, it was noted that we can ascribe to [the] P[eshitta] only those intentions which are consistent with his overall exegetic approach.” This is perfectly true also for a modern biblical translation.

[32] A number of renderings can be ascribed to the translation technique of the translator(s). This means that it is the ”natural” outcome of the selected principles of the translator. This has to be considered before an investigation on exegesis and interpretation is undertaken. Though, here as well, the line between renderings as a result of translation technique and renderings as a result of deliberate interpretation is not fixed or consistent. Of course, a translation technique in itself may be the outcome of interpretational principles of the translators.

[33] Aejmelaeus, ”Levels of Interpretation”, 4.

Commission of *Bibel 2000* did produce different kinds of material and documents where they explicitly state their principles of translation and their view on the OT anthropology.[34]

Exegesis in translation

In the same way as every translation to some extent is an interpretation, there is some kind of *exegesis* inherent in every translation. Therefore, if the notion of exegesis is to be used, it has to be well defined and qualified, so that it is clear in what respect, and to what extent, certain elements in the translation could be said to express a certain exegesis.[35] The notion of exegesis has furthermore been used mostly in Septuagint studies. It is again apparent that the translational conditions, as it were, differ a great deal between the Septuagint and a modern Bible translation. How, then, does Septuagint study understand exegesis? It is understood as an intentional *or* unintentional[36] way of the translator to alter the text according to his own ideological, contextual or theological stance. In this respect, exegesis is a kind of interpretation, which might be ”spontaneous” (Joosten).[37] The fact that exegesis *always* is qualified (with additions such as linguistic, theological, contextual and so on) when used in Septuagint study, shows that exegesis as such is thought of to always be inherent in the translation.[38]

At the core of the discussion of exegesis in the Septuagint lies the question whether a rendering that differs from the masoretic text is due to an alteration or interpretation of the

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[34] The estimation of the motivation(s) of the translators is, needless to say, to some extent due to my own interpretation of the biblical texts as well as the translation and the different documents of the Bible Commission.

[35] It will be a later consideration for me to try to thrash out different kinds of exegesis (as Septuagint study speak of, for example, theological exegesis, contextual exegesis, lingustic exegesis, and so on). This will of course help defining and delimiting the notion even more.

[36] There is no clear consensus regarding this. Cf., for example, Josten, ”Interpretation and Meaning”, 53-58, who discusses ”spontaneus exegesis” (”The selection of the required equivalent would be made intuitively and spontaneously”) as well as ”accidental exegesis” (due to ”faulty analysis of the source text”). Cf. Staffan Olofsson, *Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis: Collected Essays on the Septuagint Version* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 224, for the view that exegesis is mainly an expression of a deliberate interpretation of the translator: ”The translation is more influenced by the translator's religious outlook than by the philological, or shall I say, semantic interpretation of the Hebrew word in question.” Olofsson admits, though, that ”[…] it is also possible to understand theological exegesis as a kind of influence that is not intended by the translator, an influence based on the fact that he is born in a certain time and shares the world-view and the religious outlook of that time and that environment.”

[37] Joosten, ”Interpretation and Meaning”, 53.

[38] While contextual and theological exegesis is considered to be present only in texts with a specific content, linguistic exegesis is considered as a prerequisite for all translation. See Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (3d ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 118-119.

translator or to a different *Vorlage*.[39] This question is not current in the case of *Bibel 2000*, where on the contrary the *Vorlage* most certainly is the Masoretic text, completed and conjectured according to standard text critical procedures.[40] In an important way, this makes questions on translational interpretation and exegesis less complicated, since deviations from the source text cannot be due to a different *Vorlage*.

Furthermore, it is most unlikely that a modern Bible translation would show such extreme deviations from the source text as is sometimes the case in the Septuagint.[41] This is a reason why exegesis as a concept should be treated with greater care when speaking of a modern Bible translation. Since the notion in itself so wide that it risks becoming void, I suggest that it be coupled to the concept *levels of interpretation*, so that different levels of interpretation is thought of to express different kinds of exegesis – if the translation is consistent, that is.[42] Since a translation is always an interpretation, a translated text is always on some level of interpretation. A translated text is thus always an expression of an exegesis, but on different levels, namely different levels of interpretation. I will have to further elaborate with different kinds of exegesis as well as different levels of interpretation, suitable for the analysis of *Bibel 2000*. Anyhow, as I see it, there are no reasons why the different notions of exegesis of LXX studies, or the different levels of interpretation of Aejmelaeus, could not be applicable on a modern Bible translation, even though they have to be dealt with carefully.

6. SELECTED TEXTS

Criteria for the selection of texts

To make the assortment of texts for the analysis as representative as possible, different kinds of texts from the OT should be represented. *Representative* is here understood in several ways, or as several criteria: 1) The texts should be representative with regard to the

[39] See further Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 117-122.
[40] According the the principles of the Bible Commission, as expressed in SOU 1974:33, 65-71.
[41] Cf., for example, the book of Esther, where God is completely absent in the Masoretic text, but appropriately inserted in the Septuagint translation. See Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 317.
[42] What should be stressed here is that I do not understand *consistent* in the usual sense of the word, that is, as some kind of indicator on the ”literality” of the text(s). Rather, it is used as denoting a certain level of interpretation. Put shortly: If a number of renderings of the anthropological kay terms can be said to be on the same level of interpretation, the exegesis is consistent, and the terms are consistently translated.

stylistic/genre width of the OT, that is, texts of several different genres[43] should be included in the selection. 2) A number of different texts concerning different aspects of the OT anthropology and different occurences of the key terms should be represented, so that the selection of texts would not only partly cover the great range of OT anthropology. 3) A number of OT books should be included, since different books in *Bibel 2000* were translated by different translators. This will help getting a grip of the overall approach of the translation and answering the question of consistency in the translation, which would not be the case if only one OT book, translated by one single translator, were to be included. These criteria are combined in the selection of texts.

The selection of texts will furthermore be governed by the occurence of the anthropological key terms, נפֶשׁ, בשָׂר, רוח and (ב)לב, which will be looked after in combination with each other. It is assumed that certain "word fields" (*Wordfelder*), in a specific textual context, point to the main focus of the event or narrative in question.[44] A word field of anthropological key terms points to the realm of questions concering the human being in different respects, that is, the anthropology. Evenmore, the key terms are closely associated with each other, since they are said to represent different aspects of the same human body or human life,[45] and to study them isolated from each other would mean to break up their semantic context.[46]

On these abovementioned criteria the following texts have been selected for the analysis of the interpretation of the OT anthropology in *Bibel 2000:*

Genesis 2:4-7. This text, which as part of the second creation narrative is from the J source. The reason not to include text from the P source (Gen 1-2:4a) is that the anthropological key terms in P are used exclusively to describe animals, not humans.[47] Therefore, they could not be classified as strictly anthropological. The concentration on 2:4-7 includes the central

[43] These genres include Creation Narrative, Law, Narrative text, Wisdom Literature, Prophetic Writings, Psalms. I will have to work on the genre definition. Genre definition should at least in some way combine the two critera *form* and *content*. This is crucial especially for poetry. For a distinction between prose and poetry, Cf. Wilfred G. E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to its Techniques.* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 44-55.
[44] Walter Dietrich, *Samuel 1.* (BKAT VIII:2; Neukirchen-Vlyn: Neukirchener Verlags-gesellschaft, 2011), 23.
[45] Wolff, *Anthropologie*, 25.
[46] *Semantischen Weiträumigkeit*. Wolff, *Anthropologie*, 23-24.
[47] The relationship between J and P has been debated. Furthermore, it has been questioned to what extent the creation stories have left traces in the rest of the OT. Cf. Terje Stordalen, *Echos of Eden. Genesis 2-3 and Symbolism of the Eden Garden in Biblical Hebrew Literature* (Ph.D. Diss.; Oslo: The Norwegian Lutheran School of Theology, 1998), 3-7.

passage 2:7 (”Then the LORD God formed a man from the dust of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life (נִשְׁמַת חַיִּים), and the man became a living being (חַיָּה נֶפֶשׁ).”).[48]

1 Samuel 1:7-28. The text of the first chapter of 1 Samuel can, according to Walter Dietrich, be characterised as a *Familiengeschichte.* Its characteristic word field includes the anthropological key terms רוח, לב, and נפשׁ,[49] which are mixed with a word field including a number of markedly religious terms, such as יהוה, יהוה צבאות, אלהי ישׂראל, יהוה בית, כהן. This is done in a way that gives the anthropology a theological character.[50]

Ezekiel 11:(14-16)17-21. The anthropology that is presented in the passage about the heart of stone (v. 19)[51] is as well markedly theological, since it is יהוה who is the initiator of the new creation. The presupposition of this passage is that man is created by God, and therefore [s]he must live wholly and fully as the creation of God.[52] It is in this respect that בשׂר is used in the text; not as an indicator of the weak and ”fleshly” man, but as a positive reference to the creation.[53] The ”transformation” of the human spirit (רוח) is, according to Block, ”clearly anthropological”, in contrast with the similar passage in 36:36-37, where the human spirit is interfoliated with that of יהוה.[54]

Psalms: 63. Psalm 63 belongs to the group of individual complaint psalms. The text includes two of the anthropological key terms; נפשׁ and בשׂר. As in the case of 1 Samuel 1, they are part of a word field which points to the interior of man and his/her needs: ”You, God, are my God, earnestly I (נפשׁי) seek you; I thirst for you, my whole being (בשׂרי) longs for you […]”

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[48] All biblical quotations, unless otherwise stated, are from the NIV.
[49] But as well אישׁ, אשׁה, בן, ילד, ידע which, according to Dietrich, is included in the word field of the *Familiengeschichte.* Dietrich, *Samuel 1*, 23.
[50] This is often the case elsewhere. Cf. the concept of *Imago Dei* in the P creation story, Gen 1:27: here the creation of man is initiated by God and man lives thenceforth as the creation of God.
[51] Cf. also Jer 24:7; 31:33.
[52] Cf. Daniel Block’s characterisation of Ezekiel’s rhetoric as ”radically theocentric”. Daniel I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel, Chapters 25-48* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, Mi: Eerdmans, 1998), 351.
[53] Sten Hidal, *Nästan till en gud. Människobild och människosyn i Gamla testamentet* (Stockholm: Verbum, 1996), 58.
[54] Daniel I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel, Chapters 1-24* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, Mi: Eerdmans, 1997), 353.

(v. 2).[55] **84.** Hossfeld & Zenger note, "[t]his psalm is undisputably shaped, through and through, by motifs of Temple theology."[56] The "pilgrim" speaking in the psalm, whether for himself or as a spokesman for a group, refers to the house of יהוה as the object of his longing, the object to which "he clings with his whole existence ('soul', 'heart', 'flesh')."[57]

Job 7:-. Chapters 6 and 7 form togheter the first answer of Job on the criticisms of his friends. In chapter 7, Job turns directly to יהוה. Chapter 7 includes all of the four key terms, and is therefore selected in its entirety. Besides the key terms, is is most interesting to note that vv. 17-18 ironically paraphrase Psalm 8, which in turn is one of very few direct referenses to the Creation narrative that can be found in the OT,[58] which makes it even more interesting from the point of view of anthropology.

Ecclesiastes 2:-. Chapter two of Ecclesiastes is part of this book's beginning. It introduces the narrator, Qohelet, king of Jerusalem (1:12). The focus is on the vanity of man, and as such the anthropology of the two first chapters has been interestingly coined an "anthropology without God".[59] In 2:24-25, though, God is "introduced" in a way that makes clear that the life of human beings is the gift of God – an anthropology *with* God. This text also includes all of the four key terms.

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[55] According to Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalmen 2* (BKAT XV:2; Neukirchen-Vlyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978), 602, נפשׁ here denotes "der bedürftigen Lebenskomponente", while בשׂר denotes "der stofflichen Gestalt."

[56] Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalms 2* (Hermeneia, trans. by Linda M. Maloney; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 350.

[57] Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 353.

[58] Cf. Job 7:17-18: "What is mankind (אנושׁ) that you make so much of them, that you give them so much attention, that you examine them every morning and test them every moment?", and Psalm 8:4: "What is mankind (אנושׁ) that you are mindful of them, human beings that you care for them?

[59] "*Anthropologie ohne Gott*". Ludger Schwienhorst-Schönberger, "Zwischen Agonie und Glück. Kulturanthropologische Impulse und alttestamentliche Anthropologie am Beispiel Kohelets" in *Biblische Anthropologie – Neue Einsichten aus dem Alten Testament* (ed. Christian Frevel; Freiburg: Herder), 168.

Images of Exile: the Nature of the Exile in the Prophetic Literature of the Bible

Project description

Summary

This project aims at clarifying the notion of exile in the Old Testament and thereby challenging our conception of the kind of texts we encounter in the Bible. By examining this notion from the perspective of metaphor theory the project will show that the exile in the prophetic literature represents much more than merely geographical displacement and forced migration. It is the hypothesis that the exile is not only described by means of different images, but is itself an image. Exile is a root metaphor for expressing divine punishment and the absence of God. Recognizing the metaphorical nature of exile may lead to a new understanding of the prophetic literature and a positive reevaluation of the figurative approach of the pre-modern interpreters.

Purpose, description and hypotheses

According to the Old Testament's own account, the exile in Babylon in the sixth century BCE was a decisive turning point in history of Israel. Jerusalem and its temple were destroyed by the Babylonians, the people of Israel were forced into foreign captivity, and their homeland was left as an uninhabited wasteland. After seventy years, a new and purified people returned to the land to rebuild the temple and restore its fortune.

Recent reevaluations of the archeological findings and historical sources, however, have seriously questioned the historical reliability of the biblical narrative. Israel was not left as "an empty land," because a substantial number of people continued to live there. The conditions for the few who actually were deported to Babylon were by no means as bad as the Bible claims. Furthermore, there are several biblical stories of exile in addition to this particular one. In fact, "exile" seems to be a key motif: Adam and Eve are forced to leave Paradise, Abraham and his family travel as strangers, and the marvelous story of Exodus emerges from the captivity in Egypt. "Exile," I will argue, primarily constitutes a literary and theological theme.

The *purpose* of this project is to clarify the nature of the exile in the Old Testament and thereby to challenge our conception of the kind of texts we encounter in the Bible. Rather than accurate descriptions of actual events, we are dealing with images and metaphors. By examining the notion of exile from the perspective of *metaphor theory* the project will show that the exile represents much more than merely geographical displacement. The exile signalizes a variety of alienations: political marginalization, social dislocation, despair, existential and religious struggle, and a feeling of separation from God. These concerns are accordingly not "resolved" by a geographical return to the homeland. Even at home, one continues to be in exile. Exile endures and is a basic condition of human existence.

Such interpretations are well-known from later reception of the Bible. Many writings dealing with exile in the Jewish literature emerging in the centuries after the formation of the Old Testament view exile as an ongoing event and as a state beyond geographical displacement. In 4 Ezra, for instance, exile serves as a metaphor for contemporary distress and the experience of God's absence. Exile itself is an image for other forms of sufferings. Particularly influential in Christian theology is the idea that the earthly life is a spiritual exile from which one as a faithful pilgrim must strive to escape. In a classical figurative reading of the Bible, "Babylon" represents the state of alienation, whereas "Jerusalem" is applied as a symbol for divine redemption.

The project will raise the question of whether this figurative understanding of exile is present already within the Old Testament itself. I will therefore consider the possibility that many of the biblical texts should be understood within a genuine metaphorical framework. The conventional model of historical criticism which sees the exile as a primarily historical event which was then interpreted figuratively in later reception is too simplistic. Implied in this model is that the literal or historical meaning is the one true interpretation, whereas the figurative meaning is a substitute and alteration falsely imposed from outside the text. Yet in light of the discrepancy between the biblical story of exile and the actual course of history such a model is no longer useful.

I will limit the scope of the study to the prophetic literature of the Old Testament, that is, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the Minor Prophets. There is a dense use of poetry and metaphors in these books, and the reflection on exile is central to almost all of them. Yet the images they use are different. Isaiah speaks of exile with the images of captivity, slavery and blindness. Jeremiah interprets exile as infertility and abandonment as when a man leaves his wife. Ezekiel considers exile to be a state of spiritual death from which the people must be raised. The Minor Prophets employ a variety of images, including adultery, funeral, and Jerusalem as a wasteland.

It is the *hypothesis* of the project that the exile in these books is not only described by means of different images, but is itself an image. Exile is a root metaphor for describing divine punishment and the absence of God. Furthermore, the hypothesis is that the ability of exile to attract the differing images listed above offers the key reason for its own metaphorization as these images color and change the concept itself. "Exile" is never merely exile, but a loaded theological concept. It is a trope, not historiography. We should thus recognize that these books offer genuine reflections on central ethical and theological matters concerning human existence and the relationship to God.

Theoretical considerations and state of the art

A fruitful approach to the nature of exile is to draw upon modern *metaphor theory*. The study of metaphor in biblical scholarship is not new (see e.g. Nielsen 1985; Eidevall 1996; Lund 2007; O'Brien 2008). However, most of the preceding work has focused on the metaphors for God, his people, or their enemies (cf. Brettler 1989: 17-28; van Hecke 2005: 1-17), and it is surprising that

more work has not been done on the exile as a root metaphor. This project proposes to carry out such an analysis of the prophetic literature.

An initial definition of metaphor is that it is "that figure of speech whereby we speak about one thing in terms which are seen to be suggestive of another" (Soskice 1987: 15). In classical rhetoric, the metaphor was considered to be rhetorical flourish, that is, a figurative rewriting of or a poetic *substitute* for a literal statement. Modern metaphor theory (e.g. I.A. Richards, M. Black and P. Ricæur), however, has argued that metaphors do not (only) have a stylistic, rhetorical function but rather – and more importantly – a profound constitutive function. Metaphors create new meaning and are as such untranslatable. A metaphor consists of two components: a *tenor* or primary subject (that about which is spoken in the metaphor) and a *vehicle* or secondary subject (the image used to say something about the tenor). In the statement "exile is blindness," "exile" is the tenor and "blindness" is the image that is used to express the tenor, that is, the associations for blindness color the concept of exile.

It is the interaction between these components – the tenor's and the vehicle's different systems of associations – that generate new meaning. In the interplay between diverse areas of meaning the differences are at least as significant as the similarities. Importantly, meaning is transferred in both directions: the tenor is immersed in the system of associations that surround the vehicle and vice versa. In the statement "exile is blindness," "blindness" might be seen as the tenor and exile as the vehicle. This "reciprocal interaction" implies that the vehicles used to convey the nature of exile themselves become tenors whose distinct nature is expressed in the comparison with the state of being in exile. Exile itself is a vehicle – an image – for communicating the nature of other types of sufferings and alienations.

Metaphor theory thus offers a new perspective on the exile as it fully recognizes the metaphorical and creative nature of the biblical language. The idea of *reciprocal interaction* will help us to clarify the way in which the exile is described by means of images and as an image is used to describe other types of sufferings. By examining the systems of associations in which the exile is immersed it will be possible to demonstrate the variety of alienations that exile represents.

The state of art in exilic scholarship may initially be divided into two groups: before and after the 1980s. Before the 1980s the exile – commonly understood to be the Babylonian exile (587-538 BCE) – was largely seen as a specific *event* in the history of Israel. From the 19th Century, this event was pictured as destructive for the development of Israelite/Jewish religion as it signalized a time of degeneration. Yet Peter Ackroyd's groundbreaking monograph *Exile and Restoration* from 1968 challenged this view by claiming that the sixth century was a dynamic age for the formation and editorial shaping of much of the Old Testament literature.

Since the late 1980s the focus has shifted from seeing exile as a particular event in Israel's history to treating it more broadly as a social and cultural *phenomenon*. This change has in particular been shaped by a series of important publications on historiographical matters (Barstad 1989; 1996; 1997; Carroll 1992; Scott 1997; Grabbe 1998), many of which are associated with the criticism against the historical reliability of the biblical texts voiced by the "Copenhagen School" of Old Testament studies. Common to these contributions is the reevaluation of the historical sources and archeological findings which recasts the exile as a mythopoetic and ideological construct. This critical impulse has evoked a variety of new approaches dealing with the archeological, sociological, anthropological and psychological dimensions of the concept. In addition to recent monograph-length studies on the historical and sociological dimensions (Albertz 2003; Kiefer 2005; Lipschits 2005; Middlemas 2007; Ahn 2011), there have been a considerable number of publications of conference papers (Becking & Human 2009; Becking, Cannegieter, van der Poll & Wetter 2010; Ben Zvi & Levin 2010; Kelle, Ames & Wright 2012; Gudme & Hjelm: forthcoming) which demonstrate the multiplicity of ways in which the field has been developing over the last few years.

Despite the growing attention to the complexity of the biblical notion of exile, the exploration of the concept in the prophetic literature as a genuine literary and theological trope has not received sufficient attention. Some of the essays in the above-mentioned publications are moving in this direction (Carroll 1997; Thompson 1998; Kessler 2010; Balentine 2012). Yet, as far as I know, the only monograph of recent date on this particular subject is Martien A. Halvorson-Taylor's *Enduring Exile: the Metaphorization of Exile in the Hebrew Bible* from 2011. Even though the main interest of Halvorson-Taylor is shared by this project, namely the exile as a metaphor, it differs from it on especially two issues: first, in her study on the historical process that led to the idea of a continuing exile, Halvorson-Taylor is too dependent on the older model of exile and dating of the biblical texts. Moving beyond the question of historicity this project approaches the biblical texts synchronically by metaphor theory. Second, whereas her reading is limited to a small number of passages (Jeremiah 30-31; Isaiah 40-55; 58; 61; Zechariah 1-8), neglecting, for instance, Ezekiel and other important prophets, this project aims at including the entire prophetic literature to gain a more comprehensive and nuanced knowledge of the biblical images of exile.

Research plan

The project will be carried out at the Department of Biblical Exegesis, Faculty of Theology, University of Copenhagen. The department has an already established "tradition" for reading the biblical texts as literary constructions (cf. the "Copenhagen School" represented by Niels Peter Lemche, Thomas L. Thompson and others) and a key research area of the department focuses on the ideology and experience of exile (see http://www.teol.ku.dk/abe/forsk/). The present project

continues in line with these activities, stressing even further, however, the metaphorical nature of the prophetic literature. In my Master's thesis (prize essay) I investigated the literary representations of Jerusalem/Zion in the prophetic literature (Poulsen: forthcoming[a]) and in my PhD thesis I produced a biblical-theological interpretation of a selected passage from Isaiah. In a forthcoming article I have explored the poetic and theological potentials of the Isaianic metaphor of "the way" (Poulsen: forthcoming[b]). With this project I also seek to strengthen my competences in understanding the literary and theological nature of the Old Testament prophets.

The project will be carried out as follows: *Spring 2015*: Research semester; European Association of Biblical Studies annual meeting with paper proposal for the session "Exile and Identity" (July). *Autumn 2015*: Article proposal to Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament on the nature of exile in Isaiah; Society of Biblical Literature (SBL) annual meeting with paper proposal (November). *Spring 2016*: Research stay at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem; article proposal to Journal of the Study of the Old Testament on the nature of exile in Jeremiah and Ezekiel; SBL international meeting (July). *Autumn 2016*: Monograph *Images of Exile: the Nature of the Exile in the Prophetic Literature of the Bible* hopefully to be published in Forschungen zum Alten Testament (FAT) at Mohr Siebeck.

Perspectives

The main outcome of the project concerns the nature of the exile in the prophetic literature. Fully recognizing the creative and metaphorical nature of the biblical notion of exile may lead to a new understanding of the prophetic literature which was of tremendous significance for the New Testament authors and still is considered by many to be the most central texts in the Old Testament. Traditionally, the notion of exile, for instance, in Isaiah 40-55, Jeremiah and Ezekiel has been used to date these prophets to the sixth century BCE and to interpret their message within the context of reconstructions of this period. However, if it turns out that exile in these prophetic books refers to a literary-theological concept rather than a historical event a significant argument for the established view is weakened. New questions must be raised about the concept of the prophetic figures and the literature associated with their names. As stated above, the "exilic" literature of the Bible may be literary and theological constructions reflecting the concerns of a much later time. Furthermore, recognizing the metaphorical language of the biblical texts could result in a positive reevaluation of the figurative approach of the pre-modern interpreters (e.g. Philo, Church Fathers, Medieval scholars), which has often dismissed by historical critics. Finally, a fresh metaphor-theoretical perspective on these old texts, which throughout the centuries have shaped Western culture, may help to understand why the concept of exile in our time continues to serve as a basic expression for social marginalization and existential struggle.

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From *zonah* to adulterous *be'ulat*. The Transformation of the Textual Woman from Hos 2 in Ezek 16 and 23

I. Introduction

In the following paper I will build up on my earlier research, which I have partially already presented at different OTSEM meetings. Thus, I will again argue - against the prevalent view in biblical scholarship - that the textual woman in Hos 2 and in particular in Hos 2:4-15 is not conceptualized as a married (adulterous) woman (*be'ulat*), but as an unmarried woman, who is not affiliated to a *ba'al-be'ulat* household. Additionally, I will argue that the *zonah*-motif as it can be found in Hos 2 is drawn-upon in Ezek 16 and 23. In particular, it is my hypothesis that the concept of Israel as a non-YHWH-affiliated and hence unprotected and vulnerable entity as presented in Hos 2:4-15 is still remembered in later texts. And I will highlight how this concept has been laboriously transformed into the image of an adulterous *be'ulat,* in order to reuse the older *zonah*-motif in light of Jerusalem's situation. This new situation in contrast to Israel's situation as described in Hos 2 (and in Ezek 16 and 23) presumes an already existing exclusively committed relationship between Jerusalem an YHWH. Hence I will in the following demonstrate how the *zonah*-motif has been converted into the motif of an adulterous *be'ulat*. Thus, it is my overall hypothesis that biblical scholars have misread Hos 2 by conflating it with later reinterpretative developments, which have been introduced in texts such as Ezek 16 and 23.

II. The Cognitive Matrix of *b'l* and *znh*

Based on my cognitive analysis of the roots *b'l* and *znh*, which I have presented in an earlier paper, I argue - against the mainstream understanding in biblical scholarship- that the roots *znh* and *n'ph* must not be understood as synonyms.[1] Instead I have shown that *znh* and *n'ph* - in light of the cognitive world of *b'l*- (originally) denote two mutual exclusive cognitive concepts, which represent

[1] A similar observation has already be made by Moughtin-Mumby (the exact reference will be added later), who in contrast to my own reading - despite her own observation- understands the textual woman in Hos 2 in terms of a *be'ulat*.

different socio-legal status of ancient Israelite women. Overall, I argue that the root *n'ph* is linked to the concept of a *be'ulat* and the root *znh* is linked to the concept of a *zonah*.

II. 1 The *be'ulat*

The feminine participle passive *be'ulat*, designates - in the cognitive world of *b'l* - an adult women, who is affiliated and expected to be exclusively committed to a particular household-unit that is formally and in public and legal interactions represented by a *ba'al*. The feminine participle already reveals that the woman, who is a *be'ulat*, is defined by her relationship to a male person, the *ba'al.* This *ba'al* is within the confined legal frame of a *ba'al-be'ulat*- household entrusted with the right and duty to accept and dismiss household members, including the woman, who is, respectively becomes, a *be'ulat*. As any other family member she, the *be'ulat*, is in the *prototypical scenario* of *b'l* conceptualized as being loyal and committed to the household-unit to which she belongs to. It is her duty - just as it is the duty of all household members (including the *ba'al*)- to maintain the given boundaries, in order to maintain controlled interaction with the outside world (including other household units).

In the case of a *be'ulat,* these given household-boundaries include her commitment to sexual exclusiveness. In return, it is her right and privilege to be part of a protected socio-legal realm. Therefore it can be concluded that the term *be'ulat* designates the socio-legal status of a woman, who is part of a *ba'al*-household. She, the *be'ulat* is conceptualized as a woman, who is affiliated and exclusively committed to a particular household-unit and to a particular *ba'al*, who builds the point of reference for the larger unit. In return, the *ba'al* owes her (and the rest of the household-unit) protection against (dangers from) the outside world. Thus, it can be stated that the Hebrew root *n'ph* ("to commit adultery") - which must not be understood as a synonym of *znh,* as I have shown in an earlier part of my dissertation, - is to be understood in this context. Unlike the root *znh*, the root *n'ph* addresses a situation in which the *be'ulat* transgresses the boundaries of the household-unit by having sexual intercourse with another man (who is not her *ba'al* and therefore belongs to a different socio-legal unit).

Violations of *ba'al*-household boundaries are therefore, seen as a breach of her commitment and therefore as legal transgression. Hence the "adulterous" *be'ulat* is subject to punishment. And the concrete punitive measurements are addressed and regulated in legal texts.

II.2 The *betula*

Before a woman becomes *be'ulat*, her status is that of a *betula*. The *betula* is a young woman, who is still associated to her parents' *baal*-household-unit. Thus, the socio-legal status of a *betula* can be described as a status in transition: on the one hand she is still socio-legally represented and protected by her parents' *ba'al*-household- unit, but on the other hand she is eligible for being accepted into a new household as a (future) *ba'al*'s *be'ulat*.[2] In the case that a *betula* is (forcibly) defiled by a man and he does not fulfill his duty of establishing a new *ba'al-be'ulat* household with her, she becomes a *zonah* (if her parents do no longer protect her).

II.3 The *zonah*

Viewed in light of the cognitive world of *b'l*, the Hebrew root *znh* - designates the exact opposite of the concept of a *be'ulat*. Thus the noun *zonah* (respectively the compound noun *eschet zenunim* in Hos 1:2, which alludes to it) refers to the socio-legal status of a woman that is formally not affiliated to a standard *ba'al*-household-unit. Thus, the *zonah* is conceptualized as an unaffiliated, uncommitted and hence unprotected woman. Similarly to the function of a *ba'al*, however, she is (implicitly) conceptualized as the socio-legal point of reference and representative for individuals, who are affiliated with and committed to her (such as her children). Additionally, it is she, the *zonah*, who marks their social status. In a court situation, such as is in 1. Kgs 3:16-27[3], she functions as socio-legal subject and representative for her household unit. In contrast to the conceptualization of a *ba'al*-household-unit, however, the conceptualization of a

[2] See above.
[3] cf. ancient near Eastern legal texts. More detailed references will be added later.

zonah-household-unit- as far as it can be reconstructed- does not include the notion of safety and protection.

II.4 The mutual exclusive concepts of a *zonah* and a *be'ulat*

To sum up: In terms of the cognitive grammar of *b'l* and *znh* the status of the *zonah* is *profiled* against the idealized standard of an adult woman, who is a *be'ulat*. To be sure, both of the socio-legal concepts are profiled against the idealized standard of of being affiliated to a *ba'al*-household. Nevertheless, it can be stated that their relationship to a *ba'al*-household is constructed very differently. While the *be'ulat* is defined by her affiliation and commitment to a *ba'al*-household, the *zonah* is defined by her lack (!) of a commitment and affiliation to a *ba'al*. This means that the *zonah* - due to her lack of a proper socio-legal affiliation- is conceptualized as a person that has *no* commitment to a (particular) *ba'al* respectively to a standard *ba'al*-household-unit. Consequently, there is no expectation or duty of loyalty (towards a *ba'al*-household), which would include sexual exclusiveness. This explains also why a *zonah* can have many lovers, without being punished, and why she can receive material goods from them.[4] The flipside of this lack of a proper socio-legal affiliation and commitment, however, is that the *zonah* (and her household) is clearly in a vulnerable position. In light of the cognitive world of *b'l*, she is conceptualized as an unprotected person, who is exposed to threats and perils from outside. The reason for this is that she is not part of a socio-legal unit, which offers her (and her children) a consolidated and protected realm. To sum up, a *zonah* (and her household-unit) is conceptualized as lacking a proper socio-legal affiliation. This, on the one hand, implies a (formal and juridical) lack of commitment to loyalty (towards a *ba'al*-household-unit) and on the other hand, this also implies a lack of protection and proper socio-legal representation. Violence against a *zonah* (as well as against her household-unit), however, must not be understood as a

[4] There is neither a reference in the Hebrew bible nor in ancient legal texts in which a woman is punished for being and acting as a *zonah* as such. My hypothesis, in which I argue that the status or way of life that is designated by the root *znh* is not per se subject to legal punishment can be, furthermore, corroborated by a survey of the root *znh* in the Hebrew bible as well as ancient Near Eastern legal texts, in which the *zonah* appears as socio-legal subject, who has certain legally protected rights (especially when it comes to her rights concerning her children).

punishment for a crime. This is also corroborated by ancient narrative and legal material.[5] Instead, violence against a *zonah*'s life and her household, therefore, is to be understood as a risk and danger, which originates in her socio-legal vulnerable position (as opposed to a conventional punishment). Thus it is no coincidence that the *zonah* is in some (legal) texts mentioned alongside with *widows* and *orphans*[6]. From the cognitive perspective of *b'l* this is easy to explain: the socio-legal status of a *widow* or an *orphan* is like the status of the *zonah* that of a (formally) unaffiliated, uncommitted and hence unprotected person. Therefore, I suggest that the term *zonah,* is best rendered as "(formally) *un*affiliated, *un*committed and *un*protected woman". And the term *be'ulat*, is best rendered as a "(formally) affiliated, committed and protected woman." This means in other words that, while the socio-legal status of *be'ulat* is conceptualized as being affiliated, committed and protected by a *ba'al,* the *zonah* (in contrast to the *be'ulat*) is conceptualized by her lack of a *ba'al.* To be quite sure, the status of a *zonah* is not the idealized standard of a woman in ancient society. Nevertheless, it is a concept that exists and is accounted for in legal texts and narratives as well as by the root *znh* (which is not simply a synonym of the root *n'ph*).

III. The Textual Woman and the Events around her as Described in Hos 2: From *zonah* to YHWH's *be'ulat*

Thus, I argue with regard to the depiction of the textual woman in Hos 2:4-15 and the events around her, draw up on the literal understanding of the root *znh* . Moreover, I argue that the *zonah*-motif builds the core motif in Hos 2 and in particular in Hos 2:4-15.

In line with the majority of biblical scholars, I divide Hos 2 into two main parts, which can be found in Hos 2:4-15 and Hos 2:16-25: This division can be justified by various observations: first of all, the expression "oracle of YHWH", which appears as a concluding formula in Hos 2:15 clearly marks a break between these two passages. Second, it has been long time observed that negative motifs

[5] References will be added later.
[6] References will be added later.

from Hos 2:4-15 are transformed into positive motifs in Hos 2:16-25. And third, and this is my own new contribution (and main hypothesis) the depiction of the textual woman changes in Hos 2:16 from the image of a *zonah* to the image of a *be'ulat*. Thus, it can be recognized that while the root *znh* clearly dominates in Hos 2:4-15, so called "marital" and courting language is only introduced in the second part of Hos 2 and can be found in particular in Hos 2:16-18 und 20-22: The seductive language in Hos 2:16-17 presents a courting-scene and Hos 2:18 uses the expression "my '*ish* (man)" which could be understood as a marriage declaration. Moreover vv. 21 and 22 use the verb *'rs* (to betroth), which proclaims the (future) *ba'al*'s will to "marry" the textual woman. Additionally, v. 20, in which the male speaker promises to establish a covenant for (! not with!) the textual woman, presents YHWH in the role of a (future) *ba'al*.[7] The promised covenant is supposed to protect the textual woman from dangers from the outside world, which are represented in the image of wild animals[8] as well as in images of warfare.

Beyond that, it can be observed that the transition from the *zonah*-motif to the motif of a future *ba'al-be'ulat*-relationship is performed via the motif of a *betula*, which is introduced in Hos 2:16-17. Thus, I argue that the expression "like in the days of her youth" (v.17) alludes to the socio-legal status of a young woman, who is available for "marriage" and hence in transition from an affiliation to her parents' *ba'al*-household-unit to a new household unit, in which she becomes the *be'ulat* of her *ba'al*. In addition to that a transition in the image of the male speaker, who only in Hos 2:15f turns out to be YHWH, hints to a new perspective, which is introduced in Hos 2:16-25. Thus, the unnamed male speaker changes from a violent aggressor to a (future) *ba'al* in Hos 2:16, who in the following verses offers a *ba'al-be'ulat*-relationship to the textual woman. To be sure, the image of YHWH as the textual woman's proper *ba'al* is already latent in Hos 2:4-15. Nevertheless, it can be noticed that an already existing *ba'al-be'ulat*-

[7] YHWH's role as a mediator between Israel and threatening forces from the outside world in Hos 2:20 (as opposed to a partner in the covenant) as well as the different usage of the term covenant in the book of Hosea has been already recognized by previous biblical scholars. Cf. Wolff (1965), 62.

[8] Cf. Andersen and Freedman's analysis of the "wild animals of the countryside" as a symbol for terror in the Hebrew bible, which profiles the cultivated land against the untamed wild. Andersen/ Freedman (1980), 255. 281.

relationship between the textual woman Israel and YHWH is in Hos 2:4-15 not (yet) presumed as a given or as something that is known by the textual woman (cf. Hos 2:10), who represents Israel and therefore the text's audience.
Thus, I argue - against the prevalent view in biblical scholarship- that the textual woman is in Hos 2:4-15 not presented in the image of YHWH's (adulterous) *be'ulat*, but purposefully conceptualized in the image of a *zonah*. I will later come back to the function and implication of this image within Hos 2.

So let us first take a closer look at how the protagonists and their relationship to each other are characterized in Hos 2:4-15. Let us assume (at least for now) that the male speaker is YHWH.[9] Yet, we have to keep in mind that he is not *explicitly* introduced as such from the beginning.[10] The identity and status of the textual female in Hos 2:4-15 is even more obscure: first of all, she is introduced as a mother. The plural-suffix hints to the fact that she has several children ("your mother"). It is, however, not stated that the children are the children of the male speaker, for they are only attributed to their mother. From this it can be concluded that the children are defined via their mother and not via a *ba'al*. This, already suggests that the textual woman is a *zonah*. Taking the statements in Hos 2:6-7 serious that the children are the "children of whoredom" (*znh*) and that their mother, who has conceived, them has "whored" (*znh*) and run after her lovers, furthermore, corroborates that the mother is characterized in the status of a *zonah*, who has children. This, again perfectly fits the description of a *zonah* in ancient Israelite and ancient Near Eastern material.[11] Moreover, the fact that the male speaker does not directly address the textual woman, but asks her children to intervene against their mother on his behalf suggests once again that he is not her *baal*. Therefore he does not have the right and possibility to confront her in legal proceedings. This explains why the male speaker addresses the textual woman via her children: They -in contrast to him- at least belong to her household-unit.[12] That the *textual woman* is conceptualized

[9] This (preliminary) reading could be justified by the fact that YHWH is introduced and explicitly named in v. 15. Also in Hos 1 he is explicitly named and the only one that is granted a direct voice (vv.2.4-5.6c-7.9).
[10] I will come back to this later.
[11] Cf. 1. Kgs 3:16-27 and ...(References to further biblical and ancient Near Eastern material will be added later).
[12] Observations about the expression *rib b* in a private setting will be added later.

as a *zonah* (as opposed to an adulterous *be'ulat*) is furthermore indicated by the fact, that she is described as having many lovers (Hos 2:7.9.12.14.15), from which she expects to receive natural produce (Hos 2:7), which can be interpreted as payment in kind and are in Hos 2:14 referred to as wages of a prostitute. The textual female is in Hos 2:4 furthermore characterized by the terms זְנוּנִים and נַאֲפוּפִים, which she shall put away from her face and from between her breasts. The plastic attribution with *zonah*'s body parts together with the reference to her ornaments, which she puts on in order to pursue her lovers (Hos 2:15), furthermore, suggest that the terms זְנוּנִים and נַאֲפוּפִים allude to ornaments, which characterize her as a *zonah*. To be sure, it could be objected that the literal meaning of the root *n'ph* ("to commit adultery") in the term נַאֲפוּפִים might refer to a marital relationship. Against this, it can be argued that it is rather questionable that the literal meaning of the root *n'ph* says anything other about the textual woman than that she is a *zonah*: first of all, it is important to note that the roots *n'ph* and *znh* never appear as homonyms in the Hebrew Bible, but rather refer to mutual exclusive circumstances. Thus it is very unlikely that this two meanings a presented together without any further explanation.[13] Secondly, it would be rather curious that the purported core-motif of the textual woman in the image of an (adulterous) *be'ulat*, would appear in a kind of side note. And third, it could be argued that the root *n'ph* does not necessarily have to refer to the woman's adultery, but to the adultery of men. The fact that the root *n'ph* predominantly refers to the sexual misconduct of men[14], furthermore suggests that not her adultery, but the men's adultery with a *zonah* is referred to in the characterization of the textual woman's ornaments. An example for this use of *n'ph* can be found in Jer 5:7, where men are accused that they *n'ph* in the house of a *zonah* ("bet zonah").[15] Thus, it can be stated that the root *n'ph* in Hos 2:4,

[13] I will come back to this issue later and show how much effort it takes the author of Jer 2-3 and the author of Ezek 16 to combine these two terms. For now it is enough to point to the fact that biblical and ancient Near Eastern law clearly treat adultery and prostitution separately and in different ways. Cf. for this and the usage of the terms in Hos 1-3 also Moughtin-Mumby, S. (2008), *Sexual and Marital Metaphors in Hosea, Jeremiah, Isaiah and Ezekiel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 242-44.

[14] Cf. Andersen/ Freedman (1980), 160.

[15] Cf. Andersen/Freedmann (1980), 160 for the observation that bet zonah is not to be understood as brothel, but as the home of the *zonah*. In light of their belief that znh denotes the adultery of a married woman, they of course, perceive the root *n'ph* in Jer 5:7 as male adultery with a married woman. This, however, is a circular argument, which is grounded in extra-textual

does not justify an understanding of the textual woman as (YHWH's adulterous) *be'ulat*. Instead I argue that in case the term נַאֲפוּפִים includes the literal meaning of adultery it might as well refer to a prostitute, who causes men to commit adultery. Beyond the fact that it cannot be determined whether the root *n'ph* in נַאֲפוּפִים factually implies the literal meaning of "adultery", it has to be taken into account that the term נַאֲפוּפִים is a happaxlegomenon. Therefore it is impossible to determine with any certainty what it really denotes.

From all these observations, it can be therefore concluded that the textual woman is depicted in the image of a *zonah*, has children and does not live in an exclusive *ba'al-be'ulat*-relationship, rather than in the image of an (adulterous) *be'ulat*.

Of course it can be objected - as has been suggested by previous biblical scholars- that the male speaker's statement "I'm not her man/husband and she is not my woman/wife" (in Hos 2:4cd) points to an already existing (albeit corrupted) marital relationship between the textual woman and the male speaker.

To be sure, there are some verses in Hos 2:4-15 that have been drawn upon by previous interpreters, in order to suggest the frame of a “husband-wife”-relationship between the male speaker and the textual woman: v. 4, for example, has been compared to divorce formulas or marital declarations. Furthermore, the reference to the textual woman's " first *'ish*" in v. 9 has been read as referring to an earlier marital relationship between YHWH and the textual female. And vv. 10-11 have been interpreted as the image of a husband that is providing for his wife.

Let me start with Hos 2:4: In v.4cd we find the male speaker's statement “for she is not my wife and I’m not her husband.” What does this mean? For a long time, scholars had argued that we are dealing with *divorce*.[16] This argument was based on two observations: *First*, it had been argued that the verb ריב points to lawsuit as a special juridical setting and, therefore, is to be translated as “to bring charges against”, “to argue a case”, “to defend a case”, or “to plead in favor

pressupositions respectively a later use of the root *znh*, which has been shaped by a later reinterpretation of the zonah-language and -imagery particularly in Ezek 16 and 23 as well as Jer 2-3.

[16] References to the relevant commentaries will be added later.

of", since the verb occurs also in integral court procedures ("to conduct a case").[17] Other scholars, however, have shown that ריב ב does not necessarily point to a juridical setting, but can also refer to a controversy of a more general kind. Examples for this usage of the expression ריב ב are to be found in Gen 31:36 where Jacob takes issue with Laban and disputes the right of Laban to pursue him, as well as in Judg 6:32. Consequently it has been argued that, the expression can also mean "to contend" or "dispute."[18] In other words: there is no clear indication as to whether ריב ב in Hos 2:4 refers to a juridical setting or a controversy of a general kind. Furthermore, we should consider once again that it is the children that are called up to ריב ב their mother (not a husband or judge that conducts a lawsuit). This - as I have already argued earlier- makes it even more questionable that ריב ב in our context refers to a divorce. The first argument for the divorce interpretation, thus, doesn't hold ground.

Secondly, it has been suggested that Hos 2:4cd represents an *official divorce formula.*[19] The argument for this position is based on comparisons with material from Sumerian, Babylonian and Talmudic sources. The punitive measures in v. 5 and the following verses are, then, attributed to divorce procedures explaining them as "the (customary) penalties that are inflicted on an adulterous wife" after the divorce.[20] Against this view, however, it can be argued that the notion of a customary Israelite practice involving death penalty for an adulteress wife (after a divorce) on which Hos 2:5 is supposed to draw upon, is supported by little evidence. Thus, no evidence can be found in the biblical material that the death penalty mentioned in biblical legal texts has been actually executed. In Gen 38:24, for example, this is clearly *not* the case and in the case of

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[17] Cf. HAL 4, p. 1142. See also Boecker, H.J., (1970) *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im Alten Testament*, WMANT 14, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchner, 54. He argues that ריב with preposition ב has the meaning "to bring charges against", to accuse."

[18] See Wacker, M-Th. (1996), *Figuationen des Weiblichen im Hosea-Buch*, HBS 8, Freiburg et al.: Herder, 60 (with n. 7) and 147 n. 25. and Abma, R. (1999). Cf. Blankenbaker, Georg W. (1975), *The Language of Hosea 1-3*. Unpublished PhDiss. Clarmont, 153-54; Andersen, F. I. and D. N. Freedmann (1980), 219ff (contra Wolff, H. W. ([3]1976), *Dodekapropheton I. Hosea*. BK XIV/1, Neuenkirchen-Vluyn: Neuenkirchener, 37ff.). Already Wünsche, A. (1968), *Der Prophet Hosea übersetzt und erklärt mit Benutzung der Targumim, der jüdischen Ausleger Raschi, Aben Ezra und David Kimchi.* Leipzig, 4 distinguishes between ריב ב ("rechten" = "contend"/ "dispute") and ריב ל ("einen Rechtsstreit führen" = "to conduct a lawsuit").

[19] This view is held by e.g. by Cassuto, U. (1973), "The Second chapter of Hosea." Pages 122-23 in U. Cassuto, *Biblical and Oriental Studies* (vol.1; Jerusalem: Magnes), 101-140; 122.

[20] Cassuto, U. (1973), 121.

Deut 22:21-24 it appears to be very unlikely, since this law is rather concerned with a wife's and her parents' reputation than with an actual death sentence for an adulteress, for it is very unlikely that the parents of a woman who is accused to not having been a virgin prior to marriage, would testify that this is the case. Moreover, it has to be recognized that references to the stripping of a female all occur with respect to metaphorical rather than with respect to real woman (Isa 47:2-3; Ezek 16:39; Nah 3:5)[21] and therefore can hardly serve as evidence of customary practice in Israelite divorce procedures. Of course, one could argue that texts like Gen 38:24 and Deut 22:21-24 at least prove that the idea of sentencing an adulteress to death was around in Israel – as it was in other legal codes of the ancient Near East. Nevertheless, even if this was the case, it has to be recognized that the legal material in Gen 38:24 and Deut 22:21-24 has little in common with Hos 2:4-5. Thus, Hosea 2:5 does not mention the traditional death sentence for an adulteress executed through burning or stoning. Beyond that, even if we concede that the idea of a death penalty for adulteresses has been around in general, it remains unclear whether Hos 2:4cd deals with divorce at all. A divorce formula of the type "she is not my wife and I'm not her husband" is neither found in biblical nor extra-biblical material. The divorce formula found in Elephantine documents only present a formula of the type "I hate (/divorce) my wife x and she shall not be a wife to me".[22] In other words: two "formulas" we are supposed to compare, which each consist of more than one part, overlap only in the words "not my wife." The key phrase "I hate/divorce" that appears also in Deut 22:13,16; 24:3, and that seems to be crucial for a statement of divorce is completely missing in Hos 2:4. Beyond that, the "formula" "she is not my wife and I'm not her husband" has no parallels in ancient Near Eastern as well as in rabbinic or early Judaic sources (i.e. the Murabba'at divorce letters), since the latter always keep the male and female perspective strictly separated. Overall then, neither the expression "she is not my wife and I'm not her husband" in v. 4

[21] Cf. Abma, R. (1999), 170.

[22] Whitt, W.D (1992) supports the view that Hos 2:4 draws upon an offical divorce formula with reference to Elephantine documents - in particular Papyrus no. 7 lines 21-22 from the Brooklyn Papyri. See E.G. Kraeling (ed.), *The Brooklyn Museum of Aramaic Papyri: New Documents of the fifth Century B.C. from the Jewish Colony at Elephantine* (Yale University Press: New Haven 1953).

nor the punitive measures described in v. 5 offer conclusive evidence to the effect that we are dealing with some kind of divorce procedure.

Another, and today probably more common, argument for an already existing (albeit corrupted) marital relationship between the speaker and the textual female in Hos 2:4-15,[23] suggests that the expression "I'm not her husband and she is not my wife" represents the *negation* of an official marital declaration. But, even if we accept that this is the case - despite the fact that the only evidence for a marriage declaration of the type "She is my wife and I'm her husband" is found in the later Brooklyn Papyri from Elephantine[24]- it is still not at all clear what this would imply: the fact that we find the negation of a marriage declaration simply does not answer the question whether the textual female and the male speaker in Hos 2:4 have ever *been* in a marital relationship: to say that x is not married to y clearly does not imply that x and y had been previously married.

Now, of course, while, say, "I am not married to her" does not directly *say* anything about any kind of relationship between the two parties (it is true of most random pairs of people, after all), it's utterance in many contexts might still *pragmatically hint* at some such previous relationship. Why else would the speaker bother to be so explicit in his denial of the existence of such a relationship right now? But, of course, many contexts would make the utterance of, say, "I am not married to her" completely natural and show it as conveying important information while *no* previous marriage is here being denied.

Whether or not we read "for she is not my wife and I'm not her husband" as *pragmatically hinting* at any kind of (previous?) marital relationship is therefore highly dependent on how we read the context of the statement. Thus, it can be observed that all arguments that attempt to support this reading are either based on a conflation of Hos 2:4 with Hosea's and Gomer's marriage as described in Hos 1:3-9[25] or on an anachronistic eisegisis of an already established exclusive commitment between Israel and YHWH. In the later case, it can be observed that either the proposal of a future marriage between YHWH

[23] Cf. Abma, R. (1999), Wacker, M-Th. (1996); Rudolph W. (1966).
[24] no. 2 lines 3-4 and no. 7 lines 4.
[25] References to the relevant commentaries will be added later.

and Israel as offered in Hos 2:16-25[26] or the presumption of an exclusive (marital) relationship between YHWH and Jerusalem as portrayed in later texts such as Ezek 16 and 23, is imposed on Hos 2:4-15.[27] These interpretations, however, ignore that the *zonah*-motif is only in the course of these texts converted into the image of a future (cf. Hos 2:16-25) respectively an already existing *ba'al-be'ulat*-relationship (cf. Ezek 16 and 23, which primarily concerns Jerusalem's relationship to YHWH and not Israel's[28]).

These attempts of reading Hos 2:4-15, however, are not only problematic in terms of eisegises, but also create further tensions in the text itself.

Thus I argue that the violent measures in Hos 2:4-15 are hardly to be explained in terms of an existing (yet corrupted) *ba'al-be'ulat* relationship. Moreover, I argue -against the prevalent view that the violent threats are to be read in terms of punishment- that, even if we assume a negation of an already existing marital relationship in Hos 2:4cd- it is not at all clear in which function the male speaker would then act.

First of all, it has become obvious from my analysis of the root *b'l*[29], that the cognitive grammar, which describes the function of a *ba'al* is not concerned with power-structures *inside* a household-unit. Instead it can be recognized that the *ba'al*'s competence is rather defined by his function to formally build the point of reference for a household-unit and to represent it in public socio-legal settings. Moreover, it can be observed that the cognitive grammar of *b'l* primarily profiles members of a household unit against the *outside* world. Thus it is the duty of a *ba'al* to protect the member's of the household-unit against dangers from outside. Therefore it can be stated that the *ba'al* is not *profiled* against the household-members as somebody who penalizes them. Instead he *profiles* the household-members against members of other socio-legal units. Thus, the violent threats in Hos 2:4-15 must not necessarily be understood in terms of a penalization of a disloyal *be'ulat*. Secondly, it can be observed as already argued above that there is no evidence, that the violent measures as described in Hos

[26] References to the relevant commentaries will be added later.
[27] References to the relevant commentaries will be added later.
[28] I will come back to this bellow.
[29] See chapter one in my dissertation, in which I present a cognitive analysis of the roots *znh* and *b'l*.

2:4-15 represent conventional ancient divorce procedures. And third, it can be argued that the kind of violence as presented in Hos 2:4-15 does not correspond to what is known about sentences for an adulterous *be'ulat*, such as burning and stoning. Moreover, it is quite striking that Hos 2 - unlike Ezek 16 and 23 to which I will come back later- does not use terms for judgment, (the textual woman's) guilt or penalization respectively terms that refer to the consequences of the textual woman's guilt. A forth problem, furthermore, arises due to the conflict with ancient Israelite law as described in Deut 24:4, in which remarriage after a divorce is prohibited. Thus, it can be observed that the attempt to justify the events in Hos 2:16 as remarriage respectively as rehabilitation of an already existing marital relationship relies on the thought-terminating cliché that god is not bound to human-legislation.[30] This argument, however, disregards the nature of metaphor, which is dependent on existing cognitive conventions.

To sum up: What we can say for now about the depiction of the textual female in Hos 2:4(-15) is, that it is emphasized that she is not the male speakers wife, but a mother of several children, who has several lovers, from which she has received material goods in exchange for her intercourse with them. Moreover, she and her children are clearly described by the root *znh*. This, however, suggests that the textual woman in Hos 2:4-15 is not to be understood in the image of an (adulterous) *be'ulat*, but rather in the image of a *zonah*, who faces the risk of being violated, due to her unaffiliated and unprotected socio-legal status. Perceiving the textual woman in Hos 2:4-15 in the image of a *zonah*, furthermore, would solve the long noted problem that Israel (not Jerusalem!), represented by a textual female, is elsewhere in the Hebrew bible never portrayed as YHWH's wife.[31] And indeed this is also what the reader learns right at the beginning of the passage (Hos 2:4), where the male speaker (YHWH?) states that he is not the textual woman's */'ish/* "husband" and that she is not his */'isha/* "wife".

Before I will continue to deal with the passage in Hos 2:9-11, let me first ask: *what is than the background and function of the violent threats in Hos 2:4-15*? And I argue that the portrayal of violence against the textual woman in Hos 2:4-

[30] References to the relevant commentaries will be added later.
[31] Cf. Schmitt, J. J. (1995), "Yahweh's Divorce in Hosea 2 - Who is that Woman?"; *Scandinavian Journal of Old Testament* 9/1, p. 1.

15 is closely related to the image of a *zonah*. Calling Israel a *zonah* clearly has a provocative and pejorative dimension.[32] Thus, I argue that portraying Israel in the image of a *zonah* does not only play with the fear of the woman "other"[33], but also serves in order to polemically degrade Israel's religio-historical situation as described in Hos 2:4-15: From my analysis of the cognitive world of *b'l* as well as the root *znh* it has become quite obvious that the status of a *zonah* clearly is profiled against the idealized status of a woman, as a *be'ulat*. Thus, it can be stated that a *zona*h - just like a widow or an orphan- is a person, who lacks proper socio-legal representation and protection and therefore exists on the margins of the ideal(ized) *ba'al*-household-society. This circumstance not only locates the *zonah* in a despised position, but also implies that her existence is at risk and that she is potentially exposed to violation and mistreatment.[34] At the same time, however, it is my hypothesis that, the violation or mistreatment of unprotected and therefore vulnerable members of (the ancient) society, must - in the ancient conceptualization of (women's status) in society- not be understood as virtue or conventional and accepted practice. Instead it can be noted that legal texts as well as (prophetic) critique and appeals clearly exhibit a different image: They aim to protect the vulnerable and poor. Additionally, it can be observed that the conceptualization of society in terms of *b'l* aims to maintain order and peaceful coexistence in society as well as protection and care for individuals. Running the risk of being violated, therefore, has to be understood as an existing reality and threat to unaffiliated, uncommitted and unprotected persons. This situation, however, is - from the cognitive perspective of *b'l*- undesirable and thought to be averted by institutions that are defined in terms of *b'l*. Thus, I argue that violence against a(n unprotected) person, is sought to be averted by being organized in consolidated and protected in a proper household-unit.

Based on these observations, I furthermore argue that the violence as described in Hos 2:4-15 - which must not been interpreted in terms of an existing *ba'al-be'ulat* relationship - has to be viewed in the light of lacking an affiliation to a proper *ba'al*.

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[32] Reference to Yvonne Sherwood's work, who has made a similar observation will be added later.
[33] Reference to Sherwood's and Winn Leith work will be added later.
[34] Reference to ancient Near Eastern material will be added later.

With this in mind, let me now come back to Hos 2:9-11: Previous interpreters of Hos 2 have taken it as a given that the reference to the "first man" in Hos 2:9 refers to YHWH. This hypothesis, however, was built on the notion of an already existing committed relationship between Israel and YHWH, which has been seen in the image of a marital relationship as purportedly presented in the statements and events in Hos 2:4-15. In contrast to this it is my hypothesis that Hos 2:9-11 has to be rather understood in light of the rivalry between YHWH and the so called "Baal" respectively "the Baalim". Thus, it can be observed that YHWH's definition as Israel's true god draws upon the imagery that is associated with Baal, who is condemned as a false god (2:7.10ff.18). From this, it can be concluded - against the mainstream view in biblical scholarship- that Hos 2 implies a rivalry between YHWH and "Baal" respectively the "Baalim".[35] This rivalry builds upon the image of a *ba'al* in so far as it draws upon the *ba'al'*s role as provider (Hos 2:10 profiled against Hos 2:7.14) and warrantor of safety and protection, which is negated for the "Baalim" and not yet unfolded with regard to YHWH. Instead YHWH (who is indeed not named) is in Hos 2:4-15 presented in the role of an violent aggressor: The only way the speaker relates himself to the woman, before he finally proposes to her in vv. 21-22, is that he states that he has given her corn, wine and oil as well as silver and gold (v. 10; cf. 11). At the same time, however, he describes the woman's reaction as ignorant towards him and his action: she pursues her (other) lovers and forgets about him (v.15; cf. v. 9) and she does not even recognize that he has given her goods (v. 10). Beyond giving her presents (and threatening to take them back), he, for the most part of Hos 2:4-15, primarily relates to her by violent threats against her body, her children, her possessions, her habits and customs: he threatens to strip her naked (v.5), to turn her into a desert and parched land (v.5), to let her die of thirst (v.5), to not have mercy with her children (v.6), to hedge up her ways with thorns (v. 8), to build a wall against her, so that she cannot find her path (v.8), to take away the presents he gave to her (v. 11), to uncover her private parts in the

[35] Cf. also Sherwood (1996, 214-35), who has pointed to this earlier. At the same time, however, she does not focus on the cognitive matrix of *b'l* and in addition to that- in line with the prevalent view in biblical scholarship- understands YHWH as Israel's "first husband". Nevertheless she points to what Derrida calls a violent hierarchy, which is established due to the usage of the same imagery for YHWH and Baal.

sight of her lovers (v.12), to put an end to all her mirth, her festivals, her new moons, her sabbaths, and all her appointed festivals (v. 13), to lay waste her vines and her fig trees and turn them into wilderness so that the wild animals devour them (v.14). He haunts her (פקד), because she forgets about him (in the face of all the lovers she has). Beyond that it is crucial to not that this all happens respectively (at least!) is *presented* bare of any legal justification (such as a marital relationship or other family ties).

Thus, I argue that the reference to the textual woman's "first man/ "husband" does not refer to YHWH, but to "Baal" respectively the "Baalim." This hypothesis, however, needs some more explanation: First of all, I argue, that given the fact that v. 4 and the following verses do not portray the textual woman as YHWH's (former) wife (*be'ulat*), but rather depict her as a woman that does not live in an exclusive relationship (*zonah*), it is not obvious that the expression "I will go and return to my first man (אִישׁ)" (v.9) refers to an already existing respectively a previously existing *ba'al-be'ulat*-relationship at all. Secondly, I argue, that even if we assumed that the expression "my first man" does hint at a marital relationship, it would remain far from obvious whether the expression refers to YHWH: thus, it is first of all, striking that the male speaker, YHWH, in the same verse in which he claims to be Israel's true provider continues to complain that she does not know about him and his care for her. Thus, it is stated in Hos 2:10 that "she [the textual woman] did not know" that YHWH was her (true) provider. Instead she perceives the Baalim as her providers (Hos 2:7.14) and hence pursues them (Hos 2:7.8-9d). Moreover, it can be observed that not knowing that YHWH as her provider is in Hos 2:10 formulated as an antithesis against her efforts to pursue the Baalim (which are in Hos 2:9 called "lovers"). Based on these observations, I therefore argue, that it is more than likely that the reference to the textual woman's "first man/husband" in Hos 2:9e-f refers to YHWH's rival (as opposed to YHWH).[36] This argument can be furthermore corroborated by the statement in Hos 2:9g "for it was better with me then than now". This statement, I argue contrasts the textual woman's distress caused by YHWH against a better (previous) life, which is from the textual woman's

[36] I will later add my observations on how commentaries have attempted to explain the recognized tension in Hos 2:9-10 away. These attempts include even the reorganization of the text in Hos 2.

perspective attributed to the Baalim (cf. Hos 2:7.14). And third, I argue that there is no single indication in vv. 16-25 that we are dealing with a *re*-marriage between YHWH and Israel, since there are no anaphoric references or particles such as עוֹד (again) or similar expressions that would hint to a revival of a marital relationship.

Let me now come back to the question: *what can we make out of this in light of the violent threats as well as the zonah-motif as described in Hos 2:4-15*?

Here is my hypothesis: In contrast to previous interpreters, who have bought into and identified with Hos 2' s final argument and suggestion that YHWH is Israel proper *ba'al* (Hos 2:16-25; cf. Hos 2:10) and have read it into Hos 2:4-15 right away, I argue that this kind of relationship is not yet presumed as being finalized in Hos 2. Instead I argue that Hos 2 has to be read as an attempt to convince Israel of this statement. Thus, I argue that Hos 2 consists of two strands, which attempt to synthesizes the textual woman's perspective, which is at the same time the perspective of the implied audience[37], with another perspective that suggests that YHWH (as opposed to the so called "Baalim") is Israel's true *ba'al*. In other words, I suggest, that Israel, as the implied audience of Hos 2, did not perceive of themselves as exclusively affiliated and committed to YHWH. Instead I argue that the textual woman's perspective as described in Hos 2 rather suggests a close affiliation between Israel and the so called "Baalim". Given the fact that the textual woman is described as firmly holding on to her affiliation to the Ba'alim/ *ba'alim* throughout Hos 2:4-15, and that YHWH's name is only mentioned at the turning point in Hos 2:15f, I argue that is rather unlikely - from the textual woman's perspective, which is the point of view of the implied audience - that the expression "first man" in Hos 2:9 refers to YHWH. This hypothesis is furthermore corroborated by the observation that Hos 2:10 uses the Hebrew root ידע ("to know") as opposed to "forget". Thus, it can be argued that the root ידע as used elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible - beyond the meaning of "being aware of sth."- can refer to sexual intercourse, which characterizes the beginning of a *ba'al-be'ulat* relationship[38]. The fact that this

[37] Cf. Sherwood (1996), ... (page numbers will be added later).
[38] I will later add the relevant biblical passages.

kind of relationship between Israel and YHWH is negated in Hos 2:10[39] as well as in Hos 2:4 - and that it is only stated in Hos 2:22[40]- therefore suggests that YHWH is in Hos 2:9 and Hos 2:4-15f not understood as Israel's "first man". Thus, I argue that this interpretation comes in only, when we assume a pre-existing exclusive commitment between YHWH and Israel.[41] Such a relationship, however, is not described in Hos 2:4-15d. Moreover, I argue, that the assumption of a committed relationship between YHWH an Israel, portrayed in the image of a *ba'al-be'ulat*-relationship- even stands in contrast to the diction and tenor of Hos 2:4-15d.[42] Thus, I argue that Hos 2:4-15 - except from Hos 2:10, where he is introduced as Israel's true provider (cf. v.11)- does not portray YHWH in the function of a *ba'al*. Quite the contrary is the case: while a *ba'al*-household-relationship is offered in Hos 2:17-18, such a relationship is negated in Hos 2:4. While Israel is portrayed as YHWH's (future) bride in Hos 2:18 and 21-22, Israel is in Hos 2:4-15 depicted in the image of a *zonah*. While the terms "wilderness" (מִדְבָּר) and "like in the days of your youth" (כִּימֵי נְעוּרֶיהָ) in v.17 are used to describe the place and time of a (future) *baal*-relationship between YHWH and Israel, the terms "wilderness" (מִדְבָּר) and "the day of birth" (כְּיוֹם הִוָּלְדָהּ) in v. 5 appear in the context of destruction and death. While Hos 2:4-15 neglects any kind of marital relationship, the idea of marriage is for the first time proposed in vv. 18; 21-22.

Beyond that, I argue that, it cannot be taken for granted that vv.17-18 refer to (a revival of) the relationship mentioned in Hos 2:4-15, since it does not contain any anaphoric references to vv.4 and 9. Only the term *'ish* (!) creates some kind of continuity. This, however, does not help as a support for the notion of a *ba'al-be'ulat* relationship between YHWH and Israel in Hos 2:4-15, since the term *'ish* in Hos 2:4 and 9- as argued before- does not refer to YHWH in the

[39] Also previous commentators have noticed the "knowledge" of YHWH is something that is said to be missing in Hos 2:4-15. Yet, the have interpreted it through the lens of the purported already existing exclusive commitment to YHWH. Cf. Wolff (1965), 65. Rudolph... (page numbers will be added later).

[40] Against Andersen and Freedman, who caution that the verb ידע must not be understood in light of a husband-wife relationship and hence without sexual connotations, I argue that Andersen and Freedman's argument that YHWH is not male does not properly account for YHWH's depiction in the imagery of Hos 2. Cf. Andersen/ Freedman (1980), 284.

[41] Cf. Wolff (1965), 43-44.

[42] Thus it is striking that e.g. Wolff (1965), translates the Hebrew "she does not know" as "she does no longer know". Thus, it becomes obvious that he reads his extra-textual assumption of an existing exclusive commitment between Israel and YHWH - that is triggered albeit not stated in the rhetorically motivated anachronistic move in Hos 2:15- into Hos 2:10. Wolff (1965), 49.

status of Israel's *ba'al*. Instead it negates such kind of relationship (v. 4) and presents YHWH's rival as the textual woman's presumed '*ish* (v. 9), who is of course in Hos 2 degraded in the image of useless "lovers".

To be sure, YHWH's name as well as the theme of "forgetting" (שׁחכ) YHWH pops up in Hos 2:15ef. This, however, is to be understood in relation to YHWH's announcement and offer of a future *ba'al-be'ulat* relationship in Hos 2:19.21-24, which belongs to the second part of Hos 2, that builds upon Hos 2:4-15. Interpreting this later offer as the pre-existing condition of Hos 2:4-15d, however, is would disregard the chronological order of the events described in Hos 2 and therefore is an anachronism. To be sure, this it is certainly the aim of the rhetoric strategy in Hos 2 as a whole to present YHWH as Israel's proper *ba'al* and only true god. Nonetheless, it can be stated that the image of YHWH as Israel's already established and acknowledged *ba'al* is not presumed in the events as described in Hos 2:4-15d. Thus, I argue that the pejorative characterization of Israel as a *zonah* corresponds to the pejorative depiction of the "Baalim" as useless lovers.

In light of these observations, I furthermore argue, that it is very plausible to understand the term *'ish* in Hos 2:9 as a generic term denoting any “man/male person” (not a husband) with whom the *zonah* (unaffiliated, uncommitted woman/ "prostitute was involved. This could be seen as a stylistic device in order to support the portrayal of a *zonah* (an unaffiliated, uncommitted and hence unprotected woman), who has many men. Beyond that, however, I argue that the portrayal of the "Baalim" as the textual woman's providers (Hos 2:7.14; cf. v. 10) and as those whom she pursues (Hos 2:7.8-9.15) and even as those to whom she tries to escape from the male speaker's violent threats (Hos 2:8-9) implicitly suggests, that the textual woman respectively the implied audience of Hos 2 must have understood the "Baalim" as their *ba'al(im)*. Thus, I argue that this image is still alluded to, but at the same time countered in the term *'ish,* which oscillates between the meaning of "husband" (referring to the relationship between Israel and "Baal") and "generic man", which degrades the textual woman's Baalim/ *ba'a'l(im)* to so called "lovers". Therefore, I argue that calling Israel a *zonah* (as opposed to a *be'ulat*, which would be the ideal status of a woman) and her Baalim/ *ba'alim* "lovers" (as opposed to *ba'al[im]*) is a rhetoric

device in order to polemically degrade Israel's relationship to the Baalim. Hence, I argue that this move is part of the polemic against Israel's affiliation to the "Baalim". Thus, I argue that Hos 2 aims to reveal the textual woman's "Baalim", which she perceives as her *ba'al(im)* as useless entities: thus it is implicitly stated that they can neither provide for her (Hos 2:10) nor protect Israel from threats from the outside world (Hos 2:12; cf. vv. 5-6.8): The fact that her "Baalim", which are pejoratively called "lovers" do not respectively cannot intervene, even when the textual woman's most intimate parts are uncovered in their sight, I argue, is supposed to testify the "Baalim's" ultimate helplessness and ineffectiveness.[43]

To be sure, that what I have called "threats from the outside world" is in the case of Hos 2:4-15 caused by an unnamed (male) speaker, who only in the course of Hos 2 (in v. 15f) turns out to be YHWH. And I argue that this has to be understood again in light of the polemic against Israel's affiliation to the "Baalim" as well as in light of the text's final argument that suggests YHWH as the ultimate powerful force. This, however, means that the violent threats in Hos 2:4-15 are neither conceptualized nor understood as a (deserved) punishment for an adulterous *be'ulat*, but rather serve to highlight the textual woman's vulnerable and unprotected position. [44]

The notion of a rivalry between YHWH and the "Baalim", furthermore, can explain the curious statement in v.18, which reads: "On that day, says the YHWH, you will call me, 'My man (אִישִׁי),' and no longer will you call me, 'My Baal (בַּעְלִי)'."

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[43] This has already been observed by other commentators. I will references to them later.

[44] Already Wolff has noticed that the threat of stripping her naked in Hos 2:5 points to the vulnerable position of a woman who is helpless and who lacks the rights of a *be'ulat* to be accoutered by her husband. Moreover, Wolff notices that Hos 2:4 indicates the textual woman's (intended respectively self-inflicted) position outside of a *ba'al-be'ulat* relationship. Due to his insisting assumption of an existing *ba'al-be'ulat* relationship between YHWH and Israel, however, Wolff falls short on drawing further conclusions based on his own observations. Cf. Wolff (1965), 40. Rudolph in contrast to Wolff rejects this notion of the textual woman's vulnerability and simply perceives Hos 2:5 as a purported ritual tied to a divorce. Cf Rudolph (1966), 66. Andersen and Freedmann, furthermore, have argued that Hos 2:12 "stress[es] Baal's complete helplessness" and emphasize YHWH's ultimate power. Cf. Andersen/ Freedman (1980), 245. Beyond that Hillers' interpretation of the cursing texts Sefire I A 40-41 - "(And just as a prostitute is stripped naked) so may the wives of Matti'el... be stripped naked" could be as well be read in terms of the women's socio-legal status. Hence the term "nakedness" would again refer to the *zonah*'s vulnerable status in society (as opposed to the safe and protected status of a wife). Cf. Hillers 1964a:59, cf. ANET 660. (< quoted from AF p. 246 no further reference there?!!!) See also my analysis of Ezek 16 and 23 for the reception of the motif of the textual woman's nakedness in Ezek 16 and 23.

Looking at v.19 it becomes obvious that the Hebrew term בַּלִּי in v. 18 refers to the usage of the root *b'l* in the cognitive domain "proper name of deities". Nevertheless, given the *b'l*-metaphoric in Hos 2, the usage of *b'l* in v.18 can be understood as a pun, which builds a bridge between the images of the *zonah* (in vv.4-15) and the proposed image of a future *be'ulat* (in vv. 21-22). Thus I argue that the usage of the term '*ish* in v.18 alludes to the image of the *zonah,* who had many men (*anoschim*; cf. vv. 4-15) and on the other hand suggests that YHWH will be *her* only *'ish* ('*ishi*, in the sense of a *ba'al*). At the same time, however, the term *ba'al* used for YHWH is to be rejected in v. 18. Prohibiting the textual woman Israel, to call him, YHWH, *baal* in v. 18, therefore mirrors what YHWH requests from Israel in v.19, when he explains his statement in v. 18 by claiming that "[he] will remove the names of the Baalim from her mouth, and they shall be mentioned by name no more." From this, it becomes obvious that the term *ba'al* in v. 18 implies the reference to the names of the deities mentioned in v.19 and is therefore to be avoided. To be sure, the effort to consciously avoid the term *ba'al* for YHWH in Hos 2, however, has nothing to do with the notion of a future *ba'al*-household-relationship in vv. 21-22, which is proposed to the textual woman.

To sum up: As concerning the kind of relationship between the male speaker and the textual woman, which is addressed in Hos 2:4-15 (and in Hos 2:16-24) it clearly can be said that there is no hint towards an already existing or presumed *ba'al-be'ulat*-relationship between Israel and YHWH. Instead the *textual woman* in Hos 2:4-15 is presented in the image of *zonah*, which designates the status of an unaffiliated, uncommitted and unprotected woman. This image as I have argued above is alongside with the degrading of the textual woman's "Baalim"/ *ba'al(im)* to useless "lovers" part of the polemic against YHWH's rival. Thus, I argue that the function of Hos 2:4-15 is to attack Israel's self-understanding, in which the Baalim are perceived as their providers and hence implicitly as their *ba'al(im)*. In contrast to the implied audience point of view, Hos 2:4-15 aims to highlight Israel's vulnerable position (as long as they associate with the Baalim) and demonstrates YHWH's power. The point is to convince Israel that their former Baalim are no proper *ba'al(im)*, for they are neither capable of protecting her nor of providing for her. Thus, I argue that it is in this light, that YHWH introduces himself for the first time in v. 10 as the

textual woman's provider and proper (future) *ba'al*. This introduction, however, is only directed towards the implied audience, but remains hidden from the textual woman, who "does not know" him. Moreover, it has to be noted that YHWH's name is still not mentioned at this point. Only in the transition to the second part of Hos 2, the first explicit reference to the name YHWH appears (Hos 2:15f). This is also the point where the depiction of the male speaker (who is now named YHWH) finally changes from the image of a violent and powerful aggressor to the image of a (future) *ba'al*. To be quite clear, the image of YHWH as a provider and hence the allusion to YHWH as Israel's true *ba'al* is already latent present in Hos 2:10-11. The offer and promise to establish a *ba'al-be'ulat*-relationship between YHWH and Israel, however, is only introduced in Hos 2:16-25, starting with the seductive talk in Hos 2:16. This is also the point, where the depiction of the textual woman changes: In Hos 2:17 she is no longer portrayed in the socio-legal status of a *zonah*, but in the status of a *betula*, a woman that is eligible for a (future) *ba'al*. Thus, it can be observed that the image of a *zonah* is now anachronistically transferred into the image of a *betula*. This shift from the image of a *zonah* to the image of a *betula* underscores my hypothesis that the transition of the textual woman into a *ba'al*-relationship is only announced in Hos 2:16-25. Based on the observation that the chronological order from *betula* to *zonah* is reversed in Hos 2 (from *zonah* to *betula*), I furthermore argue that the particle כְּ ("as, like") must not be understood in a temporal sense, but in a modal sense. This hypothesis that the particle כְּ is to be understood in a modal sense is, furthermore, corroborated by the fact that the motifs of "the days of her youth" and "the day on which she came out of Egypt" (v.17) do not refer to an already existing *ba'al*-relationship. Quite the contrary is the case: even if v. 17 was to be seen in light of a (future) *baal*-relationship, the expression "the days of her youth" would - according to the cognitive world of *b'l*- allude to an image in which the textual woman is not yet conceptualized as *be'ulat*, but as *betula*. In light of this, it could be argued that the reference to "coming out from Egypt" represents the textual woman's transition from a former affiliation (in which she is anachronistically conceptualized as a *betula*) to becoming YHWH's *be'ulat*.[45]

[45] Yet, I argue against the prevalent notion that this stage in Hos 2:17 is to be understood as a ("miraculous"!) renewal of courtship and marriage. Andersen/Freedman (1980), 283. Cf. ....(I will

To be sure, it is possible that some kind of previous relationship between YHWH and Israel is in fact stated in v.17, since the exodus-tradition implies a relationship between YHWH and Israel. Moreover, the verb ענה clearly denotes some sort of response. Yet, this imagery does not at all correspond well to the depiction of the relationship between the speaker and the textual female in Hos 2:4-15 and therefore can be explained as an anachronism that suggests an already existing previous relationship, that has been forgotten (cf. Hos 2:15). What is portrayed in Hos 2:4-15 as well as in Hos 2:16-25, however, suggests a different image. Thus, I argue that Hos 2:17 is a rhetoric strategy, which attempts to ground a new proposal in a past event, based on which a relationship between YHWH and Israel can start from scratch - as described in Hos 2:16-25.

Thus, it has been long time recognized by biblical scholars,[46] that Hos 2 presents a very different picture of the experiences in the dessert than the exodus- tradition. Thus, it has been argued that Hos 2 introduces a different, more positive reading of the exodus, in which YHWH speaks "tenderly" to Israel (v.16) and even later in vv. 21-22 proposes to her and offers her safety and peace (v. 20), which is even increased by the promise of cosmic peace (vv. 20.23-25), and therefore exceeds the image of a *ba'al-be'ulat* relationship.

Thus, I finally argue that the notion of an exclusive commitment between YHWH and Israel, in the image of a *ba'al-be'ulat*-relationship is not presumed as being established in Hos 2:4-15. Instead it is only offered in Hos 2:16-25, which is clearly subverts the situation as described in Hos 2:4-15.

IV. The Revision of the *zonah*-motif from Hos 2 in Ezek 16 and 23

IV. 1 The *ba'al-be'ulat* concept as the overall frame in Ezek 16 and Ezek 23

As already mentioned earlier, I argue with regard to Ezek 16 and 23 that the *zonah*-motif that describes Israel's relationship to YHWH in Hos 2:4-15 is still present in Ezek 16 and 23. Overall, however, I agree with the mainstream view in biblical scholarship that the textual woman Jerusalem (and through this lense

add references to further commentators later).

[46] I will add references to the relevant commentators later.

also Israel) is in these later texts portrayed as YHWH's adulterous wife, who is judged for her transgression and guilt and therefore has to bear the consequences of her guilt. In contrast to the prevalent view in biblical scholarship, however, I argue that it can be observed both in Ezek 16 and in its follow up in Ezek 23, that the reusage of the older tradition, in which Israel is portrayed as a *zonah*, who is only in the second part of Hos 2 offered to be YHWH's *be'ulat*, has demanded a lot of effort on part of Ezek 16 and 23.

IV.2 The memory of Israel's earlier unprotected, non-YHWH-affiliated status and its reinterpretation in Ezek 16

Let me thus, start with an outline of how the image of the textual woman as an (YHWH-) unaffiliated and unprotected entity (similar to a *zonah* in Hos 2) has been laboriously converted to the image of YHWH's adulterous *be'ulat*. Thus, I will in the following argue that Israel's primary relationship respectively non-relationship to YHWH is in Ezek 16 - similar to Hos 2 - still accounted for and portrayed in images of uncommitted, unaffiliated and unprotected (female) persons. This portrayal of the textual woman, however, I argue, has been revisited by a double-account of the textual woman's admission to YHWH's *ba'al*-household. Thus, it can be observed that Israel's earlier non-YHWH-affiliated status is in Ezek 16 presented in three different images: The image of an orphan (respectively a mistreated and forcibly dismissed child), the image of a *betula* (a young "unmarried" woman respectively a woman, who is not yet in the status of a *be'ulat*) and the image of a *zonah*.

Right at the beginning of Ezek 16, Jerusalem's (respectively Israel's) origin and past is depicted in the image of an orphan. This circumstance manifests in the depiction of a lack of protection and care, which is in Ezek 16:4-5 extensively described in the image of missing first aid measures after her birth.[47] And it is explicitly stated that she, the newborn (female) infant, has been forcibly abandoned (v.5). Thus, speaking from within the cognitive world of *b'l* it becomes obvious that the infant is depicted in the status of an unaffiliated and

[47] In v. 4 it is reported that her navel cord is not cut and that she is not washed and rubbed with salt as well as that she is not wrapped into cloths.

hence unprotected person. In this situation, YHWH jumps in as a substitute: since her original *ba'al*-household does not fulfill its duty to guarantee care and safety, it is YHWH, who takes care of her and admits her into his *ba'al*-household (vv. 6-7).[48] From this first image it can be concluded that Ezek 16:4-5 exhibits a pre-knowledge that YHWH has not always been understood as the textual woman's *ba'al*, but that he - similar to Hos 2- has taken over this role secondarily. This observation is later in the text, furthermore, confirmed by the mentioning of the textual woman's foreign origin.[49] Moreover, it can be noticed that YHWH - similar to Hos 2:16-25- fulfills his role as *ba'al* in terms of care and protection of an otherwise unprotected and violated (female) person (cf. Hos 2:4-15).

The second image, in which Ezek 16 draws upon a memory of Jerusalem's (respectively Israel's) earlier status as non-YHWH-affiliated entity, is the image of a *betula* (a young woman that is not [yet] *be'ulat*). This second admission is expressed in the image of sexual intercourse between a male person and a *betula* (cf. Deut 22:28-29).[50] Thus, it is striking that although it has been already reported in Ezek 16:4-5, that the (female) infant has been admitted into YHWH's *baal*-household as a foster-child, it is once again reported *that* Israel (respectively Jerusalem) has been (again) initiated into YHWH's *baal*-household-unit. From this it can be concluded that Ezek 16 puts emphasis on the fact that YHWH has become(!) the textual woman, Jerusalem's, (proper) *ba'al*. This, however, consequently, means that it is remembered that YHWH has not always been Jerusalem's respectively Israel's *ba'al*. YHWH's approach of the textual woman from outside of a *ba'al*-household is furthermore exhibited by the verb *abr* ("to pass by"; vv. 6 and 8), which is used in both reports of admission as well as in v. 15, where it refers to the textual woman's lovers as "passer-by[s]", that a clearly positioned outside of a *ba'al*-household-unit. In addition to that it can be noticed that motifs and phrases, which refer to acts of initiation into a (new) *ba'al*-household, and which appear already in the first report of admission (Ezek

[48] The admission into the safe and protected realm of a *ba'al*-housheold is expressed in YHWH's double proclamation "stay alive"(v.6) to which he adds the imperative wish " and grow up like a plant of the field" (v.7), which is followed up in v. 7, where it is reported that the (female) infant grew up (within YHWH's *ba'al*-household).

[49] I will later insert further references to the textual woman's foreign origin in Ezek 16.

[50] I will come back to the implications of this double admission later.

16:4-7a) reappear once again in Ezek 16:7b-14. These images evolve around images of lavation and accouterment and therefore belong to the image of *ba'al*-care and -protection.

The third image, which accounts for Jerusalem's (respectively Israel's) non-YHWH-affiliated pre-history, is the image of the *zonah* itself. To be sure, the underlying (re)interpretation of this image in Ezek 16:15-63 certainly is overwritten by the image of Judah's status as *be'ulat*. Nevertheless, it can be stated from the observations above that this revision is only carried out in the course of Ezek 16 (and not already presumed!). Therefore, I will for now focus on the plain image of a *zonah*. Thus, it can be observed that the Hebrew root *znh* (designating the status of an unaffiliated and uncommitted woman who does not belong to any *ba'al*-household) appears 20 times in Ezek 16:15-41,[51] while the root *n'ph* ("to commit adultery"; which refers to a violation of *baal*-household-boundaries) appears only twice in Ezek 16 (vv. 32 and 38). From this, it can be noticed at first glance that -although the textual woman, Jerusalem is in Ezek 16 clearly understood as YHWH's adulterous *be'ulat*- the explicit references to the image of a *zonah* clearly quantitatively dominate. This, I suggest, points to a secondary revision of an already existing *zonah*-motif (similar to Hos 2:4-15). This hypothesis is furthermore corroborated by the following observations: Thus it is particularly striking that right at the beginning of the *zonah*-motif (Ezek 16:15) explicit reference is made to the textual woman's (former) obviously well-known "name" respectively "fame" as *zonah*. Thus it is stated about Jerusalem that "[she] played the whore *because of [her] fame*."[52] Additionally, it can be observed that Ezek 16 - beyond the usage of the root *znh*- clearly elaborates on expressions and motifs that evoke the image of a *zonah* ("prostitute"), and thus remind of Hos 2.[53] Moreover, it can be noticed, that the

[51] Ezek 16:15.15.16.17.20.22.25.26.26.28.29.30.31.33.33.34.34.35.36.41.

[52] In the case of Ezek 16, I draw upon Phylis Birds translation of the verb *znh* as "to play the harlot". In contrast to Bird, however, I argue that this translation does not fit Hos 2. Italics are mine.

[53] Thus, reference is made to her "jewels" (v. 17) and "embroided garments" (v.18; cf. v. 16), which she used when "she played the whore" (cf. Hos 2:4). Additionally, her alleged location "in every square" (vv. 24.31) and "at the head of every street" (vv. 25.31) reminds of the image of an "unaffiliated" woman ("a prostitute"), who according to v. 25 "offer[s] herself to every passer-by" (v. 15; cf. Hos 2:7.15). In v. 25 and vv. 33 and 34 it, furthermore, becomes clear that payment or gifts "for a whore" (v. 31) are expected for her services (cf. Hos 2:7.11). Moreover, it is said that she had several "lovers" (vv. 36.37; cf. vv. 15; 25; cf. Hos 2:7.15), "which came from all around"

Hebrew root *znh* appears, beyond its usage as verb, also as the noun *zonah* itself (vv. 31.33.35). Thus, I argue that the noun *zonah* as single meaning entity is profiled against the participle *be'ulat*. And as such it refers to a (female) person, who does not conform to the idealized socio-legal standard of a *be'ulat*, but evokes the image of an unaffiliated and uncommitted woman. Thus, it can be concluded that Jerusalem's respectively Israel's earlier status and therefore her unaffiliatedness and uncommittedness [to YHWH], has been well-established and well-preserved in the memory of Judah and is therefore mirrored in Ezek 16. This, however, presupposes an earlier (textual) tradition, which is very similar to what can be found in Hos 2.

IV.3 Further changes in the depiction of the events around the textual woman in Ezek 16 according to the newly inserted *ba'al-be'ulat*-relationship

In accordance with the revision of the textual woman's socio-legal status in Ezek 16 further changes in the conceptualization of the events around her can be observed in Ezek 16. These changes and modifications, however, stand in clear contrast to the events as described in Hos 2. Thus, it can be observed that the image of an unaffiliated, uncommitted and unprotected woman is not only turned into the image of an (adulterous) *be'ulat*, but also into the image of a punishable transgressor of legal boundaries (as opposed to a potential victim of random violence). Thus, it can be observed that effort is undertaken on part of Ezek 16, in order to introduce the notion of the textual woman's guilt and transgression. Hence she is accused of several crimes, namely that of *adultery*, *idolatry*, *foreign alliances* and *murder*. From this, it can be once again concluded that the *zonah*-motif, which underlies Ezek 16 is laboriously modified by the introduction of adultery (as opposed to the literal meaning of *znh* in Hos 2)

(v. 33; cf. v. 37) and with "whom she took pleasure", men "whom she loved and whom she hated" (v. 37). Moreover, it is remembered that her children are in the first instance characterized by their affiliation to their mother (as opposed to their affiliation to a male *ba'al*). This suggests that she, the mother -as the point of reference for her children- is not affiliated to a male *ba'al*, who in this case would build the point of reference for their children. Yet, this motif gets modified in the course of Ezek 16 and is reinterpreted in terms of YHWH's *ba'al*-household. Nevertheless, it can be observed that plain references to "her" children, still quantitatively dominate in Ezek 16 (vv. 20.36.48.55.61) over the mention of "his" respectively "their" children (vv. 20.21).

alongside with three further crimes, which represent sever infringements of existing laws. Moreover, it can be observed that all these transgressions - in contrast to *znh* in Hos 2, which is not punishable- have in common, that they represent transgressions of legal *ba'al*-household-boundaries. This, however, suggests that the image of an adulteress is not the only motif of transgression that is presented in Ezek 16. Instead it is the only motif of transgression which - after some reinterpretative effort- is capable of linking the notion of transgression to the older *zonah*-motif (as can be found in Hos 2). In this light it is not surprising that the textual woman is finally not judged as a *zonah* but "as women that commit adultery and shed blood are judged" (Ezek 16:38).

Beyond that it is furthermore striking that in Ezek 16 - in contrast to Hos 2 - introduces explicit references to Judah's guilt and deserved judgment and punishment. Thus, a variety of terms, which highlight that the textual woman's deeds are actual crimes, which are despicable and subject to punishment are introduced in order to make the (new) case even clearer.[54] Beyond that and in light of this, explicit terms of judgment and references to the notion of punishment are added in Ezek 16, in order to corroborate the presentation of just and deserved violence against the textual woman in Ezek 16[55]. Nevertheless, it can be noticed that YHWH, as Jerusalem's *ba'al* is in Ezek 16 not portrayed as the immediate executer of the violence against the textual woman. This, however, corroborates my hypothesis - which I have already presented with regard to the violence in Hos 2- that it is not part of the function and role of a *ba'al* to penalize members of his household. Instead, the violence against the textual woman has to be understood as the unprotected exposure to the outside

[54] Unlike in Hos 2, her deeds are in Ezek 16 - referred to as "all your abominations" (Ezek 16:22; cf. Ezek 16:47.51.51.52) and "all your wickedness" (Ezek 16:23). Moreover, it is stated explicitly that "she provoked me [YHWH] to [justified and deserved] anger" (Ezek 16:26) and that she "ha[s] enraged me with all these things" (Ezek 16:44). And it is added that even her enemies "were ashamed of [her] lewd behavior" (Ezek 16:27). Supported by YHWH's direct speech and the confirmative phrase "says the Lord GOD" the textual woman is addressed by the proclamation "[h]ow sick is your heart", and her "sickness" is explained by reference to the fact "that [she] did all these things" (Ezek 16:30). Additionally, she is asked in a rhetorical question: "Have you not committed lewdness beyond all your abominations?" (Ezek 16:43), in order to implicitly confirm the message that she is guilty and worthy of punishment (cf. Ezek 16:58).

[55] After great effort has been made to highlight her transgressions and hence her condition of guilt, she is called up to "bear her disgrace" (Ezek 16:52) and it is explained that she "must bear [her wickedness and her abominations]" (Ezek 16:58).

world and therefore as a consequence of lacking a(n intact) relationship to a *ba'al*.

Moreover, it can be noticed that all these explicit references to her (actual) guilt and her deserved condemnation are in the individual verses in Ezek 16 added to the image of "whoring". From this it can be once again concluded that the two originally mutual exclusive concepts of women - the *zonah*-image and the image of an adulteress *be'ulat* - are laboriously synthesized. In this sense the statement "as if your whorings were not enough!" (Ezek 16:20) becomes kind of programmatic for the (re)adoption of the *zonah*-image in Ezek 16. In order to further get rid of the original implications of the *zonah*-image, which is part of the earlier (Northern) Israelite tradition, it is even stated in Ezek 16 that she "was not a like a [conventional] *zonah*" (v. 31) and it is emphasized twice that she "was different from other women in [her] whorings" (v. 34). In this sequence, the adultery-motif is explicitly named in order to mark the legal transgressions connected (!) to her "whorings": thus, it is stated that she was - unlike the unaffiliated and unprotected woman in Hos 2- "[not] solicited to play the whore" (Ezek 16:34) due to her socio-legal status. And unlike the unaffiliated and unprotected woman in Hos 2 - as well as the regular *zonot* described in Ezek 16:33- the textual woman in Ezek 16 is described as somebody who did not receive payment (Hos 2:7.14), but "gave payment, while no payment was given to [her]" (Ezek 16:34; cf. Ezek 16:33). This explanation alludes to the previous images, which emphasize the textual woman's status as *be'ulat* respectively as somebody who is affiliated to and protected by a *ba'al*-household and therefore is not in need of "prostituting" herself. Instead it is her obligation to be exclusive to her *baal*. The accusation of "[b]ribing [foreign entities] to come to [her] from all around for [her] whorings" (Ezek 16:33), therefore, -unlike in Hos 2- marks a clear transgressions and violations of her legal obligations as *be'ulat*. Therefore her deeds are, moreover, not simply referred to as the deeds of a whore, but that of a felon and transgressor. This reinterpretation of the *zonah*-motif is also exhibited in her condemnation, where her deeds are not judged as the deeds of a (simple) whore, but as "the deeds of a brazen whore" (v. 30) respectively where she is judged "as women who commit adultery and shed blood are judged" (v. 38). Beyond that it can be observed that in this light the motif of violence against

the textual woman is taken up from Hos 2 and reinterpreted as just and deserved punishment or better as consequence for her own guilt (as opposed to the depiction of violence in Hos 2).[56] Thus it can be observed that the stripping of the textual woman in Ezek 16:27 and 39 are clearly to be understood as consequences of a just and deserved judgment.

Additionally, Ezek 16 almost literally quotes passages that appear also in the *zonah*-motif in Hos 2 and adjusts it to the situation of an already established *ba'al-be'ulat* relationship between YHWH and Jerusalem: thus, reference is made to her "gold and [...] silver" (Ezek 16:17 cf. Hos 2:10), to her "oil" (Ezek 16:18.19; cf. Hos 2:7), to her "bread" (Ezek 16:19; cf. Hos 2:7) as well as to the "incense", which she offered to entities that are not identified with YHWH (Ezek 16:[18.]19; cf. Hos 2:15). These material goods are in Ezek 16 - in contrast to Hos 2- univocally understood as YHWH's gifts. Yet it is noticeable that the understanding that her belongings are to be understood as YHWH's gifts is not simply presumed, but is explicitly and extensively highlighted in Ezek 16:10-19. This shows that - despite the concealed hint in Hos 2:10-11, in which her material possession are claimed to be YHHW's gifts - considerable effort was still necessary on part of Ezek 16, to counter and try to extinguish Israel's point of view as described in Hos 2.

Above all, it can be recognized that Ezek 16 - in contrast to Hos 2 (!)- operates with the notion of a presumed *covenant* between Jerusalem and YHWH, which is anachronistically extended to Samaria and YHWH[57]. This means in other words that Ezek 16 - in contrast to Hos 2- introduces the idea of an already established

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[56] As mentioned already above, the textual woman is accused of misdeeds that are actual crimes according to ancient jurisdiction. These crimes are not only added to the *zonah*-motif, but also extensively described and named as *adultery* (not "prostitution"/*znh*, which is no crime per se!), *idolatry, foreign alliances* and *murder*. The clear difference to the *zonah*-motif in Hos 2 therefore can be summarized as follows: While the status and activity of an unaffiliated, uncommitted and unprotected woman (or the act of "prostitution") is no crime and hence not subject to punishment, *adultery*, *idolatry, foreign alliances* and *murder*, however, are clearly marked as transgressions of legal boundaries and are therefore subject to legal persecution. Thus, it has been my hypothesis that, extensive descriptions of her transgressions are in Ezek 16 added and integrated into the *zonah*-motif, in order to facilitate the merging of two originally mutual exclusive concepts. This integration of actual crimes and with it the notion of transgressions into the *zonah*-motif, I furthermore argue, is necessary in order to draw upon and reuse an earlier quite influential tradition, and (re)use it in light of transgression and (deserved) punishment.

[57] Ezek 16 presents the story of the textual woman as if a covenant had been already established (Ezek 16:8) by the time when she started to act as a *zonah* (Ezek 16:15).

and finalized commitment between the textual woman Jerusalem and YHWH.[58] Thus it can be concluded that it is only in the course of Ezek 16 that the textual woman Jerusalem is finally conceptualized and understood as (adulterous) *be'ulat* and YHWH as her *ba'al*. This construction of a committed relationship between YHWH and Jerusalem, which is portrayed in the *ba'al-be'ulat* image is in Ezek 16 - unlike in Hos 2- set parallel with the notion of an existing and finalized covenant between Jerusalem and YHWH.

Therefore, it can be finally observed that the notion of a covenant between Jerusalem and YHWH, which appears six times in Ezek 16, functions as the overall interpretative frame of Ezek 16. Thus, is it particularly striking that the term covenant appears right at the beginning of the chapter when the unaffiliated and unprotected woman is reinterpreted in terms of a *baal-be'ulat*-relationship as well as in the final and concluding verses of Ezek 16, in which the various interpretative efforts of Ezek 16 culminate. Thus, it can be concluded that the Samaria-*zonah-tradition* has been reinterpreted in light of the notion of a presumed covenant between Jerusalem and YHWH. Moreover, it can be stated that the textual woman, Jerusalem, is in Ezek 16:6d-63 finally understood in the image of YHWH's *be'ulat.* Therefore, she is in Ezek 16:59-63 -according to the portrayal of her transgression and judgment (Ezek 16:15-61) characterized as somebody who has broken an existing covenant as it is finally stated in Ezek 16:59. In this verse Jerusalem's transgressions are referred to once again and finally interpreted as her "breaking the covenant". Thus it can be observed that the expression "despising your oath" refers to Jerusalem's transgressions and guilt and thus serves as a link to the *ba'al*-household imagery. Beyond that it can be observed that the notion of covenant, is connected to the motif of "the days of her youth" (v. 60), which has been in the course of Ezek 16 reinterpreted in

[58] Thus, it can be observed that the term "covenant" appears already in the introductory verses (Ezek 16:8), in which Jerusalem's admission to YHWH's household is reported. Beyond that the term "covenant" appears also in the final and concluding verses at the end of the chapter (Ezek 16:59-63). In the introductory part the term "covenant" is introduced in Ezek 16:8 for the first time, where it is equated with the image of a finalized *ba'al-be'ulat*-relationship between YHWH and the textual woman Jerusalem. After Ezek 16's reinterpretation of the non-YHWH-affiliated textual woman (Ezek 16:3-6c.8a) in terms of a *ba'al-be'ulat*-relationship (Ezek 16:6d-14) and in terms of transgression of this committed relationship/ "covenant" and her guilt (Ezek 16:15-34) and her deserved judgment (Ezek 16:35-61) the term "covenant" is used once again. In Ezek 16:59-63 it appears both in the judgment-part (Ezek 16:59) as well as in the part in which Jerusalem's restoration in a future covenant with YHWH is announced (Ezek 16:60.60.61.62).

terms of a finalized initiation of an *ba'al-be'ulat*-relationship. This already presupposed institutionalized relationship between YHWH and Jerusalem is said to be "remembered" and renewed in an "everlasting covenant" (v. 60).

Additionally, it can be observed, that the notion of *covenant* is in Ezek 16 illustrated in the image of an already established *ba'al-be'ulat*-household-relationship between YHWH and the textual woman, Jerusalem. In this image it is obvious that the textual woman is expected to be loyal and exclusively committed to YHWH as her *ba'al*. This is why Ezek 16:15-31 as well as Ezek 16:32-34 - in contrast to Hos 2:4-15- portrays the textual woman as somebody who transgresses her commitment and violates legal boundaries. Thus, it can be observed that the underlying (explicit!) image of a *zonah* has been laboriously revisited in Ezek 16 and purposefully changed into the image of an adulterous *be'ulat*. The term "adulterous *isha*" as she is called in Ezek 16:32 is later in Ezek 16:59 equated with the notion of Jerusalem's breach of her covenant with YHWH when it is stated that she has "despised the oath, breaking the covenant".

Thus, it can be furthermore stated that Ezek 16 - in contrast to Hos 2- does not only introduce the notion of a covenant between YHWH and the textual woman. Instead it can be recognized that Ezek 16:59-63 assumes an already existing covenant between YHWH and Jerusalem (cf. Ezek 16:8) and therefore rereads motives from the Samaria-*zonah*-tradition in light of this. To be sure, already Hos 2:20 uses the term covenant. Unlike Ezek 16[59], however, it does not use it in order to refer to an already established committed relationship between YHWH and Israel, in which both parties have their obligations. Instead the promise of a future "covenant" refers to a covenant between YHWH and the outside world, which, he - connected to the offer to become Israel's future *ba'al*- will establish for Samaria's protection. This means in other words that while the term "covenant" in Hos 2 highlights YHWH's promise of a life in "safety" and peace (Hos 2:20), the term "covenant" in Ezek 16 is used both to justify Jerusalem's judgment (as a result of her breach of the covenant) as well as to offer her a new "everlasting covenant". This is also how the notion of *forgiveness* is introduced in Ezek 16:63. Nonetheless it can be noticed with regard to Hos 2 and Ezek 16 that it is in both cases necessary to advocate for YHWH as Jerusalem's proper *ba'al*.

[59] vv. 8.59.60.60.61.62.

IV.4 Summary: Ezek 16's reinterpretation of the textual woman and the events around her

To sum up: From the observations made above it can be concluded that Ezek 16 - in contrast to Hos 2- shows great effort to portray YHWH as Jerusalem's *ba'al* and accuses the textual woman, Jerusalem, of having broken her covenant with YHWH. Thus, the textual woman's guilt is highlighted and illustrated in images of Jerusalem's transgression of *ba'al*-household boundaries. In this light the notion of covenant is used in Ezek 16 in order to characterize Jerusalem's and YHWH's relationship as a committed relationship, which includes obligations and duties on both sides. In this new light, the textual woman, Jerusalem, is portrayed in the image of an adulterous *be'ulat*, who has deliberately violated her commitment. Hence, she has left the covenant as well as the safe realm of a *ba'al-be'ulat*-relationship. Therefore, YHWH also is no longer tied to his commitment of protecting and caring for her as her *ba'al*.

IV.5 The textual women in Ezek 23

IV.5.1 The *be'ulat*-motif in Ezek 23

Ezek 23 clearly presumes and builds upon Ezek 16's rereading of the textual woman (in Hos 2) in the status of a *be'ulat* as well as on Ezek 16's the notion of covenant[60]. This explains why - unlike in Ezek 16- no further effort is made in Ezek 23 to convert the motif of an unaffiliated and uncommitted woman into the image of a *be'ulat*. Thus, the reader of Ezek 23 learns already in the introductory verses, that the textual women Samaria and Jerusalem "became mine" (Ezek 23:4; cf. the additional extra-mentioning for Samaria in v. 5[61]). From this, it can be concluded that Ezek 23 presupposes and builds upon the complex admission-stories in Ezek 16:3-14 and summarizes it in two short side notes (Ezek 23:4.5). Nevertheless it is striking that it is still visible in Ezek 23 that YHWH and the textual woman/women have not always been in a *ba'al-be'ulat*-relationship. This

[60] My observations on the notion of covenant in Ezek 23 will be added later.
[61] I will come back to this again.

can be seen in the formulation "they *became* mine"[62], which refers to a process rather than a given state.

IV.5.2 The textual woman as transgressor of *ba'al-be'ulat*-household boundaries in Ezek 23

Moreover, it can be observed that, while Ezek 16 still puts a lot of effort into the conversion of the *zonah-motif* into the image of Jerusalem (!) as a transgressor and only implicitly subsumes Samaria's fate under Jerusalem's situation, Ezek 23 simply starts from Ezek 16's reinterpretation and applies it to the understanding of Jerusalem and (!) Samaria: Thus, Ezek 23 simply quotes and summarizes the accusations of idolatry[63], bloodshed[64] and child-offering[65] as well as adultery

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[62] Italics are mine.

[63] The accusation of having worshipped idols, which has been introduced in Ezek 16 to mark the textual woman Jerusalem as a transgressor of legal boundaries, is repeated once again in Ezek 23:37 and as a matter of course- directly linked to the notion of adultery. Regarding the accusation of idolatry it can be observed, furthermore, that -unlike in Ezek 16- the effort to convert deities into idols is completely missing. Instead Ezek 23 simply refers to idols. Thus it can be concluded from these three observations that the conversion from *zonah* to an adulterous *be'ulat* respectively the conversion from a threatened unaffiliated and unprotected woman to a transgressor and criminal, as well as the conversion from other deities to idols is already presumed in Ezek 23.

[64] With regard to the accusation of bloodshed it is striking that - unlike in Ezek 16- it is no longer used in order to convert the *zonah* into a murderer and hence a criminal. Instead the accusation of bloodshed appears in Ezek 23 as a kind of side note next to the accusation of adultery.

[65] With regard to the accusation of child-offering it can be observed that -like in Ezek 16:20- it is said that Jerusalem has offered their children to the idols. In contrast to Ezek 16:17, however, it can be again observed that Ezek 23 simply talks about idols and no longer about "male images [which she has made and with whom she] played the whore". Particularly the usage of adjective "male" in Ezek 16, which specifies the self-made images, suggests that while Ezek 16:17-21 still struggles with the conversion from the motif of the textual woman's (male) lovers from Hos 2 to idols, Ezek 23:37 simply presumes that the entities which are YHWH's rivals are simply idols. Thus, the following development can be recognized: the Baal/im, which the textual woman in Hos 2 understands as her *baal*/*im* are already in Hos 2 degraded to (male) lovers, and in Ezek 16 referred to as "[self-made] male images, with [which she] played the whore" (ezek 16:17) and finally in Ezek 23 they are referred to as idols. This, once again demonstrates that Ezek 23 presupposes Ezek 16's reinterpretation and follows-up on it.
Beyond that, it is in Ezek 23 -like in Ezek 16, emphasized in the context of transgression that she has borne her children to YHWH ("which she has borne to me"), which is clearly a (re)interpretation of Hos 2:4.6. In contrast to Ezek 16, however, no effort is made anymore to explain and justify the reinterpretation of this motif taken from Hos 2. This suggests once again that the effort made in Ezek 16 has been necessary to reread the *zonah*-motif in a new line of interpretation, which now can be simply presumed and built upon in Ezek 23. This again corroborates my hypothesis with regard to Ezek 16: In Ezek 16 it is still necessary to laboriously convert an earlier tradition, namely the *zonah*-motif from Hos 2, into the image of a *ba'al-be'ulat*-relationship between YHWH and Jerusalem (which is implicitly extended to Samaria), based on which the textual woman Jerusalem appears as a transgressor of legal boundaries. In contrast to that Ezek 23 is able to draw upon the reinterpretative groundwork of Ezek 16 in order to finally

from Ezek 16 in a very condensed way (Ezek 23:37). Moreover, it is striking that Ezek 23:36 explicitly hints to the necessity that Jerusalem's and (!) Israel' s "abominable deeds" have to be "explained to them" respectively to the recipients of the text. Thus, it is the task of the implied author, the "mortal", to convince his audience of this. In order to do so, he reminds the audience of the textual woman's crimes, of which she has been accused of already in Ezek 16 and he summarizes them in Ezek 23:37. From this it can be concluded that, although Ezek 23 presumes Ezek 16's reinterpretation of the *zonah* in Hos 2, it is still necessary to highlight and to repeat the notion of the textual women's (!) transgression and guilt, in order to convince the audience of it. Moreover, it seems to be still necessary to emphasize that Jerusalem and (!) Samaria are to be understood in light of the same accusations and judgment (Ezek 23:36-47). Thus, it can be observed that - unlike in Ezek 16- the accusation of adultery is from the beginning of the chapter attributed to both textual women. Thus it becomes obvious that in the tenor of the text the textual woman/women are - unlike in Hos 2- overall understood as transgressors of *ba'al-be'ulat*-household boundaries. From the efforts in Ezek 23:36-37, however, it can be furthermore concluded that it is still necessary to underscore the accusations against the textual woman/women once again on part of Ezek 23 necessity. In line with this observation, it can be furthermore recognized that the accusations of crimes are extended in Ezek 23. Introduced by the adverb "moreover" Jerusalem (and now also!) Samaria are accused of "having defiled [YHWH's] sanctuary" (Ezek 23:38). Additionally, it can be observed that Ezek 23:38 adds a motif that strongly reminds of Hos 2 and is not covered in Ezek 16, namely the reference to the "sabbaths". In contrast to Hos 2, however, Ezek 23:38 - according to the overall tenor that the textual woman is no longer understood as *zonah* and that YHWH is the textual women's *ba'al*- the sabbaths are no longer referred to as "her sabbaths" (Hos 2:13), but converted into YHWH's "sabbaths".[66] In contrast to Hos 2 it can be furthermore noticed that *sh*e, the textual woman respectively

subsume Samaria's deeds under the accusations against Jerusalem and to portray both of them in the image of an adulterous *be'ulat*. Still, it can be observed that although the notion of a *ba'al-be'ulat*-relationship between YHWH and Jerusalem and (!) Samaria is already introduced in Ezek 23:4, the final conclusion and judgment for both sisters is only presented at the end of Ezek 23 (Ezek 23:36-49).

[66] Cf. the conversion of "her children" in Hos 2 into "his/their children" in Ezek 16 and 23.

women "profaned [YHWH's] sabbaths", while it is stated in Hos 2:13 that YHWH "will make an end to *her* sabbaths".[67] Thus, it can be concluded that Ezek 23:38-39 not only draws upon Ezek 16's reinterpretation of Hos 2, but follows-up with its own interpretation of Hos 2. Overall, however, it can be thus noticed that the interpretative move of adding actual crimes to the *zonah*-motif in Ezek 16 is taken further in Ezek 23. To be sure, this interpretation is in line with Ezek 16's reinterpretation of the *zonah* in terms of an adulterous *be'ulat*. Thus, is quite noteworthy that all the transgressions are in Ezek 23:39 explicitly understood as transgressions against YHWH's house(hold). From this, I argue, that the term *bet* in Ezek 23:39 has to be understood in terms of *bet av* respectively in terms of what I have called *ba'al-be'ulat*-household. This also explains why two different terms are used in Ezek 23 in order to describe YHWH's sanctuary and YHWH's house(hold). This means that the final phrase in Ezek 23:39, which reads "behold, thus they have done in the midst of my house," alludes to Ezek 16's and Ezek 23's notion of a *ba'al-be'ulat*-houshold relationship between YHWH and the textual woman/women and hence to the transgression of its boundaries by the textual women. In particular the addition that they have done this in the midst of YHWH's house(hold) highlights once again that the textual women's deeds are in Ezek 23 to be understood as violations against the textual women's and YHWH's *ba'al-be'ulat*-household. This, however, stands in clear contrast to the depiction of the textual woman in Hos 2:4-15. Moreover, it can be stated that this observation furthermore corroborates my argument with regard to the understanding and function of the individual accusations of crimes in Ezek 16 (as I have argued above). Thus, the following can be concluded from the explicit reference to the textual women's transgression of their *ba'al-be'ulat*-boundaries in Ezek 23:39: While Ezek 16 still struggles with a reinterpretation of the *zonah*-motif from Hos 2 in terms of an already existing *ba'al-be'ulat*-household, Ezek 23 does not only presume this conversion, but also explicitly emphasizes that the textual woman's/ women's transgressions, which have been added to the *zonah*-motif in Ezek 16 and which have been further extended in Ezek 23, are to be read in terms of a transgression of *ba'al-be'ulat*-household boundaries. This, however, suggests that while the groundwork for this understanding is laid in Ezek 16,

[67] Italics are mine.

Ezek 23 already builds upon it and names it explicitly. Thus, it can be observed that the *zonah* and her household, as it is portrayed in Hos 2, is in Ezek 16 laboriously reread in terms of a *ba'al-be'ulat* relationship, which is then violated by the textual woman. In Ezek 23, however, the textual women's transgression of a *ba'al-be'ulat*-household relationship is already taken as a given. Nevertheless, the fact, that Ezek 23 has to highlight this interpretative turn once again, suggests that it has not (yet) been that obvious for the addressees of Ezek 23 and needs a further confirmation. This again suggests that the memory of the *zonah*-motif in Hos 2 is still alive and has to be countered.

IV.5.3 The notion of the textual woman's guilt and transgression in Ezek 23 compared to Ezek 16

Beyond that it can be recognized that Ezek 23 - in contrast to Ezek 16, which focuses on presenting the textual woman's guilt and transgression- exhibits a much stronger focus on the textual woman's judgment (as an adulteress) and the consequences of her guilt. Thus, it can be observed that the references to the textual woman's "abominations"[68] and "wickedness"[69] as well as the reference to

[68] With regard to Ezek 23 it can be noticed that the numerous references to Jerusalem's "abomination" in Ezek 16, are drawn upon in Ezek 23 in a very reductive way: While references to the textual woman's "abomination" appear six times in Ezek 16 (Ezek 16:22.43.47.51.51.52), Ezek 23 mentions the relevant term only once (Ezek 23:36). With regard to the usage of the term "abomination" in Ezek 23 it is particularly striking that it appears right at the beginning of the final reinterpretation of Ezek 23 (vv. 36-49; 36), where the interpretation of Jerusalem's and Samaria's fate are finally united and where the issue of their judgment is addressed.[68] Thus it can be concluded for now, that Ezek 23 -unlike Ezek 16- does no longer elaborate much on the conversion of the *zonah*-motif in light of Jerusalem's misdeeds and guilt. This suggests once again that Ezek 16's rereading is simply presumed and drawn upon in Ezek 23. Yet, it can be observed that the same interpretative device like in Ezek 16 is used, when it comes to the unification of Samaria's and Jerusalem's fate under the same judgment. This again corroborates my hypothesis that the term "abomination" is in Ezek 16 used in order to build a bridge between Samaria's mislead way and Jerusalem's transgression.

[69] With regard to Ezek 23 it can be noticed that the explicit reference to the textual woman's/women's "wickedness", which appears already in Ezek 16:23 (רעע), is drawn up again in Ezek 23:44 (זמם). Although two different Hebrew roots are used in order to describe to notion of "wickedness" in Ezek 16 and 23, it can be concluded from their contexts, that in both cases the reference to the textual woman's "wickedness" serves to merge the two mutual exclusive concepts, which are implied in the Hebrew roots *znh* and *nph*, in order to perceive of them both as transgression: Like in Ezek 16, the *zonah*-motif in Ezek 23:44-45 is reinterpreted in terms of adultery. Yet a difference between the usage in Ezek 16 and 23, can be noticed: In Ezek 16 the term "wickedness" serves in a prominent place right at the beginning of v. 23 in order to explain and justify violence against the textual woman. In Ezek 23:44, however, it only appears as a side note. This observation once again supports my hypothesis that Ezek 23 draws upon and

her "guilt" are in Ezek 23 reduced (in comparison to Ezek 16). From this, it can be concluded that the usage of terms, which enable a conversion of the *zonah*-motif into the motif of transgression and guilt, is -compared to Ezek 16- quantitatively and thematically reduced in Ezek 23. Thus, it can be concluded that the perception of the textual woman's as a transgressor is already presumed in Ezek 23. At the same time, however, it can be recognized that the references and terms that explicitly reread Hos 2 in terms of the textual woman's guilt in Ezek 16 are in Ezek 23 altered. More particularly it can be observed that while two different Hebrew roots for "sin/guilt" are introduced in Ezek 16 (*awon*[70] and *cht'*), Ezek 23 uses only the Hebrew root *cht'*. This root, however, appears only once in Ezek 23:49, which is the conclusion and final summary of Ezek 23. This quantitative reduction of *cht'* in Ezek 23 (in contrast to Ezek 16), once again corroborates my hypothesis that Ezek 23 presumes Ezek 16 and thus puts less effort into elaborating on the notion of *her* guilt. Moreover, it is striking that the form as well as the contexts in which the root *cht'* is used in Ezek 23:49 differs from its usage in Ezek 16. This again has consequences for the meaning and implications of the terms in the two different chapters. Particularly it is striking that in Ezek 16, the root *cht'* appears once as a verb in qal perf. 3 fem. sing. (Ezek 16:51b) and twice in the form of the feminin (!) noun (Ezek 16:51a.52), while Ezek 23: 49 uses only the noun in a comm masculin (!) plur. constr. form. These different forms including the different grammatical gender of the nouns in Ezek 16 and 23 are no coincidence. Instead they imply different connotations, which

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presumes Ezek 16's reinterpretation of the *zonah*-tradition in terms of transgression and her condition of guilt. Moreover, from the reusage of the notion of "wickedness" in Ezek 23 it can be noticed once again that effort -albeit a lesser effort than in Ezek 16- is necessary on part of Ezek 23 to remind the reader of Ezek 16's reinterpretation of the *zonah*-tradition in Hos 2 in order to push the reader towards a new interpretation of an older seemingly still very well known tradition, namely that of Samaria/Israel as *zonah*.

[70] In Ezek 16 the term *awon* appears once (Ezek 16:49) and refers to Sodom's guilt and the root *cht'* appears three times (Ezek 16:51.51.52). In Ezek 16:51 the root *cht'* appears both as a noun and as a verb and refers to Jerusalem and implicitly - in a negation (!) also to Samaria about whom it is said that "Samaria has not committed half of [Jerusalem's] sins". Another occurrence of the noun in Ezek 16:52 also refer to Jerusalem, who has "prayed for her sisters [Sodom and Samaria] by her sins" and about whom it is said, that "because of [Jerusalem's] sins in which [Jerusalem] acted more abominably than [Samaria and Sodom], [Samaria and Sodom] are more in the right than [Jerusalem]." Thus, the notion of *her* guilt primarily refers to Jerusalem and only secondarily to Samaria. This suggest once again that Ezek 16 rereads Samaria's lack of actual transgressions, as it is portrayed in Hos 2, in terms of the textual woman's guilt.[70] Regarding Ezek 23, however, it can be observed that the term *awon* is left out completely. Instead the root *cht'* is used.

are in line with the overall tendencies in Ezek 16 and 23: The feminin noun as used in Ezek 16 is in lexica rendered as "sin, sin-offering"[71]. Particularly with the particle בְּ the term is to be translated as "on the ground of sin; for sin; with or by sin."[72] Thus, it can be said that the usage of the root *cht*' in Ezek 16 highlights the textual woman's "condition of sin, guilt of sin",[73] from which one has to be purified. This is also where the second meaning "sin-offering" comes in. In contrast to this the masculin noun in Ezek 23:49, puts a stronger emphasis on the notion of "guilt of sin" (as opposed to the condition of sin) and hence on the notion of "punishment for sin" or "bear[ing the consequences of] sin"[74]. From these observations it can be once more concluded that while Ezek 16 struggles with rereading Hos 2 by introducing the notion of the textual woman's "condition of guilt", Ezek 23 already presents a follow-up reading and elaborates further on the consequences of *her* guilt, respectively the aspect of *her* punishment for *her* guilt. This again suggests that the understanding of "sin" in Ezek 23 presumes the understanding of "sin" in Ezek 23. This observation is furthermore corroborated by the usage of the verb *cht'* as well as the lack of the term *awon* (including the lack of the Sodom tradition to which it is connected in Ezek 16)[75]. And it is additionally underscored by the usage of the two different terms for "sin" in the individual contexts of Ezek 16 and 23. Moreover, as mentioned earlier the verb *cht'* as it is used in Ezek 16:51 refers primarily to Jerusalem and only secondarily to Samaria. Additionally, it can be stated that the lexical meaning of the verb *cht'* which is rendered as "to miss (a way or a goal); to go wrong" or as "making a sin offering"[76], serves Ezek 16's reinterpretation of Hos 2's understanding of Samaria's mislead way without YHWH (not her transgression!) in terms of Jerusalem's transgression. Moreover, the fact that the term *awon* (including the Sodom tradition to which it is connected in Ezek 16) is left out in Ezek 23 suggests that *her* condition of guilt is already presumed in Ezek 23. To be sure, the term *awon* similar to the masc noun *cht'* in Ezek 23 includes the notion of punishment. In lexica it is rendered as "iniquity, guilt, or

[71] BDB.....(page numbers will be added).
[72] BDB.....
[73] BDB.....
[74] BDB ...
[75] See above.
[76] BDB....

punishment of iniquity".[77] In Ezek 16, however, it is only used for Sodom and not for Samaria or Jerusalem. This adds to my hypothesis with regard to the function of the Sodom-tradition in Ezek 16[78] and shows that the notion of *her* guilt and deserved punishment is only gradually introduced in Ezek 16. What is also quite striking with regard to the usage of the term *awon* in Ezek 16:49 is that the actual Sodom-narrative in Gen 13 does not present the term *awon*, but the root *cht'* (Gen 13:13). This underscores the purposeful use of the term *awon* in Ezek 16, for it is not simply takes over from the Sodom-narrative in Gen 13. Instead it can be concluded that Ezek 16:49-50 is supposed to introduce the notion of (Sodom's) guilt and punishment, in light of which the fate of Samaria and Jerusalem is to be understood. In contrast to that it can be observed that Ezek 23 already presumes Ezek 16's interpretation of Jerusalem's (and implicitly also Samaria's) guilt. This again explains why the term *awon* as well as the Sodom-tradition is no longer necessary in Ezek 23. Instead Ezek 23 uses the term *cht'* masc noun, which combines the implications of the term *awon* and the root *cht'* in Ezek 16 and thus draws Ezek 16's reinterpretation of Hos 2 further in terms of the textual woman/ women's punishment as a consequence of her guilt. A closer look into the immediate contexts in which the various expressions for "sin" are used, furthermore, highlights the interpretative move from introducing *her* condition of guilt in Ezek 16 (against the original understanding of the *zonah* in Hos 2) towards an elaboration on the consequences (of *her* guilt) in Ezek 23. Thus, it is furthermore striking that in all verses in Ezek 16, in which the root *cht'* appears Jerusalem's "sin" is not simply mentioned as such. Instead, the notion of Jerusalem's sin is always explained and confirmed by the explicit reference to her "abominations". Thus it can be stated that the fact that Ezek 23- unlike Ezek 16- presents the textual woman's guilt as such (without reference to her "abominations") and elaborates further upon the consequences of *her* guilt and therefore *her* punishment, shows that the term "abominations" in Ezek 16 serves to build a bridge between the mislead way (not transgression!) of Samaria and the transgressions, which are attributed to Jerusalem. Thus, it can be furthermore concluded that Samaria's guilt appears only secondarily in light of

[77] BDB...
[78] See bellow.

Jerusalem's transgressions. This observation is furthermore corroborated by the fact that the only reference to their (!) abominable deeds appears in Ezek 23:36, where the "mortal" respectively the implied audience has to decide about the deeds and judgment against both textual women. What is furthermore also missing in Ezek 23 is the notion of Jerusalem's substitution for Samaria (and Sodom), which is introduced in Ezek 16:52. This suggests once more that the gradual merging of Samaria's and Jerusalem's history and situation is already presumed in Ezek 23.[79]

Overall, the observations regarding the notion of guilt in Ezek 16 and 23 (and Hos 2) can be summarized as follows: First of all it can be noticed that while terms for sin, guilt or punishment are completely lacking in Hos 2, Ezek 16 and 23 operate with the notion of Jerusalem's (and Sodom's) guilt, which serves in order to justify violence against the textual woman/women as deserved punishment. Second, it can be concluded that Ezek 23 takes over the notion of guilt from Ezek 16's reinterpretation of Hos 2 (which does not speak about the textual woman's sin or guilt at all!) and elaborates further on it, in terms of the consequences of her guilt. Third, it is striking that while Ezek 16 is more concerned with introducing the textual woman's condition of guilt, Ezek 23 simply presumes her (condition of) guilt and further elaborates on her punishment for her guilt, which - among other observations- can be seen from the different terms for "sin" in Ezek 16 and 23. And forth, it can be observed that Ezek 16 puts much more effort into introducing the notion of guilt than Ezek 23, which can be seen from observations about the quantity of references as well as from an analysis of the immediate contexts in which the different terms and forms from "sin" appear in Ezek 16 and 23.

From all these observations, it can be finally concluded, that Ezek 23 presumes Ezek 16's reinterpretation of the *zonah*-tradition in terms of *her* guilt: While Ezek 16 still struggles to reinterpret the *zonah*-motif in terms of transgression

[79] With regard to Ezek 16's relationship to Hos 2 (in light of Ezek 23), it can be thus concluded that the great effort of introducing the notion of guilt in Ezek 16, hints to the fact that the presentation of the textual woman as being guilty, has not been obvious for the ancient reader. This again corroborates my reading of the textual woman Samaria, the *zonah,* in Hos 2, which not only lacks a *ba'al*, but is consequently also is not accused of having transgressed her *ba'al-be'ulat*-household boundaries.

and guilt, Ezek 23 simply builds upon Ezek 16's reinterpretation of the *zonah*-tradition in terms of her condition of being guilty. Moreover, Ezek 16 elaborates further on the notion of her guilt in terms of her (deserved) punishment as a result of her guilt. With regard to the *zonah*-tradition this demonstrates once again that Ezek 16's laborious rereading of Hos 2 in terms of transgression and guilt is the requirement for Ezek 23's follow-up and elaboration on the textual woman's/ women's (guilt and) deserved punishment. In other words: While the root *cht'* as well as the final conclusions of Ezek 16's rereading of Hos 2 in terms of *her* guilt is taken over in Ezek 23, the interpretative moves and turns, which allow for Ezek 16's rereading of the *zonah* in Hos 2 in terms of the textual woman's Jerusalem's condition of guilt are left out and simply presumed in Ezek 23. Thus it can be stated, that, while Ezek 16 - against the background of Hos 2- struggles to introduce the notion *that* the textual woman (Jerusalem) is guilty, Ezek 23 already presumes *that* the textual woman is to be understood as guilty and thus elaborates further on her punishment, which is a consequence of her guilt.

IV.5.4 The notion of judgment in Ezek 23 compared to Ezek 16

The following observations with regard to terms that refer to *her* judgment and its consequences further corroborate the observations that have been already made with regard to the different approaches to the textual woman's/women's guilt in Ezek 16 and 23. In contrast to the reduction of terms that refer to her (condition) of guilt, it can be noticed that the usage of the terms that refer to the textual woman's *judgment* as well as to the *consequences of her guilt*[80] are not only taken over from Ezek 16, but also quantitatively increased and thematically followed up in Ezek 23. This suggests once again that Ezek 23 builds upon Ezek 16's laborious reinterpretation of the *zonah*-motif in Hos 2 and presents a follow-up, which already presumes Ezek 16's interpretive turns respectively final conclusions and reinterpretation.

With regard the term for *judgment* the following can be observed: First of all, the term judgment or the explicit notion of judgment is not mentioned in Hos 2.

[80] See above.

Second, while the Hebrew root *shft* ("to judge"; "judgment") appears only twice in Ezek 16 (Ezek 16:38.41), it appears four times in Ezek 23 (Ezek 23:10.24.24.36). Moreover, it can be noticed that the root *shft* appears in Ezek 16 only at the turning point, where the *zonah*-motif is finally and explicitly re-read in terms of adultery (Ezek 16:38) and is later repeated in a kind of conclusion that refers to Jerusalem (Ezek 16:41). In contrast to that the reference to judgment is in Ezek 23 already used very early in the text (v. 10) and thus builds the interpretative frame, in which violence against the textual woman/women in Ezek 23 (Ezek 23:10.24.24.36) is understood. This clearly shows that Ezek 23 presumes Ezek 16's notion of judgment against the textual woman/women - as well as the conversion from the concept of *znh* to the concept of legal transgression of boundaries (*n'ph*), which seemingly requires lesser effort in Ezek 23[81]. Also the reference to her "name/ fame" which is in Ezek 16:15 connected to the textual woman's prehistory as a *zonah* (cf. Hos 2), is Ezek 23:10 anachronistically reinterpreted in terms of Samaria's judgment.

Thus, it can be concluded that, while Ezek 16 shows a lot of effort to construct a re-reading of the *zonah* in terms of transgression and judgment which is finally established in Ezek 16:38, Ezek 23 simply starts with this reinterpretation almost (!)[82] at the beginning of the chapter. Furthermore, it is striking that the textual woman, Jerusalem, in the image of an adulterous *be'ulat* (cf. Ezek 16:38.41), is in Ezek 16 the primary point of reference against whom the notion of "judgment" is directed. This notion is only in a secondary more implicit step extended to Ezek 16's rereading of the Samaria-*zonah*-tradition.[83] In contrast to that, Ezek 23 presents Samaria's (!) fate almost (!) from the beginning of the chapter in light of her (deserved) "judgment".[84] Thus, it can be concluded that Ezek 23 presumes Ezek 16's reinterpretation of the *zonah*-tradition and applies it to Jerusalem and in a secondary rereading also to Samaria.

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[81] See... (above? -bellow?)
[82] I will come back to this later, when I will address the relationship between Ezek 23 and Hos 2.
[83] Cf. my observations above (Ezek 16 part).
[84] I will come back to this later.

IV.5.5 The reinterpretation of violence against the textual woman in Ezek 23 compared to Ezek 16

Similar observations can be made with regard to the notion of distress and violence as the consequences of the textual woman's/women's judgment, which has been introduced by Ezek 16's rereading of Hos 2. First of all, it can be observed, that explicit terms for "penalty" or "punishment" can neither be found in Ezek 23 nor in Ezek 16 (and least in Hos 2). What can be found instead are circumscriptions, which describe the consequences of the judgment. This, however, must not be confused with the image of a punishment executed *within* the frame of a *ba'al-be'ulat* household relationship.[85] Second, it can be observed that references to the consequences of the judgment - similar to the reusage of the notion of judgment- are quantitatively increased and thematically extended in Ezek 23. And it can be noticed that quotes from Ezek 16 are reused albeit reinterpreted in Ezek 23.[86] Thus it can be concluded that Ezek 23 takes over the notion of bearing the consequences (not the punishment!) for the textual women's transgression of a safe and protected realm from Ezek 16. Yet, it can also be noticed that literal quotes from Ezek 16 have been adjusted to their reusage in Ezek 23. Thus, it can be observed that while Ezek 16 uses the second person fem singular (!), Ezek 23:49 uses the second person fem plural. This means in other words that in Ezek 23:49 - in contrast to Ezek 16 and yet in line with the final tenor of Ezek 16- Samaria is subsumed under the judgment over Jerusalem. Moreover, it can be observed that the feminin singular noun of the Hebrew root כלם (insult, reproach, ignominy) as used in Ezek 16:52, accounts both for the notion of violation (of the *zonah* respectively the not or no longer affilated woman) as well as the punishment for the adulterous *be'ulat*. Thus it can be concluded that the term כלם in Ezek 16 serves as a bridge in order to reuse the Samaria-*zonah*-tradition in terms of Jerusalem's judgment. And furthermore it can be observed that while the term "abomination" is used in

[85] For a detailed account of these passages in Ezek 16 see above.

[86] In Ezek 16 she is commanded twice to "bear her disgrace" (Ezek 16:52.52) and it is explained that she "must bear [her wickedness and her abominations]" (Ezek 16:58). In Ezek 23 in contrast to that she is commanded to "bear her wickedness and her harlotry" (Ezek 23:35). Additionally it is stated that the woman in the land "will/shall bring upon [them, Jerusalem and (!) Samaria their punishment for] [their] sin of their idols/idolatry" (Ezek 23:49).

Ezek 16:58, in order to reinterpret the *zonah*-motif in terms of the textual woman's guilt and transgression, Ezek 23 replaces the term "abomination" by the term "whoring". This observation suggests once again that while Ezek 16 is still concerned with rereading the *zonah* in terms of "abomination" and hence transgression, Ezek 23:35 already presumes Ezek 16's reinterpretation of the *zonah*-motif in terms of transgression and thus is able to use the root *znh* as if it was a kind of synonym for transgression.

As mentioned earlier also the way-motif reappears in Ezek 23. And it can be observed that Ezek 23 builds up on Ezek 16's reinterpretation of the way-motif in Hos 2. Yet a difference can be noted: While Ezek 16 - against the background of Hos 2- still struggles with establishing the notion of the textual woman's condition of guilt, Ezek 23:13 already presumes the notion of Jerusalem's and (!) Samaria's transgression and guilt. Thus, Ezek 23:31 follows-up on their judgment respectively the consequences of their guilt. Nevertheless, it can still be observed that particularly the conversion of violence against the unaffiliated and unprotected textual woman Samaria in terms of consequences of her self-inflicted judgment requires great effort on part of Ezek 23 -even after Ezek 16's reinterpretation. I will come back to this later in my analysis of the cup-motif in Ezek 23, which will demonstrate once more that Hos 2's portrayal and understanding of the Samaria-*zonah*-tradition was still alive in the time when Ezek 23 was written.

Moreover, it can be stated that, as has been already observed for Ezek 16 and Hos 2, that the violent measures against the textual woman/ women in Ezek 23 are not conceptualized in terms of a penalization of a adulterous *be'ulat* by her *ba'al*. Instead the violent measures are understood as a consequence of the textual woman's situation outside of the protected realm of a *ba'al-be'ulat*-household commitment. Thus, they are characterized as a lack of protection by a *ba'al*(-household unit). YHWH is in Ezek 23 - similar to Ezek 16- not the executer of violence. Instead his agency is only highlighted in order to portray him as the sovereign in history. Therefore YHWH is portrayed as the ultimate agent who "will rose against [Jerusalem] [her] lovers" (Ezek 23:22) and who "will deliver [her] into the hands of those whom you hate" (Ezek 23:28). In Ezek 23:46 YHWH furthermore commands to "[b]ring up an assembly against them [Jerusalem and

Samaria], and make them an object of terror and of plunder." Here, it is particularly striking that violence against the textual woman is referred to as "terror and plunder", which implies the understanding of violence as distress (cf. Hos 2) rather than the understanding of violence as a righteous act (as has been suggested by previous commentaries). The fact that violence against the textual woman is - also in Ezek 23- not understood as a penalization by a *ba'al*, but rather in terms of a self-inflicted distress, which the textual woman faces outside of the protected realm of her household-unit, is furthermore corroborated by the statements "they will come against you [...] they shall set themselves against you [...]" in Ezek 23:24. These observations are again in accordance with my observations regarding Ezek 16, where YHWH's judgment is described as consequence of the annulment of his duty to protect her due to the textual woman's transgression (cf. Ezek 16). In order to portray YHWH as the superior agent (in contrast to the forces from outside), however, it is emphasized that YHWH "will commit the judgment to them" (Ezek 23:24). As a consequence of this Jerusalem finds herself in a situation, in which she has to "bear [the consequences of][her] lewdness and whorings" (Ezek 23:35). Thus it can be observed once again that Ezek 23 builds upon Ezek 16's reinterpretation of the violent measures in Hos 2 in terms of the textual woman's transgression and annulment of a *ba'al-be'ulat*-household commitment.

Beyond that it can be observed that Ezek 23 directly refers back to literal quotes from Ezek 16 that already reinterpret the violent measure from Hos 2: Thus, it can be observed that the term "hand" appears in all these three texts, when it comes to violence against the textual woman. Yet, it is striking that in Hos 2:12 it is the hand of YHWH [who is not yet named!] and in Ezek 16:27 it is still YHWH, who is remembered as the one who in the past "stretched out [his] hand against [the textual woman], reduced [her] rations" (cf. Hos 2:8-11). In Ezek 23:9, however, it is stated, in the part, which deals with Samaria, that YHWH "delivered her into the hands of her lovers", which builds upon on Ezek 16:27c, where it is said that she has been "[given] [...] up to the will of those who hate [her]." Thus, it can be concluded that direct references to the term "hand" are present in all three texts when it comes to the depiction of violence against the textual woman. Yet, alterations in the depiction of agency are to be observed,

which mirror the relevant tenor in the three different biblical texts. This suggests once again that Hos 2 as an earlier tradition is reused in Ezek 16 and 23 according to their individual tenor.

And once again reference is made to Ezek 16's reinterpretation of her being "stripped" and the "uncovering of her nakedness", which is now - unlike in Hos 2 - understood as the consequence of her self-inflicted (!) unprotected status. Beyond Ezek 16's reinterpretation of violence against the textual woman, however, further interpretative turns can be observed in Ezek 23. Thus, it can be noticed that the cases of Samaria and Jerusalem are reported separately. About Samaria it is said that her lovers "uncovered her [Samaria's] nakedness" (Ezek 23:10; cf. Ezek 16:36.37.[39]). About Jerusalem, however, it is said that "[t]hey [her lovers] shall strip [her] of [her] clothes and take away [her] fine jewels" (Ezek. 23:26), which strongly resembles Ezek 16:39. In contrast to Ezek 16, however, the emphasis on *her* transgression and guilt and hence her self-inflicted mistreatment (Ezek 16:36) as well as the reference to the orphan motif (Ezek 16:4-6) in Ezek 16:39 is left out in Ezek 23. Thus, it can be once again concluded that while Ezek 16 still struggles with a reinterpretation of the *zonah* in terms of transgression and guilt, this interpretative turn is already presumed in Ezek 23. Instead the focus in Ezek 23 is now on the self-inflicted consequences of breaking a commitment, which are highlighted by the violence against the textual woman/women.

Moreover, it can be also noticed from the usage of the perfect form in Ezek 23:10 and the imperfect form in Ezek 23:26 that Samaria's past and the violence against her, the *zona*h in Hos 2, is in Ezek 23 - like in Ezek 16- reinterpreted in terms of the consequences of her transgressions. Beyond the reinterpretation in Ezek 16, however, it can be observed that Ezek 23's reinterpretation serves in order to justify the later announcement of Jerusalem's punishment in Ezek 23:26 by establishing a continuity to an earlier (albeit reinterpreted) event.

Additionally, violence against the textual woman's children is mentioned once again. In Ezek 16's reinterpretation of Hos 2, however, it has been the textual woman who "seized" the children and in Ezek 23 it is "they [her lovers, the Assyrians, who] seized her sons and her daughters;" (Ezek 23:10.25; cf. Ezek 16:20). Thus, it can be observed that in Ezek 16 the seizing of her (and his!)

children is mentioned in order to highlight her transgression and therefore her (condition of) guilt. In Ezek 23, however, the same phrase is used in order to highlight the violent measures as a consequence of her self-inflicted distress.

In a similar way, the killing of her children in Ezek 23:47 is taken over from Ezek 16:21. Yet, it is no longer her who kills the children, but those who -after YHWH's judgment about their relationship- appear from the outside and who "will kill their [the textual women's] sons and daughters" (Ezek 23:47). Thus a turn from the emphasis on her (condition of) guilt to her self-inflicted judgment can be stated once again. This turn, which presumes Ezek 16's reinterpretation of the textual woman in terms of her transgression and (condition of) guilt, furthermore, explains why Ezek 16:47 - like Hos 2- talks about her children (as opposed to her and YHWH's children in Ezek 16). In other words: because of the fact that Ezek 23 -unlike Ezek 16- is no longer concerned with proving the textual woman's guilt, it is no longer necessary to use the motif of her and YHWH's children. Talking about the textual women's children, instead, corresponds with the focus on her self-inflicted distress in Ezek 23. These observations are again in line with the overall tendencies in Ezek 16's and 23's and their respective follow-ups on the *zonah*-tradition in Hos 2. What is moreover particularly striking with regard to this quote is that it is repeated twice in Ezek 23, once for Samaria (v.10) and once for Jerusalem (v.25). Moreover, it can be observed that while in v. 10 the perfect form is used, the imperfect form is used in v. 25. From this it can be concluded, that v. 10, which refers to an already finalized event, reinterprets Samaria's fate in light of the judgment that is later in v. 25 announced for Jerusalem. This in other words suggests, that the tradition about Samaria's fate is in Ezek 23 purposefully rewritten in order to present Jerusalem's judgment as if it was in continuity with another past event, namely the situation of Samaria, which is originally portrayed in Hos 2.

Beyond that, Ezek 23 -like Ezek 16 (and in contrast to Hos 2) - refers to the stoning of the textual woman (Ezek 23:47; cf. Ezek 16:40), which is according to ancient legal texts an actual penalty for adultery[87]. Only the reference to "killing her with the sword" in Ezek 23:47 and Ezek 16:40 is an addition to the

[87] Cf. Deut 22:21.24.

punishment of an adulteress. All this, hints to the fact that the violence against the textual woman is now - like in Ezek 16- reinterpreted in terms of death penalty for adultery. The reference to actual penalties for an adulterous *be'ulat*, which is taken over from Ezek 16, furthermore is in line with the fact that the notion of adultery gets particularly highlighted in Ezek 23 as I will show later.[88] Moreover, it is quoted once again with regard to Jerusalem's judgment that YHWH will mobilize her lovers against her. In Ezek 16 it is said, that "I [YHWH] will gather all your [Jerusalem's] lovers" (Ezek 16:37.37) and it is only in the second occurrence in v. 37 added that they will be gathered "*against you* [Jerusalem] from all around."[89] Moreover, it can be observed that in Ezek 16:37 - like in Hos 2- it is still YHWH who exposes the textual woman's nakedness in front of her lovers, which can be attributed to the dependence between Ezek 16 and Hos 2.[90] In Ezek 23, however, it is immediately said, that "I [YHWH] will rouse *against you* [Jerusalem] your lovers [...], and I will bring them *against you* from every side"[91] (Ezek 23:22). Thus, it can be once again observed that Ezek 16 is stronger dependent on Hos 2's understanding of violence against the textual woman than Ezek 23. In other words: Ezek 23 already presumes Ezek 16's reinterpretation of violence against the textual woman in terms of transgression and punishment for her guilt. Thus, the violent measures against her are in Ezek 23 immediately presented in terms of her judgment for her guilt.

IV.5.6 Summary of the different reinterpretative tendencies around the depiction of violence against the textual woman in Ezek 23 and 16 (and Hos 2)

Thus the following differences can be noted between Ezek 16 and 23: Ezek 23's focus is - in contrast to Ezek 16- no longer on establishing the notion of the textual woman's condition of guilt and transgression. This is already presumed

[88] The explicit reference to punitive measures for an adulteress - in contrast to the violence in Hos 2- is clearly a hint from which it can be seen that Hos 2 is reinterpreted in terms of adultery, which is highlighted in Ezek 23 (even more than in Ezek 16). I will come back to the issue of adultery in Ezek 16 and 23 later.
[89] Italics are mine.
[90] See above.
[91] Italics are mine.

in Ezek 23. Instead, Ezek 23 follows-up on the consequences of the textual woman's transgression and guilt, which is mirrored in the violence that the textual woman/women face outside of the protected realm of a *ba'al-be'ulat*-household unit- after YHWH's judgment about the situation. And it can be noticed that Ezek 23 (as opposed to Ezek 16) more explicitly interprets the violence against the textual woman, Jerusalem as consequences of her guilt, which is already implied in the masculin noun of the root *ch't* (v. 49), which in NRSV even gets translated as "penalty" (as opposed to sin).[92]

A corresponding development can be also found with regard to the notion of judgment in Ezek 23:24. Ezekiel 16 - against the background of reinterpreting Hos 2 - exhibits a very open use of the term "judgment": The usage of the term "judgment" in Ezek 16 allows for the reinterpretation of the textual woman's distress in Hos 2 in light of a self-inflicted (!) distress. Thus, Ezek 16 offers a very complex portrayal of violence against the textual woman, in which violence against the textual woman is not only portrayed as the consequence of her own misdeeds (cf. Ezek 16:3-5).[93] This understanding of violence against the textual woman, thus still resembles Hos 2 albeit the executers of violence have changed. In Ezek 23, however, violence against the textual woman is right away explained in terms of judgment and self-inflicted distress. Thus, it is stated in Ezek 23:24 that "I [YHWH] will commit the judgment to them [the lovers], and they shall judge you according to their ordinances." Therefore it can be concluded that in all three texts (Hos 2, Ezek 16 and 23) YHWH is portrayed as the one who ultimately is in charge of history and hence is the ultimate agent. Moreover, it can be noticed that in all three texts YHWH (respectively his name) is in one way or another detached from the immediate execution of violence: In Hos 2 threats of violence against the textual woman are uttered in order to illustrate her vulnerable situation and to convey the message that her (traditional) Baalim/*ba'alim* are useless and that YHWH is the superior force and therefore is her only (potential) *ba'al*. In Ezek 16, YHWH is even more portrayed as the ultimate agent in history and violence against the textual woman is

[92] I will come back to this later in chapter 3 of my dissertation, in which I will deal with blending theories and apply it to my observations on the modern biblical reception of Hos 2 and the so called "prophetic marital metaphors".
[93] See above.

conceptualized as self-inflicted distress. This understanding of violence against the textual woman is in Ezek 23 finally taken over and as a given. Hence violence is portrayed as the consequence of YHWH's judgment about his relationship to the textual woman/women. This however must neither be confused with YHWH's penalization nor with his function as a *ba'al*.

Beyond that, other alterations, which focus on a reinterpretation of the execution of YHWH's judgment can be observed in Ezek 23: thus, it can be noticed that the term judgment is not only used in Ezek 23:24 (with regard to Jerusalem), but also in Ezek 23:10, which is the conclusion of the part about Samaria. Thus, it can be concluded that Ezek 23 already presumes and follow's up Ezek 16's final reinterpretation of the *zonah*-tradition and anachronistically applies it to Samaria's history and fate.

Additionally it can be observed that additions have been made to the punitive measures in Ezek 23:24-26. The vivid images of warfare, which are in Ezek 23: 24.25 added to direct quotes from Ezek 16 can possibly be interpreted as reference to concrete means of warfare executed by the foreign nations.[94] This again clearly hints to a reinterpretation respectively a follow-up to Ezek 16 in light of a new historical situation in Ezek 23. Further additions with regard to the violent measures appear also in Ezek 23:47 with regard both textual women and their children. Again, it can be observed that the additional violent measures are added to the violent measures from Ezek 16. Thus, it is said about the executers of violence that they "will cut them [the textual women] down;[...], and burn up their [the textual women's; 3. fem plur!] houses."[95] Concerning the development within Ezek 23, it can therefore be stated that the violent measures are - like in Ezek 16- first and primarily directed against Jerusalem. Later, towards the end of Ezek 23, however, they are also applied to Samaria in an anachronistic, secondary reinterpretation. The observation that the reinterpretation of Samaria's fate is secondary reinterpretation is furthermore corroborated by the

[94] Thus it is illustrated that the foreign nations will "come against you [Jerusalem] from the north with chariots and wagons and a host of peoples; they shall set themselves against you on every side with buckler, shield, and helmet, [...]" (Ezek 23:24). And it is added that "[t]hey [the foreign nations] shall cut off your [Jerusalem's] nose and your ears, and your survivors shall fall by the sword. [...], and your survivors shall be devoured by fire" (Ezek 23:25).

[95] This reference to the textual women's houses is very interesting with regard to the *zonah*-(household)-motif from Hos 2.

observation that while Samaria's fate is elsewhere in Ezek 23 already presumed as a past event, Ezek 23:47 refers to Jerusalem's and (!) Samaria's future (!) judgment and its consequences.

IV.5.7 The sister-motif and the reference to Israel's relative righteousness in Ezek 16 and 23

Beyond that it is quite striking that both, Ezek 16 and 23 - within their reinterpretation of the textual woman from Hos 2- remember Israel's relative righteousness (as opposed to Jerusalem's guilt). Thus, it can be recognized that Ezek 16 as well as Ezek 23 refer to Israel's (respectively Samaria's) relative righteousness in the newly introduced motif of Jerusalem and Samaria (Israel) as sisters.

IV.5.7.1 The sister-motif and the reference to Israel's relative righteousness in Ezek 16

Thus it can be noticed that Ezek 16 draws upon a tradition in which Samaria is understood as an entity that has been violated without having done anything wrong from a legal perspective. This can be seen from the fact that while Sodom's guilt is explicitly expressed and accounted for in Ezek 16:49-50, no such thing is said about Samaria. Instead, it is mentioned that "Samaria has not committed half the sins [of Jerusalem]" and that she "appears righteous by all the abominations that you [Jerusalem] have committed" (Ezek 16:51). The same understanding is furthermore repeated in Ezek 16:52, where it is said that Jerusalem "acted more abominably than they [Sodom and Samaria together!], [and that] they [Sodom and Samaria together!] are more in the right than you." Regarding this later statement, however, it can be noticed that Samaria already gets reinterpreted in light of Sodom's guilt. But still, it can be observed that the notion of Samaria's (relative) righteousness is accounted for. Thus, it can be concluded that Samaria's (relative) righteousness respectively Hos 2's original understanding, that Samaria is not threatened with violence because of her guilt or misdeeds is still preserved in Ezek 16. Moreover, it can be stated that a clear

difference is made between the case of Samaria and Jerusalem. This differentiation resembles a pre-understanding which is similar to Hos 2: In Hos 2 the textual woman is not accused of breaking a commitment that originates in a *ba'al-be'ulat*-relationship or a covenant with YHWH, for both concepts are not presumed in Hos 2. Yet, the textual woman in Hos 2 is of course understood and depicted as having a deficit: against her own self-understanding, she is portrayed as not having a proper *ba'al*, who in the tenor of Hos 2 would be YHWH (as opposed to her Baal/im). The notion that the *zonah* in Hos 2 has not committed any crime or transgression by acting as a *zonah*, but - in her situation- is right, since she has no commitment to a *ba'al*-household, thus, still shines through in Ezek 16's description of Samaria as (relatively) "righteous" (Ezek 16:51.52.52)[96] and as "being more in the right than you [Jerusalem]" (Ezek 16:52). Beyond that it can be noticed that, while it is said that "the fortunes" of the sisters (including Jerusalem/Judah) "will be restored" (Ezek 16:53.55) and they "will return to their former state"[97], it is still said about Jerusalem (only!) that she "[shall] bear her disgrace" (Ezek 16:52.52.54). And in contrast to that it is stated that her sisters Samaria and Sodom "appear righteous" (Ezek 16:52.52; cf. v. 51). Thus, it can be furthermore concluded that the idea of the textual woman's guilt for which she has to bear the consequences is newly introduced in Ezek 16. Moreover it can be stated that this notion of guilt, judgment and punishment primarily refers to Jerusalem. In this light, it can be also noticed that the rather unspecified term "judgment" (not "penalty" or "punishment") is in Ezek 16 used as a bridge that serves to combine Samaria's story with Jerusalem's: While the judgment of Samaria can be seen in the revelation of her lack of a proper affiliation to a *ba'al*-household (and not in her transgressions of a commitment with YHWH!), Jerusalem's judgment is to be seen in her breach of her commitment, which leads to her punishment. Thus it makes sense that even in Ezek 16's reference to judgment a difference is made between Jerusalem and Samaria (and Sodom) when it is stated that -in light of Jerusalem's greater "abominations"- her sisters, Samaria and Sodom have received a "a more

[96] Cf. also Tamar in Gen 38, who - in acting as *zonah* or playing the harlot is also described as relatively "righteous" in comparison to Judah (Gen 38:26).
[97] "Former state", here refers to their former unviolated state and not to Samaria's state as *zonah* respectively her existence independent of YHWH.

favorable judgment" (Ezek 16:52). Again it can be concluded that the phrase "you acted more abominably than they" (v. 52), which specifies the expression "your sins", refers only to Jerusalem. And it can be observed that the term "abominable" - like the term "judgment"- serves as a bridge that allows for a conflation of Samaria's lack of a committed (*ba'al*-household) relationship and Jerusalem's (and Sodom's) actual transgressions and guilt. This also explains why the expression "[bear] your disgrace, *you also*"[98] (Ezek 16:52) refers to Jerusalem only. Thus, it can be furthermore observed that it is only due to the addition "you also" that the notion of punishment is joined with Sodom's fate and finally due to Ezek 16's anachronistic reinterpretation extended to Samaria.
Therefore, I argue that the reference to the Sodom tradition has to be understood as a stylistic device, which functions in order to introduce the notion of the textual woman's, Jerusalem's, transgression and guilt and to reread the tradition of Samaria, the *zonah* as it can be found in Hos 2, in light of this: While the *zonah* in Hos 2 runs the risk of being violated due to her non-existing affiliation to YHWH as her proper *ba'al* (Hos 2), the textual woman Jerusalem is in Ezek 16 depicted as transgressors of legal boundaries. This includes the image of the adulterous *be'ulat* - among other accusations- as a reinterpretation of the *zonah* motif.[99]

IV.5.7.2 The sister-motif and the reference to Israel's relative righteousness in Ezek 23

In light of this it stands out that Ezek 23 starts with the sister-motif that has been only introduced towards the end of Ezek 16. Moreover, it can be observed that Ezek 23 - unlike Ezek 16- reuses the mother-motif only in so far that it is stated, that the sisters Samaria and Jerusalem are the daughters of the same mother (Ezek 23:1). Thus, it can be observed that while Ezek 16 accounts for Israel's story at the beginning of Ezek 16 only implicitly in the image of an unaffiliated

[98] Italics are mine.
[99] In this light the accusations against Sodom, that is said to "ha[ving had] pride, excess of food, and prosperous ease, but did not aid the poor and needy"(Ezek 16:49), can be understood as highlighting accusations of actual crimes in order to turn the *zonah*-motif from Hos 2 into the image of a transgressor of legal or moral boundaries.

and unprotected female entity and distinguishes between Jerusalem and Samaria's fate only towards the end, Ezek 23 starts with an explicit conflation of the two women right at the beginning. This, however, suggests that while Ezek 16 is concerned to convert the *zonah(-mother)*-motif from Hos 2 into that of a *be'ulat*, Ezek 23, already presumes the reinterpretation of the textual woman in Ezek 16 and follows up on.[100] Additionally, it can be observed that Ezek 23 - within the sister-motif- on the one hand synthesizes Samaria's story in light of Jerusalem's story, on the other hand, however, -like Ezek 16- still distinguishes between the two different stories. Thus it can be observed that Ezek 23 - similar to Ezek 16- remembers the story of the *zonah* in Hos 2, as the story of an YHWH-unaffiliated and unprotected entity that has been at risk to be violated. Thus, it is striking with regard to the violence-motif, that Ezek 23 inserts the image of drinking from Samaria's "cup" (Ezek 23:31-34). This image is in Ezek 23:31 closely related to the way-motif, which at this point still oscillates between regular way of life and sinful way of life. And again - similar to the observation regarding the way motif- it can be noticed that Ezek 23 understands YHWH's relationship to the textual woman/women in light of his judgment over their situation. In this vein the reference to Samaria's cup is to be understood in terms of judgment. Nevertheless, it can be again observed that violence against the textual women is not referred to as "punishment". Instead Samaria's cup is presented as a cup of "horror and desolation" (Ezek 23:33). This description not only gets close to the portrayal in Hos 2:4-15, but also exhibits once again that violence is not understood as a just and righteous act, but rather as a consequence of unaffiliatedness and unprotectedness due to a lack of a(n intact) *ba'al-be'ulat*-household commitment.

Beyond that it can be noticed that "Samaria's cup" is in Ezek 23:32-33 only described in vague paraphrases. This again allows for a bridge between the understanding of Samaria's past (cf. Hos 2) and Jerusalem's present situation, which is in contrast to the first, understood in light of her transgression and guilt.

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[100] Additionally it can be observed, that Ezek 23 -unlike Ezek 16- implies right away that the children, who the textual women have born are YHWH's children. To be sure, unlike in Ezek 16 it is not explicitly stated in Ezek 23 that they have born children to YHWH. Yet it is implied due to the earlier positioning of the textual women within YHWH's *ba'al*-household.

Thus it is only vaguely expressed that the cup is "deep and wide" and that "it holds so much" (Ezek 23:32). Additionally it is said that "[she] shall be scorned and derided". This announcement towards Jerusalem thus mirrors the process of ridiculing Israel/ Samaria in Hos 2 by calling her a "*zonah"* and her Baalim/*ba'alim* "lovers". Moreover it is said in Ezek 23:33 that "[Jerusalem] shall be filled with drunkenness and sorrow", which reminds of creating barricades and distress in Hos 2:4-15. Moreover, it is particularly striking that with regard to "Samaria's cup" no word is said about (righteous) judgment or (deserved) punishment. Thus, it can be concluded that the threats of violence against Samaria in the image of a *zonah* and hence as a woman at risk of being violated (Hos 2) is drawn upon in Ezek 23:33. In contrast to Samaria, it is explicitly said about Jerusalem that "[she] shall/will drink it and drain it out, and gnaw its sherds, and tear out [her] breasts" (Ezek 23:34). Thus, a connection can be seen between the reusage of the way-motif and the reusage of the violence-motif in Ezek 23 (cf. Ezek 23:31): While Samaria's ways and Jerusalem's ways are still perceived as distinct in light of guilt (Ezek 23:47), their distress is portrayed in a similar way. The reason for this is that both women lack a proper *ba'al-be'ulat*-commitment (with YHWH). This lack of a proper *ba'al-be'ulat*-commitment (with YHWH), however, is conceptualized in different "ways": With regard to Samaria (in Hos 2) the lack of a *ba'al-be'ulat*-commitment with YHWH is -for the given reasons - no act of transgression or guilt. With regard to Jerusalem, however, for whom a (transgression of) a *ba'al-be'ulat*-commitment with YHWH is presumed, the textual woman's distress is reinterpreted in terms of her guilt and judgment about her guilt, which leads to a annulment of the *ba'al-be'ulat*-commitment. From this annulment of the commitment it follows that the textual woman is no longer in a protected status and from the violation of the commitment it follows that the textual woman is (outside of her previous household) punished as an adulteress.

Overall, it can be thus concluded that the expression "giving [Samaria's] cup into [Jerusalem's] hands" (Ezek 23:31) reuses and adjusts the portrayal of violence against the textual woman Samaria in Hos 2 to Jerusalem's situation.

IV.5.8 The adultery-motif in Ezek 23 compared to Ezek 16

While the notion of adultery has been introduced in Ezek 16 and laboriously synthesized with the older image of Israel as *zonah*, in order to highlight Jerusalem's transgression and guilt**,** Ezek 23 presumes this rereading of Hos 2 already from the outset. Additionally it can be noticed that the concept of adultery plays a much more prominent role in the overall conception of Ezek 23 than in Ezek 16. In an overall comparison between Ezek 16 and 23, it can be observed that explicit references to adultery are increased in Ezek 23: while the root *n'ph* appears in Ezek 16 only twice (Ezek 16:32.38) it appears four times in Ezek 23 (Ezek 23:37.37.45.45). Moreover, it can be noticed that in Ezek 23 adultery is presented as the first and overall accusation against the textual women, under which the other transgressions are subsumed. And it can be observed that motifs that are borrowed from the image of a *zonah* appear in Ezek 23 last in the list. Thus, it is made sure, that the *zonah*-motif in Ezek 23 is finally understood in terms of adultery as the overall symbol for transgression. These observations, together with the mentioning of the textual women's belonging to YHWH's *ba'al*-household already in Ezek 23:4, shows that the adultery-motif - unlike in Ezek 16- occupies the central position in Ezek 23. This is furthermore corroborated by the fact that the issue of adultery is at the end of Ezek 23 even extended to a warning for the actual women of the land. The fact that adultery in Ezek 23 can be used as the core motif, however, clearly presumes Ezek 16's reinterpretative groundwork.

IV.5.9 The *zonah*-motif in Ezek 23 compared to Ezek 16

Despite the overall interpretative frame of an already existing committed relationship between Jerusalem and YHWH, in which the textual women in Ezek 16 and 23 is portrayed in the image of an adulterous *be'ulat*, it can be noticed that the notion of Jerusalem and particularly Samaria (!) as *zonah* is still preserved in Ezek 16 and 23. I will come back to this issue later. Thus, it can be recognized that although it can be stated for Ezek 23 and Ezek 16 that the image of an adulterous *be'ulat* (as opposed to the image of a *zonah*) builds the interpretative frame, it can be observed that the *zonah*-motif is still present in

these texts. Thus, it can be observed that in both texts the root *znh* is still preserved and that the image of a *zonah* is still elaborated upon further. Moreover, it can be observed that while Ezek 23 puts a lot of effort in rereading the *zonah*-motif in terms of transgression and guilt, this notion is in Ezek 23 already presumed from Ezek 16 and followed-up. This, is why Ezek 23 - unlike Ezek 16- can go back to images from the *zonah*-motif in Hos 2 and elaborate further on it, without risking to reinforce the older image of a *zonah*. Thus, it can be observed for Ezek 23 that the images of the textual woman's relationship to her lovers[101] as well as the *zonah*'s breast[102] and ornaments[103] are reused in Ezek 23 within the overall image of the textual woman as adulterous *be'ulat*. Thus it can be observed with regard to the relationship between the textual woman and her "lovers" that Ezek 16's (re)interpretation is drawn upon in Ezek 23. Like in Ezek 16:37, the relationship between the textual woman and her lovers is once again described in terms of *sn'*, which hints to the notion of a divorce from her so called "lovers". Thus, it is quoted in Ezek 23:28 that the textual woman's lovers, which in Ezek 16 and 23 are the foreign nations, are "those whom you hated [...]".[104] Therefore I argue that in Ezek 23 - like in Ezek 16:37- the root *sn'* has to be understood in terms of divorce. And, I argue that Ezek 23 once again draws upon the notion of an earlier legitimate (*ba'al-be'ulat*-)relationship between the textual woman and her so called "lovers", which resembles the notion of the textual woman's respectively the implied audience's perspective in Hos 2. This relationship is in Ezek 23 - like in Ezek 16 and in contrast to Hos 2- seen as a past situation that has ended in a divorce respectively - in terms of *b'l*- as an annulment of a (previous) *ba'al-be'ulat*-relationship. The fact that the divorce is seen as a past event is furthermore corroborated by the usage of the perfect form of the verb *sn'*. Therefore, it can be concluded once again that an earlier relationship between the textual woman and her previous Baalim/*ba'alim*, who are now degraded and ridiculed as "lovers", is still remembered in Ezek 23. This means in other words that the

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101 See bellow.
102 I will add the relevant references later.
103 I will add the relevant references later.
104 In light of my interpretation of the root *sn'* in terms of divorce I translate the qal perf 2 fem sing - unlike NRSV- in past tense, for it referes to a past event, namely the divorce, which is already alluded to in Ezek 16:37.

underlying understanding of the lovers in Ezek 23 -like Ezek 16- still incorporates the original understanding of the term "lovers" in Hos 2. Therefore I argue that an understanding of Samaria's/Israel's respectively Jerusalem's prehistory as affiliated to other entities than YHWH is still preserved in Ezek 16 and 23.

Nevertheless a different development can be noted with regard to the usage of the root *sn'* in Ezek 16 and 23. While Ezek 16 still refers directly to the situation as implied in Hos 2, Ezek 23 presents a reinterpretation of the root *sn'*. This reinterpretation builds upon a tendency that is already present in Ezek 16 - albeit not yet tied to the root *sn'*. The term *sn'* as used in Ezek 23 does no longer refer to the men "whom you loved and whom you hated" (Ezek 16:37). Instead it refers to the ones "whom you hated" (Ezek 23:28) and who execute violence against the textual woman. The implication of this is that the reference to an earlier divorce from her now so called "lovers" is no longer foregrounded in Ezek 23:28. Instead a new focus has come in, namely the focus on her previous "lovers" as enemies. Thus, it can be concluded that the term *sn'* still refers to a lack of *ba'al*-protection and follows-up on it. Yet it can also be observed that this lack of *ba'al*-protection is now - in addition to the lack of *ba'al*-protection from her so called "lovers"- reinterpreted in light of the annulment of a *ba'al-be'ulat* commitment between YHWH and the textual woman/women. This reinterpretation and reusage of the root *sn'* in Ezek 23 can be observed in Ezek 23:28. Here the root *sn'* appears in an additional comment and is paraphrased as alienation (*nq'*) from her so called "lovers". Thus, it can be observed that the notion of alienation respectively dislocation (*jq'*), which describes the textual woman's relationship to her lovers (Ezek 23:17) and her relationship to YHWH (Ezek 23:28), gets a new direction. Due to the link between the notion of dislocation (*jq'*) and alienation (*nq'*) and the notion of divorce (*sn'*) in Ezek 23:28, a further strand of reinterpretation of YHWH's divorce from the textual woman/women is installed. To be sure, the relationship between YHWH and the textual woman/women is in Ezek 23 (and Ezek 16) not yet explicitly described as a divorce. Nevertheless it can be stated that the ground work for a further interpretation of the relationship between YHWH and the textual woman/ women in term of divorce is lead in Ezek 23 (and 16), which both assume the

annulment of a *ba'al-be'ulat* commitment. The main emphasis in Ezek 23 (and 16), however, is not on a divorce between YHWH and the textual woman. Instead it is the goal in both Ezek 23 and 16 to explain violence against Jerusalem as a consequence of her breach of her commitment. According to Ezek 23 and 16, her breach of her commitment results in an annulment of the covenant between YHWH and the textual woman. This again leads to a lack of protection by YHWH. As a consequence of that the textual woman will suffer from violence, which will be executed by her enemies respectively the outside world (not by her former *ba'al* or her former household unit). At this point it is furthermore important to pay attention to the fact that Ezek 16 and 23 (and least Hos 2) do not talk about a divorce. While Hos 2 implies a (future) divorce between the textual woman and her previous Baalim/*ba'alim*, Ezek 16 and Ezek 23 refers to this divorce as a past event. Additionally, Ezek 16 and 23 portrays violence against the textual woman as a consequence of the annulment of a commitment between YHWH and the textual woman. Nevertheless, it has to be noted that Ezek 16 and 23 do not talk about a divorce between YHWH and the textual woman. In contrast to that Jer 2-4 introduces the notion of a divorce between YHWH and the textual woman right away at the beginning of chapter 2. Yet, it can be observed that the introduction of a divorce and remarriage between YHWH and the textual woman, requires further effort on part of Jer 2-4, to which I will have to come back in my future writing.

Beyond that it can be recognized, nevertheless, that the affinity between the portrayal of the textual woman Israel and the *zonah*-motif still shines through in Ezek 23.[105]

V. Final Summary

To sum up: Overall, I argue, with regard to Hos 2, Ezek 16 and 23, which have been summarized under the misleadingly term "prophetic marital metaphors", that there are three major observations, that can be made:

First, in contrast to Hos 2, which has been originally addressed to Samaria/ the Northern kingdom of Israel, Ezek 16 and 23[106] are conceptualized from a

[105] For reasons of time and space I will have to stop here and add this part later.

Judahite perspective. Hence, Israel's historical relation to YHWH is approached, readopted and rewritten from a perspective that is not primarily concerned with Israel's historical fate and memory but with Judah and therefore is clearly modified.

Second, although Ezek 16 and 23[107] depict Judah's/Jerusalem's relationship to YHWH in the image of an already existing (yet violated) "*ba'al*-household-relationship" and operate with notions of an exclusive commitment to YHWH as well as the portrayal of Judah/ Jerusalem as an adulteress (among other images), they do not start from this image. Instead, they remember an obviously very influential tradition in which Israel (the Northern kingdom) is depicted as a *zonah* or better as an independent and unaffiliated, uncommitted and unprotected entity that has been violated without any legal foundation for it. This means in other words, that Israel's history with YHWH is remembered as a history in which Israel has not had any commitment to YHWH and therefore has not been punished for her transgressions. Hence, I argue that the violent measures against Israel (the Northern kingdom) in Hos 2 are not conceptualized as just and deserved or conventional punishment, but as distress faced by an unaffiliated (respectively not proper affiliated), who is in need of YHWH as her proper *ba'al*. This is in later texts such as Ezek 16 and 23[108] still remembered in the notion of Israel's relative righteous.

Third, in contrast (or better in addition) to the portrayal of Hos 2, a new development can be found in Ezek 16 and 23[109]. In these texts the degraded and pejoratized textual woman Israel , which is in Hos 2 polemically portrayed in the image of a *zonah,* is transformed into a culpable transgressor of legal boundaries. Thus, it can be stated that Israel's (former) historical (non-)relationship with YHWH is in Ezek 16 and 23 reread in light of Judah's relationship to YHWH. Overall, it can be observed that the image of Israel as *zonah* (="uncommitted woman"/ "prostitute") is in Ezek 16 and 23[110] readopted and laboriously transformed into the image of a transgressor of legal boundaries and as an

[106] This applies also to Jer 2-3, which have not included in this paper.
[107] Again, this applies also to Jer 2-3.
[108] This applies also to Jer 2-3.
[109] This applies also to Jer 2-3.
[110] This applies also to Jer 2-3.

adulteress. This means in other words that great effort has been made to combine and unit two opposing and contradictory socio-legal status (of women), namely that of a *zonah* and that of a *be'ulat*, in order to draw upon an earlier quite influential tradition that can be found in Hos 2 and to convey a new story and message.

Overall, it is therefore my hypothesis, that there has been an older quite influential tradition, similar to what can be found in Hos 2, in which Israel's story is understood and conceptualized in the image of an entity that has been originally not affiliated and not committed to the god YHWH. Hence, I argue that Israel (the Northern kingdom respectively Jerusalem's/Judah's past) was originally not portrayed in the image of YHWH's adulterous wife (*be'ulat*), but as *zonah*. This earlier (Northern Israelite) tradition is what can be found in Hos 2 and in particular in Hos 2:4-15 and what is remembered and readopted in texts such as Ezek 16 and 23.[111] Thus, it can be concluded that, the original tradition of Israel as not-YHWH-affiliated and -committed entity, which is presented and remembered in the image of a *zonah* (respectively an orphan, a slave or a *betula*), was only in later texts such as Ezek 16 and 23 turned into the image of an adulterous *be'ulat*.

VI. Outlook to the implications of rereading the *zonah*-motif in Ezek 16 and 23

Finally I suggest that the *zonah*-motif (as it is found in Hos 2) has become a strong and well-established tradition that has been reused and reinterpreted in later texts. Moreover, I argue that, reusing an older tradition has two important consequences, which become obvious in Ezek 16 and 23's rereading of Hos 2: Interpreting a more recent situation based on an older well-known tradition, on the one hand, serves as a strong platform based on which it becomes possible to to convey a new message. On the other hand, however, it is not a simple enterprise to synthesize an older tradition with a new situation and message. Thus, it can be observed with regard to Ezek 16 and 23 that great effort and smart interpretative turns are required in order to promote and present

[111] This applies also to Jer 2-3.

alterations and adjustments, as if they where in line with the earlier tradition. As a side effect of these efforts and interpretative turns, however, traces of the earlier understanding, that is to be countered, still shine through and can give us a clue of how the earlier tradition has been read within the ancient context (as opposed to its modern interpretation[112]).

[112] Cf. The chapter on the modern (late 20th and early 21st century) reception of Hos 2 in my dissertation.

Summary of my doctoral project

In my PhD-project I try to describe the educational mentality present in the texts of the Hebrew Bible. Among biblical scholars any search for schools and education also includes a description of the scribes and are strongly connected to royal or priestly contexts, in other words the ancient Israel elite.[1] My argument starts with an observation that much too much focus in the educational debate so far has been on the school system and the places where these texts may or may not have been produced, overlooking reflections of learning present in the biblical material outskirts of texts associated with a royal or priestly context. To be able to work on the outskirts of the scholarly discussion of schools and education, I use the Gert J. J. Biesta and his educational theory presented in *Beyond learning: Democratic education for a human future* (2006). Biesta starts his research by asking "What does it mean to be human".[2] Going through Kant, the discussion of *Bildung*, Gadamer and Levinas Biesta concludes: "Humanism thus seems unable to be open to the possibility that newcomers might radically alter our understanding of what it means to be human. Humanism seems to foreclose the possibility that the newborn child might be a new Ghandi, that the student in our classroom might be a new Mother Teresa, or that the newcomer might be a new Nelson Mandela."[3] In sense "the modern understanding of education in which education is understood in terms of the "production" of the rational autonomous person and in which the educator is seen as a midwife whose task it is to release the rational potential of the human being".[4] Biesta follow up by presenting an alternative view on education, a way of understanding education which gives the subject of learning an individual space where the learner may fulfil their potential: "I argue that we should not approach education from the point of view of an educator trying to produce or release something. Instead I argue that we should focus on the way in which the new beginning of each and every individual can come "into presence.""[5] Biesta returns to and reformulates the term "come into presence" or "come into the world", throughout his work describing an educational process were the subject of learning is not corrupted by the

[1] "There can be little doubt that much of the literature composed during the period of the Monarchy was the work of either the royal or the priestly scribes", formulated by R. N. Whybray in his article "The Sage in the Israelite Royal Court". *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East* 133-140, p. 137
[2] BIESTA, *Beyond learning*... p. 1
[3] ibid. p. 6
[4] ibid. p. 9
[5] ibid.

educators ideas, but is educated through the opportunity of fulfilling its individual potential.[6]

Biblical scholarship has long focused on the elite, the teacher and their place associated with the temple or the king to understand how education took place in ancient Israel. And in an educational setting the focus has been on the teacher, not the pupil. A major problem in this discussion is the fact that the student's voice is missing and James L. Crenshaw is probably the scholars that has articulated this problem most succinctly as "The Missing Voice" pointing to a typical pattern in biblical literature associated with schools and education, "the son, ever-present as addressee, never assumes the position of respondent".[7] I agree with Crenshaw that the student, or subject of learning, is missing, but is it missing in the biblical material or has it been lost in the scholarly debate? I suggest the latter and I use Biestas theories in order to say something about the educational environment present in ancient Israel reflected in the texts of the Hebrew Bible.

[6] BIESTA, *Beyond learning*… p. 30
[7] CRENSHAW, *Education in*… p. 187

Summary of my paper

By reading an old classic work by August Klostermann, *Schulwesen im alten Israel* (1908), I point out some perspectives on schools and education that seems to have remained within Old Testament scholarship. These perspectives are not necessarily distinctly formulated in contemporary work, but we find them reflected in the way particular biblical texts are used. Some Hebrew Bible texts have become very important in this scholarly debate and they have what we might call a "canonical function" regarding schools and education in ancient Israel. And in saying something about schools and education in ancient Israel we most likely need to discuss these texts. Klostermann uses Isa 28, 9-13; 50, 4-9 and Prov 22, 17-21 when articulating his view on ancient education, all three texts we might call a "canonical" when discussing schools and education in ancient Israel. By bearing in mind insights from Gert J. J. Biesta's educational theory I try to describe the educational implications the biblical evidence Klostermann presents may have. I end this paper by comparing some central points in Klostermann's work with David Carr's book *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart* (2005), where I primarily look into one of Klostermann's three central texts, Isa 28, 9-13. I suggest that Carr, by choosing to work with the same texts as Klostermann did in 1908, is as likely to adapt educational implications from the beginning of the twentieth century, as he is to grasp the pedagogical mentality of ancient Israel. Lastly, based in Biesta's theory, I suggest future searches for schools and education in ancient Israel should focus on texts where biblical texts present newcomers and look for reflections of learning there.

Short paper

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Schools and education in Old Testament scholarship

from Klostermann to Carr

In 1908 Klostermann published *Schulwesen im alten Israel* attempting to prove the existence of schools in ancient Israel. Klostermann builds his argument on biblical material and in his choice of texts he also constructs ideas of a school system present in ancient Israel. Much has happened with educational theory during the last 100 years, as it has with the biblical scholarship involved in this debate. Still, Klostermann's ideas of schools and education in ancient Israel are not that different from what biblical scholars present today. For instance the texts Klostermann once chose when describing the ancient schools, texts from Isaiah and the Proverbs, are likely to be discussed also in contemporary studies. It seems some texts have become "canonical" when it comes to questions regarding schools and education in ancient Israel. That some texts become important and central to a debate is nothing new and by no means a problem as such, but when texts remain central in a discussion for more than a hundred years without discussing why these texts were selected in the first place, we might have a problem. Texts from Isaiah were once chosen to represent a view on education suitable to a way of understanding education at the beginning of the twentieth century. When describing schools and education in ancient Israel in 1908 Klostermann naturally used arguments his readers would recognize and he chose texts which suited his argument. When scholars today use the same texts as Klostermann did a hundred years ago when discussing schools and education, the choice of texts implies certain educational perspectives and values. When David M. Carr in 2005 uses the same texts as Klostermann did in 1908 he is most likely to bring with him remains of Klostermann's educational views as well. In detecting and understanding these processes, including educational theory in the quest for schools and education in ancient Israel seem a prosperous path.

Schulwesen im alten Israel (August Klostermann, 1908)

When creating a picture of schools and education in ancient Israel Klostermann focused on three important texts, Isa 28, 9-13; 50, 4-9 and Prov 22, 17-21.[8] According to Klostermann education in ancient Israelite schools were based on two different media, written and oral. First, the students had to learn to read and write - perfectly, with no room for error. Second, the student had to put all his (and yes the were only boys attending schools in Klostermann's reconstruction) concentration in following and understanding the spoken words of their teacher. The written word was only the starting point, with limited value if not followed by the verbal, spoken interpretation. It was in the spoken word one could grasp the intention of God:

> "Was der Schüler sich in futuram memoriam aufgeschrieben hat, das können nur Worte sein, die ihm von seinem Lehrer mitgeteilt worden sind. Des Lehrers Mitteilung und des Schülers Schreiben entsprechen einander. Des Lehrers Mitteilung ist aber durch mündlichen Vortrag und nicht durch schriftliche Darstellung fürs Lesen geschehen; denn vom Schüler wird es als etwas Besonders hervorgehoben, dass er sich von dem Gehörten aufgeschrieben habe, um in der Zukunft, wo er den Lehrer nicht mehr hören kann, durch Lesen des Aufgeschriebenen sich seinen Unterricht zu vergegenwärtigen."[9]

In Isa 28, 9-13 and 50, 4-9 Klostermann found a template for how he believed the educational system looked like in ancient Israel.[10] As we have seen Klostermann built his argument around two different media, written and oral. The written media is the biblical texts; the oral media is the word of the teacher, or "the tongue of a teacher" (50, 4). Isa 50 is a poetic text, but to Klostermann genre does not seem to matter. He reads a poetic text as if it (literally) were describing the way a teacher behaved. The attempt to turn a poetic the texts like Isa 50

[8] Due to the later knowledge of *Amenemope*, with its parallels to the Proverbs, the proverbial texts have been the text most scholars have been discussing with Klostermann. But like Golka pointed out, it not likely Klostermann had any knowledge of *Amenemope* at that time he wrote his text, since the work of A. Ermann and H. Gressmann first were published in 1923. On the other hand Klostermann do refer to "der alten Ägypter" in his introduction and the E. A. Wallis founding from 1888 were like known among German scholars at the beginning of the twentieth century. GOLKA, Die israelitische… p. 259

[9] KLOSTERMANN, *Schulwesen im*… p. 36-37

[10] To Klostermann the ideal teacher therefore is pictured like a prophet, like Isaiah. Klostermann therefore returns to Isaiah through his book, but not only Isaiah seems to have achieved a direct communication channel with God, also Abraham, Moses, and king Salomon are portrayed like divine teachers. Ibid, p. 5, 7 and 11.

into an accurate description of an ancient elementary school has its obvious challenges. For example it is not clear who is credited for the outcome of the teaching, the good teacher or the brilliant student? Either way: to Klostermann it seems only God is to decide whether the teaching works or not. The idea of God as all informed and all-responsible is a pattern throughout *Schulwesen im alten Israel*.

When moving on to Isa 28 Klostermann reads this text together with texts from the Proverbs, Prov 11:21[11]; 16:5[12] and 30:32[13]. In all these texts "the wicked" and "the fool" are used as opposites to "the righteous". This way Klostermann includes divine judgment into his scholarly debate: either you do what is right or you do what is wrong, either the student is "the righteous" or the student is "the wicked". This brings education into massive perspective and the student, as well as the teacher, is left with no choice but to do their very best to escape the fate of "the wicked". Klostermann's failure in distinguishing between poetic and narrative has its severe educational consequences, implying that God is responsible for the entire educational process.

> "Dass Gott in seinem Herzen so gestimmt ist hat der Weise aus dem tatsächlichen Geschicke beider Menschenarten erkennen gelernt. Denn das ist die Sache Gottes, von dem an beiden Stellen gesagt wird, ihm seien die Bösen ein Gegenstand des Abscheus, wie die Rechtschaffenen ein Gegenstand des Wohlwollens. Dass Gott in seinem Herzen so gestimmt ist hat der Weise aus dem tatsächlichen Geschicke beider Menschenarten erkennen gelernt."[14]

Klostermann was convinced that the texts from Isaiah not only prove that there were schools in ancient Israel where pupils learned both to speak and read properly, he also believed these texts prove that there were schools in operation already at the time of the prophets, the prophet Isaiah himself knowing of elementary schools in Jerusalem.

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[11] *Be assured, the wicked will not go unpunished, but those who are righteous will escape*. (NRSV)
[12] *All those who are arrogant are an abomination to the LORD; be assured, they will not go unpunished*. (NRSV)
[13] *If you have been foolish, exalting yourself, or if you have been devising evil, put your hand on your mouth*. (NRSV)
[14] KLOSTERMANN, *Schulwesen im*… p. 23

> "Es würde mich zu weit führen, wenn ich die Bedeutung dieses Abschnittes für die bisher nur unbefredigend aufgeklärte Komposition der ganzen Rede in Jes. 28 darlegen wollte. Mir genügt, erwiesen zu haben, dass Jesaja in Jerusalem von einem methodischen Elementarunterricht für Kinder wusste, in dem nicht bloss das korrekte Sprechen, sondern auch das Lesen und Schreiben gelehrt und geübt wurde."[15]

With an elementary school established in Isa 28, 9-13 and 50, 4-9, Klostermann now moves on to Prov 22, 17-21[16] to give a more detailed description on how everyday life looked like at these schools, "Ich wende mich nun zu dem dritten Abschnitte, um zu zeigen, dass was bei den Griechen und Römern eine höhere Stufe des Unterrichtes bildete, auch das Niederschreiben von Diktaten aus erprobten Dicht- und Spruchwerken und von Vorträgen des an solcher Literatur gebildeten Lehrers bei dem alten Israel in Übung war."[17] Klostermann believed Prov 22 to be old. Still, as important a reason for Klostermann to choose this particular part of Proverbia is the way Prov 22 includes senses like "hearing" and "lip movement", and the way these senses are connected to the process of teaching and knowing God.[18] According to Klostermann the whole educational idea in ancient Israel was to maintain the God-given word as unchanged as possible. The word that came to Israel through Abraham, the law of Moses and the prophets was written down by Moses and the prophets, and was later passed on from one generation to the next, "der Selbstoffenbarung Jahves am Sinai (Dt. 4, 9. 10) zu erzählen, sie über das Wesen Jahves und sein Willen durch Rede und Inschrifte auf Amuletten und an den Haustüren (Dt. 6. 7 ff., 11, 19 ff.) zu unterrichten,".[19] Even if the word of God was conserved in writing, the essence of the written word needed, as we already have seen, to be passed on orally as well: first through the words of the prophets, then by the words of the teachers.

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[15] KLOSTERMANN, *Schulwesen im*… p. 26

[16] *The words of the wise: Incline your ear and hear my words, and apply your mind to my teaching; for it will be pleasant if you keep them within you, if all of them are ready on your lips. So that your trust may be in the LORD, I have made them known to you today—yes, to you. Have I not written for you thirty sayings of admonition and knowledge, to show you what is right and true, so that you may give a true answer to those who sent you?* (NRSV)

[17] KLOSTERMANN, *Schulwesen im*… p. 26

[18] "Dieselben gehören, wie es scheint, einem Anhange zu den vorhiskianischen Sprüchen Salomos an, und die Ausleger haben richtig herausgefühlt, dass hier ein ebensolcher Ton herzandringenden Zuspruches überwiegt, wie in den Ansprachen, die dem alten Spruchbuches 10, 1ff. inden Kapiteln 1-9 vorangeschoben sind." KLOSTERMANN, *Schulwesen im*… p. 27

[19] ibid. p. 5-6

> "Wie die Sentenzen des Gesetzen durch Rezitation und Interpretation sich als Objekt des Unterrichts in den grossen Gemeindeversammlungen eigneten, so auch das Buch der Sprüche Salomos für den Unterricht der Jugend in der rechten Lebenkunst."[20]

The oral knowledge following the written word is likely important since writing alone cannot contain the will of God. At this point Klostermann's understanding of transmitting knowledge in fact reminds us a bit of the churchly tradition of apostolic succession, and since the teachers were handling this passing-over (knowledge from and of God), their role were a religious one as well. Therefore, isolated, the written word is only part of what the students were supposed to learn, they were to learn more. The words were like signs, only meaningful if followed by an interpretation. The words of the prophets, and later the teachers, were the key to fully understand the written word, and to fully understand the message of the biblical text. The teacher gave this key to the student, and by reading the written word the student was later able to rediscover the teachers lessons and the implied meaning of the text when reading it, "um in der Zukunft, wo er den Lehrer nicht mehr hören kann, durch Lesen des Aufgeschriebenen sich seinen Unterricht zu vergegenwärtigen".

The joint effort between the head of the household and the teacher is essential to Klostermann's understanding of education in ancient Israel.[21] But to Klostermann it is more than a practical solution to some educational needs. As we saw when trying to determine who's responsible for the outcome of the teaching, the lines between education and humans' relation to God is blurred in Klostermann work, therefore the cooperating between householder and schools were utterly most important. Through education the people of Israel organized themselves and it was a great part of their identity.

> "Trotzdem gehört dieser besoners ausgezeichnete Unterricht in den grossen Volksversammlungen doch in dieselbe Kategorie mit dem im Gesetze vorgesehenen, zuerst erwähnten religiösen Unterricht der Kinder und des Gesindes durch den

[20] ibid. p. 11
[21] This is a part of Klostermanns work that Crenshaw have made us well aware of, see: CRENSHAW J.L. 1998. *Education in Ancient Israel. Across the Deadening Silence.* New York: Bantam Doubleday Dell (footnote 6) p. 4

Hausvater."[22]

> "Denn wie dieser ursprünglich als der gedacht war, der mit eignen Augen und Ohren die Offenbarung Jahves in der Zeit der Bundesgründung erlebt und damott Fähigkeit und Pflicht erhalten hatte, seine unwissenden Kinder darüber zu unterweisen, so sind auch die bei jenem solennen Unterricht des ganzen Volkes zu Gehör gebrachten Urkunden nur die zeitgenössischen Väter Israels von Jahve unmittlung Moses vorbildlich die nachgewachsene Generation im Bundesgesetze unterrichtet hat."[23]

The ancient learner as an object

From an educational perspective nowadays we clearly find that the understanding of the student as an autonomous subject is missing in Klostermann's work. The student is more an instrument of bringing the word of God, thought Moses etc., uncorrupted for one generation to the next. And the role of the householder is not fulfilled out of care or love, but rather demanded of him.

> "Diese besondere Hervorhebung des religiösen Unterrichtes als einer Verpflichtung des wissenden Hausvaters gengen die nichtwissenden Kinder setzt aber den allgemeinen natürlichen Trieb und die Verpflichtung voraus, kraft deren die Eltern ihre Kinder aus der Unmündigkeit durch entgegenkommende Fürsorge und Pflege zur Höhe der gleichen Selbständigkeit mit sich emporbringen (Jes. 1, 2)."[24]

Klostermann refers to Isa 1, 2[25] and to him this verse clearly refers to teaching, and to teaching children. And as we have seen over and over, questions of textual forms, whether the text is a poetic or narrative, does not matter to Klostermann. To him Isa 1, 2 is undoubtedly textual evidence for education as cooperation between the householder and the teacher. Both the children and the adults, the householder and teacher, are objects in this process. The only subject is the content of what is passed on, the essence of the written text followed by the oral

[22] ibid. p. 7
[23] KLOSTERMANN, *Schulwesen im*… p. 7
[24] ibid.
[25] *Hear, O heavens, and listen, O earth; for the LORD has spoken: I reared children and brought them up, but they have rebelled against me.* (NRVS)

teaching understood as the word of God. And together the teachers, the students, the householders formed a bridge from the past when God called on Abraham, to the time when the schools in ancient Israel existed. But to Klostermann it doesn't stop there. The content of what was passed on in ancient times is still present today. It is an unbroken chain of written works followed by their oral meaning.

> "Und wenn irgendwo, so musste dieser Trieb im Volke Israel lebendig sein, wo in und mit der Erkenntnis Jahves als des Ersten und des Letzten, des die Menschengeschichte nach seinem Ratschlusse Leitenden zugleich die Anschauung herrschte, der Menschheit ist, das von dem ersten Vater her in der Folge der Generationen sich zu seiner Vollendung entwickelt. Denn Jahve gedenkt des Abraham, des Isaak und des Jakob (Lev. 26, 42), des David (Jes. 37, 35; 38, 5; Ps. 132, 1. 17) bei der Lenkung der Geschicke ihrer Nachkommenschaft."[26]

Accordingly the goal of both the teaching and the schools system is not only to teach the students right from wrong, it is also to give the next generation a good life. In this view Klostermann may even remind us of Bieste a hundred years later, at least they both share the same goal, describing how teaching may help the individual to live a good and maybe even happy life. Still, the main idea of Klostermann's view on education is based on the fact that what God gave human lies in the past. Therefore, what God once gave to human, humans must carefully pass on to the following generations. This is to all human, and particularly to the teacher, a most important task. The room for error is consequently limited to none. Errors may appear in writings, but as we have seen the key to understanding the written word is passed on from the teacher orally. This way the educational structure safeguarded the God given insights from generation to generation. And therefore the individual room for the newcomer needed to be limited. The relationship between the teacher and his student may therefore not be challenge, but remain the way it was at the time of the prophets.

> Ein schreibt sich mündlich Mitgeteiltes auf, um es für die Zukunft zu benützen und ungeändert und ungeschmälert zur Verfügung zu haben, s. Dt. 17, 18; 31, 19; Ex. 34,

[26] ibid. p. 8

27; Jer. 30, 2; Ez. 24, 2.[27]

In Klostermann's view the teaching was always intended on the future and the generations to come, while contemporary educational theory mainly focuses on the present. Still, Klostermann's view on education, implying his educational ideas, reappears in contemporary biblical scholarship. As an example lets look at David M. Carr and his book *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart* (2005).

Writing on the Tablet of the Heart (David M. Carr, 2005)

With nearly 100 years of scholarship dividing the two, Klostermann and Carr, it is natural that Carr is far more informed. And Carr builds a much more complex argument than Klostermann, particularly regarding the comparative materials from ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt.[28] Despite the distance in time we still find some remarkable similarities reading the two of them together. We have seen how Klostermann builds his arguments based on the two texts from Isaiah (28, 9-13 and 50, 4-9) and the one from the book of Proverbs (22, 17-21). Carr presents a far more detailed survey on the comparative materials, but when narrowing it down to the biblical evidence, which we find under the headline "Literary Evidence for the Shape of Education in Ancient Israel" in chapter 6 "Textuality and Education in Ancient Israel", all three texts Klostermann used become important to Carr as well.[29] And looking at how they both work with these texts, their arguments and educational ideas seem strikingly similar.

How a "nonsense phrase" is anything but a nonsense phrase

If we look at Isa 28, 9-13 we find that both Klostermann and Carr place Isaiah in an educational context where the prophet himself is a teacher (Klostermann), or referring to educational techniques (Carr). They are both convinced that this text at some level describes or refers to an educational process. Describing Isa 28, 9-13 Carr states: "The educational connections of the text are indicated at the outset, when Isaiah's opponents sarcastically charge him with speaking to them as a teacher speaks to the recently weaned (possibly the

[27] ibid. p. 35
[28] In both Part I and Part II Carr frequently refers to archaeological and textual founding in ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt, but like Klostermann, also ancient Greek.
[29] CARR, *Writing on*… p. 111-173

time of the outset of alphabet education)".[30] And as we already have seen Klostermann too is convinced that this text clearly proves an educational system: "Mir genügt, erwiesen zu haben, dass Jesaja in Jerusalem von einem methodischen Elementarunterricht für Kinder wusste, in dem nicht bloss das korrekte Sprechen, sondern auch das Lesen und Schreiben gelehrt und geübt wurde."[31] The simple observation that these verses in Isa 28 are a part of larger poetic sections does not seem to matter, they both argue on this text being relevant for our understanding of education in ancient Israel. Lets have a look at verse 10 in Isa 28.

Carr translates Isa 28, 10, "command to command, command to command, line to line a little there, a little there,"[32] and Carr's first comment to this verse is: "The first part of this quote, tzab latzab, tzab latzab, qab lagab, qab laqab ("command to command…") makes little sense as a statement but more sense as a quote from an instruction."[33] If we follow Carr we may so far conclude that this nonsensical statement is fact is a part of an instruction. But Carr does not stop there, and after first describing verse 10 as an instruction he connects this instruction to some sort of a school practice: "As many scholars have suggested, this seeming nonsense phrase is probably modelled on a pattern of call and response based of the middle part of the alphabet (here *qof* and then *resh*)."[34] Carr suggest reading Isa 28, 9-13 as a text with educational references, and he argues that the idea of learning the alphabet is what this text reflects. One might ask where this idea comes from? Why in the first place was this "seeming nonsense phrase" connected to education and what presumably is a refined "call and response" technique? Carr himself answers by referring to other scholars, "As many scholars have suggested", but without naming any scholar in particular. Still, Carr is right, many scholars have indeed suggested this "nonsense phrase" in Isa 28 to be understood as alphabetical learning. And one of the very first to do so was Klostermann.[35]

> Demnach kann unser Satz nur gedeutet werden als Aufforderung des Lehrenden an den Schüler: "Füge zu dem einen Çau ein anderes Çau: mache, dass zu dem ersten ein zweites hinzukomme!" und er fragt sich nur, was Cau in diesem Zusammenhange

[30] ibid. p. 124
[31] KLOSTERMANN, *Schulwesen im*… p. 26
[32] Carr, *Writing on*… p. 125
[33] ibid.
[34] ibid.
[35] Klostermann elaborates on this fra page 24 ff. KLOSTERMANN, *Schulwesen im*… p. 24 ff.

> bedutet... Auf alle Fälle hat Jesaja diese Wörter nicht frei erfunden, sondern aus einem Alphabet der rudes das Buchstabenpaar çau oder cô und qau oder qô frei herausgegriffen.[36]

Carr and Klostermann both read Isa 28 as a text describing educational matters. Reading these seemingly nonsense phrases in Isa 28 Carr argues in favour of understanding the phrases as an example of a educational technique used to learn the alphabet, "this prophetic sayings is not intended as a description of early education, but it provides an evocative picture an ancient alphabetically based process of a call and response in the process of making its broader point."[37] In other words Carr does not read this text as proof of well-developed schools in Jerusalem, like Klostermann. Still, when we reach the end of section "Literary Evidence for the Shape of Education in Ancient Israel", Carr nevertheless leaves us with a clear reference to ancient education: "In what follows I will look further at evidence for higher level education-enculturation in ancient Israel…".[38] Where Klostermann draws a direct line form the texts in Isa 28 to an ancient educational system in Israel, Carr indirectly does the same. And to both Klostermann and Carr the seemingly nonsense phrase is Isa 28 is anything but a nonsense phrase.

The implicit educational system

By connecting the texts from Isaiah to ancient education, whether directly (Klostermann) or indirectly (Carr), our image of the prophets in ancient Israel is associated with our image of education in ancient Israel. Our understanding of a prophet is not the same today as it was at the time when Klostermann wrote his *Schulwesen im alten Israel* in 1908. Things have changed. Our knowledge of the Old Testament prophets has changed and education and educational theory have become a separate discipline. When Biesta starts to describe education by asking what it means to be human, and "What is the measure of humanity?",[39] he does so because he has seen that how we (humans) learn also determines who we (humans) are. This is where Biesta states: "the modern understanding of education in which education is understood in terms of the "production" of the rational autonomous person and in

[36] KLOSTERMANN, *Schulwesen im*… p. 25-26
[37] CARR, *Writing on*… p. 125
[38] ibid. p. 126
[39] BIESTA, *Beyond learning*... p. 1

which the educator is seen as a midwife whose task it is to release the rational potential of the human being".[40] Biesta's point is that when education is understood as a product, humans become less human. And it does so because all focus is on keeping the already known unchanged and alive, preventing the unexpected, wrongdoings and failure. Therefore a newcomer represents a risk. A newcomer does wrong, fails and may come up with something unexpected.

Starting with Klostermann we clearly see an understanding of education in ancient Israel similar to what Biesta is being critical towards in education today. Already by stating that education in ancient Israelite schools was based on two different media, written and oral, Klostermann narrows the space of the newcomer. The newcomer could not understand by reading a text alone, the presence of the teacher and his oral interpretation was needed to fully understand the meaning. When Klostermann additionally pictures the ultimate teacher as the prophet Isaiah himself, and the school curriculum to be a divine message from God, fist given to Abraham, Moses and the prophets, for then to be passed over from generation to generation as a cooperation between the teachers and householders as a part of their common identity, we understand that the room for a newcomer was limited. To Klostermann the whole idea of the ancient Israelite school was to contain, and keep unchanged, the word once given from God to the people of Israel. Understanding education like Klostermann the room for a newcomer is limited and with Biesta we may ask if there is room for a new Ghandi, a new Mother Teresa, or a new Nelson Mandela in Klostermann's school system?[41]

It is rather unfair to criticise a scholar at work in 1908 with contemporary theories of education. And my point is really not to criticise Klostermann rather to point out the implicit view on education the scholarly tradition using Klostermann potentially adopts. Not only referring to Klostermann, but also by using the same texts as Klostermann did in describing education in ancient Israel. This is what Carr does when using Klostermann's three key-texts, Isa 28, 50 and Prov 22, in looking into "Textuality and Education in Ancient Israel". These three texts were once chosen by Klostermann because they were suitable for his educational argument back when the idea that the word of God was given to humans in the past and that

[40] ibid. p. 9
[41] ibid., p.6

the content of God's word needed to be passed on uncorrupted from generation to the next. And using these texts Carr either directly or indirectly implies Klostermann's view on education where the importance always lies in the past, with little or no room for the newcomer. But how does this idea of the past correspond to the texts of the Hebrew Bible? Much of the biblical material presents newcomers, like Abraham, Ruth, Moses and even the prophets, and what would be the chances for these characters to develop in a school system like the one Klostermann presents? The truth is they would never appear; there would likely be no room for them. And we need to ask why Hebrew Bible and Old Testament scholarship has develop ideas of an education in ancient Israel based on biblical evidence, which elementarily exclude the heroes from the same textual corpus.

Choosing to place an educational debate in poetic literature, like Isaiah and the Proverbs, we bring with us an implicit understanding of what education is, and how education worked in ancient times. What we then are left with is a silent student, listening to what is supposed to learn, not speaking up with his or her individual mind.[42] It might be a right understanding of an ancient schools, but is might as well be an understanding we ourselves impose on the texts of the Hebrew Bible. And when adopting texts and ideas from Klostermann our understanding of schools and education in ancient Israel is as likely to be found in the educational context at the beginning of the twentieth century, as it is a part of the pedagogical mentality of ancient Israel. And since so much of the biblical material present characters as individuals and as newcomers with a mind of their own, future research on schools and education in ancient Israel should look for models of education described in educational theory, like Biesta, and at the same time widen the textual scope to also include more narratives when looking for reflections of learning in the Hebrew Bible.

[42] CRENSHAW, *Education in…* p. 187

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What Do We Know About the Late Bronze Age Cities in the North?

Textual and Archaeological Perspective

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Preface

Focal points of discussion: Textual sources (how many ancient texts did I miss?) and concept of urbanism (this is important for my dissertation about the Late Bronze Age cities in the context of the Iron Age I northern Israel and surrounding areas.)

1. Introduction

The case of the Late Bronze Age cities is a primary example of why we need both texts and archaeology while studying the history of the Ancient Levant. Archaeology gives us information about settlements, about their size and nature, about the settlement density of different regions. It gives us information about the culture, religion, and trade. But, we also need texts. In textual sources we are given detailed information about administration, individual names, taxes, politics, trade, relations with different powers of its time.

"Archaeology is a scattered collection of what has been found, while Bible is the scattered record of what would have fit the biblical writers' theological purposes. Rarely should one expect that these two agendas would intersect."[1] This is true also when we speak about other ancient texts. Topographical lists of conquered cities or ancient letters are a scattered collection as well, written for certain purposes long time ago. What do these scattered pieces of information, archaeology and texts, tell us about the Late Bronze Age cities in the northern Israel?

The purpose of this paper is to find out what kind of information we could gain from ancient texts and from archaeology regarding the Late Bronze Age cities in northern Israel. How do the pieces of information correlate with each other? I would also like to know if there are cities mentioned in texts that can not be identified with actual sites or clearly urban settlements that are not mentioned in texts. That is, is there something we do not know yet, something yet to be discovered in the future?

I outlined the area of 'north' by using Israeli Cassini Soldner –grid system (ICS), as most scholars studying the archaeology of Israel, Syria, Lebanon and Jordan do. I took the ICS grids 140–220.200–300 and studied sites inside this area.[2] (For my dissertation I outline a larger area.) I have drawn the map (Appendix I) myself, so it may not be absolutely accurate. With 'north' I mean the northern part inside the borders of modern state of Israel. I try to avoid

[1] Merling 2004, 42.

[2] I have left Tyre (ICS grid 168.297) out of this presentation on purpose: its history and culture differs so much from the others that it would have required too much discussion about ethnicity. Tyre (modern name Es-Sur) has been mentioned in the Amarna letters, in the lists of Seti I and Ramesses II.

using term 'Canaan', although it is often used by scholars. This is because ethnicity is an issue not discussed in this paper. I leave it out on purpose, because this broad subject would need a paper of its own.

Setting the stage of the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1500–1200 BCE) in Northern Israel

The nature of the Late Bronze Age is very debated. It is seen prosperous[3] and poor[4]. Comparing to the Middle Bronze Age cities, Late Bronze Age urban centres were smaller and unfortified. According to Bunimowitz "The large number of Palestinian city-states and their relative small size further aggravated the problem of manpower. It must have been difficult for the small-scale kingdoms to mobilize enough people for public works. Their size and the shortage of manpower may partly explain the relative poverty of important Canaanite centres during in the Late Bronze II, as indicated in the archaeological excavations (e.g., Schechem, Jerusalem, Lachish, Gezer, Chinnereth and Taanach)."[5]

Israel was part of Egyptian empire and under Egyptian domination over 300 years during the Late Bronze Age.[6] There were ca. 25 city-states in the Late Bronze Age Israel, according to Na'aman.[7] Most of the city-states were along the coast and in the Jezreel and Jordan Valleys.[8] The city-states were not equal. The major city-states dictated the political affairs and the lesser ones were dependent on their stronger neighbours, but they all were Egyptian vassals, under Egyptian control.[9]

Three major occupational phases has been defined in many major Late Bronze Age centres, among them Megiddo, Beth Shean and Hazor. Another feature of the Late Bronze Age cities is that almost none of them had fortifications. In Hazor the Middle Bronze Age casemate wall was used and continuously restored during the Late Bronze Age, but as Mazar points out, Hazor is an exceptional case, because it was the most powerful city-state in Israel.[10] More surprising than the defending system of Hazor is then the fact that there were two fortified settlements in the northern Israel that are easily forgotten when discussing the Late Bronze Age: Tel Qarnei Hittin[11] with its 14th-13th century BCE fortress and Kinneret[12] as a massively fortified town in the Middle Bronze Age II/Late Bronze Age I.

Continuity can be seen in pottery and architecture, i.e. in material culture from the Middle Bronze Age to the Late Bronze Age and then from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age I.[13] Two important trade routes traversed through the coastal plains and northern valleys, and major settlements were established along these routes. The trade connections of the Late Bronze

[3] Grabbe 2007, 66.
[4] Na'aman 2005/1997, 168.
[5] Na'aman 2005/1997, 168. Na'aman refers to S. Bunimowitz, The Problem of Human Resources in Late Bronze and its Socio-Economic Implications. UF 26 (1994), 1–20. I have not been able to find this article.
[6] Na'aman 2005/1997, 167; Noll 2001, 109; Kuhrt 1995, 317.
[7] Na'aman 2005/1997, 167.
[8] Noll 2001, 119.
[9] Na'aman 2005/1997, 167.
[10] Mazar 1992, 241, 243.
[11] Gal 1994, 36–37.
[12] Pakkala, Münger and Zangenberg 2004, 13–16.
[13] Finkelstein 2003, 76; Mazar 1992, 244, 257; Amiran 1970, 192. Ilan 1998, 315: Most of the Middle Bronze Age urban centres of the northern Israel that were destroyed some time between 1600–1500 BCE, were soon resettled. Their material culture or cultic practices did not change suddenly in the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, but continued throughout centuries.

Age Israel were wide, as they were in the previous period. Imported pottery has been found in northern settlements, and it affected also to the local pottery: most of the pottery is rooted in the local tradition, but there are also distinct features of Cypriot influence. This duality can be seen in both forms and decorations.[14]

The urban culture of the Late Bronze Age did not end abruptly; the process took almost a century. There was a general decline in settlements in the 13th century BCE. Conflicts between cities (Shechem- and Anti-Shechem Coalitions known from the Amarna Letters) and also raids by seminomadic people caused disruption.[15] Hazor was destroyed in the mid-13th century BCE, whereas Egyptian administrative centres of Beth Shean and Megiddo were destroyed as late as in the late 12th century BCE, immediately after Egyptian withdrawal.[16] Na'aman wrote in 1994 that this "marks the last stage of the Late Bronze Age in Canaan".[17] Here we have an example of development in our knowledge of this subject: about a decade later the overall picture of the Late Bronze – Iron transition phase began to change, and now it is generally accepted view that the Late Bronze Age culture did not vanish suddenly, but continued and slowly changed in the course of Iron Age.[18]

2. What Was a City for the People Living in the Late Bronze Age?

According to Aufrecht, ancient texts tell us that "the ancients themselves were aware of a distinction between a 'village' and 'city'".[19] They certainly did. Ancient textual sources discussed in this paper refer constantly to cities. But I am convinced that their concept of a city differs from ours.

One way to define an ancient urban settlement is to see it is 1) fortified, 2) densely occupied, 3) socially differentiated and centrally administrated, 4) gives evidence of economic accumulation (surpluses) and distribution, 5) has a 'central place'.[20] This method sounds a little artificial. The Late Bronze Age cities were not fortified (with very few exceptions) and not all sites are excavated thoroughly enough to see if there was a central place in the Late Bronze Age. Criteria used in this defining method is therefore problematic if sites are not excavated and there is no archaeological evidence available to show if there is or is not traces of urban characters.

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[14] Mazar 1992, 257, 259.

[15] Finkelstein 2013, 17-21; Mazar 1992, 237, 241; Noll 2001, 116; Grabbe 2007, 41: In the Late Bronze Age, there was a widespread nomadic or seminomadic pastoral population in Israel. Egyptians refers them as "Shasu". Amarna letters mention also "Habiru" as a danger. They were a class of people without permanent settlement or citizenship.

[16] Finkelstein 2013, 21; Mazar 1992, 288, 290; Na'aman 1994, 223; Grabbe 2007, 66, 67. Gal (1994, 38) argues, that cities under Egyptian influence longer than others: Megiddo and Beth Shean was destroyed about one hundred years later than Hazor.

[17] Na'aman 1994, 223.

[18] Finkelstein (2013, 28–33) calls this continuation of the Late Bronze Age urban culture in the Iron Age I context "New Canaan": Sometime in the Iron Age I the main cities in the north began to recover. Finkelstein calls this "New Canaan". Urban centres, city-states, as Finkelstein calls them, were Megiddo, Rehov, Kinneret, Keisan, Jokneam, and Dor. These cities were quite similar to the Late Bronze Age cities and practically only difference in the Iron Age I was the demise of Acco and that Kinneret replaced Hazor as the center of power in Galilee. The reasons for the prosperity of this New Canaan were the stability of rural sector and trade with Phoenicia. In the end of the Iron Age I, the centres were destroyed. It was the Iron Age II that brought a true change in almost every way.

[19] Aufrecht 1997, 124.

[20] Dever 1997, 187.

Dever presents Falconers way of defining urban centres: "Population can be defined as urban, when it outgrows its capacity to feed and sustain itself on immediately available resources, and so much organize and control the surrounding agricultural hinterland, that is, must become essentially a 'market town'".[21] According to Dever, in the small-scale landscape of Southern Levant, where the soil and water sources are poor, the calculation system for truly urban configurations should be: ***about 15 acres (6 ha) and about 1500 population***.[22] However, the size of a multi-period settlement is sometimes difficult to estimate. Their size may vary.[23] It is not certain that the whole site was settled all the time; sometimes settlements were larger, sometimes smaller in the same site.

Often-used method of estimating the population is: ***density of 250 inhabitants per hectare***.[24] This calculation system is presumably quite accurate when estimating the inhabited sites.[25] However, it excludes the unsettled population and assumes uniformity of the settlement types. As Zoren notes, settlements are of different type, size, and function and therefore they might differ also in the density of population: "a major center with many public buildings may have a lower population density than a fortified rural town".[26] While in a major city like Hazor (80 ha) were many public buildings, maybe the little fortress of Tel Qarnei Hittin (0,9 ha) was averagely more densely settled.

Lehmann gives one way of categorizing the ancient cities.[27] Another category method presented here is by Finkelstein and Broshi[28].

Table 1. SETTLEMENT CATEGORIES

Lehmann (10 dunam = 1 ha)[29]		**Finkelstein and Broshi**[30]	
1–20 dunam	small settlement	0.1–0.3 ha, mean 0.2 ha	very small sites
21–30 dunam	medium-sized settlement	0.4–1.0 ha, mean 0.7 ha	small sites
31–50 dunam	large settlement	1.1–4.9 ha, mean 3 ha	medium sites
51–100 dunam	very large settlement	5–9.9 ha, mean 7 ha	large sites
100– dunam	urban centre	10 ha or more	very large sites

According to Lehmann's method, there were not many urban settlements in the northern Israel during the Late Bronze Age. Latter method gives room for more loose way of categorizing the settlements. Also with Falconer's method there were considerably more possible urban settlements in the Late Bronze Age than the method of Lehmann allows. Despite the fact that the size of urban settlements in the Late Bronze Age was smaller than a city according to these categories, scholars do speak about the Late Bronze Age cities. The Late Bronze Age Beth Shean is constantly described as "Egyptian garrison town", even if its

[21] Dever 1997, 180. Dever refers to Steven Falconer, 1987: Heartland of Villages: Reconsidering Early Urbanism in the Southern Levant (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Arizona).

[22] Dever 1997, 180−181. 1 acre = 0,40 ha.

[23] Zorn 1994, 32.

[24] Zorn 1994, 32; Broshi and Finkelstein 1992, 287; Dever 1997, 180. See more about the calculation and categorization systems in Zorn 1994, Broshi and Finkelstein 1992, and Lehmann 2001.

[25] Broshi and Finkelstein 1992, 287.

[26] Zorn 1994, 32.

[27] Lehmann 2001, 72.

[28] Broshi and Finkelstein 1992, 48.

[29] Lehmann 2001, 72.

[30] Broshi and Finkelstein 1992, 48.

size was 1,2 ha. Here is a good comparison to show that concepts do change and can not be used as such, and we have to remember that concept of a city was something else in the Late Bronze Age than in our time. Namely, backyard of our home is 1,6 ha, and it is definitively not a city. Not even if it had walls around it, as in the Late Bronze Age fortress of Tel Qarnei Hittin (0,9 ha). Also Tel Yin'am was small (0,5 ha) but prosperous in the Late Bronze Age and its archaeological finds are clearly urban and far from modest.

In this paper I do not try to estimate the population or categorize the sites. I present the estimated size of sites excavated or surveyed in northern Israel, their possible identification with an ancient city, and include only those settlements that show clear signs of urban settlement during the Late Bronze Age and can therefore be considered as cities.

3. The Late Bronze Age Cities in the Northern Israel: Textual Perspective

Most of the textual information about the Late Bronze Age Israel we have, come from Egypt. From several topographical lists of different pharaohs, we can find names of ancient cities, which may have otherwise been forgotten. The Amarna archive is an endless source of information regarding the administration, politics and trade of ancient Near East. Majority of the Amarna archive includes letters from the rulers of Palestinian city-states. Then we have cuneiform tablets from Taanach regarding the Late Bronze Age politics and administration, inscriptions from Beth Shean etc. These texts also reveals that there was an international common writing system, Akkadian, in the Late Bronze Age, which they used in communication with each other.

The nature of textual sources differs. If biblical books are not treated as a primary source because they are composed much later than in the Late Bronze Age, the topographic lists of pharaohs may not be much more reliable as a source. The name of places in the lists may have existed during the Late Bronze Age, but whether they were proper cities or not, is another question. Each and every source has to be "handled with care", as they say. Below I present the major textual sources concerning the Late Bronze Age cities in northern Israel. Detailed list of cities is in the Appendix II. I have left out of the discussion the identification of ancient names of cities (and their rulers) with actual sites. There is not enough space, even if this would be an interesting and important issue.

3.1. Egyptian Sources

Egyptian texts are the main source concerning the Late Bronze Age cities. Topographical lists give us name of cities, the Amarna Archive detailed information about the cities, their rulers and their relationships.

Topographical Lists of Pharaohs

Topographical lists of pharaohs may not be the most accurate source of political history, but they do give us names that reflect the geopolitical situation of its time. Thutmose III (1479–1426 BCE), for example, boasts in his topographical list that he conquered a lot of cities during his military campaigns. When we look closer, we notice, that most of them cannot necessarily be categorized as cities according to archaeological evidence.

Thutmose III's campaign into Israel in the first half of the 15th century BCE was conducted against the coalition of Qadesh, Mitanni, and allies. Megiddo was their headquarter and the

battlefield.[31] The list of conquered cities is the longest and most detailed geographical-historical document relating to the Late Bronze Age Israel.[32] It contains names of 119 Canaanite cities defeated in Megiddo.[33] The majority of toponyms in the topographical list are located in the north.[34]

Amenhotep II (1426–1400 BCE) conducted three campaigns to Syria and Israel. We have information regarding the northern Israel only from the third campaign: three northern cities are mentioned. Seti I (1290–1279 BCE), a strong military pharaoh of the Nineteenth Dynasty, supressed a rebellion in the Jordan Valley. A stele from Beth Shean tells about this event.[35] Seti I lists in his topographical list 11 conquered northern cities.[36] In topographical lists (I and IV) of Ramesses II (1279–1213 BCE) three northern cities are mentioned.[37]

The Amarna Letters

The Egyptian Amarna archive, from the mid-14th century BCE, is the main textual source of the Late Bronze Age Ancient Levant. From over 380 tablets, about 150 are from the rulers of the city-states in Israel.[38] In most cases the textual evidence of the Amarna archive and the archaeological evidence correspond.[39]

The archive includes letters from several city-states situated in the northern Israel. The major cities mentioned in these letters are Hazor, Acco, and Megiddo. There are endless amount of complaints in Amarna-letters from different city-state rulers to Pharaoh about each other and about almost everything. So these letters may not reflect the historical truth in every way, but it is safe to assume that at least he names of cities were true.

The Amarna archive includes several types of letters. There are routine letters, transfer of information, instructions regarding military missions, taxes, and commodities. The number of letters from certain vassals does not reflect the political importance of the ruler. Each vassal received only few letters during his reign and some vassals sent more letters to Pharaoh than others. Less important vassals could send several letters, and then influential vassals, like of Hazor, sent only a few.[40] The city is not always mentioned in the letter, so the exact number of the city-states is unknown.[41]

From the Amarna letters can be noticed that northern cities in Israel were divided in two competing groups. In the Shechem Coalition included the city-states on the coastal plain and in the Valleys of Jezreel and Jordan, namely Gezer, Ginti-kirmil, Jokneam, Anaharat, Pehel (Pella), and Shim'on. This group threatened Egyptian authority in the area with attacs to

[31] Na'aman 2005/1994, 16, 18; Mazar 1992, 232–233.
[32] Frankel 1994, 19.
[33] Mazar 1992, 233.
[34] The identification of the cities mentioned in Thutmose III's list has caused much discussion. I have included in my own list the names/places that are generally identified and located in the northern part of Israel.
[35] Mazar 1992, 234.
[36] Frankel 1994, 21; Frankel, Getzov et al. 2001, 144.
[37] Frankel, Getzov et al. 2001, 144–145.
[38] From over 380 letters, the letters EA227–380 are from city-states of Israel (Canaan).
[39] Finkelstein 2013, 16.
[40] Na'aman 2005/2000a, 28–29.
[41] Na'aman 2005/1997, 163. It is also good to keep in mind that all the cities mentioned in the letters are not necessarily kingdoms/city-states, but so-called satellites and that all the Late Bronze Age northern cities on the whole are not even mentioned in the Amarna letters.

Egyptian stronghold in Beth Shean and Egyptian allies. The Anti-Shechem Coalition included city-states located also in the Valleys of Jezreel and Jordan: Megiddo, Rehob[42], Achschap, Acco, and Hazor. Egypt supported this coalition.[43] This competition of city-states is interesting issue, but could not be presented more accurately here.[44]

Papyrus Anastasi

Papyrus Anastasi is a satirical text from the time of Ramesses II. Papyrus Anastasi records the routes Egyptian officials used when travelling. Several northern cities are mentioned. [45]

3.2. Textual Sources Found in Archaeological Excavations in Northern Israel

I have included in this chapter only textual sources that mention names of the Late Bronze Age cities located in northern Israel. Beth Shean cylinder seal, for example, mentions two northern rulers, but no cities are mentioned.[46] Hazor letters do not mention particularly names of northern cities, only their rulers.[47] I do not discuss about the rulers in this paper, so I left these sources out.

Taanach Letters

Taanach archive (TT) is the only Late Bronze Age archive thus far found in Israel. There are nine letters or fragments, six administrative documents or fragments, one seal and one alphabetic text included in the Taanach tablets. Cuneiform tablets from Taanach predate Amarna letters.[48] TT 2:22 mentions Rehob.[49]

Two letters, TT 5 and 6, are very interesting. They are sent from Megiddo by Amenhatpa to Talwašur, ruler of Taanach. [50] Amenhatpa might be the becoming pharaoh Amenhotep II. [51] This is good to keep in mind when reading those two letters. In TT 5 Amenhatpa orders Talwasur to send men, horses and chariots to him to Megiddo. Then, in letter 6 he complains that Talwasur did not pay him respect and visit while he was in Gaza and orders him again to send men, horses and chariots.[52] I would sincerely want to know what kind of a vassal could and would disobey Egyptian orders, moreover from the future pharaoh of Egypt.

Apparently Taanach did not do its duties as a vassal state very well. Also the ruler of Rehob complained about the ruler of Taanach omitting his responsibilities: TT 2:13–16: "Furthermore, command your towns that they should do their work. On my head is everything which took place in regard to the cities."[53]

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[42] Finkelstein 2013, 19: The letters EA 249–250 indicate that this city located near Jezreel Valley. The name of the city is not mentioned, but petrographic investigations points to Rehob/Tel Rehov.

[43] Finkelstein 2013, 17–21. Gezer and Shechem are located too south to be included in this paper.

[44] See Finkelstein 2013 for a map on page 15 and pages 16–21 for the coalitions.

[45] Frankel, Getzov et al. 2001, 145.

[46] Horowitz and Oshima 2006b, 48–49: Tagi (of Gintikirmil?) and Lab'aya (of Sechem).

[47] Horowitz and Oshima 2006b, 80–81.

[48] Niemann 2006, 823; Horowitz and Oshima 2006b, 127. Horowitz and Oshima (2006a, 80) date the Taanach material to the 15th century BCE.

[49] Horowitz and Oshima 2006b, 136: TT 2:22.

[50] Horowitz and Oshima 2006b, 140.

[51] Niemann 2006, 823.

[52] Translations in Horowitz and Oshima 2006b, 139–142.

[53] Horowitz and Oshima 2006b, 133.

Stela of Seti I found at Beth Shean mentions city-states called Rehob, Pehel, Hamat and Jenoam.[54]

3.3. Other Ancient Near Eastern Textual Sources

(*I have not included in the appendixes this chapter, because I do not have enough material and information about this. I have not have the opportunity to check the original sources, so I have to rely on others here. Probably there are much more sources I do not know yet.*)

Megiddo is mentioned in a letter from Boğazköy, dated to the mid-13th century BCE. Megiddo (Makkitta) is mentioned as a meeting place for Hittite and Egyptian emissaries. Singer argues that Megiddo had a central role in Egyptian relations with the north during the Nineteenth Dynasty.[55] Hazor is mentioned also in letters of Ashtarot and Tyre.[56] There are several mentions about Acco and its harbour in texts from Ugarit.[57]

3.4. The Biblical Sources

There are two Books in the Hebrew Bible that tell about the Israelite conquest of Canaan (Israel), namely the books of Joshua and Judges. The conquest is traditionally dated to the beginning of the Iron Age I. The dating of these Books and, consequently, their value as historical sources, is disputed, however. Therefore, they are not considered as a primary source for my study. But is there a possibility to find some historical roots in these books concerning the Late Bronze Age cities?

Joshua 11 tells in the account of the battle of Merom how Hazor with its allies is defeated and the city of Hazor was burned. There are some familiar names from other Ancient Near Eastern texts. Archaeological evidence supports the biblical tradition of the burning of the city of Hazor. It is also interesting that only Hazor is burned according to Joshua 11, other cities were conquered.[58] Mazar thinks that the burning of Hazor may contain a historical memory of the destruction of the mightiest of the Late Bronze Age Canaanite cities.[59] In Josh. 11:10 Hazor is mentioned as "formerly head of all those kingdoms". The Late Bronze Age city in Hazor was the largest city in Israel. Mazar notes that Hazor had no importance when the book of Joshua has been written in the 7th century BCE, but fits well with the second millennium BCE Hazor.[60]

The book of Joshua mentions several times Canaanite city-states and their "kings". I am not the only one, who has noticed this: according to Mazar this means continuous tradition from the Late Bronze Age into the Iron Age: "Such a geopolitical structure fits well with the reality of second-millennium Canaan, but is hardly unknown in the period of the monarchy or later, when the book of Joshua was written." [61] Joshua 12 lists 31 conquered kings, familiar city names among them. Joshua 19(:47) and Judges tells about the tribe of Dan and the conquest of the city of Laish, renamed as Dan. Joshua 17 and 19 describe how the tribes of Issachar,

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[54] Na'aman 2005/1997, 165; Horowitz and Oshima 2006b, 133.
[55] Singer 1994, 286. (Also Itamar Singer, 1998: Megiddo Mentioned in a Letter from Boğazköy. Harrassowitz.)
[56] Frankel 1994, 20.
[57] This information is kindly given to me by prof. Wolfgang Zwickel, but I have not yet been able to check these: KTU 2.84:4, KTU 4.63 III 37, KTU 2.38/RS.18.13, RS 19.42, RS 19.182.
[58] Josh 11:10-13.
[59] Mazar 2003, 86–87; Mazar 2007, 63.
[60] Mazar 2007, 62–63.
[61] Mazar 2003, 86; Mazar 2007, 64.

Naphtali, Asher, Manasseh, Zebulun and Dan settled in the northern part of the Promised Land. Several northern cities are mentioned.

The most interesting part for me is this. Judges 1:27–36 lists several Canaanite cities that the tribes had not been able to conquer. The list is very familiar from other ancient text sources: Acco, Beth Shean, Megiddo, Taanach, Rehob... Also according to Egyptian topographical lists, the Amarna letters, and archaeology, these were major cities during the Late Bronze Age. Mazar says that the list of unconquered cities in Judges 1 supports the thought that some of the biblical traditions have roots in the pre-monarchic history. Finkelstein sees it quite differently: "The list of cities that were not conquered – all in the territories of the North – is no more than a theological fable on the failure of the Northern Kingdom to eradicate Canaanite culture from its midst."[62] Finkelstein does not give reasons to his statement.

There is one curious detail I noticed. After reading books of Joshua and Judges several times, I failed to find even a slightest notion of Egyptian presence in the land of Canaan, ie. Israel in the time of the conquest stories. Again, I am not the only one. Mazar says: "It must be noted that neither Joshua or any other Israelite tradition makes mention of a major historical reality of the second millennium BCE, namely, that Canaan was under Egyptian domination for three hundred years."[63]

While scholars seem to date the books of Joshua and Judges somewhere in the 7th century BCE, they tend to see that there might be earlier material here and there in the conquest stories. Römer notes that Judges is later composition but it contains some earlier northern material.[64] Grabbe thinks that Judges may present an authentic picture of pre-state Israelite society, but that the Book is too problematic to use as a historical source.[65] Mazar says that some parts in the books Joshua and Judges clearly contain early traditions.[66] Finkelstein summarizes this conversation: "Anyone reading the biblical description of the conquest must be aware that he/she is in the ideological world of late Monarchic Judah, not in Late Bronze Age or Iron Age I realities. Hence, the description of the conquest of Galilee, which may have been based on an authentic folk-tale, was intended to show that Judah was the only legitimate heir to the territories of the then-vanquished Northern Kingdom."[67]

3.5. Summary of Textual Sources

The same city names occur in different sources. Not all, though. If we look only from one textual source, the list might be extensive, as in the case of Thutmose III's topographical list, where there seems to be mentioned all major cities along with many smaller sites. But then, Amenhotep II, Ramesses II, or Seti I mentions only some names of cities. Amarna letters give us a lot of names, but then some are missing, Rehob for example. Books of Joshua and Judges mention some, but not all. Despite its disputed value as a historical source, book of Judges seems to give a good summary of the most important Late Bronze Age cities in the north, when it lists cities that Israelites could not conquer. These cities are exactly the same that other sources mention and that were, according to archaeological information, major cities in

[62] Mazar 2003, 88; Mazar 2007, 64; Finkelstein 2003, 75–76.

[63] Mazar 2007, 64.

[64] Römer 2007, 91. Römer (2007, 85) dates the book of Judges in the 8th–7th centuries BCE.

[65] Grabbe 2007, 99–100.

[66] Mazar 2003, 86–88; Mazar 2007, 62–63.

[67] Finkelstein 2003, 75.

the Late Bronze Age: Acco, Beth Shean, Megiddo, Taanach, and Rehob. All these major cities continued existing also in the Iron Age I. In book of Joshua Hazor is said to be the "former head of all those kingdoms", which fits well with the Late Bronze Age city in Hazor.

From textual sources we know also that Israel was part of Egyptian empire during the Late Bronze Age, and that the rulers of city-states were vassals. We can find information (not thoroughly discussed in this paper) about administrations, relations of different powers, historical events, writing systems and languages, ethnic groups, and much more.

In next chapter we find out, what can archaeology tell us about these main cities of the Late Bronze Age northern Israel?

4. The Late Bronze Age Cities in the Northern Israel: Archaeological Perspective

"Archaeology is not an exact science." This is a sentence that is often heard but rarely understood. Archaeology seldom provides us absolute historical dates or events, the excavators do not often witness a moment when they find a inscription stating "This was the Late Bronze Age city of X", nor can archaeology seldom help us to understand some particular event. It can show the destruction level of a city, but it does not say how the destruction happened. Unless, of course, a direct hint had been left, like "Seti I was here" in a stele. *Then* we may assume something relating to the destruction. But even this is only an assumption. Interpretation is important part of the process of using archaeological evidence for historical purposes. And interpretations can easily be contradicting. Let's take radiocarbon dating for an example: both Mazar and Finkelstein use it for proving their case in the battle of dating the Iron Age I strata in Megiddo and Rehov.[68] They argue they are right, and they use exact the same evidence for it. They jus interpret the evidence differently. Archaeological evidence is constantly interpreted in a way it fits in to the thinking, theory or model of the interpreter. Objectivity is a much-needed virtue.

This holds true also in identification of ancient sites. Sometimes it is easier, when textual evidence corresponding the location of a site is given support by archaeological evidence. Sometimes it is more difficult, when archaeological evidence is scarce and ancient texts does not give exact hints about the location. From the ancient textual sources we found names of cities and their rulers. What archaeology can do is to help us to locate these cities. Scholars have tried more or less successfully to identify ancient cities with modern archaeological sites for decades – and centuries. They have often wanted to prove something, to interpret, if the Hebrew Bible was right, if the list of Thutmose III's conquered cities and the names and locations in the Hebrew Bible correspond. Identification of sites has not been done just for objective historical reasons, but for proving that something is right or wrong. Would the research of the history of ancient Israel have been more objective without the need or desire to interpret, prove, identify? For example, I have just read at least five contradicting presentations of identifying the Thutmose III's conquered cities in Israel, and every one of them seems to have been made to prove some opinion of the writer in question.[69] Which one

[68] See almost any work of Amihai Mazar and Israel Finkelstein.

[69] Gal (1994), Frankel, Getzov et. al. (2001), Liebowitz (2003) and many others have opinions regarding the identification of sites made long ago by Aharoni and Saarisalo. (Yohanan Aharoni, 1967: The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography. Translated from Hebrew by A. F. Rainey. London: Burns & Oates. Aapeli Saarisalo, 1927: The Boundary between Issachar and Naphtali: An Archaeological and Literary Study of Israel's Settlement in

of them is right? (Maybe there is truth in every one of them; archaeological information changes our knowledge continuously.)

Settlements and their architecture is one aspect in which archaeology can help us to gain information. It shows similarities and differences compared to different periods, regions, and cultures. It can also show if the culture continued or changed in the course of time. A seemingly modest and tiny matter is pottery. Little shreds can, however, tell us a lot. Pottery helps us to distinguish different settlement layers, to date the cities, to determine their cultural associations, and also it tells us about the ancient trade connections. It is also good to keep in mind that the texts usually are archaeological finds too.

As Dever and Merling point well, if we ask archaeology wrong questions, it provides us wrong answers.[70] We have to be careful what we ask. And, we can not force archaeology to answer questions it can not answer. Now we ask from it "were there cities in the northern Israel in the Late Bronze Age?" and we will see what it answers.

4.1. Northern Cities According to Archaeological Evidence

Northern Israel can be divided into varied regions, some of which are even divided into subregions. The most distinctive difference is the geographical division to lowlands and mountainous regions. Lowlands then can be divided into valleys and coastal plains. Most of Galilee is mountainous and lowland regions are Valleys of Jezreel, Beth Shean, and Jordan as well as coastal Acco plain. A simple observation can be made about the Late Bronze Age settlements: most of them are situated in the valleys; there are only limited amount of settlements in the mountains.[71] There seems to have been major centres in each region, and then satellite cities or towns surrounding them. Megiddo in Jordan Valley, Hazor in upper Jordan Valley or Galilee, Acco in northern coastal plain and maybe also Rehov in Beth Shean and Jezreel Valleys are considered as major centres.[72]

Northern Valleys of Jezreel, Beth Shean, and Jordan

The urban settlements in the lowlands were occupied more or less continuously from the Middle Bronze Age to the Iron Age I.[73] The urban settlements in the lowlands were approximately 10 km from each other, which leads us to assume that each city controlled over quite a limited area. In the hill country individual cities may have controlled over larger areas.[74]

The Late Bronze Age Megiddo was small (11 ha) compared to Hazor (80 ha), but it was still one of the most prominent cities in Israel.[75] Stratum VIIA in Megiddo was Egyptian

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Canaan. Helsinki: Societas Orientalis Finnica. Also my favorite: Aapeli Saarisalo, 1927: Galilean rauniomailta. Porvoo: WSOY.)

[70] Dever 1995, 63; Merling 2004, 42.

[71] In contrast to the Late Bronze Age, in the Middle Bronze Age and Iron Age I, there were also hundreds of rural settlements in the mountains.

[72] Finkelstein 2003, 77.

[73] Finkelstein, Halpern et al. 2006, 770; Gadot 2006, 801, 806.

[74] Liebowitz 2003, 288.

[75] Finkelstein, Ussishkin, and Halpern 2000, 593; Grabbe 2007, 67. According to Grabbe (2007, 67) "with its monumental buildings, Megiddo appears to have been the city-state centre for the king and his elite supporters. Megiddo thus seems to provide a good example of the nature of the major city-states in Canaan during the later part of the LB (over 30 sites were apparently subordinate to Megiddo), though the LB city was apparently unfortified."

administration center; it might have been the most important one in the northern part of Israel.[76] The Late Bronze Age Megiddo was unfortified as most cities at that time. The recent excavations have revealed evidence for destruction of the Stratum VIIA city (in the end of the Late Bronze Age) only in the palatial area. Finkelstein sees that the main target for the assault on this city was the palace.[77]

Taanach (6 ha) is situated only 8 km southeast of Megiddo. In the Late Bronze Age, it protected the Jezreel Valley. The occupation in Taanach diminished between the mid-14th and late 13th centuries BCE. It is noteworthy that the only Late Bronze Age archive thus far found in Israel comes from Taanach.[78] Beth Shean (1,2 ha) was an Egyptian garrison town throughout the Late Bronze Age.[79] The largest concentration of Egyptian monuments outside of Egypt has been found in Beth Shean.[80] Beth Shean was never fortified.[81]

Rehov (ca. 10 ha) is located 5 km south of Beth Shean. Rehov was a large unfortified city during the Late Bronze Age. It was occupied and repeatedly destroyed in the 13th–8th centuries BCE and it was one of the largest cities in Israel throughout this time.[82] Jokneam (4 ha) is located in the western Jezreel Valley. In the Late Bronze Age II there was an urban settlement, it was destroyed and abandoned ca. 1200 BCE. After an occupational gap in the beginning of the Iron Age I, there was a town that may have followed the Late Bronze Age pattern.[83] Pella (10 ha) was a major city in the Jordan Valley (inside the borders of modern Jordan) during the Late Bronze Age.[84]

Coastal Plain

Acco (over 10 ha) was an important city-state in the coast, stretching its influence far beyond its city borders. The importance of the city declined during the Iron Age I.[85] The Late Bronze Age urban settlement in Tel Keisan (6 ha) is probably the ancient city of Achshaph.[86]

Galilee[87]

Previously the Lower Galilee has thought to be very sparsely settled during the Late Bronze Age.[88] However, only few of the Late Bronze Age sites in the Lower Galilee is actually excavated, and most of those excavated were only sounded. Also most of excavation results have not yet been published. The overall picture is about to change, says Liebowitz, and the area may have been more densely populated than previously thought.[89] At the moment the major Late Bronze Age settlements in the Lower Galilee are considered to be: Tel Hannaton[90]

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[76] Singer 1994, 293; Grabbe 2007, 67.
[77] Finkelstein 2013b, 1336.
[78] Niemann 2006, 823.
[79] Bloch-Smith and Nakhai 1999, 86; Mazar 2011, 183.
[80] Mazar 1992, 282.
[81] Niemann 2006, 826.
[82] Marom, Raban-Gerstel, Mazar, and Bar-Oz 2009: 4; Niemann 2006, 826.
[83] Niemann 2006, 823; Ben-Tor and Ben-Ami 2005, 241−243.
[84] Finkelstein 2013, 18.
[85] Frankel 1994, 21; Shavit 2008, 155; Lehmann 2001, 83−84, 87.
[86] Finkelstein 2013, 30–32.
[87] There is one problem when discussing the settlements of Galilee. Scholars tend to divide the region into different subregions, and they don't always make the division similarly. One settlement can be located in several subregions, depending on who is locating it.
[88] Gal 1992, 56.
[89] Liebowitz 2003, 276, 290.
[90] Gal 1994, 36: EA 8, 245, Josh. 19:14. Identification with biblical Hannathon is generally accepted.

(over 5 ha), Tel Gath-Hepher[91] (6 ha), and Tel Rekesh (4 ha). Tel Rekesh is probably ancient Anaharat.[92] Also worth mentioning is Tel Qarnei Hittin (0,9 ha), where a 14th–13th century BCE fortress has been found. Gal identifies Tel Qarnei Hittin with ancient Madon/Maron.[93] Tel Yin'am (0,5 ha) was a small but prosperous town during the Late Bronze Age. According to Liebowitz, the pottery assemblage of Tel Yin'am competes with those of Megiddo, Hazor and Dan.[94] Tel Qarnei Hittin and Tel Yin'am were destroyed at approximately the same time, in the mid-13th century BCE.[95]

Kinneret was a fortified town in the Middle Bronze Age II/Late Bronze Age I. Its size was about 7–9 ha. It remained unoccupied in the Late Bronze Age II, but in the Iron Age I, there was again a fortified city.[96] It is worth noticing that both of these fortified settlements (Kinneret and Tel Qarnei Hittin) did exist only in the earlier part of the Late Bronze Age. There is no evidence of Iron Age I settlement in Tel Qarnei Hittin, but Kinneret was a major city during the Iron Age I, after an occupational gap in the Late Bronze Age II. Interesting detail is also that Tel Qarnei Hittin is located only ca. 7km from Kinneret.

Only few Late Bronze Age settlements in Upper Galilee can be defined as urban, namely Hazor (80 ha), Tel Rosh (9 ha) as ancient Beth Anath[97], and Tel Kabri (32 ha) as ancient Aphek.[98] Tel Kabri, Tel Rosh and also Tel Qedesh[99] are a little question mark. They were large settlements in the Middle Bronze Age, but the archaeological excavations or surveys have not revealed notable Late Bronze Age finds. However they are often mentioned among the Late Bronze Age urban settlements.[100] Liebowitz says that "recent excavation results -- have demonstrated that sites assumed on the basis of surface survey to have not been occupied during the Late Bronze Age were indeed occupied at that time, and that one may exercise great caution in drawing negative conclusions on the basis on surface surveys".[101]

Hazor was the most significant Bronze Age city-state in Israel. Its magnificent size of 80 hectares underlines its importance. Joshua (11:10) defines it as "head of all those kingdoms. In one of his letters, EA 227 to Pharaoh, the ruler of Hazor refers to himself as *šarru* (king). This is the only time a "Canaanite" ruler did so in a letter to Pharaoh.[102] Cuneiform tablets from the Late Bronze Age Hazor suggest that it was also an important scribal centre.[103]

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[91] Gal 1994, 36: Josh. 19:13, 2 Kings 14:25. Known only from biblical records.

[92] Bloch-Smith and Nakhai 1999, 81; Gal 1994, 36–37; Finkelstein 2013, 18.

[93] Gal 1994, 36–37; Gal 1992, 43–44.

[94] Gal 1994, 33; Liebowitz 2003, 275.

[95] Liebowitz 2003, 290.

[96] Nissinen and Münger 2009, 129, 130; Niemann 2006, 827; Pakkala, Münger and Zangenberg 2004: 13–16.

[97] Frankel, Getzov et al. (2001, 36) and Gal (1992, 61): even though there is only some Late Bronze Age material found in Tel Rosh, it may still be Beth Anath of the Amarna Letters.

[98] Gal 1994, 38; Frankel, Getzov et al. 2001, 104. Identification as ancient Aphek suggested by Frankel, Getzov et al. (2001, 13).

[99] Frankel, Getzov et al. 2001, 44: Tel Qedes (ICS grid 199.279, biblical Kedesh) was ca. 9 ha, no notable Late Bronze Age material has been found. Mentioned in Josh. 12:22.

[100] Frankel, Getzov et al. 2001, 13, 104; Gal 1992, 5–59.

[101] Liebowitz 2003, 276.

[102] Frankel 1994, 20.

[103] Horowitz and Oshima 2006b, 80–81.

Dan (20 ha) was apparently an independent Late Bronze Age city. There was a strong influence of Tyre, Hazor and Damascus in the area of Dan.[104] Tel Abil el-Qameh (10 ha), probably the ancient city of Abel Beth Maacah, has been excavated only since 2013 and there is not much archaeological information available yet, but Late Bronze Age material has been found.[105]

4.2. Summary of the Archaeological Sources

We asked archaeology, if there were cities in the northern Israel in the Late Bronze Age. Archaeology did give us answers, but not simple ones to interpret. The diversity of the urban settlements is large; we cannot demonstrate an average Late Bronze Age city by looking at only one settlement. The Late Bronze Age urban settlements were usually ca. 10 ha or less in size. Hazor is an exception. By using Lehmann's method of categorizing settlements, the number of urban settlements would be 8, and using Falconers 6 ha criteria, 13 sites can be defined as urban. However, not all of the sites in northern Israel are excavated thoroughly enough to see, if there was a Late Bronze Age settlement, if it was urban in nature, or even what was its size at that time. Also, there are settlements that show clear urban nature even if they were smaller than average urban site (using category methods), and sites that were large but don't have signs of Late Bronze Age settlements. The fortifications of Tel Qarnei Hittin and Kinneret are a Late Bronze Age rarity: even Megiddo was not fortified during the Late Bronze Age. It is also worth noting that the Late Bronze Age garrison town in Beth Shean was about 1,2 ha. Compared to this, Hannathon, Tel Rekesh and especially Tel Gath-Hepher sound suddenly like proper cities.

Is it possible that there are more large sites or fortresses we do not know about yet? And more importantly, is it possible that some of the settlements we do know about, are left out from scholarly discussions, because they do not in a way or another fit in? There may well be more urban Late Bronze Age settlements, but we do not know about them because they are considered to be somehow out of context. A while ago places like Kinneret were not mentioned in articles or books about the Late Bronze – Iron Age I. Kinneret did not fit into the conventional thinking of the Late Bronze Age culture ending with the era of Late Bronze Age with its clearly Late Bronze Age city in the context of the Iron Age I. With steady flow of new excavation results there appears to be more sites like Kinneret - and suddenly it starts to fit in. With excavation results, our understanding of the time periods is changing too. Next generation will learn quite a different history. Archaeology tries to tell us more than we can understand at the moment.

5. Conclusions

See Appendix I for the Map and Appendix II for the Summary Table. I included in the summary table only those settlements that are mentioned in some of the textual sources and that also were large enough to be even considered to be urban or have other urban characters, like fortifications. The majority of the sites mentioned in texts did not have much or none Late Bronze Age finds to prove if they were settled (or urban) or not, and their size was way too little to fit in the category of an urban settlement. These latter mentioned I left out completely from this paper.

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[104] Niemann 2006, 830: The Iron Age I settlement in Dan had no notable architecture.

[105] Panitz-Cohen, Mullins and Bonfil 2013 27, 30–31.

What was a city in the Late Bronze Age? I have no answer for that. I do not know which criteria they used. Any ancient text demonstrating "this is what we, Late Bronze Age individuals, considered as a city" has not come to my knowledge. Our own understanding about a city affects inevitably our way of thinking. I did not try to find a new and more accurate way of defining a city even if I noticed that the defining systems we have, are inaccurate when dealing with Late Bronze Age cities. We don't have enough information to objectively categorize all the settlements. Some are more effectively excavated than others, most of them have no (found) fortification system even if fortifications were one required element of an urban settlement, or some are too small to be evaluated as urban even if they bear clearly urban characters. None of the systems (discussed in chapter 2) for defining urbanism cannot be used as such when discussing the Late Bronze Age urban settlements. In the end, I simply presume that if a settlement is called a city in ancient texts, it usually was considered as a city too. Completely different issue is how we understand urbanism, how we categorize the settlements, and how we put them in order of importance. This last mentioned seems to be a major issue: scholars tend to simplify matters and state that "the most important cities in the Late Bronze Age were…" Megiddo, Hazor, Rehov and Beth Shean, mostly.

I do not try to categorize the cities by defining which were more important than others. Beth Shean was much smaller than for example some settlements in Galilee that were not mentioned at all in the ancient textual sources, but it was an Egyptian stronghold throughout the Late Bronze Age. Also Taanach seems quite unimpressive if we look only to its size, but then there is this issue with the Taanach letters 5 and 6, according to which the ruler of Taanach was ordered to deliver men, horses and chariots to Egyptians and apparently the ruler did not do so. How can a small city disobey Egyptian orders? One thing is certain. We don't know all (or enough) about the character of ancient cities.

So, in the end, what did texts and archaeology tell us? Were there cities in the Late Bronze Age northern Israel? Yes, there was. Textual and archaeological evidence correspond: the largest settlements were mainly the same in archaeology and in texts. The largest cities were Hazor, Dan, Megiddo, Rehob, Acco, Pella, and Abel Beth Maacah (Tel Abil el-Qameh). We found also a Late Bronze Age rarity: fortified settlements of Kinneret and Tel Qarnei Hittin, when most of the urban sites had no fortification system. But there were also settlements identified with ancient cities that had no Late Bronze Age finds, and clearly urban settlements that cannot with certainty be identified with any ancient city.

We do need both archaeology and texts for studying the past. We don't get all the information needed from either of these sources. From the ancient text sources we get names of the city-states and information about historical events, administrations, languages, relations of different powers and much more; details of the lives of the human beings that lived thousands of years ago. From archaeology we get actual sites, signs of the material culture they had, and also glimpses of daily life they lived in the form of pottery, architecture and other finds. But even if we do know very much, we do not know everything. There is, after all, something left us to discover in the future.

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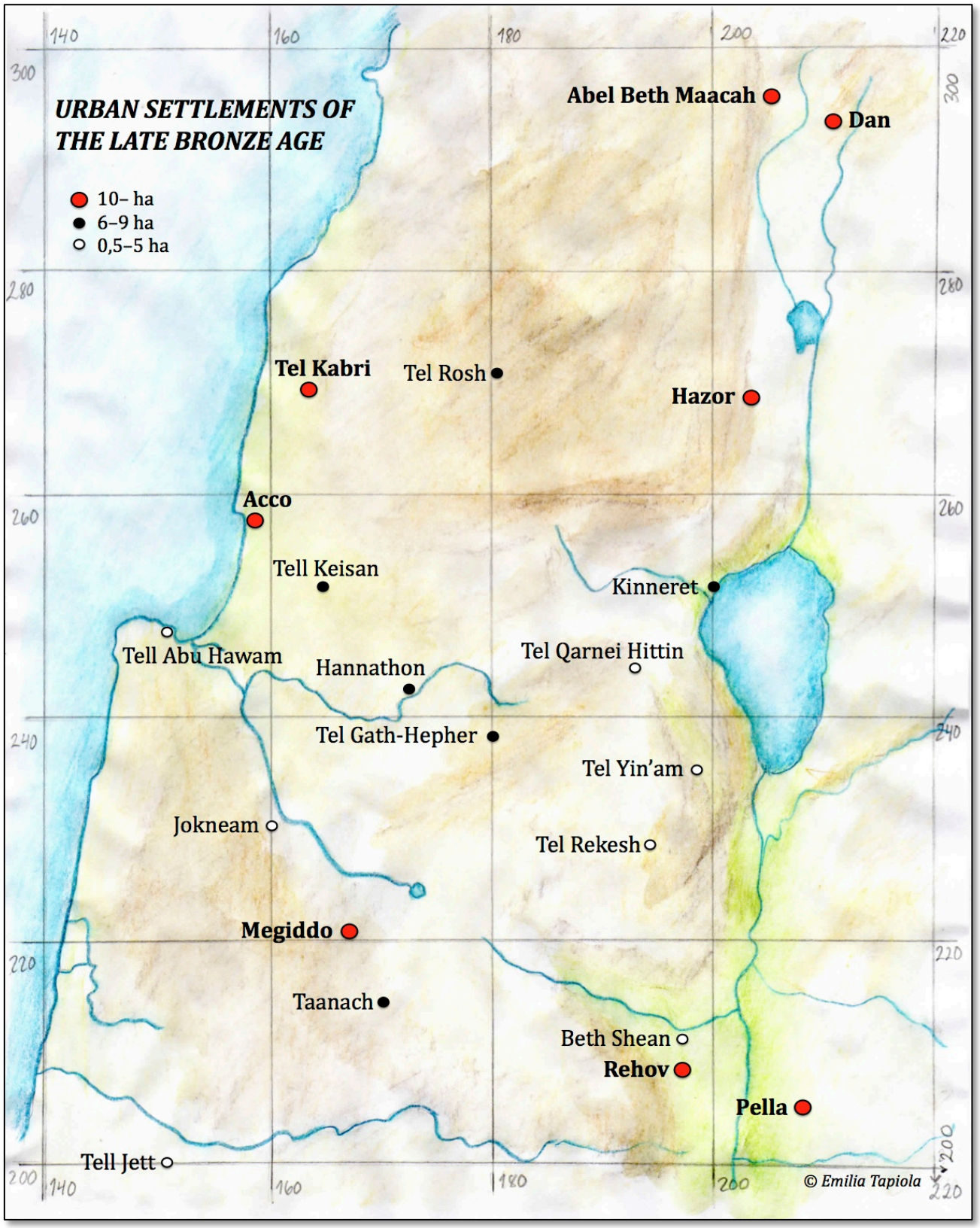
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***Appendix I**: Map of the Late Bronze Age Cities in Northern Israel*



***Appendix II**: Summary Table of the Late Bronze Age Cities in Northern Israel*

Attic Name	***Modern Name***	***ICS grid***	***EA***	***T. III***	***A. II***	***S. I***	***R. II***	***H.B.***	***P.A.***	***N.I.***	***A. (ha)***
Hazor	Tell Hazor	203.269	X	X		X		X			80
Aphek?	Tel Kabri	163.268		X				X			32?
Laish/ Dan	Tel Dan	211.294		X				X			20
Kinneret	Tel Kinrot[106]	200.252		X				X			7–9
Megiddo	Tel Megiddo	167.221	X	X		X		X	X	X	11
Acco	Tel Acco	158.258	X	X		X	X	X	X		10
Rehob	Tel Rehov	197.207		X				X	X	X	10
Pahal/ Pihilum/Pella	Pella	207.206				X					10
Abel Beth Maacah	Tel Abil el-Qameh	204.296	X	X				X			10
Beth Anath	Tel Rosh	181.271		X		X	X	X			9
Achshaph	Tell Keisan	164.253	X	X				X	X		6
Taanach	Tell Ta'annek	171.214	X	X				X			6
	Tel Gath-Hepher	180.238						X			6
Hannathon	Tel Hannathon	174.243	X					X		X	5
Anaharat	Tel Rekesh	194.228		X	X	X		X			4
Jokneam	Tel Jokneam	160.230		X				X			4
Ginti-Padalla?	Tell Jett	154.200	X								3
Beth Shean[107]	Tel Beth Shean	197.212	X	X		X		X	X		1,2
Ginti-Kirmil?	Tell Abu Hawam	152.245	X								1
Madon/ Maron?	Tel Qarnei Hittin[108]	193.244		X				X			0,9
	Tel Yin'am	198.235									0,5

EA = Amarna Letters
T. III = Thutmose III
A. II = Amenhotep II
S. I = Seti I
R. II = Ramesses II
H.B. = Hebrew Bible (Josh.&Judg.)
P.A. = Papyrus Anastasi
N.I. = Sources from Northern Israel
A. = Archaeology, average size of settle

[106] Fortificated in the Late Bronze Age.
[107] Egyptian garrison town.
[108] The Late Bronze Age fortress.

Why are Female Prophets not Believed in Ancient Greek and Jewish Texts? Looking at the Prophetic Sites[1]

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Most people throughout antiquity had a belief in the power and importance of individuals who delivered messages of divine origins. Since we know that women performed in such roles, the question arises whether they were thought to be trustworthy intuitive diviners. This question seems particularly relevant because in the Hebrew Bible only four women are portrayed as prophets (namely Miriam, Deborah, Huldah and Noadiah). Little is known concerning the messages they deliver.[2] Furthermore, while more texts attest to women receiving divine messages in the Hellenistic and Roman eras, e.g., Miriam in *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* and the figure of Sibyl in the *Sibylline Oracles*, the characters are faced with resistance in the texts. They are not believed to transmit real divine messages.

Female prophets are also known in ancient Greek texts. The most prominent example is the Pythia of Delphi who features as one of the most respected prophets of the ancient Greek world.[3] Meanwhile, another prominent female prophet, Cassandra is treated in mixed ways in the texts. While her prophecies are truthful, she is not believed but accused of being crazy.

In this paper I will compare the Jewish and Greek female prophets and analyze in particular statements of disbelief related to them. This concerns both the figure of a female prophet herself as well as disbelief in her oracles. I will try to answer the question, to what aspect the disbelief is related, *i.e.* to the person or the message. Second, after comparing the depiction of the prophets in both corpora I will examine the components that influence their portrayal as unreliable figures and argue that the context where the female prophets prophecy plays a crucial role in establishing their credibility. Such an analysis that focuses on the interplay between gender and disbelief will hopefully shed new light on the depiction of the female prophets in the ancient eastern Mediterranean context and add to our knowledge on the cross-cultural influences in this area.

[1] I presented an earlier version of this paper 9.7.2014 at the International Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in Vienna. I am grateful for the participants of the program unit "Image of Female Prophets in Ancient Greek and Jewish Texts" for their feedback. Their comments helped me to develop my ideas further. I would equally like to thank Marieke Dhont and Jonathan Ben-Dov for their help in preparing this paper.

[2] Apart from them, the Hebrew Bible preserves references to some unnamed female prophets, e.g., Isa 8:3.

[3] For Pythia, see e.g., Matthew Dillon, *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002); Hugh Bowden, *Classical Athens and the Delphic Oracle: Divination and Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Joan Breton Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess: Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2007); Michael Attyah Flower, *The Seer in Ancient Greece* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, Calif.: University of California Press, 2008); Sarah Iles Johnston, *Ancient Greek Divination* (Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008).

1. Methods and Material

Before I begin my textual analysis, allow me shortly introduce some of my methodological principles. First, we do not have first-hand witnesses to the ancient female prophets and our knowledge on what happened relies entirely on ancient authors testimonies regarding this matter. I acknowledge that the nature of the Jewish and Greek sources is different. The ancient Jewish texts have a primarily religious function, whereas the scope of the Greek texts is broader. Yet, as they do mostly witness to the same era and the cultural context of the ancient eastern Mediterranean, already recognized in some previous comparative studies, these sources should be put into a further dialogue.[4]

Our second challenge is a linguistic one because the texts employ different terms while discussing the individuals that deliver divine messages, the intuitive diviners. The Jewish texts composed in Hebrew refer to נביאה and the Greek texts usually refer to προφήτης.[5] Another term frequently employed in the Greek texts in relation to intuitive diviners is μάντις, often translated as "seer". Sometimes the nuances between these terms are not distinguishable.[6] For instance, Pythia is called both *mantis* and *prophetes* in the texts.[7] In order to compare the portrayal of the Greek and Jewish female prophets I will employ the often quoted definition of Manfred Weippert who sees prophecy as a process of intermediation and defines it as a cognitive experience such as a vision or audition through which a person encounters a revelation and later transmits what was revealed to his or her audience.[8] Thus, instead of fixing exact terminology for different religious specialists, I prefer analyzing phenomenology, i.e., what the action of prophecy entails.

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[4] See e.g., Armin Lange, "Literary Prophecy and Oracle Collection: A Comparison Between Judah and Greece in Persian Times," in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism*, 248-275; idem, "Oracle Collection and Canon: A Comparison Between Judah and Greece in Persian Times," in *Jewish and Christian Scripture as Artifact and Canon* (ed. Craig A. Evans and H. Daniel Zacharias; London: T&T Clark, 2009), 9-47; Anselm Hagedorn, "Looking at Foreigners in Biblical and Greek Prophecy." *VT* 57 (2007): 432-448; Yaakov S. Kupitz and Katell Berthelot "Deborah and the Delphic Pythia: A New Interpretation of Judges 4:4-5," in *Images and Prophecy in the Ancient Eastern Mediterranean* (ed. Martti Nissinen and Charles E. Carter; FRLANT 233; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 95-124; Anselm Hagedorn, "The Role of the Female Seer/Prophet in Ancient Greece," in *Prophets Male and Female: Gender and Prophecy in the Hebrew Bible, the Eastern Mediterranean, and the Ancient Near East* (ed. Jonathan Stökl and Corrine L. Carvalho; Ancient Israel and Its Literature 15; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 101-125. See also the various publications by Martti Nissinen, e.g., "Prophetic Madness: Prophecy and Ecstasy in the Ancient Near East and in Greece," in *Raising Up a Faithful Exegete: Essays in Honor of Richard D. Nelson* (ed. K. L. Noll; Brooks Schramm; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 3-29.

[5] See LSJ, 1080, that defines the term as "diviner, seer, prophet". Cf. the term προφήτης that is defined as *one who speaks for a God and interprets his will* to man.

[6] Ibid. For a broader discussion see e.g., Flower, *The Seer*, 22-37, 84-91.

[7] Texts that refer to Pythia as a *mantis* include Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 29-33. As prophetis include Euripides, *Ion* 42, 321, 1322; Plato, *Phaedrus* 244b; Plutarch, *Moralia* 414b. See Lisa Maurizio, "Anthropology and Spirit Possession: A Reconsideration of the Pythia's Role at Delphi," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 115 (1995): 69-86, 70.

[8] Manfred Weippert, "Prophetie im Alten Orient." Neues Bibel Lexikon 3 (2001): 196-200. Trans. Armin Lange, "Greek Seers and Israelite-Jewish Prophets," *VT* 57 (2007): 461-482, 464. Weippert's definition has been used in the field of Biblical Studies when prophecy of the Hebrew Bible has been compared with literary traditions witnessing to inquiring divine will that derive from other ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean cultures. See e.g., Lange, "Literary Prophecy and Oracle Collection"; idem, "Oracle Collection and Canon"; Martti Nissinen, "What Is Prophecy? An Ancient Near Eastern Perspective," in *Inspired Speech: Prophecy in the Ancient Near East. Essays in Honor of Herbert B. Huffmon* (ed. J. Kaltner and L. Stulman; JSOTSup 372. London: T & T Clark, 2004), 17-37.

2. Disbelief in Greek Female Prophets

2.1 Cassandra

When we talk about female prophets and disbelief, our survey should start by examining the figure of Cassandra, one of the most powerful characters in the ancient Greek literature. The earliest references to Cassandra are preserved in Homer's texts where she is referred to as one of the daughters of King Priam and Queen Hecuba.[9] While the Homeric texts concentrate on Cassandra's family relations and beauty, the later Greek texts bring forth her other qualities, in particular her divinatory skills.[10] The first text referring to Cassandra as a *mantis* is Pindar's *Pythian Odes*.[11]

The mythology preserves two alternative versions of a tradition that explains the origin of Cassandra's divinatory skills. Both attribute them to Apollo, the god of prophecy. According to one of the traditions Cassandra went to the temple of Apollo together with her brother Helenus and little snakes licked her ears. This allowed Cassandra and her brother to hear the future.[12] In contrast to that, according to the other tradition Apollo fell in love with Cassandra and granted her the gift of prophecy. From Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, it appears that Cassandra had promised to Apollo to become his lover, but broke her promise, thus incurring his wrath.[13] Consequently, she could keep the gift of prophecy but Apollo turned his gift into a curse: no one would ever believe her predictions and even more so, she was considered to be insane because of them.[14]

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[9] *Il.* 13.363-368; 24.697-705; *Od.* 11.420. Homer's texts were part of Greek education already by the 6th century B.C.E. and Herodotus frequently refers to Homer in his *Histories* written in 5th century B.C.E. Thus Homer's compositions must be earlier. It is possible that the poems were transmitted as oral tradition for long. See Maurice Bowra, "Composition," in *A Companion to Homer* (ed. Alan J.B. Wace and Frank H. Stubblings; London: Macmillan, 1967), 38-74, 45; Robert Fowler, "The Homeric Question," in *The Cambridge Companion to Homer* (ed. Robert Fowler; Cambridge: University Press, 2004); 220-232; Barry B. Powell, *Homer* (Blackwell Introductions to the Classical World; 2nd ed.; Malden, Ma.: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 45-53.

[10] The figure of Cassandra has been analyzed in various publications. They include Juliette Davreux, *La légende de la prophétesse Cassandre d'après les textes et les monuments* (Liège: Faculté de philosophie et letters, 1942); Dagmar Neblung, *Dis Gestalt der Kassandra in der antiken Literatur* (Betäge zur Altertumskunde 97; Stuttgarg/Leipzig: Tebner, 1997); Sabina Mazzoldi, *Cassandra, la vergina e l'indovina. Identità di un personaggio da Omero all'Ellenismo.* (Filologia e critica 88; Pisa: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, 2001). Apart from the Greek authors, Cassandra is known in various ancient Latin compositions e.g., Virgil's *Aeneid* 2.344, 425 and Seneca's *Agamemnon*, where she appears one of the protagonists, the slave-mistress of Agamemnon. These texts are almost contemporary to the Greek evidence.

[11] Pindar (c. 522-433 B.C.E.), *Pythian* 11.31-35 reads: "Atreus' heroic son himself died when at last he came to famous Amyklai, and he brought death on the prophetic [μάντιν] maiden, after he despoiled of their luxury homes of the Trojans, who were visited by fire for the sake of Helen." (Transl. LCL). See Mazzoldi, *Cassandra, la vergina e l'indovina*, 67-69. For the use of the term *mantis* vs. prophet, see section 1.

[12] The works of Hellenistic historian Anticlides of Athens preserves one of them (*FGH* 140, fr. 17).

[13] It is preserved in Aeschylus's *Agamemnon* (1202-1214) written in 458 B.C.E. and in Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* (3.7.5).

[14] "Cassandra: The seer Apollo assigned me to this function
Chorus: "You don't mean that he was struck with desire, god though he was?
Cassandra: Till now I was ashamed to say this.
Chorus: Yes, prosperity makes anyone more coy.
Cassandra: But he was a wrestler, really breathing delight upon me.
Chorus: Did you come together in the act of procreation?
Cassandra: I consented, and then I cheated Loxias.
Chorus: When you were already possessed by your inspired abilities?
Cassandra: I was already prophesying to my fellow –citizens about all they were to suffer.

The fateful outcome of Cassandra's prophecy is that she foresees the destruction of Troy and she warns the citizens about the Trojan horse saying that if the horse is brought into the city, the Greeks will destroy the Trojans.[15] None believe her, and the horse is admitted in the city, with the known disastrous results for Troy. Cassandra is unable to do anything to prevent the forthcoming tragedies.

Let us turn to analyzing Cassandra's prophesies in more detail. Some texts (e.g., *Epitome* see n. 15) do not specify how Cassandra accesses the divine knowledge. Other times Cassandra appears to access visions that predict the future, which she, in turn, interprets.[16] The same future oriented pattern is recognizable in other references to Cassandra's prophecies. When Troy falls to the Greeks Cassandra seeks for shelter in the temple of Athena, but her misfortune does not yet end there. She is brought to Agamemnon as a concubine.[17] In Euripides' *Women of Troy* she predicts Agamemnon's death (this also in *Agamemnon*). Everything she prophesies, happens. Her predictions do not appear to be responses to inquiries or consultations, but rather occur as spontaneous, involuntary revelations provided by her unfortunate gift. It has been suggested that whereas the figure appears in ecstatic state, she still remains somehow conscious of herself and her context.[18] For instance, she is able to maintain a conversation with the choir in *Agamemnon* (see above n. 14).

Turning now to the accusations of Cassandra's madness, it should be mentioned that prophetic figures were generally considered to have somehow altered state of consciousness in ancient Greek literature, and thus unusual behavior or prophetic madness *per se* did not imply that people would not believe prophetic messages.[19] However, Cassandra's predictions were received differently. While crying out her prophecies she was not viewed as simply acting in an altered state of consciousness, but rather as a madwoman. Her audience does not think she is crazy because of the contents of her messages. Rather, they refer to Cassandra as an unreliable character.[20]

Chorus: How then dud you remain uncharmed by the wrath of Loxias?
Cassandra: after I had done him this wrong, I could never make anyone believe anything I said."
Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 1202-1212 (LCL).

[15] E.g., Apollodorus, *Epitome*, 5.17-18, who declares Cassandra prophesied the events that were later confirmed by Laocoon, the seer. "As Cassandra said that there was an armed force in it, and she was further confirmed by Laocoon, the seer, some were for burning it, and others for throwing it down a precipice; but as most were in favour of sparing it as a votive offering sacred to a divinity, they betook them to sacrifice and feasting. However, Apollo sent them a sign; for two serpents swam through the sea from the neighboring islands and devoured the sons of Laocoon." (LCL).

[16] "What is this I see? Is it, is it, a net of death? The net is she who shares the net, who shares the guilt of the murder! Let the insatiable spirit of strife raise a cry of triumph over the family for this sacrifice that merits stoning!" Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 1114-1118.

[17] These events are described e.g., in Apollodorus, *Epitome*, 5.23 and Euripides, *Women of Troy*.

[18] Mazzoldi, *Cassandra, la vergina e l'indovina*, 100-102.

[19] Nissinen, "Prophetic Madness," 3-29, demonstrates this applies to ANE and ancient Greece. Nissinen describes altered state of consciousness as a result of both the psycho-physiological state of the performer and its cultural interpretation.

[20] In Agamemnon, it is Agamemnon's wife who judges Cassandra. However, in *Women of Troy*, 169-173, Cassandra's mother Hecuba cries: "I beg you then, do not bring forth the maddened Cassandra to be disgraced by the Greeks, the maenad girl, and let me not have grief upon grief!" Further in *Women of Troy*, 307-308: "My mad daughter Cassandra is coming here on the run." (Trans. David Kovacs, LCL).

She is unable to persuade people around her.[21] However, while people around Cassandra do not believe prophecies and accuse her of being mad, the audience of the ancient literature is aware of her access to truth knowledge. Thus, from the point of view of the narrative, she appears as a reliable prophet.

Given that the focus of my paper is on locations where the prophetic utterances are pronounced, I will now shortly summarize what the ancient texts say about the location of Cassandra's prophecies. It was already pointed out above, that according to one tradition Cassandra's prophetic skill was granted in a temple (n. 12). The snakes of Apollo appear frequently in myths granting people exceptional qualities such as the ability to understand the language of animals.[22] Further, divinatory skills often were explained to be gifts of gods, most prominently Apollo. Here it is not a coincidence that the gift is granted in the temple where Apollo is said to house. The location specifies the contact between Cassandra and the god.

In Euripides' *Women of Troy* the events take place mostly in a no man's land between the destroyed walls of Troy and the tents of the Greeks. There Cassandra meets her mother Hecuba. Her prophesying continues when deported to a strange land as a concubine. In Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* Cassandra starts to prophecy after her arrival at the palace of king Agamemnon. She enters his palace knowing that Agamemnon's wife Clytemnestra has plotted against her and she will die.

It appears that whereas at least according to some traditions, the gift of prophecy was granted in a temple, Cassandra's prophecies are not connected to any particular environment or setting. Her spontaneous prophecies appear without any control.

2.2 Pythia

In order to analyze the distrust towards Cassandra, let us now turn to the exemplary Greek female prophet, Pythia, who served as the mouthpiece for Apollo at the temple of Delphi. The god was thought to speak directly through her; the voice was hers, but the words were his.[23] She was the most well-known of all female intuitive diviners. During the effective years of the oracle of Delphi Pythia received delegations from all over the eastern Mediterranean area. She was consulted for political as well as private matters.[24]

A consultation with Pythia would very likely have entailed an announcement of the client's question and Apollo's answer and perhaps a discussion of the matter. It

[21] This probably relates to the concept of *peitho*, persuasion, that was powerful in the fifth and fourth century Athens. I thank Manuela Giordano for this remark. Unfortunately the constraints of this paper do now allow me to elaborate this point further here.

[22] Mazzoldi, *Cassandra, la vergina e l'indovina*, 112 n. 60; Johnston, *Ancient Greek Divination*, 111.

[23] E.R. Dodds, *The Greeks and Irrational* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951), 70; Flower, *The Seer*, 211.

[24] For political matters, see especially Bowden, *Classical Athens and the Delphic Oracle*, who demonstrates the significance of Delphi to Athens until 300 B.C.E. For private matters, see Herodotus, *Histories*, that demonstrates how the oracle was frequently consulted for private matters. Plutarch, *Moralia*, 408, complains that once the Persian wars finished, the significance of the oracle shifted to more private matters. Should I marry? Will I have children? Should I go on a voyage? Did my neighbor steal from me? Is my spouse faithful? Will my child recover from illness? These were all questions typically posed to Pythia.

should be emphasized that the focus of the consultation was on Pythia. As the chosen instrument of Apollo, she was the conduit of divine knowledge. When the consultants came with well-defined plans, she either approved or disapproved them. Where there was no definite plan of action, she may have issued a response in either prose or verse.[25]

In contrast to Cassandra's sporadic prophesies that could not be controlled, Pythia's function was well determined. She operated at a well-established oracular site. Archeological remains suggest that there was a sanctuary already by the late 9th century B.C.E.[26] The oracle appears much later. The first mention of it in ancient Greek texts is in the *Odyssey* (8.79-82). Pythia's consultations took place within the adyton of the temple in Delphi where the stone omphalos, or "navel" marked what was believed to be the center of the earth (Pindar, *Paean*, frag, 52f.17).[27] From the third century B.C.E. onwards authors locate the place where Pythia consulted at a spot above a crevice in the rocks from which rising vapors escaped. Plutarch reports (*Moralia* 397a) that Pythia burned laurel leaves and barley meal upon the altar before mounting the tripod where she consulted. Didorus Siculus (16.26.5) claims the tripod was invented to keep Pythia above the escaping gasses. Scholars debate whether or not these gasses influenced Pythia's role as an oracle.[28]

While Pythia was thought to be possessed by Apollo, her behavior should not be confused with frenzy. References to Pythia's "prophetic madness" are marginal and are not as firmly established as those that claim her to be perfectly understandable and intelligent.[29] In most of the sources she appears completely lucid. According to ancient texts that refer to her consultations, she is surrounded by people operating at the oracular site, yet it is only Pythia who delivers the messages. Also, as pointed out above, the texts lay out a picture that delegations visiting her and asking her opinion would follow her advice. This suggests that Pythia's messages were usually not questioned.

3. Disbelief in Jewish Female Prophets

3.1 Miriam and Sibyl

After presenting some statements of disbelief concerning the Greek female prophets, let me now turn to the status of the Jewish ones. Only four women are portrayed as prophets in the Hebrew Bible: Miriam, Deborah, Huldah and Noadiah. These figures have been dealt with in the field of Biblical Studies previously.[30] However, as the

[25] Maurizio, "Anthropology and Spirit Possession," 69-86.
[26] Iles Johnston, *Ancient Greek Divination*, 38.
[27] Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess*, 75-77.
[28] Maurizio "Anthropology and Spirit Possession," 69-86; Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess*, 75-77; Iles Johnston, *Ancient Greek Divination*, 45-50.
[29] Maurizio, "Anthropology and Spirit Possession," 69-86.
[30] Rita Burns, *Has the Lord Indeed Spoken only Through Moses? A Study of the Biblical Portrait of Miriam* (SBLDS 84, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987); Ursula Rapp, *Mirjam: Eine feministisch-rhetorische Lekture der Mirjamtexte in der hebräischen Bibel* (BZAW 317; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2002); Susan Ackerman, "Why Is Miriam Also among the Prophets? (And is Zipporah among the Priests?)" *JBL* 121 (2002): 47-80; Irmtraud Fischer, *Gotteskünderinnen: Zu einer geschlechterfairen Deutung des Phänomens der Prophetie und der Prophetinnen in der Hebräischen Bibel* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2002); Wilda C. Gafney, *Daughters of Miriam: Women Prophets in Ancient Israel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2008).

references to the female prophets are sparse, they leave many lacunas to the interpretation of female prophets in ancient Jewish texts. Only the prophecy of Huldah is preserved and I will address that below. Meanwhile I would like to highlight that aside from the Hebrew Bible ancient Jewish literature preserves more references to women as intuitive diviners. At this point I think of in particular the figure of Miriam in *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* and the figure of Sibyl of the *Sibylline Oracles,* whose messages composed in the late Second Temple era are preserved to us. Both are treated as suspicious figures.[31]

In contrast to the Hebrew Bible, that does not preserve explicit references to Miriam's prophesies, Miriam appears in *L.A.B.* 9:10 as a (assumingly) young girl who foresees Moses' birth. She receives this information during a nightly vision in which she sees a figure and his significance. Although she tells this vision to her parents, they do not believe her.[32] This reference is so concise that we cannot draw many conclusions from it. However, the point of disbelief seems to relate to Miriam's amazing dream, one they cannot receive as a truthful prophecy.

My second example of a Jewish female prophet is the figure of Sibyl. The end of the third book of the *Sibylline Oracles,* which has a Jewish origin, contains the alleged autobiography of Sibyl.[33] This reveals the author's view of her identity. She has Jewish origins and comes from Babylon, but is sent to Greece to prophecy among the Greeks. By prophesying events that from her perspective are still in the future but that are in the past for the audience reading the text, this is a narrative trick to claim credibility (e.g., she predicts the Exodus events in *Sib. Or.* 3.248-264 and foresees Homer in 3.419-432).

In *Sib. Or.* 3.814b-816a Sibyl laments people's disbelief towards her: "Some will say that I am Sibylla, born of Circe as mother, and Gnostos as father, a crazy liar." It was pointed out above that madness was sometimes seen as a prophetic quality. This seems to apply to Sibyl too. She was interpreted as a raving figure.[34]

According to Greek mythology Circe is the daughter of Heluios and Perse. In *Odyssey* 10.133-269 she is portrayed as a wicked goddess who transformed Odysseus and his

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[31] For the figure of Sibylla, see John J. Collins, *The Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism* (SBLDS 13; Missoula, Mon.: SBL, 1974), 1, who describes these oracles as utterances of an inspired woman. She was an ecstatic who uttered prophecies of a predominantly gloomy nature. Collins adds that this phenomenon was known in the Greek world in particular through Cassandra, who was though never referred to as a sibyl. Collins adds that there is no evidence of sibyl being connected to a particular shrine.

[32] "And the spirit of God came upon Miriam one night, and she saw a dream and told it to her parents in the morning, saying: I have seen this night, and behold a man in a linen garment stood and said to me , 'Go and say to your parents, behold he who will be born from you will be cast forth into the water; likewise through him the will be dried up. And I will work signs through him and save my people, and he will exercise leadership always.' And when Miriam told of her dream, her parents did not believe her." (*L.A.B.* 10:9) Translation Daniel J. Harrington, "Pseudo Philo," in *OTP* 2: 316.

[33] For the origin, see Collins, *The Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism*, 1-18; Rieuwerd Buitenwerf, *Book III of the Sibylline Oracles and its Social Setting* (SVTP 17; Leiden: Brill, 2003).

[34] Plutarch, *Moralia* 397B, refers to Sibyl (through Heraclitus): "But Sibylla with raving mouth uttering things without laughter and without charm of sight or scent, reaches a thousand years by her voice on account of the god." Notion by Heraclitus demonstrates Sibyl was known around 500 B.C.E. Similarly Aristophanes, who around fifth century B.C.E. refers to Sibyl: "being crazily eager for the Sibyl."

friends into pigs.[35] Further, in Greco-Roman mythology Circe is associated with luxuriousness and levity (e.g., Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 1.3.6-7; Plutarch, *Quomodo adulator ab amibo internoscatur* 52E). The allegation that Sybil is offspring of a greedy goddesss intends to disqualify Sibyl as a prophet.[36] An illegitimate daughter of Circe can never be a respectable prophet of the true God; but only a mistrusted character. Consequently she is called a liar.[37]

In the following lines the author has the Sibyl say that she comforts herself with the thought that her prophecies are true and reliable: eventually everything she foretells will come true, and people will remember her, not as a cheat, but as a prophet of the great God (cf. lines 3.568-572).[38] She says she is the daughter-in-law of Noah (*Sib. Or.* 3.823-826).[39] All in all, the entire epilogue seems to aim at establishing her credentials. That reveals the disbelief is not directed towards her messages, but rather towards the figure. In sum, in this section I wanted to show that while the literature of the Second Temple Period does not witness to new female prophets, new prophetic traditions are attributed to some already known characters. Interestingly, these new literary traditions reflect a polemic view on female prophets who are not believed.

3.2 Huldah

Similar to my dealing with the Greek prophets above, I will now focus on the figure of Huldah that is allegedly the only Jewish female prophet treated with trust. Analyzing this figure will contribute to our survey on disbelief towards female prophets. Huldah is featured in 2 Kgs 22:15-17 (2 Chr 34:23-28), when the book of Law is found in the temple. A king's delegation goes to visit her and asks her about it. Huldah informs the king that he is indeed right by worrying. The sins Jerusalem and Judah have committed in not following God's laws set out in this book are so grave that no amount of repentance can change God's mind about their forthcoming punishment.[40]

Huldah appears as a respectable figure in this passage. The author has included in it Huldah's familial credentials in order to add to her name and reputation. She is described as a married woman. Not she, but her husband is provided with a two-generation pedigree, and a respectable occupation as he is guardian of the clothing. They reside in Mishneh. This is expressed by the verb ישב, thus leaving it open whether Huldah was thought to live there or whether it was the place where she

[35] "Then we came to the island of Aenea; here Circe dwelt, a goddess with braided hair, with human speech and with strange powers... Having given them this and waited for them to have their fill, she struck them suddenly with her wand, then drove them into the sties where she kept her swine. And now the men had the form of swine – the snout, the grunt and bristles; only their minds were left unchanged." See also *Odyssey* 10.316-317.

[36] Buitenwerf, *Book III of the Sibylline Oracles and its Social Setting*, 298.

[37] Ibid., 299.

[38] Ibid.

[39] "For when the world was deluged with waters, and a certain single approved man was left with beasts, and birds, so that the world might be filled again, I was his daughter-in-law and I was of his blood. The first things happened to him and all the latter things have been revealed, so let all these things from my mouth be accounted true*." Sib. Or.* 3.823-830. J.J. Collins in *OTP* 1:380.

[40] Tal Ilan, "Huldah, the Deuteronomic Prophetess of the Book of Kings," *Lectio Difficilior* 1/2010 [http://www.lectio.unibe.ch/10_1/ilan.html].

practiced her profession. This quarter of the city, as its name implies, was a new quarter. It is also mentioned in the prophecy of Zeph 1:10 and in Neh 11:9.

The passage states clearly that the delegation went to meet Huldah. This is expressed by the verb הלך. Because of that and the name of the quarter of the city (Mishneh), the text implies that people had to go out of the palace to meet Huldah. This suggests that Huldah did not reside in the palace, but does not exclude the possibility she acted as a court prophet (see below).

Despite the lack of explicit evidence demonstrating Huldah's links to the king or to elements that would undoubtedly make her a court prophet, it is difficult see her completely detached from the monarch. There are many references to prophets in the Hebrew Bible, who conveyed divine messages to the kings. Especially before an impending battle or in times of war, prophets are reported to have delivered oracles. E.g., Gad is king David's seer (הַנָּבִיא חֹזֵה דָוִד).[41] Moreover, Nathan appeared to have functioned as David's prophet when he delivers divine messages to the king (2 Sam 7:4-17; 12:1-17; 1 Kgs 1:8, 10, 22-37). These passages do not preserve any title that would connect Nathan to the king, but e.g., Sam 12:1 reads that it was God who sent Nathan to David (וַיִּשְׁלַח יְהוָה אֶת־נָתָן אֶל־דָּוִד) and David seemingly listens to Nathan. In these passages Nathan usually comes to David (e.g., 1 Kgs 1:22-23), yet elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible political leaders go to meet the prophets for consultations (e.g., 2 Kgs 3:13).[42] Thus, they do not appear to reside in the palace.

Given kings' close contacts with prophets in general, and King Josiah choosing Huldah for his consultation in particular, it is difficult to see Huldah as an independent prophet without any connection to the reigning monarch. Further, the 2 Kings 23 describes how King Josiah takes heed of Huldah's advice and initiates a cultic reform. Some scholars, e.g., Robert R. Wilson, think that this preserved text evidence is sufficient to profile Huldah as a prophet who belongs to the royal court.[43] If such general conclusion cannot be drawn, it seems that at least in this particular occasion Huldah performed as a prophet who belonged to Josiah's court.[44]

Finally, Huldah's prophecy starts with the classic messenger formula "thus says the lord" (כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל 2 Kings 22:15-16). The purpose of this formula was to indicate a consciousness of the divine origin of the message and to claim authority for the speaker.[45] It has been pointed out that this passage is clearly influenced by the

[41] "When David rose in the morning, the word of the Lord came to the prophet Gad, David's seer, saying, 'Go and say to David: Thus says the Lord: Three things I offer you; choose one of them, and I will do it to you.'" (2 Sam 24:11-12).

[42] David E. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids, Mich: Eerdmans, 1983), 84.

[43] Robert R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980), 220, 223. See also Jonathan Ben-Dov, "Writing as Oracle and as Law," *JBL* 127 (2008), 223-239, who thinks that although from the eighth century onwards Israelite prophets were accustomed to delivering their admonitions to the entire population rather than confining their audience to the court, traditional court prophecy still maintained its status in later periods and cultic prophecy was oriented toward the king. Ben-Dov thinks that Huldah, probably belonged to the cultic prophetic institution. See also, Lowell K. Handy, "The Role of Huldah in Josiah's Cult Reform," *ZAW* 106 (1994): 40-53.

[44] I thank Jonathan Stökl for this remark.

[45] Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World*, 89.

Deuteronomists.[46] This has led to different speculations concerning Huldah's identity. On the one hand, Diana Edelman has claimed that the syntax of the passage, and especially the obscure reference to Mishneh, may betray a later redaction of the passage. Edelman suggests that Huldah was originally a prophet of Aserah, who was later turned into servant of YHWH.[47] A later revision would explain the deuteronomistic language of the passage because the scribe writing it modelled it after prophecies of Jeremiah. While I will not evaluate Edelman's theory here, it should be acknowledged that should the passage reflect the practice of Aserah religion, it was administered by officially appointed and sponsored priests and prophets who functioned alongside the YHWH religion.[48] Thus, this observation does not necessarily diminish Huldah's significance, but maintains that she was viewed as an established character.

More recently, Tal Ilan has proposed that Huldah must have been part of the reform initiative of the Deuteronomists.[49] She was important because she belonged to a marginal group of prophets who, at a certain moment in history, made an alliance with a king of Judah and came to occupy positions of power.[50]

While the constraints of this paper do not allow me to dwell on Huldah's role further, I would like to conclude this section by outlining that all theories concerning Huldah, suggest that this figure held an established position in the society.

4. Intermediary Summary

After this brief survey to the female prophets who are not believed on the one hand, and to those who are treated as trusty figures in the texts on the other hand, a picture of the characteristics that add to the credibility of female prophets emerges.

As we have seen, the texts add credibility to these characters in different ways: for instance, by referring to prominent family pedigree. Interestingly, despite Cassandra, Miriam, and Sibyl having noble family backgrounds, these references do not provide credibility regarding their prophecies.[51] The figures are treated with disbelief. Meanwhile the credible figures, Pythia and Huldah, do not come from significant families, or at least those details are not presented to the audience of the texts.

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[46] Gary N. Knoppers, *Two Nations under God: The Deuteronomistic History of Solomon and the Dual Monarchies : The Reign of Solomon and the Rise of Jeroboam* (HSM; 2 Vols.; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 1:131-133; Handy, "The Role of Huldah in Josiah's Cult Reform," 40-53.

[47] Diana Edelman, "Huldah the Prophet – Of Yahweh or Aserah?" in A Feminist Companion to Samuel and Kings (ed. Athalya Brenner; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 230-250.

[48] Edelman, "Huldah the Prophet – Of Yahweh or Aserah?" 248.

[49] Ilan, "Huldah, the Deuteronomic Prophetess of the Book of Kings".

[50] Ilan, **"**Huldah, the Deuteronomic Prophetess of the Book of Kings. It is of interest that Huldah is depicted so prominently despite her untruthful prediction concerning the king, who died. This did not affect her portrayal as a truthful prophet. Ilan brings into discussion concerning Huldah's significance archeological evidence. She points out that there are good reasons to believe that Huldah's tomb was located near the temple and that the gates of the Second Temple were named after her. Blazenka Scheuer, "Huldah: a Cunning Career Woman?," forthcoming, thinks Huldah's message to the king makes her a cunning figure. I thank Dr Scheuer for sharing her article with me prior to its publication.

[51] In some cases the lack of trust in the level of literature may be a technic to claim the individual more prominence. The surrounding environment does not recognize the selected individual that provides *post eventum* prophecy. Thus, their significance is recognized by the later audiences. This applies to Miriam, Sibyl, and Cassandra.

Yet, these two figures, who are treated with trust, share at least one common feature. Pythia and Huldah both appear to operate in an institutionalized context. Their status in the texts is particularly strong because "place mattered".[52] The divine word received at an established site was appreciated by the virtue of the temple or king's court. Therefore, my basic assumption in what follows is that the context, in which women's prophecy took place, had a major influence on how the prophecy was viewed. More concretely, an established and reputable context would add to its credibility. Let me elaborate on this a little more in below by analyzing what the ancient texts say about the sites where the prophets operated.

5. Location of Female Prophets

Michael Flower writes that there was a certain hierarchy in ancient Greece: oracles were more respected than individual seers.[53] The oracle of Delphi was not the only one. Other significant ancient oracles included those of Didyma and Claros, both dedicated to Apollo, and the temple of Zeus in Dodona. All these oracular sites are well attested in ancient Greek literature.

All of the oracle shrines were attributed legends explaining how the site had originally been discovered, how the cult had been instituted and how the place had received its oracular powers. Delphi was considered the center of the world. Above, I pointed out that it was exactly there where Pythia delivered her message. Delphi itself is being represented as situated at the exact center of the world, which was marked by the omphalos, that Zeus had once placed there to honor this fact.[54]

Regarding the other sites, at Didyma it was claimed that the sacred grove in the temple area was the very one in which Apollo had met and fallen in love with Branchus, who served as the Oracle's first prophet.[55] Apollo granted him the gift to prophecy, gave him a sacred laurel branch and established him at an oracular sanctuary that came to be known as both Branchidae and Didyma.[56] Regarding Dodona, Herodotus reports that two black doves had flown from Thebes to Egypt, one to the oracle of Zeus Ammon in Libya and the other to the oracle of Zeus at Dodona. The dove at Dodona settled on an oak and commanded the natives to establish an oracular shrine there.[57] There were ancient traditions also connected to Claros. Hesiod writes about a famous divinatory contest that had taken place in Claros between the seers Calchas and Mopsus, the latter of whom was known as one of the oracle's founders. Further, Claros was declared to be one of Apollo's favorite places in a Homeric *Hymn to Artemis*.[58]

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[52] Iles Johnston, *Ancient Greek Divination*, 72; Nissinen, "Prophetic Madness: Prophecy and Ecstacy in the Ancient Near East and in Greece," 27-29.
[53] Flower, *The Seer*, 145.
[54] Iles Johnston, *Ancient Greek Divination*, 34. The earliest reference to this legend is found in Pindar, fr. 54, who tells how two eagles were sent by Zeus, one from the East and one from the West to locate the centre of the earth. Their meeting at Delphi was marked by the white stone, omphalos.
[55] Iles Johnston, *Ancient Greek Divination,* 81-82.
[56] Ibid. Callimachus, fr. 229.
[57] Herodotus, *Histories* 2.55-56.
[58] Iles Johnston, *Ancient Greek Divination*, 76. *Homeric Hymn* 9 (ll. 1-6) "Muse, sing of Artemis, sister of the Far-shooter, the virgin who delights in arrows, who was fostered with Apollo. She waters her horses from Meles deep in reeds, and swiftly drives her all-golden chariot through Smyrna to vine-clad

These accounts demonstrate that the gods were believed to be directly present at the various oracular sites. Apart from these, oracle shrines often had within their precincts some natural features, e.g., a spring or a grotto, to which much of the sanctity of the site was attributed. For example, I already mentioned Pythia's grotto, the source of inspiring vapor.[59] In Claros the prophet was told to descent in to a cave where he had to drink from a sacred spring.[60] Also in Didyma there was a sacred spring. At the beginning of a prophetic session, the prophetess either dipped her foot into the spring water or wetted the hem of her sacred dress with it. This was considered enough to bring her into a trance.[61]

All in all, it is no coincidence that oracles were delivered at places that held authority. The fact that each oracle was tied to a location sets them in contrast with the independent diviners (*mantis*). Therefore, the trust and prestige of the people officiating in established shrines did not depend merely on themselves, but it had a connection to the sanctity of the shrine too.[62] Meanwhile, independent diviners might live in a single city their whole lives or wander from place to place, but either way, even if they claimed to have been inspired by Apollo or another god (as Cassandra did), they had no permanent affiliation with any particular temple or sanctuary.[63] I think that this aspect sheds some new light on the prominence of Pythia vis-à-vis for instance Cassandra.

After this short excursus on the oracular sites, one should inquire what we know about the sites where the Jewish female prophets operated. Unfortunately, we cannot say much related to this. None of the figures is clearly linked to a specific oracular site. Miriam appears in seven passages in the Hebrew Bible (Exod 15:20-21; Num 12:1- the broader ancient Jewish literature attests to her.[64] These texts associate her with the Exodus events and the Israelites' wandering in the wilderness where Miriam is told to die (Num 20:1). While some previous studies argue that she was connected to Kadesh, there is no textual evidence for this.[65]

Claros where Apollo, god of the silver bow, sits waiting for the far-shooting goddess who delights in arrows." See, Hesiod, fr. 214; Herodotus, *Histories*, 1.46.2, 92.2, 157.3; 2.159.3; 5.35.3; 6.19.2-3.

[59] See section 2.2. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World*, 27-28.

[60] "Here there is no priestess as at Delphi, but a male priest, chosen from certain families, usually from Miletus. He is told only the number and names of his clients, and then descents into a cave, drinks water from a sacred spring, and – though generally illiterate and ignorant of metre – produces a set of verses on whatever the visitor had in mind" (Tacitus, *Annals* 2.54).

[61] Fritz Graf, *Apollo* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), 60-61.

[62] Iles Johnston, *Ancient Greek Divination*, 34, claims that there was some competition between independent seers and oracles.

[63] Iles Johnston, *Ancient Greek Divination*, 34.

[64] Hanna Tervanotko, *Denying Her Voice: The Figure of Miriam in Ancient Jewish Literature* (JAJSup; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht) forthcoming.

[65] This theory goes back to Martin Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972), 169-170, who writes "a grave tradition usually gives the most reliable indication of the original provenance of a particular figure or tradition. Noth's argument was later recapitulated by Burns, *Has the Lord Indeed Spoken only through Moses*, 124-128, who elaborates the possibility that Miriam was a historical figure functioning in Kadesh.

Not much more can be said about the other female prophets. The parallels between Deborah and Pythia have been pointed out recently by Kupitz and Berthelot.[66] On my view, the difficulty to see Deborah as a prophetess lies in the observation that there is not much that would indicate her prophetic activity. Further, while the text reads that she operated under the palm of Deborah between Rama and Bethel, this information is too vague to draw any further conclusions from it.[67] Moreover, some recent studies have emphasized her role as a leader instead of her prophetic skills.[68] The reference to Noadiah preserved in Neh 6:14, is so short that not many conclusions can be drawn from it. Given the dubious light in which she is presented, it is difficult to imagine a connection to an established site.[69]

All in all, as argued above the female prophet that appears the most established is Huldah. There are reasons to ask whether she could have been connected with the temple of Jerusalem in some way. A contemporary of Huldah, Jeremiah frequented the temple in Jerusalem where he also delivered messages (e.g., Jer 26:2, 7; 27:16-22; 28:1, 5). It has been suggested in the Hebrew Bible that prophets whose sphere of activity was around the temple, were apparently (like anyone else who frequented the temple) under the authority of the high priest (Jer 29:26-27).[70] Furthermore, according to Jeremiah, priests considered prophets as bearers of divine revelation and heeded their oracles (Jer 5:30-31; 27:16). These references demonstrate that prophets had contacts with the temple. Whether Huldah did or did not prophecy at the temple remains speculative, but at least it is a question that should be asked when we inquire about her role and the role of the female prophets in general.

6. Conclusion

The aim of my study was to highlight through a comparative study elements of women's status as prophets that would not be as readily seen if both, Jewish and Greek female prophets are observed in isolation. I focused in particular on disbelief in them and analyzed the importance of the site where prophecy takes place. Keeping in mind the differences between our materials, I would like to put forward three conclusions on the basis of the comparison.

i) Our analysis demonstrates that statements of disbelief concern the messages that the female prophets deliver as well as the figures themselves.
ii) this study highlights the significance of the context where the act of prophecy took place. Female prophets that are connected with established oracular

[66] Kupitz and Berthelot "Deborah and the Delphic Pythia: A New Interpretation of Judges 4:4-5," 95-124.
[67] Note that Kupitz and Berthelot "Deborah and the Delphic Pythia," 106-108, explore the possibility that the author of the passage borrowed the motif of a palm tree from literary traditions related to god Apollo. They suggest that the association of Deborah with a palm tree is to be understood as a clue given by the author to Pythia, the peophetess of Apollo in Delphi.
[68] Jonathan Stökl, Prophecy in the Ancient Near East: A Philological and Sociological Comparison (CHANE 56; Leiden, Brill, 2012), 188, calls Deborah "a war leader". Hanna Tervanotko, "'Obey me like your mother' (*L.A.B.* 33:1) Deborah's Leadership in Light of *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* 33," *JSP*, forthcoming, demonstrates that the title "mother" attributed to Deborah adds to her function as a political leader comparable to the other early Israelite leaders.
[69] Martti Nissinen, "The Dubious Image of Prophecy," in *Prophets, Prophecy and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism*, 26-41, 29-35.
[70] Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World*, 84

contexts have a stronger position in the texts than those who operate independently.

iii) The texts suggest that even those women who would otherwise be respected, e.g., Miriam, who elsewhere is regarded as a noble figure, is not received as a true divine mouthpiece, perhaps because of her lacking an established context to operate in.

Language as a political tool

On certain terms and how they function as rhetorical markers

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Preface

In this paper I wish to analyse the relationship between Deuteronomy 23:2-9[1-8], Isaiah 56:1-8 and Nehemiah 13. I will do so by analysing the terminology used for the sexually mutilated and the סָרִיס. By doing so, I wish to get a broader understanding of the relationship between these texts, in order to further my understanding of how the community is defined in postexilic texts. The focal points of discussion that I wish to be addressed are:

- Does the method chosen help determine the relationship between the texts? How does it contribute to a new understanding of the categories of individuals described in the primary sources? Does it work as an aid for analysing rhetoric?
- Is it clear that my conclusions are drawn as a result of the word study? Should certain passages in the present paper be put somewhere else in my future dissertation, as part of another chapter?
- Should I use fewer or more biblical sources as primary sources? Is it messy, the way it is presented in the paper?

Introduction

The point of this study is to analyse the rhetoric of segregation that is visible in postexilic texts. After the exile, the returning *Golah* community display a need to form a new identity, an identity that is no longer tied to the temple cult nor is it tied to being in exile.[1] In the postexilic texts of the Hebrew Bible, the trauma of exile is apparent. It is a defining event for the Israelite people, and the group identity of the Israelites is completely overthrown. Gone is the temple, Jerusalem is destroyed and the people's leaders, both priests as well as government officials, have been deported to Babylon.

After the exile the cultic sphere becomes much more difficult to define, because of the destruction of the temple. Even though several of the texts address the rebuilding of the temple, such as the narratives in Nehemiah, the fact remains that the people do not have a specific place where they can worship. This might be the reason why the meaning of the word קהל for example, show a wider semantic range in the postexilic narratives, meaning both the cultic community as well as the entire people; all of Israel. As Katherine Southwood puts it: "Like Ezra, Nehemiah's conclusion represents a metamorphosis from religious divisions to ethnic

[1] Southwood, 2011, p. 206.

boundaries".[2] The main focus for the Deuteronomist is the centralization of the cult in the temple in Jerusalem. In order to worship YHWH in the temple, the people must be holy. In some postexilic texts, however, the meaning shifts. In 1 Chronicles 28:8, the קהל of YHWH is interpreted as all of Israel; וְעַתָּה לְעֵינֵי כָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל קְהַל־יְהוָה. Sara Japhet explains that this is the only place in Chronicles where the Israelites are called the assembly of the Lord:

> The use of ***קהל*** is itself very common … in the construct state we find 'the assembly of Israel'… and 'the assembly of Judah'. The 'assembly of the Lord' clearly implying all of Israel lends special colour to the occasion.[3]

This shift in meaning, where the assembly is no longer restricted to the cultic community but to the entire people, is visible in Nehemiah 13:1-3 as well, where the citing of the assembly of the Lord in Deuteronomy 23 leads to an expulsion of the ערב from Israel. In Ezekiel as well, 44:9, the sanctuary is equated with Israel. For this reason it becomes very important to understand who is allowed into the community, and more specifically, who is not.

These are questions of power, and of ideology – whose interpretation of history and law take precedence? The protagonists in the narratives of post-exilic Yehud are the *Golah* community, the ones returning from exile. In relation to them, there are two groups that stand out, that function as the antagonists of the story. The terminology used ranges, but one common term is עַמֵּי הָאָרֶץ. It is not obvious from context who the עַמֵּי הָאָרֶץ are, if they are Israelites who remained in the land, or different neighbouring groups. To determine who they are, as much as possible, will prove important for this study, and one of the ways of doing this is through the word study in this chapter.

Even though scholars have shown that the importance of the exile has been overstated, and that people not were deported in such big quantities as previously believed,[4] the textual report still show the weight of the trauma.[5] This is also part of the rhetorical strategy that distinguishes the Israelites and places them above other peoples or groups. Because they share this trauma, they are set aside from those that did not go into exile.

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[2] Southwood, 2011, p. 203.

[3] Japhet, 1993, p. 49. However, the formulation found in the Hebrew is not visible in the LXX; καὶ νῦν κατὰ πρόσωπον πάσης ἐκκλησίας κυρίου (1Ch 28:8). Here, it is only the assembly of the lord that is mentioned, without the inclusion of "all of Israel". I have yet to determine what this might entail, why this discrepancy exists between the MT and the LXX.

[4] For example Becking, 2006, and also Ben Zvi, 2010, pp. 155-168, particularly cited pages, but the entire book deals in many ways with the mythology and ideology concerning the "empty land".

[5] For a postcolonial investigation into this, in relation to the contemporary situation for refugees, see Ruiz, 2007, which sheds a different light on the issue of trauma.

Background

In several of the stories in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, there is a rhetoric of exclusiveness present which is mainly aimed at בֶּן־נֵכָר and to a lesser extent, עַמֵּי הָאָרֶץ. These two books are the chief object of study for many scholars that focus on the Persian Period, which is understandable given their focus on history, politics and theology. Therefore, they constitute a point of departure for the present study. My interest in this field began with my reading of Nehemiah 13:1-3 and its citation of Deuteronomy 23. The latter text makes up the so-called "Law of community". It states who is allowed into the congregation of YHWH, or rather who is not allowed entry, and three categories of people are explicitly mentioned; the sexually mutilated, the מַמְזֵר and different neighbouring peoples. The latter category is divided into the Ammonites and Moabites, who are denied entry for eternity, and the Edomites and Egyptians, who are allowed entry from the third generation. The מַמְזֵר, like the Ammonites and Moabites are denied entry for eternity (even to the tenth generation). Perhaps for obvious reasons, there is no mentioning of generation in relation to the sexually mutilated.[6]

Because of the authoritative status of the deuteronomic text in the postexilic era, I believe that its focus on the three different categories of people that are not allowed entry into the assembly might serve as an interpretative framework through which one can read the postexilic texts and thus say something about how the community set up its boundaries. The questions guiding my doctoral project are:

1. What rhetoric concerning "the outsider" is present in the texts? Who were "the outsiders"?
2. How is the community defined in post-exilic texts? Who were allowed entry into the assembly? Who were not allowed? On what grounds where they [not] allowed such entry?

The citation of Deuteronomy 23 in Nehemiah 13 is one example of the authoritative status that this legal text might have had in postexilic Yehud.[7] Another passage that could have been influenced by Deuteronomy 23, even though it is not as obvious, is Isaiah 56:1-8.[8]

[6] Cf. Olyan, 2009, p. 33.
[7] Berquist, 2010, p. 3-6.
[8] Cf. Wright & Chan, 2012, pp. 101-102.

My primary texts are therefore; Deuteronomy 23:1-8[2-9], Nehemiah 13:1-3; 13-31 and Isaiah 56:1-8, and my secondary texts are Ezekiel 44:6-9, Leviticus 21:17-24; 22:24.[9] The reason for this division is to show that my main area of study concerns the post-exilic texts Nehemiah and Trito-Isaiah, and their relation to deuteronomic law as a part of their agenda.[10]

The questions guiding this chapter are:

1. Why is the sexually mutilated denied entry into the קהל YHWH, as stated in Deut 23:1?
2. Why is the סָרִיס mentioned in Isaiah 56:3?
3. Why is the sexually mutilated not mentioned in Nehemiah 13:1-3?

The view of the relationship between texts in previous scholarship

Several scholars have pointed out the relationship between the text in Isaiah and the Nehemiah passage, and its reliance on the deuteronomic text. There seems to be a division among scholars whether or not Isaiah 56 should be read alongside Deuteronomy 23. Some view Isaiah as an *abrogation* of how the law should be interpreted in postexilic times.[11]

Furthermore, Fishbane argues that Isa 56 and Ezek 44 are examples of "new legal teaching … legitimated as immediate divine responses—via the prophets—to concrete historical issues.[12] Schramm deems Isaiah 56 and Deuteronomy 23 "close parallels… [Isa 56:4] annuls the legal stipulations of Deut 23:2-9".[13]

Some scholars mean, on the other hand, that these texts should not be read together. The primary reason for this is textual; there is nothing in the text that suggests a relation, such as a common terminology. This does not necessarily undermine the status held by Deuteronomy, and especially the role of chapter 23, in postexilic texts. But if one would emphasize the relationship between the two texts, one might fail to see that Isaiah 56 makes no mention of the סָרִיס being

[9] There are other texts that strengthen the notion that the Deuteronomic text was held in special esteem in the post-exilic era, such as Lamentations 1:10, Zechariah 9:6 and Ezra 9:12.

[10] The dating of texts is not crucial at this point of my study. However, in the following chapter where the textual analysis of the chosen texts will appear, the need to date the texts in order to determine the relationship between them more clearly will prove beneficiary. As of now, I adhere to the scholars that deem Trito-Isaiah and Nehemiah, and possibly even Ezekiel 44, as post-exilic. However, it should be noted that "postexilic" is a very wide term, Lamentations for example is probably "early postexilic", close to 586 BCE, whereas Ezra-Nehemiah probably should be dated to the 4th century. Yet, in the case of the latter, it is not easy to give an exact date, since dating is dependent on whether Ezra-Nehemiah is the work of the Chronicler, or stands on its own. Cf. Williamson, 1987, p. 45. As for the dating of Leviticus, it too, like Deuteronomy is disputed. This too will be clarified in the following chapter.

[11] So Blenkinsopp, 2003, p. 143, also Fishbane, 2003 [1988], p. 119 and Olyan, 2009, pp. 27-28.

[12] Fishbane, 2003 [1988], p. 257.

[13] Schramm, 1995, p. 124.

excluded from the community. Rather, the texts should be interpreted on their own.[14] This cannot not be said of the Nehemiah passage, since it cites Deuteronomy almost *verbatim*.

The relationship between Isaiah and Nehemiah also divides scholars, especially regarding whether or not the former should be seen as the reverse of the latter; where Nehemiah shows exclusivist tendencies, Isaiah is more universal, according to some scholars.[15] However, it is important to note that the Isaiah text stresses both בֶּן־הַנֵּכָר and הַסָּרִיס are welcome into the house of YHWH *if* they keep the Sabbath and hold fast to the covenant. The relationship between Isaiah and Ezra-Nehemiah is further supported by the use of the root בדל (”separate”), a key concept in especially Ezra but also in Nehemiah.[16]

Methodological considerations

When conveying a message, a text contains several rhetorical strategies that guide the reader in a certain direction. One of the most important factors of that is the choice of words.[17] For this reason I have chosen to perform a word study on terms I have selected according to the division in Deuteronomy 23; the sexually mutilated, the *mamzerim* and different “foreign” groups. In this paper, I will focus on the first category.

This study is first and foremost a textual study. Several of the studies done on the Persian period have focused on the historical and sociological aspects of the post-exilic narratives. These are important aspects in order to understand the context of the postexilic texts. Yet, to focus on the text more than on the context will further contribute to the study of this time period.

I will perform the word study inspired by the method proposed by Carlin Barton and Daniel Boyarin in their joint project *Imagine No Religion – The Task of the Un-Translator* (work in progress). In that book they wish to address the problems of limiting the use of the Latin *religio* and the Greek θρησκεία, respectively, by translating it with the English “religion”. This, they argue, charges the Latin and Greek terms with the modern, Western, ideas of what “religion” might entail, thus shadowing the concepts conveyed by the Latin and the Greek. By consistently reviewing the sources and “un-translate” these terms wherever they occur – by looking at the narrower context of a verse or a chapter and translate the text *except* for the specific term – they

[14] Wright & Chan, 2012, pp. 101-102.
[15] Schaper, 2011, p. 34.
[16] Ezra 6:21; 9:1; 10:8, 11, 16; Neh 9:2; 10:29; 13:3. Cf. Schramm, 1995, pp. 122-123.
[17] The theoretical aspects of this statement will be further developed in the following chapter, where narratology will be discussed at length.

hope to find how different meanings connect with each other laterally, rather than trying to find the most accurate translations for a specific phenomenon.

I believe that the same can be said for several of the terms in the primary texts in this study. By performing this kind of study, I will be able to more fully grasp who the individual addressed in Deuteronomy 23:2 and Isaiah 56:3 might actually be, or more to the point, who the readers and listeners of these stories might have perceived it in the post-exilic era. Just as Barton states, in relation to "religion" in English, this word is so charged with our modern conceptions, which has developed over time. The same can be said of a word like "eunuch" for example, which does not necessarily mean anything to us today, or at least it is not used to describe modern phenomena – the word in itself is "historic", in a sense. However, at the time of Trito-Isaiah, the term סָרִיס seems to have been widely used, denoting a common practice. By looking beyond the translation in English into "eunuch", I hope to understand more of how the term was used, and who it might designate.

All translations in the present paper are mine, except when otherwise stated.

The פְּצוּעַ־דַּכָּא and related terms

The sexually mutilated refers to those banished from the congregation of YHWH in Deuteronomy 23:2[1]: לֹא־יָבֹא פְּצוּעַ־דַּכָּא וּכְרוּת שָׁפְכָה בִּקְהַל יְהוָה:. In Isaiah 56:3, הַסָּרִיס is the chosen term, which might be linked to those mentioned in Deut 23:2. Nehemiah 13 makes no mention of the sexually mutilated, possibly because they should be understood as a subcategory of בֶּן־הַנֵּכָר or because both Ezra and Nehemiah's focus lie with the formation of a new community, evolving around the "holy seed" (Ezra 9:2), which would then make mentioning of the סָרִיס superfluous, given his inability to beget children. Ezekiel mentions בְּנֵי־נֵכָר עֲרֵלֵי־לֵב וְעַרְלֵי בָשָׂר ("בְּנֵי־נֵכָר with uncircumcised heart and uncircumcised flesh, Ezek 44:7). Ezekiel's focus on priestly matters, as well as the stress on circumcision and the use of the word בָשָׂר in this verse, points towards Leviticus 21:17-23 and 22:24 (of animals).

The Pentateuch

In Deuteronomy the choice of words is somewhat obscure;

לֹא־יָבֹא פְּצוּעַ־דַּכָּא וּכְרוּת שָׁפְכָה בִּקְהַל יְהוָה:

The phrase פְּצוּעַ־דַּכָּא does not occur elsewhere when describing castration. A similar prohibition occurs in Leviticus 21:17-23, where it states that no one with any kind of defect may enter the

priesthood, or approach the altar, however the choice of words is different מָרוֹחַ אָשֶׁךְ. In Leviticus 22:24, it says:

וּמָעֽוּךְ וְכָתוּת וְנָתוּק וְכָרוּת לֹא תַקְרִיבוּ לַיהוָה וּבְאַרְצְכֶם לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ

"You shall not offer to the Lord that which has been crushed, pounded, torn or cut. In your land you shall not do this". The word for testicles has been omitted, but the verb used is וְכָרוּת, same as in Deuteronomy. As seen above, Deuteronomy has פְּצוּעַ־דַּכָּא. On their own, these terms are found in a few other passages, דכא occurs 4 times, for example in Psalms 143:3:

כִּי רָדַף אוֹיֵב נַפְשִׁי דִּכָּא לָאָרֶץ חַיָּתִי

"For the enemy has pursued me, crushing (דִּכָּא) my life to the ground". The root פצע occurs 11 times, for example in Proverbs 27:6:

נֶאֱמָנִים פִּצְעֵי אוֹהֵב וְנַעְתָּרוֹת נְשִׁיקוֹת שׂוֹנֵא׃

"Well meant are the פִּצְעֵי (inflicted by) a friend, false (?) are the kisses of an enemy". The way the term is used in other passages seem to convey that it shows an action, inflicted on one by another. Perhaps it is for this reason that they rabbis, in relation to the סָרִיס, differentiated between the man-made סָרִיס as opposed to the congenital סָרִיס.[18] Furthermore, the rabbis equates the פְּצוּעַ־דַּכָּא with the סָרִיס, which is not necessarily obvious in the biblical context.

From context, it is thus possible to say something on how sexual mutilation might have been executed; focus seems to lie on the testicles being defected, which would strengthen the assumption that the פְּצוּעַ־דַּכָּא is denied entry because he is not be able to beget children, thus failing to heed the commandment to be fruitful and multiply (Gen 1:28).[19] The deuteronomic law stating that the woman who crushes or bruises someone's private parts should have her hand cut off emphasizes further the importance of the testicles (Deut 25:11-12).

However, in other parts of the Hebrew Bible there are several examples of barren individuals, such as Sarah and Rachel. This does not exclude one from the assembly, apart from being viewed as a divine punishment.[20] The mentioning of the root כרת in the Qal could point to similar connotations in Deuteronomy 23, but that seems implausible. Yet, the fact that this stem

[18] Mishnah Yevamot, chapter 8, 2014. This entire chapter of the Yevamot is concerned with the interpretation of Deut. 23. For קהל יהוה they explain that it is meant as the congregation of marriageable Israelites, so that the prohibitions stated in Deut. 23 mean those that the Israelites are not allowed to marry, not necessarily those that in their own right are denied entry. This might mean one and the same, however, this is not obvious from context.

[19] So also Galling, 1950, p. 178

[20] Epstein, 1942, p. 291.

is also mentioned in the Niphal in relation to the סָרִיס in Isaiah 56:5 alludes both to Deuteronomy 23, but even more to texts in the Pentateuch that uses the stem in the Niphal to describe divine punishment (such as Lev 20:3 and Exod 12:15).[21] Furthermore, the root in the Qal is also used in relation to circumcision in Exodus 4:25, which might also explain the rather unusual choice of שָׂפְתָה for the male organ, rather than the much more common בְּשָׂר (cf. Gen 17:10-14, where the use of כרת in the Qal also figures, cf. also the Ezekiel passage under discussion in this paper).[22]

In Leviticus, the mentioning of the testes would probably be linked to the wholeness of the body in order for it to be pure.[23] Leviticus focuses only on priests, and the two texts – 21:17-23 and 22:24 – mirror each other; the priest should be clean in a certain way to approach the altar, as should animals, in order to be sacrificed. In Deuteronomy, this concerns all the assembly, all the people must be holy.[24]

The פְּצוּעַ־דַּכָּא is thus denied entry into the קהל יהוה in Deuteronomy because the people must be whole in order to be holy and cannot bear any defects. It could also be that, as the rabbis argue, that the whole pericope of Deuteronomy 23:1-8 should be read in relation to different sexual illicit behaviours; for this reason the פְּצוּעַ־דַּכָּא is mentioned in relation to the *mamzerim* and the Ammonites and Moabites (since the Ammonites and Moabites can be said to be the result of an incestuous union, that between Lot and his daughters, Gen 19).[25] That is in accordance with the theological agenda of the Deuteronomist, which emphasizes adherence to YHWH as the most important factor. That is why other neighbouring people are spoken against so vehemently, because of their worship of foreign gods. It is not their status as foreign *per se* that is the issue. Tikva Frymer-Kensky states: "the Deuteronomist declares that foreignness is villainy; later generations make all villainy foreign… it is the villainous behaviour that makes an individual foreign, not the genes".[26] Castration can be understood as a cultic devotional foreign practice, and as such pointing away from YHWH. However, it could also be understood as punishment

[21] The use of the root כרת in relation to the סָרִיס has amused some scholars, and might be a way of describing the סָרִיס by using a sexual pun of this kind. Apart from showing a sense of humour, the author of Trito-Isaiah also might have had some knowledge of how castration was performed. Cf. Schramm, 1995, pp. 124-125, n. 6.
[22] Cf. Olyan, 2009, p. 26
[23] TDOT (Kedar-Kopfstein), 1999, p. 349-350
[24] Fishbane, 2003 [1988], p 121-122, also Lev 20:26.
[25] Several scholars mention this tradition, for example; Galling, 1950, p. 178, Epstein, 1942, p. 291 and Fishbane, 2003 [1988], p. 124.
[26] Frymer- Kensky, 2002, p. 88.

for actions deemed unlawful for the Deuteronomist as well as for the writer of the Assyrian law code.

The exclusion of the פְּצוּעַ־דַּכָּא depends therefore not only their bodies being defect, but perhaps more because the practice of castration is so linked to other cultures in the region, as the Assyrian legal material shows us. It could also be that apart from being a punishment, it was also a devotional practice in the cult of other gods. Cultic mutilation was not practiced in Israel, nor self-mutilation or mutilation as a punitive measure.[27] The Middle Assyrian Laws, on the other hand, states several offences that is punished by castration, followed by working for the king.[28]

The Prophets

In Ezekiel, the tone is even more frank, and more pejorative; the prophet's message is clear about who the chief threat is. The focus is no longer merely on priests but on all of Israel, in spite of the prophet's emphasis on priestly matters;

וְאָמַרְתָּ אֶל־מֶֽרִי אֶל־בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל כֹּה אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה רַב־לָכֶם מִכֹּל־תּוֹעֲבֹתֵיכֶם בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל׃

בַּהֲבִיאֲכֶם בְּנֵי־נֵכָר עַרְלֵי־לֵב וְעַרְלֵי בָשָׂר לִהְיוֹת בְּמִקְדָּשִׁי לְחַלְּלוֹ אֶת־בֵּיתִי בְּהַקְרִיבְכֶם אֶת־לַחְמִי חֵלֶב וָדָם וַיָּפֵרוּ אֶת־ בְּרִיתִי אֶל כָּל־תּוֹעֲבוֹתֵיכֶם׃ (Ezek. 44:6-7)

"Say to the rebellious house of Israel, thus says the Lord God; enough of all your abominations, house of Israel, by admitting בְּנֵי־נֵכָר, with uncircumcised heart and uncircumcised flesh, to be in my sanctuary, to profane my house and by offering my food, the fat and the blood. You have broken my covenant with all your abominations".

In Ezekiel, it becomes very clear that the issue of circumcision is vital as a sign of the covenant, as opposed to the other texts. It does not say anything about the פְּצוּעַ־דַּכָּא. Yet, it could be put alongside the Leviticus text as well as the text in Deuteronomy because of the emphasis on the profanation of the sanctuary, or the assembly of YHWH. In Ezekiel, the Israelites are addressed, but just as in chapter 16 of the same book, where Jerusalem's infidelity is explained by her Hittite and Amorite origin (Ezek.16:3), the prophet uses בְּנֵי־נֵכָר as a way of explaining why

[27] Blenkinsopp, 2003, p. 137, Wright & Chan, 2012, p. 101.

[28] There are several crimes of a sexual nature that is punished in this way, such as lying with another man's wife (ANET [Pritchard, 1950] §15), if death is not chosen. If the man punishes his wife by cutting of her nose, he should punish the man by castrating him. Also, gossip or slander should be punished in this way (§§18, 19).

YHWH has abandoned his people.[29] The aforementioned shift thus surfaces, from the villainous being deemed foreign, to the foreign deemed as villainous.

The Septuagint

The LXX uses θλαδίας both in Deuteronomy 23:1 and in Leviticus 22:24, possibly as a way of conveying the nominalization visible in the Hebrew פְּצוּעַ־דַּכָּא, which functions as a noun (he who has, no one who has…), since θλαδίας could be traced to θλάω (bruise, crush).[30] Interestingly enough, this is not the term used in Leviticus 21:20, instead μόνορχις is favoured ("with one testicle"). Without reading too much into it, this shift in terminology might be yet another sign that the reproductive aspect of the individual is the determining feature of the legal text.

The סָרִיס

The Pentateuch

In the Hebrew Bible, the term סָרִיס occur 45 times in different forms. In the Pentateuch, the term only figures 4 times, and only in Genesis, when describing the Egyptian court. For example, it is used to designate the officials at Pharaoh's court:

וַיִּקְצֹף פַּרְעֹה עַל שְׁנֵי סָרִיסָיו עַל שַׂר הַמַּשְׁקִים וְעַל שַׂר הָאוֹפִים׃

"And Pharaoh became angry with his two סָרִיסָיו, the chief cupbearer and the chief baker" (Gen 40:2). Perhaps the most famous סָרִיס of Genesis is another member of Pharaoh's court; Potiphar, whom the story tells us was married (Gen 39). The mere fact that he was married might serve as an indication that he was not castrated or barren in some way. However, there are many instances in the Hebrew Bible were barren people are married; even though Sara and Rachel became pregnant later on, they were still barren for a long time, and this did not nullify the marriage.[31]

The historic books

The term occurs 11 times in the historic books, once each in 1 Sam and 1 Kings, then 9 times in 2 Kings, then again once each in 1 and 2 Chron. In these passages the term is used as a title. Indeed, this is true for all passages where the term appear, except in Isaiah 56:3. Nowhere else

[29] Frymer- Kensky, 2002, p. 283.
[30] Liddell & Scott, 2001[1889].
[31] Epstein, 1942, p. 291.

is it mentioned that the סָרִיס is castrated. However, there is some ambivalence in 2 Kings 20:18, with a parallel in Isaiah 39:7;

(2 Kings 20:18) וּמִבָּנֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר יֵצְאוּ מִמְּךָ אֲשֶׁר תּוֹלִיד(יקח) [יִקָּחוּ] וְהָיוּ סָרִיסִים בְּהֵיכַל מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל׃

(Isa 39:7) וּמִבָּנֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר יֵצְאוּ מִמְּךָ אֲשֶׁר תּוֹלִיד יִקָּחוּ וְהָיוּ סָרִיסִים בְּהֵיכַל מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל׃

"Some of your sons, which emanates from you, whom you will beget; they shall be taken away and become סָרִיסִים at the palace of the Babylonian king".

Here the two meanings might be said to appear together, the סָרִיסִים designate court officials in Babylon but the term might have been chosen to show genealogical aspects as well, the family will die because the sons will become סָרִיסִים, thus being unable to carry on the family name by begetting sons.

As for the other passages where the סָרִיס is mentioned, it is clear that he appears at domestic courts (1 Chronicles 28:1) as well as foreign ones (Apart from Egypt and Persia, also Assyria; 2 Kgs 17:18). Moreover, the סָרִיס is sometimes related to characters of certain notoriety, such as Jezebel (however; they murder her, which might be to their advantage in the interpretation of the story, 2 Kgs 9:32-33).

Notably, the סָרִיס is among those referred to as the "elite of the land" (NRSV) in 2 Kings 24:25 (הָאָרֶץ [אֵילֵי] (אֻולֵי)), which supports the notion made in the reading of Isa 56 above, about the סָרִיס as a man of power.

Its most frequent occurrence is in the Book of Esther, where the stem occurs 12 times, for example;

וְיַפְקֵד הַמֶּלֶךְ פְּקִידִים בְּכָל־מְדִינוֹת מַלְכוּתוֹ וְיִקְבְּצוּ אֶת־כָּל־נַעֲרָה־בְתוּלָה טוֹבַת מַרְאֶה אֶל־שׁוּשַׁן הַבִּירָה אֶל־בֵּית
הַנָּשִׁים… אֶל־יַד הֵגֶא סְרִיס הַמֶּלֶךְ שֹׁמֵר הַנָּשִׁים (Est 2:3)

"And let the king appoint commissioners in all the provinces of his kingdom and let them gather all the beautiful young virgins to the harem (house of women) in the citadel of Susa, under care of (lit. under hand of) Hegai, the king's סְרִיס, who is watching the women…"

In this passage, the term is said in addition to what the task of the סָרִיס was – at least in postexilic times, namely a guarder of the harem.

Prophets

In the books of the prophets, the term is fairly common, and always used as a title, except in the text under scrutiny in this paper; Isaiah 56. There are 7 occurrences in the book of Daniel,

to denote people at the Persian court, 7 occurrences in Jeremiah where it is partially explained, as in the book of Esther, what the role of the סָרִיס could be; in 52:25 he is described as leader of the soldiers. In several of the passages in Jeremiah, the סָרִיס comes from different courts – not only foreign courts, such as Babylon (Jer 39:3; 13) – but also from Judah and Jerusalem (29:2). In Jeremiah 41:16, the סָרִיס is described as a group of their own, in relation to soldiers, women and children, which might signify that they were seen as part of the property, however, other instances would point towards the סָרִיס as a man of a certain amount of power (for example 29:2 and 34:19).

Joseph Blenkinsopp interprets the fact that the term designates foreign officials to argue that the סָרִיס functions as a subcategory of the בן־נכר in Isaiah 56.[32]

In Isaiah 56, the context in which the term is used relates the term to barrenness, and is thus wider than in the previous books:

וְאַל־יֹאמַר בֶּן־הַנֵּכָר הַנִּלְוֶה אֶל־יְהוָה לֵאמֹר הַבְדֵּל יַבְדִּילַנִי יְהוָה מֵעַל עַמּוֹ וְאַל־יֹאמַר הַסָּרִיס הֵן אֲנִי עֵץ יָבֵשׁ׃

"Do not let the בֶּן־הַנֵּכָר attached to YHWH say: YHWH will surely separate me from his people and do not let the סָרִיס say; I am a withered tree." (Isa 56:3). The chapter continues by stating that YHWH will give the סָרִיס and the בֶּן־הַנֵּכָר a monument and a name (56:5), which can be linked to the inability to receive these – a monument and a name – through a son.[33] The Hebrew term that is here translated with monument or stele is יָד, which some scholars argue points to the סָרִיס as castrated, given the euphemistic use of יָד for the male sex organ.[34]

The question is why the author of Isaiah uses this word in this particular context, or at least what it conveys in the text, read in relation to Deuteronomy 23 and Nehemiah 13. As noted above, some scholars believe that the סָרִיס should not be equated with the פְּצוּעַ־דַּכָּא. Indeed, there is nothing in the text to suggest such a relationship. Neither are the same terms used, nor does the סָרִיס say anything about being excluded from the community, that is not the issue in Isaiah 56. Rather, he bewails his inability to beget children, a point strengthened by the comparison to "a dry tree" as well as the mentioning of sons and daughters.[35]

[32] Blenkinsopp, 2003, p. 137.
[33] Cf. Blenkinsopp, 2003, p. 139.
[34] "These endowments [a monument and a name] function therefore as a compensatory phallus (another possible meaning for the Hebrew term *yād*), so to speak, for the eunuch because they secure his position and status within the community despite his lack of offspring", Nihan, 2011, p. 84, n. 28. This is probably also how the term *yād* should be understood in the following chapter, Isa 57:8, Blenkinsopp, 2003, p. 139.
[35] Wright & Chan, 2012, pp.101-102.

In the Isaiah text, stress is put upon Sabbath observance and to "hold fast" the covenant with YHWH, which could be placed alongside the text in Ezekiel that states that בן־נכר has profaned the sanctuary. Some scholars have therefore interpreted these two passages as parts of an "exegetical chain" that speak of proselytism, or conversion.[36] As Christophe Nihan points out, this shows that "*loyalty* to Yahveh, rather than *ancestry*, has become the decisive criterion".[37] As noted by Blenkinsopp, this is also present in Nehemiah (for example, 13:22). Sabbath observance takes precedence over circumcision regarding membership in the assembly.

The Septuagint

The LXX most often translates the term סָרִיס with εὐνοῦχος (40 times) and sometimes with σπάδων (twice). Judging from context, the terms seems to be used interchangeably, however, σπάδων is never used in the Book of Esther, for example. That is appropriate, given the etymological meaning of εὐνοῦχος as "keeper of the bed".[38] Σπαδων is only used twice, and a lexical study of the word relates the term to the Latin "spado", which has a broader meaning than simply "eunuch", but rather "one who has no generative power, an impotent person".[39] The term σπάδων is used in Isa 39:7, one of the texts mentioned above that uses the Hebrew סָרִיס in an ambivalent way (as both title as well as denoting the "end of the line"; the inability to beget children). The other instance where σπάδων is used is of Potiphar, Gen 37:36. In both these instances the Vulgate uses eunucho/i, not spado.

In the LXX rendition of Ezek 44:6-9 there is no mention of that which can be linked to testes or the like, rather בשר is translated with σαρκὶ. The euphemism inherent in יָד in Isaiah 56:5 is not visible in LXX's "τόπον".

Εὐνοῦχος in the Apocrypha

Among the apocryphal literature the term εὐνοῦχος appear in Wisdom and in Sirach. The passage in Wisdom 3:14 bears echoes of the Isaiah text; καὶ εὐνοῦχος ὁ μὴ ἐργασάμενος ἐν χειρὶ ἀνόμημα μηδὲ ἐνθυμηθεὶς κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου πονηρά δοθήσεται γὰρ αὐτῷ τῆς πίστεως χάρις ἐκλεκτὴ καὶ κλῆρος ἐν ναῷ κυρίου θυμηρέστερος. And the εὐνοῦχος, whose hands have not

[36] Notably, Schaper, 2011, also Blenkinsopp, 2003, pp. 136-137.
[37] Nihan, 2011, p. 85, italics original.
[38] ευνουχος consists of ευνη – bed (marriage bed) and εχω – keeper, watcher Liddell & Scott, 2001[1889]). Nothing in the etymology of the word has to do with severed genitalia of some kind. The term σπαδων on the other hand might entail this, deriving from the Latin, spado, which Lewis Short Latin Lexicon translates as "an impotent man".
[39] Charlton T. Lewis, An Elementary Latin Dictionary , 2014,"spadō".

done lawless deeds nor thought wickedly against the Lord, for special favor will be given to him for his faithfulness and a pleasant place in the temple of the Lord."

The sexual and bodily aspects of the εὐνοῦχος, the view of the εὐνοῦχος as an emasculated man figures also in Sirach; ἐπιθυμία εὐνούχου ἀποπαρθενῶσαι νεάνιδα οὕτως ὁ ποιῶν ἐν βίᾳ κρίματα. "Like a εὐνούχου desiring to violate a young woman, so is a man who judges violently/with violence" (Sir 20:4), and Sir 30:20; βλέπων ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ στενάζων ὥσπερ εὐνοῦχος περιλαμβάνων παρθένον καὶ στενάζων**.** "He sees with his eyes and groans just as a εὐνοῦχος groans when embracing a virgin."

The εὐνοῦχος status as male is not questioned, nor his sexual urges, which is clearly shown in the apocryphal writings.[40] In those texts, again, focus lies on offspring. The texts in Sirach seem to use the simile with the εὐνοῦχος as a way of pointing towards pointlessness; it is pointless to judge violently, just as it is pointless for a εὐνοῦχος to try and lie with a woman (because it will not lead to children?).

Even though these texts are later than the Isaiah text, and therefore do not say anything about the connotations that the word had at the time of writing of the Isaiah text, it still says something of how a castrated male was viewed in the Ancient Near East, and thus broadens our understanding when reading the Isaiah text today.

The פְּצוּעַ־דַּכָּא and the סָרִיס

At the beginning of the paper, a few questions were posed:

1. Why is the sexually mutilated denied entry into the assembly of YHWH in Deut 23:1?
2. Why is the סָרִיס mentioned in Isaiah 56:3?
3. Why is the sexually mutilated not mentioned in Nehemiah 13:1-3?

In the analysis above I have tried to answer these questions. Since the paper focuses on the terms used for the sexually mutilated and the סָרִיס, the relationship to the Nehemiah text has not

[40] Rather the opposite was the case, the סָרִיס was often viewed in the ANE as overly sexual; even though the castration might have lessened libido, it was still seen as though the סָרִיס was more sexually active than others, cf. TDOT (Kedar-Kopfstein, 1999), p. 347. As for his status as male, this can be questioned in relation to other legal codes of the region. In the Middle Assyrian Laws, for example, it states that if a man engages in sexual behaviour with another man, the punishment should be, after prosecution and conviction, that they lay with the man and "turn him into a eunuch". This would point to the view of the eunuch as an emasculated man in a very literal sense, and shows how such an act were viewed in the Ancient Near East in a more detailed way than the similar laws in Leviticus 18:22 and 20:13, ANET (Pritchard, 1950), p. 181.

been discussed at length. This will be developed as the chapter continues, outside the scope of this paper. However, I wish to finish with some concluding remarks.

The relationship between Nehemiah and Deuteronomy is obvious in the text of Nehemiah, even though no mention is made of the sexually mutilated. Instead, foreigners are the main threat for Nehemiah. The antagonist of Nehemiah is Tobiah the Ammonite, and for this reason the prohibition of the Ammonites to enter the assembly, is read in Nehemiah 13. To mention the סָרִיס, however, would go against the attitude towards the Persians conveyed in Ezra-Nehemiah. It could also be that the סָרִיס inability to beget children does not disrupt the genealogical foundation of the Israelites, the "holy seed". Intermarriage with foreign women is therefore much more perilous than whether or not the סָרִיס should be allowed into the assembly.[41]

I would argue that the fact that Isaiah 56:1-8 and Nehemiah 13 stress observance of the Sabbath show relationship between the two. Circumcision as the main symbol for the covenant with YHWH has thus run its course, and has been replaced by adherence to the law. The adherence to YHWH is at the fore in both texts, which is also the theme guiding all of Deuteronomy.

Moreover, both postexilic texts use the deuteronomic text to authorize their view of themselves as the in-group, and as such, they are the ones who decide who are in or out. Even if Nehemiah uses it to shut out the Ammonites and Moabites and Isaiah uses it to welcome the סָרִיס and the בֶּן־הַנֵּכָר, they still hold the position to define the group. Thus, the texts are not two opposite interpretations of the deuteronomic passage, but rather two sides of the same coin. Both texts contain a rhetoric that describes the community as a community where issues of gender, body, social standing and cultic practice all come into play.

[41] Cf. Schramm, 1995, ss. 123, n.6.

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Sources for the Myth of Divine Combat in Biblical Poetry

Traces of a myth of divine combat have been searched in the text of the Hebrew Bible ever since Herman Gunkel opened important new vistas for research with his classic work, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (1895). As one can tell just by the title of the work, Gunkel connected the myth to creation, seeing creation as a fundamental component of the myth of divine combat. This is understandable, as his sole reference to the ancient Near Eastern mythical tradition was in the newly discovered *Enuma Elish*, in which the aspect of creation features prominently. Unfortunately, however, the implications of Gunkel's thesis have dominated the discussion on myths of divine combat in the Hebrew Bible, even though the discovery of hosts of new texts since 1895 has greatly increased our knowledge of myths of this type from the Mesopotamian and Eastern Mediterranean areas.[1] As an aside, I personally prefer the term 'myth of divine combat', as the term 'conflict myth' is much too vague. The extent to which it is *we* that are bringing the emic concept of Chaos into the mythology without even defining what we mean by it is also an unresolved issue.[2] Of course, myths of divine combat in and off

[1] Loretz 1990, 153 and Day 2000, 98, among others, have opined that this theory has been in need of reconsideration after the discovery of the Ugaritic texts. A recent reconsideration has been published in Scurlock & Beal, eds. (2013). R. S. Watson, Chaos Uncreated: A Reassessment of the Theme of "Chaos" in the Hebrew Bible (2005) also criticizes the connection of the mythology to the concept of chaos. While her deconstruction of the concept of chaos in the Old Testament is commendable, I disagree with her conclusions supporting the monotheistic framework of the texts of the Hebrew Bible almost entirely.

[2] Cf. Landsberger 1926 for the concept of "*Eigenbegrifflichkeit*", a self-contained systemic conceptual

themselves are a metacultural phenomenon. There is already more than one myth of battle in the Baal Cycle itself. But the Northwest Semitic myth of divine combat between the Storm god and the sea is of a particular type and has unique characteristics setting it apart from other ancient myths of combat. The major distinguishing characteristic is the name of the antagonist: the sea.

A connection between the Ugaritic texts and the Old Testament was naturally made as soon as the Ugatitic texts were discovered.[3] Geo Widengren, for example, believed that the Ugaritic texts prove that the myths of the storm god's battle with the sea were known throughout "Canaan", and that the Israelites had adopted them from the inhabitants thereof. According to him, in the motif of the battle against the "dragon" we find "the most striking" parallel between the myths of Ugarit and ancient Israel.[4] It has been more or less accepted for the better part of a century that something of the myth of divine combat between the storm god and the sea has been retained in the Biblical record. Especially, it seems, in the poetic texts.

Poetry has an important place among the texts of the Hebrew Bible, which is testament to the importance of poetic expression in the formation of historical self-understanding in the area of Palestine. Ancient Israel is not unique in this regard; in most cultures, poetry presents us with some of the oldest literature, often even preceding written literature. With the myriad different literatures at our disposal today, it is perhaps difficult to conceive of poetry as not merely a creative, artistic endeavour, but a necessary format for the preservation of one's traditions, culture, history, and literature in pre- and semi-literary societies. Poetry and poetic expression have been used by many different cultures as a seemingly natural channel for the formation of human thought and sentiment into a more permanent body.[5] In my project I haven't even tried to date the Hebrew poetic texts that I have examined, as they undoubtedly contain several layers of redaction, and the date of the final product is often post-exilic. The dating is an important question, to be sure, but I leave that for other studies, to other people, as what is of interest to me is

autonomy we can find within ancient cultures.

[3] Mark S. Smith has compiled a detailed history of the Ugaritic and Biblical studies in his *Untold Stories: The Bible and Ugaritic Studies in the Twentieth Century* (2011), which may be consulted for the purposes of general history of research into the area.

[4] Widengren 1958, 172–173.

[5] Craigie 1983, 26; Schökel 1988, 11; Mowinckel 2004, 133. Loretz 1990, 45, also points out that poetry could be conveyed via song and in written format at the same time. The poetry of the psalms probably continued to be sung even after it had been committed into writing, and in fact, is still sung in services all around the world.

whether the poetic texts accord with other comparative ancient textual materials, and if they do accord, then *why*.[6]

It seems quite clear that Hebrew poetry has perused Northwest Semitic poetic themes, motifs, and vocabulary quite liberally. There may have been several reasons for adopting the language of Northwest Semitic mythology, whether directly or indirectly. It would be useless to propose that the aspect of creation never factors into myths of divine combat, and it would be equally useless to claim that we never find the aspect of creation present in the Hebrew Bible in connection with these proposed traces of or references to these ancient Near Eastern myths of divine combat.[7] Gunkel, while he was working with much less evidence than we are in possession of today, may still have been correct in his assessment that in certain passages, it is echoes of the Babylonian *Enuma Elish* that we find, and there certainly is influence of different Mesopotamian literatures and mythological concepts to be found in Biblical texts. But there are also passages which have found much closer parallels in the epic poetry of the Ugaritic Baal Cycle. And it is these sources of the references to the myth of divine combat in the Biblical psalms that I wish to discuss in this paper.

Many important studies on the use of the myth of divine combat in the Biblical texts have been written since the discovery of the Ugaritic texts, among them the works of John Day (1985), Mary Wakeman (1973), Carola Kloos (1986), and more recently Eric Ortlund (2010), all of which propose slightly different hypothesis for how this material was adopted, adapted, and incorporated into the Hebrew texts. For their many virtues, most of such endeavours suffer from the attempt to deal with the Biblical witnesses *en masse*, as though one explanation, one source of influence, one way of employing these myths of combat in the Biblical texts could explain every instance of using the myth, even when the texts are of wildly different ages, were written in distinctly different social and political contexts, and often come from different geographic locations. The myth of divine combat was not received into the intellectual world of the authors of the Hebrew

[6] Widengren 1958, 158–169; Schökel 1988, 17; Loretz 1990, 43. On p. 51 Loretz however submits that the psalms reached their final form in a post-cultic era, meaning perhaps that the redaction of the psalms was completed at a time when they were no longer in the use of the temple cult. One must point out however that the texts of the psalms are still in cultic use today, and that there probably isn't a time in their history when they have not been in some kind of cultic use. Gottlieb 1980, 62, believed that the psalms had been written specifically for the use of the temple cult. Mowinckel 2004, 4, however points out that the cultic use of poetry doesn't necessitate a cultic origin for it.

[7] Although some authors, like Tsumura 2005, claim that this language is solely in metaphorical use in the Old Testament.

Bible once, whether as intangible influence or source of conscious adoption, but several times and from different contexts, in addition to the living local traditions of the myth that most likely existed in the area of Palestine from at least the Middle Bronze Age onwards.[8]

The division I've fashioned for the possible references to the myth of divine combat in the Hebrew Bible is speculative, but it is in the interests of facilitating discussion on the ways in which the myth was employed into the Biblical texts. I have divided the texts possibly referencing the myth of divine combat into three categories, although I recognize that the division is somewhat arbitrary and that there exists overlap between them: texts alluding to the ***Northwest Semitic*** myth of divine combat, texts alluding to the ***Babylonian (or hybrid)*** myth of divine combat, and those using phrases and vocabulary of ***Mesopotamian royal inscriptions***, all of which contain traditions of an originally Amorite myth.

The division is based on what I see as having influenced the presentation of the sea of combat myth in the Biblical psalms:

1) Shared mythological vocabulary of the Northwest Semitic cultural sphere, containing native traditions and largely oral traditions of the Eastern Mediterranean
2) Influence and conscious use of Mesopotamian mythological conceptions during and following the Exile
3) Influence of Mesopotamian (mostly Assyrian) royal inscriptions, possibly during multiple points of contact: the Assyrian conquest of Northern Israel, the Assyrian vassalage, during and following the Exile, from contact with Phoenician vassals of the Assyrian empire.

The origin of the myth is Amorite, so far as we are able to follow the textual record, disseminated from the central cultic site of Aleppo. The earliest attestations of the myth are in Sargonic school texts (MAD I, 192/TA 33, 15), and while many have suggested that it may have a longer pre-history,[9] I argue in my thesis that the both the genesis of and

[8] Redford 1992*,* 45–46, discusses the dissemination of the mythology in the cities south of Byblos, including Aphek, Tyre, Joppa, Ashkelon and Gaza, which he places in the same tradition as the myths from Ugarit. There is no reason to posit that the traditions of the myth preserved in the Hebrew Bible are not a part of this continuum.

[9] Wyatt 1998, 884; 2000, 600; 2004, 148. His dating may be a little too early, as it has been suggested that the myth was a *response* by the Eshnunnakeans to the Akkadian invasions, which would mean that Sargon predates the myth and was, in fact, the cause of it. Westenholz (1977) has interpreted it as a

the impetus for the myth was actually in the ideological programme of the Sargonids. In it, the Storm god battles the sea with striking weapons (importantly not with a bow, not splitting the sea), and only through this act becomes the king of the gods. And the Storm god does this on behalf of the human king who gets to benefit from this act via the divine weapons, a symbol of authority. The cultic weapons related the Storm god's victory unto the human king who acted as the Storm god's representative on the mortal realm. It is important to keep in mind that these divine weapons that are mentioned in the Amorite myth were factually existing weapons housed in the temple of the Storm god in Aleppo. In the Old Babylonian period, the weapons of the Storm god were a promise of the allegiance of the king of Yamkhad.[10]

The mythology we first encounter in the Amorite realm has grown during the half a millennium that stands between the Mari letters and the Ugaritic epics, and it appear that the myth is used as a foundational myth for the Ugaritic monarchy.[11] The Baal Cycle contains a lot of narrative material beyond the storm god Baal's battle with the sea, Yamm, but it's the material of the first two tablets (KTU 1.1, 1.2) of the epic that have been most relevant to my line of inquiry. What happens in the tablets is in many cases not all that clear. The text is very fragmentary and all sorts of fantastical scenarios have been read into it. But there are a few facts that we are safe in establishing: the Storm god Baal battles Yamm and defeats him with the use of two striking weapons which are named, and afterwards he is proclaimed king.[12] It may not seem like much, but they are important details, and ones which incidentally match the description of the Mari letter. This is the core myth.

The Babylonian version of the myth of divine combat which we know from the text of the *Enuma Elish*[13] also employed the older Amorite myth, certainly. Some of the similarities are quite clear. But there are also differences between the mythical traditions that we must respect, rather than forcing the myths to accord with one another. And there seems to be a

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school text of the Sargonic scribal curriculum (the reverse of the text appears to contain a list of the names of body parts; I am however not certain that his interpretation of the short exercise as a "hymn to Tishpak" is warranted) which would fit in well with my hypothesis of the early politicization of the myth. And as a text of the Sargonic curriculum, it cannot predate Sargon, his character forming a natural *post quem* regardless of the chronology used. While Eshnunna is not mentioned by name in Sargon's conquests, one of the later Eshununnan kings, a contemporary of Shamshi-Adad, actually took on the moniker of Naram-Sin indicating at least some degree of reverence for the Sargonid kings.

[10] Töyräänvuori 2012.
[11] Smith 1997, 86.
[12] KTU 1.2. IV 32: *ym.lmt.b'lm.yml*[k].
[13] Cf. Lambert 2013. Discussion in Ringgren 1990, 89; Fabry 1999, 101–101; Wyatt 2003, 152.

clear *reason* for the existence of these differences: *Enuma Elish* was the conscious product of an ideological programme of the Babylonians, and was written for a very specific purpose: to elevate Marduk as the 'national' god of Babylon.[14] In order for Marduk to become the king of the gods, he naturally *had* to defeat the sea, as defeating the sea was a staple of kingship, but it is not the defeating of the sea that is the central aspect of the narrative.[15] As one could hardly claim to be the king of the gods without having defeated the sea, so the weaving the originally Amorite but by then widespread myth of divine combat into the narrative of the Babylonian myth was quite understandable. But in the course of the political programme to elevate Babylon and its national god, other materials were also crafted into the myth, and therefore it's not purely an iteration of the Northwest Semitic myth. One of these aspects was a creation story, and particularly creation by the splitting of one whole into two parts; the separation of the sky from the earth, which was particular of Sumerian cosmology (compare this for example with Egyptian or Indo-European cosmologies where it is the joining of two parts into a new whole results in creation). There is nothing similar in the Ugaritic myths, despite an insistence of many authors of reading a creation story into the Baal Cycle, especially to the building of Baal's palace.[16] It is true that Sumerian myths also feature several scenes

[14] Dalley 1991, 329, in her treatment of the *Enuma Elish*, divided it into two parts: the creation story (which she called the 'sacred marriage' part of the myth), and the *Chaoskampf*, clearly delineating the two strands in the narrative. Even Kramer 1943, 70ff, one of most prolific early commentators on the myth, observed the Sumerian influences in what he called the "Semitic creation epic" (in 1944, 114) – although he was convinced that the epic was of Sumerian origin (p. 77: "even a surface examination of its contents clearly reveals Sumerian origins and influence"). I would go further and suggest that there are three distinct parts to the narrative: the creation, the war between the generations of the gods, and the battle between Tiamat and Marduk. The first has its origins in Sumerian mythology, the second in Indo-Aryan mythology, and the third in Amorite mythology, taking the most impressive facets of the myths of power known to them and constructing from them a new super myth. Weaving all of these narratives into the *Enuma Elish* served to increase the legitimation of Marduk as the supreme god and Babylon as the centre of the universe, on which cf. Kuhrt 1987, 31.

[15] Although I am in opposition to the view of Kloos 1986, 118: "I cannot find that Enuma elish and the Baal-Yam myth have the same purport, seeing that the one is about the creation of the world and the other is not". For all the differences between the mythic traditions and the ideological programmes that bore them, the purport of the myths is very similar: they are *about* kingship and more accurately, the kingship of the gods.

[16] Cf. Fink 2013, 97, on discussion on how, while the Akkadian language has several words for a 'half', the act of being a half in genealogical terms is alien to the language, further testament to the notion that the concept of halving in creation is of Sumerian origin. From the review of Sumerian and Akkadian terminology we may conclude that the concept of halving is much more endogenic or intrinsic to Sumerian thought. In fact, out of the Akkadian words listed by Fink, only *mišlu* and *muttatu* seem to be without a readily apparent Sumerian progenitor – and since *muttatu* was, according to the CAD especially in the earliest stages of the language also used to refer to a third, or an otherwise unspecified amount, one can conclude with some certainty that the specific concept of a half was unimportant and possibly *exogenic* to ancient Semitic thought, further evidencing the Sumerian origin of the splitting motif.

of divine combat, the foremost among them the battles of the god Ninurta.[17] What differentiates the Sumerian myths from the Northwest Semitic combat myth is that they do not feature the sea as a character.[18] The sea had no special place in the Sumerian pantheon, nor was it understood as a particularly monstrous feature of the Sumerian cosmogony. It is quite easy to also see shades of Indo-European mythology in the narrative of *Enuma Elish*, especially in the battle between the generations of the gods, an aspect also missing from the Ugaritic myth.

As to the Mesopotamian royal inscriptions: while they are rooted in the myth of the divine combat (the vocabulary is first attested in the inscriptions of Sargon and his contemporary, Lugal-Zagesi),[19] they only allude to it, principally concerning the exploits of the human king. Possibly this ideology existed before the time of Sargon, but it was in the character of Sargon that it became embedded into the political ideology of Mesopotamian monarchs. Sargon made a military campaign to the shore of the Mediterranean sea, and his actual military conquests and the mythology of the Storm god of the Syrian and Eastern Mediterranean area become entangled in later Sargon narratives.[20] Whether the chicken or the egg came first doesn't matter all that much with

[17] Annus 2002, pp. 9–50 deal with Ninurta and kingship, and pp. 51–108 deal with Ninurta's role in royal ideology.

[18] Cf, S. Dalley: *Myths from Mesopotamia* 1998, D. O. Edzard: *Meer* 1993.

[19] Malamat 1965, 365. Note that in the Lugal-zegesi vase inscription RIME 1.14.20.01:I 36–II 9 (u_4 [^{d}]en-líl lugal kur-kur-ra-ke_4 lugal-zà-ge-si nam-lugal kalam-ma e-na-šúm-ma-a igi kalam!-ma-ke_4 si e-na-sá-a kur-kur girì-na e-ni-sè-ga-a utu-è-ta utu-šú-šè gú e-na-gar-ra-a u_4-ba a-ab-ba sig-<ta>-ta idigna buranum-bé a-ab-ba igi-dim-ma-šè / when Enlil, king of the world, had given Lugal-zage-si the kingship of the land and had let the eyes of the land be directed toward him and had placed all the foreign lands at his feet and had made them subject to him from the rising of the sun to the setting of the sun, then from the Lower sea of the Tigris and Euphrates to the Upper sea put their roads in good order for him. From the rising of the sun to the setting of the sun, Enlil permitted him no rival) Lugal-zagesi claims that it was the storm god Enlil that gave him dominion from Upper sea to Lower sea (although he makes no claim to have conquered the areas). It is possible that the Agadean Sargon, "fathered by no man", was utilizing language used by Lugal-zagesi to legitimate his usurpation.

[20] The text is preserved in four Old Babylonian tablets, Sumerian in RIME 2.1.1.1:50–52: ^{giš}TUKUL-ni A.AB.BA-ka Ì.LUḪ; Akkadian in RIME 2.1.1.1:56–58: ^{giš}TUKUL-*ki-śu in ti-a-am-tim* Ì.LUḪ, RIME 2.1.1.2:59–61: ˹^{giš}˺ TUKUL-*kí-śu in ti-a-am-tim* Ì.LUḪ, RIME 2.1.1.3:44–46: ^{giš}˹TUKUL˺ [-*ki-śu*] ˹*in*˺ [*ti-a-am-tim*] Ì.[LUḪ]. All of the texts are later copies, but may be based on an inscription or inscriptions dating back to Sargon's time. It is assumed, e. g. by Wyatt 2001, 116 and Rollinger 2012, 275–276, that the sea in which the weapon was washed was the Persian Gulf, the tradition of which the latter suggests was moved to the shore of the Mediterranean (which "represented a natural western borderline of any king's sweeping pretensions") by subsequent kings.

While this may be inferred from Sargon's itinerary (he conquered Ur, Eninmar and its regions, and from Lagash to the sea; RIME 2.1.1.1: 44–49), I do not find it necessary to assume that an actual or a ritual washing of his weapon ever took place; the metaphoric content of the phrase ought also to be considered ('I washed my weapon in the sea' could simply mean 'my armies reached the sea coast'). We also have no knowledge of when the Sargon inscription was composed; whether it was written before the completion of his campaign to the West or even after his reign. What remains is that the Lower sea or the Persian Gulf is not *explicitly* referenced in his inscriptions. Furthermore, Naram-Sin's

regards to the tradition history of the narrative (the very first iterations of the Amorite myth in connection to the weather god Tishpak are dated to Sargon's reign and to the Sargonic scribal curriculum, at that). What matters is that later kings *believed* that Sargon had conquered the Mediterranean coast with the divine protection of the Storm god (and Sargon is believed to have visited the Mariote Tuttul and Aleppo during his campaign, securing the divine aid of the Storm god of the area during his visits)[21], and that is what they all either intended to do or pretended to have done in their inscriptions. Because the king of all kings had conquered the sea, so all kings had to aspire to recreate this victory. The need to conquer the sea was generated as much by the mythology of divine combat as it was by Sargon's precedent: each one of the subsequent kings that said "I have conquered the sea", said "I am as great as Sargon". And it is this fact that makes this motif important as a foundational myth of monarchic authority, of legitimating the rule of king.

There was a conscious ideological programme of using Sargon's character for the purposes of political propaganda by Neo-Assyrian rulers following Sargon I (A.0.35) of Assyria, but there are a few links in the chain of tradition more important than the others, which ascertained its survival into later ages, and which caused the adoption of the motif also in Biblical texts. While the tradition is ultimately derived from Sargon and we can trace is through surviving royal inscriptions into the Akkadian era, it is the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser[22] and Esarhaddon[23] especially that contributed to some of the allusions to the myth of divine combat in the Biblical texts.

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modification of the phrase of the Sargon inscriptions might suggest that Sargon's sea was different from Naram-Sin's sea, which also does not necessitate Naram-Sin physically washed his weapon in the Persian Gulf. It has been suggested that Sargon attempted to establish the mythical boundaries of the known world through his conquest of these peripheral regions, but we should not forget that at the end of the day he was a conqueror, not a cartographer.

[21] Green 2003, 68. E2.1.1.11 14–22 (the numbering follows the Sumerian column, the Akkadian differs slightly): ŚAR.UM.GI LUGAL DU_8.DU_8-LI^{ki}-a ^{d}DA.GAN-ra KI-a MU.NA.ZA ŠÙD MU.NA.DE_6 KALAM IGI.NIM MU.NA.SUM MA.RÍ^{ki} / *śar-ru.*GI LUGAL *in tu-tu-li*^{ki} *a-na* ^{d}DA-GAN *úš-kà-en ik-ru-ub ma-tám a-lí-tam i-dí-śum*$_6$ *ma-rí-am*^{ki} … *a-di-ma*. "Sargon the king of Tuttul bowed down to Dagan (Akk. "Sargon the king bowed down to Dagan in Tuttul"). He (Dagan) gave to him the Upper Land – Mari (and Ebla etc.)". The ideological programme is explicitly stated in this inscription: Sargon conquered the Amorite lands with the blessing of the Amorite Storm god. Later Neo-Assyrian rulers also seemed to make a stop in their campaigns to sacrifice before the Adad of Aleppo. E. g. A.0.102.6 ii 25.

[22] According to Grayson 1991, 189, his reign was "one of the most important eras in Mesopotamian history".

[23] According to Wyatt 2001, 117, he extended the "imperial boundary much further" than any of his predecessors. Of his successors, Asshurbanipal succeeded in adding Thebes to the empire.

As to the relevance of the different sources to the Biblical texts: it would be disingenuous to claim the sea is never featured a mere physiological element or a physical phenomenon in the texts; sometimes the sea is just the sea. Not all anthropomorphizing of the sea bespeaks of an understanding of the sea as a divinity or as an antagonist for Yahweh, either. Oftentimes the anthropomorphizing of natural phenomena merely speaks of a rich and colourful poetic tradition. While some of the verses may employ ancient Northwest Semitic poetic language, they do not explicitly reference the myth of divine combat or feature the sea in the context of kingship.

The psalms where the mention of the sea seems to have been influenced by the Hybrid-Babylonian myth, the influence may have resulted from the cultural contacts during the Babylonian exile; most of the references exist in connection with the Exodus narrative, which has been connected by some authors to the Exilic period.[24] According to them, the Exodus-narrative (or at least the Reed Sea story) is a product of the Babylonian exile,[25] which is why it is unsurprising that most of the references to the sea that involve the splitting of the sea in the fashion of the Mesopotamian myth of divine combat would be found in connection with the Exodus narrative. In my thesis, I have been toying with the idea of the character of Moses as the anti-king: a character which in the narrative possesses all the symbols of kingship (Sargonic birth, royal adoption, scepter, splitting the sea asunder, seeing the face of the divinity, chilseller of the law into stone), and who in spite of possessing all of these kingly characteristics is emphatically not a king, indeed subverting many of the tropes of kingship. Moses is the symbol of the absence of kingship and monarchic authority, a product of the Exile and the end of the Jerusalem dynasty. Instead of the once and future king, he is the never and not ever king. And yet this reuse or reversal of originally monarchic language allows us to grasp traces of the myth of divine combat from the post-Exilic period, divorced of its previous uses. I suggest that one of the most obvious instances to contain influence from the Sumero-Babylonian tradition in the Biblical text can be found in the concept of the ים־סוף, the "Reed Sea", which has known mythological connotations and has sometimes been translated as 'the Sea of End'.[26]

[24] Wyatt 1996, 87; Huddlestun 1992, 634.
[25] Segert 1994, 196–197. Kloos 1986, 168 considers the Reed Sea story 'wholly fictive' and mythical due to its fantastic elements and that the historicity of the Exodus has no bearing on her assessment of the historicity of the Reed Sea story. I am inclined to agree with her on the part of the Reed Sea narrative.
[26] Batto 1983, 31–34; Dozeman 1996, 409–410; Segert 1994, 197; Wyatt 1996, 86; Wyatt 2005, 198.

The poetic verses in the Hebrew Bible that may have been influenced by the Mesopotamian royal inscriptions take us to the myth of divine combat in a round about way; while these examples often don't reference an actual myth of combat, the myth of combat is still the underlying impetus for their existence, even if the immediate purpose should be something like establishing the boundaries of the kingdom, or the world, or the universe, which was one of the functions of the original inscriptions.[27] These references to royal inscriptions have the clearest linguistic parallels, recycling some of the same phrases that we find in the Neo-Assyrian inscriptions. Phrases from the Mesopotamian inscriptions that we find in Biblical poetry include "from sea to sea" (TA *tam-di a-di tam-di*), "from sea to the river" (TA *tam-di a-di* ÍD)[28], "the great sea" (*tam-di* GAL-*ti*), "shore of the sea" (*ši-di tam-di*), "midst of the sea" (MURUB$_4$ *tam-di*), "the heart of the seas".

While the influence to the Hebrew texts may have come at different junctions, and possibly more than once, at least one point of actual contact may be established in the Esarhaddon cylinder. The text of the cylinder makes mention of a place name Tarshish (^{KUR}*Tar-si-si*, in Esarhaddon 060, o 10'/RINAP 4)[29], which in this form is found nowhere else outside of the Hebrew Bible.[30] While similar place names like Tarzi are mentioned in other inscriptions and may hint at the actual location of this place name, this particular form establishes a link between the Esarhaddon cylinder and the Biblical texts especially. But this does not mean that all of the Biblical verses that seem to be recycling terminology of the royal inscriptions necessarily owe their influence to Esarhaddon's royal inscriptions specifically – there are other times and places that borrowing or influencing may have taken place.

In spite of the heavy redaction of the Biblical texts by the Deuteronomists and subsequent editors, there are also still traces of the Northwest Semitic myth of divine combat in the Biblical texts, and especially in Biblical poetry. These motifs were probably recorded remnants of the broader Northwest Semitic mythological milieu, of common poetic vocabulary that was being used and reused, especially in the prophetic texts of the

[27] Rollinger 2012, 728–730.

[28] Usually the phrase is found in connection with a lake ('interior sea') and the river Marratu. E. g. A.0.102.29: "From the sea of the land of Zamua of the interior to the sea of the land of the Chaldeans, which (is) the river Marratu".

[29] *áš-pur* MAN.MEŠ *šá* MURUB$_4$ *tam-tim* DÙ-*šú-nu* TA ^{KUR}*ia-da-na-na* ^{KUR}*ia-man a-di* ^{KUR}*tar-si-si* / I wrote to all of the kings who are in the midst of the sea, from Iadnana and Ionia to Tarsisi; they bowed down at my feet.

[30] Cf. López-Ruiz 2009 for discussion.

Hebrew Bible, often in a transformative manner.[31] Whatever the motivation, the recording of these poetic verses gives us small glimpses into pre-Exilic monarchic conceptions in the South-Eastern Mediterranean area. The heuristic for the extraction of these remnants I have used in my thesis has been a kind of textual triangulation, and a compare & contrast approach to the poetic and mythological language familiar from Mariote and Ugaritic texts that cannot be explained by either the Babylonian hybrid myth, or by reference to the Mesopotamian royal inscriptions. They must contain the core elements of the Amorite myth, but not feature elements of these other lines of tradition. The two main groups of evidence are in the texts featuring the parallelism of sea and river, which is an important component of the Ugaritic myth, and the existence of a constellation of monsters slain by the goddess Anat, appearing in conjunction with or in the context of weather god theophanies and weapons. One of the features that separates these verses differ from the ones in the first category is their connection to kingship, especially to Yahweh's divine kingship, which has been either eliminated or subverted in the Exilic texts.

The constellation of monstrous beings among which the sea is accounted seems to hark back to a proposed Hymn of the goddess Anat, a popular song of the Northwest Semitic cultural sphere.[32] We have separate iterations of this song already embedded in the text of the Baal Cycle, and there seem to be different iterations of the song also in the text of the Hebrew Bible, some variation in the list of monsters that are named. The same constellation is also found in a thoroughly researched passage in Isaiah (51:9–10), where the name of the Biblical Rahab, which is not found in the Ugaritic texts, is found in connection of these monsters familiar from the Baal Cycle.[33]

The co-occurrence or juxtaposition of sea and river is also a frequent motif in the Hebrew Bible. This co-occurrence can actually be found in conjunction with texts of all of the categories I have proposed. But many of the instances of this co-occurrence have been connected to the Ugaritic texts for the parallelism in the name of Prince Sea, Judge River.[34] And many of these instances in the Hebrew Bible also seem to have some kind of

[31] De Moor 1990, 108. Widengren 1958, 155: "In the Ugaritic mythological poems a connecting link was found between Israel and Canaan, with the ancient Near East providing the general cultural background".
[32] It was "still circulating in the Israelite theological milieu" according to Hutton 2007, 274, 289.
[33] E. g. Watts 1987, 211; Hutton 2007, 285. Wyatt 1996, 94, calls it "one of the great dragon-slaying passages of the Bible".
[34] The parallelism of the epithets is prevalent in the Baal Cycle. E. g. KTU 1.2. III 20–21: *bbht.zbl.ym.bhkl.tpṭ.nhr*, "In the quarters of Prince Sea, in the palace of Judge River".

link to kingship, most often specifically to Yahweh's divine kingship. Ps. 89 is one of the most important of the Biblical passages in this regard, having a very strong resemblance to the so-called royal adoption scene from Ugarit, mentioning as it does the 'hands' or 'weapons', the 'beloved', the parallelism of 'sea' and 'river', and the 'name', all of which we find in the Ugaritic passage, even though half of it is broken off.[35] It is certainly a similar context that can be imagined for both passages, exhibiting the same semantic cluster. The psalm records the setting of the hand upon the sea and the right hand upon the rivers, featuring the *locus classicus* of this motif in the Hebrew Bible. There has been some discussion concerning whose hands are placed upon the sea and the river, Yahweh's or the king's.[36] In either case the end-result is the same, Yahweh's divine authority is established for the king's use. It is on the divine authority of the Storm god that the Northwest Semitic king rules.

The myth of divine combat, an important foundational myth for Northwest Semitic kingship, seems to have influenced Biblical poetry in many different forms and at several different points in time, and the reasons for the adoption of the myth, or in some cases merely the vocabulary connected with the myth, into the Biblical text will likely have been manifold. It seems rather clear that the myth does underlie at least some of the examples I have discussed, but as to the motivation of the Biblical authors for preserving references to a myth that seems to have its origins somewhere in the Amorite Bronze Age, we can only speculate. The enduring popularity of the at least half mythological character of Sargon may be one of the reasons. In fact, it has been suggested that in the character of Nimrod (Gen. 10:8–10, 1 Ch. 1:10, Mic. 5:6) we have an actual Biblical reference to Sargon, witnessing to the spread and longevity of the Sargon narratives.[37]

As for the myth of divine combat, it does not seem surprising at all that references, allusions, remnants – whatever name one wants to call them by – would have survived into the Biblical texts, especially in Biblical poetry, the final forms of which were likely written down during the Persian era.[38] Merely looking at the inscriptional evidence from

[35] Granerød 2010, 323.

[36] Lipiński 1965, 122–135. Lipiński suggested that verse 89:26 should be read in the first person perfect without the third person singular suffixes to words hand and right hand, to the effect of "He will set the hand on the sea, and the right hand upon the river" – apparently referring to his own hand. According to him, this grammatical formulation would be more reminiscent of Baal's battle with Yamm, who in the Hebrew Bible has been made into Yahweh's cosmic adversary.

[37] Petrovich 2013.

[38] Loretz 1990, 51–51, pointed out that the dating of Hebrew poetry has always been dependent on the prevailing paradigm in psalm studies.

Mesopotamia, the royal inscriptions, we can trace the transmission of these concepts textually also well into the Persian era, from one monarch to the next. The language transformed along the way, this is true, but the concept is still recognizable. It seems that the frequency with which can find some manner of mention of this myth in the Biblical texts is evidence of the importance and central status of this myth – both in the broader ancient Near East, but also for the Biblical authors. Whether the myth of divine combat was ever used as a foundational myth for the pre-Exilic, still mostly polytheistic, Northwest Semitic 'Davidic' kingship, we may never know beyond the shadow of a doubt. But there is certainly enough evidence to suspect that it might have been.

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POTTERY IN THE PROCESS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL INQUIRY

The Retrieval of Pottery and its' Impact – a Case study at Tel Kinrot, Israel

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Framing the Question: the Retrieval of Finds and the Artifact Study

"I am just a poor boy though my story's seldom told. I have squandered my resistance for a pocket full of mumbles such are promises – All lies and jests!
Still a man hears what he wants to hear and disregards the rest." The Boxer by Paul Simon, 1968

How much the results of each and every research are a consequence of the perspective of the modern scholar and his/her methods in seeking the answers? This question is important for every researcher, but especially grave it is for archaeologists that often destroy the evidence at least partially. Making selection about what to study in detail and what to discard either wholly or by leaving out of analyzed material inevitably has consequences upon the results of any study. Large find amounts are typical for archaeology in the Near East or Mediterranean regions for a variety of time periods and Medieval or later periods in most of the world. Especially in these traditions a selection-making during and after excavations is an integral part of study that is rarely discussed in detail. Making a selection is also called sampling, to use statistical terminology, and the theme is well described in general by Clive Orton in his manual "Sampling in Archaeology" (2000).

The aim of this thesis is to describe and reconstruct the process of archaeological artifact study from the retrieval of the finds in the field, to later interpretations of the material. This thesis therefore discusses practices of both archaeological field work and artifact study. I examine the ways the finds have been retrieved and processed during and after the excavation and compare two different processes at the site of *Tel Kinrot* (fig 1.1) in modern northern Israel, where I have been working as a volunteer in 1999 and as a finds registrar in 2003–2008. There have been three large scale excavation projects at the site. The first was conducted by *Volkmar Fritz* (1938–2007) on the upper mound in the 1980's, and published in 1990. The second project was conducted by Fritz during the years 1994–2001 on the eastern slope. The third, *Kinneret Regional Project (KRP)* was co-directed by *Stefan Münger, Juha Pakkala* and *Jürgen Zangenberg* and it took place during 2003–2008. The KRP continued the work on the eastern slope. This study focuses on the two latter projects as they both have been carried out on the slope and they have concentrated on the Early Iron Age while the excavations in the 1980's were concentrated on Late Iron Age.



Fig. 1.1 Tel Kinrot (ancient Kinneret) with its surroundings, drawn by Ronja Kratz &Stefan Münger © KRP

This study has a methodological interest. I first faced the difference between the pottery assemblages of the two latter excavation projects when I prepared the descriptions of the pottery material from these excavations at Tel Kinrot for the final site report. I had started the descriptive work with well-preserved vessels from the excavation project directed by Fritz (1994–2001) and I tried to integrate the material from the Kinneret Regional Project (KRP, 2003–2008) to this preliminary description. The assemblages were different in the amount of items and their state of preservation. The earlier excavated assemblage included less than 600 registered vessels/vessel fragments that were mainly well preserved. They were rather easy to identify and classify. In addition a selection of shards from clean loci was kept that was regarded "as a proof for the dating" (personal communication, Münger 18.12.2012). However, these shards were not registered or planned to be a part of a publication. I was able to have a look on the material from Fritz's excavations while I visited the German Protestant Institute for Archaeology (*Deutsches Evangelisches Institut für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes*) in Jerusalem in December 2003 and April 2004. This material is since 2005 stored by the Israel Antiquities Authority at Beth-Shemesh and includes by a rough estimation a few thousands of shards in addition to the well preserved items that were recorded. The fact that the selected shards stored in cardboard boxes were not registered or their nature otherwise documented makes their value for the scientific audience questionable. The assemblage retrieved since 2003 includes over 3700 items, most of which were rim fragments. All items were registered with some minimum information. The asymmetry between the pottery assemblages inevitably drew my attention. The difference was quite clearly related to the different strategies of the definition of the Loci and the retrieval strategy of the pottery finds (what was kept for further analyses and what was discarded). My impression was that these decisions, that were made early in the research process have a strong impact on the ways the material will be analyzed and on what kinds of results can be expected.

The question

With the help of a case study at Tel Kinrot, I will find out how the selected retrieval strategy and analytic methods used in artifact study affect the results of the research. The retrieval strategy has two parts: what is kept and what is discarded in the first place, and how the material kept is further processed. The used retrieval strategy is a result of research tradition and questions that the scholar has in his/her mind. The selected strategy of keeping some material in the first place, also has consequences to what kind of analyses can be executed. Thus, what kind of questions can be posed for the material is a result of the selected retrieval strategy. I will compare two rather common strategies in Near Eastern archaeology: selective and systematic. Selective strategy was used during the Fritz's excavations (1994–2001), while systematic one was used during the KRP (2003–2008).

How it is approached, the source material

I will focus on the artifact study from the retrieval of the pottery finds to the analyses, publication and interpretations achieved by the process. Pottery was chosen as the material because it holds a central position in archaeological reasoning in general and its ample amount allows general trends to be discerned, for example with the help of statistics. The nature and interpretations of archaeological material are always largely affected by the contexts of the finds. The research processes at different sites are difficult to compare with each other because there are too many other factors related to the nature of the site that

blur the picture. Therefore, differences in the research processes at the same site have better insight to the differences brought by excavation and recording methods. Therefore, a case study is a valid method to find out, what is the impact of the retrieval strategy and recording system. In addition, narrowing down to one site enables one to look carefully into details of both the pottery material and the documentations systems. The primary material under study consists of the Tel Kinrot excavations in the 1994–2001 and 2003–2008 with their related pottery assemblages and documentation of the field work. These excavation projects have focused on the Early Iron Age remains on the eastern slope of the tell. The areas treated in different ways lie beside each other and the both natural and anthropogeneous (human induced) formation processes can be assumed to be very similar. The excavation areas of these two projects are adjacent to each other and in several cases the same architectural units have been the subject of study in these two projects. This special situation combined with the introduction of essential changes in the field work concerning the definition of loci and the retrieval strategy of the pottery finds at the year 2003 enables one to assign the differences of the pottery assemblages to the research processes themselves with minimal confusing factors.

The differences of the information brought about the artefact study can be attributed to the field work and recording processes. What kind of information and to what extent does it increase if one collects and records all rim parts of pottery instead of concentrating on full vessels? How does it affect the typology building? What kinds of aspects of artifact study are excluded when selective strategy is used? Does the material reveal more of the formation processes or would it be vital for distinguishing functional activity areas? Does it help interpreting mixed contexts so common at sites with a long history of settlement? What are the concrete benefits of more accurate recording and what are the costs of it? This study is first and foremost a case study of Tel Kinrot, but the results are reflected on wider perspectives of archaeology in Israel-Palestine.

Pottery as a major find group was chosen, because it is traditionally the focus of material study of the Early Iron Age. The pottery typology in Palestine has been the main dating tool for settlements. The typology is traditionally based on whole forms, with a special weight on rim forms and decoration. It will be investigated if a study on shard material can affect, refine or even change typology of the region.

Why this perspective is important

The selective retrieval has been and still is a common way of working with finds in the Near Eastern context. Shards that are considered indicative for dating or other cultural issues are kept and “un-indicative” shards are discarded. As for dating, the criterion of contemporaneity with the excavated habitation layers and the selected pottery items is problematic. In simplified form the process can be following: shards that look earlier according to adopted typology are considered *residual* and shards that better fit later period typological groups are considered *intrusive*. This way of working easily leads to circular reasoning, especially if combined with a belief of exact typological dating. Especially between periods that are close to each other, such a method should be avoided. The typological dating of artifacts, especially pottery has been the most common way of dating archaeological deposits in Israel-Palestine. The pottery typologies tend to aim at a high resolution dating of 50 or even 25 years (see chapter 4.3). If the selective retrieval with the focus of contemporaneity is combined with a belief in high resolution dating of

pottery typology, the work easily creates too clean and homogeneous assemblages that is actually much of a scholarly construction and does not reflect the nature of the material in any unbiased way. Especially in case of periods that are chronologically close, the fluidity of the materials between the types needs to be acknowledged.

This is not to deny the many processes at archaeological sites that will move finds that originate from earlier layer to move to later layers and finds from later layers to the earlier ones. This phenomenon should anyhow also be validated by other means than only pottery shards of earlier or later type. The thesis is demonstrating a crucial weak point in practical methods in archaeology as practiced in modern Israel and Near East and makes proposal for its improvement.

The possibilities brought about by systematic retrieval will be evaluated considering the amount of work and the costs it inevitably brings about. When an excavation project is planned, the resources required for the analyses of a larger body of finds are often difficult to estimate. My hope is to present some tools for this evaluation. When the artifact analysis is well planned one can also avoid recording features that do not vary in the assemblage or features that correlate with each other so strongly that only one of several measurements (e.g. clay colors of different surfaces or only one recorded color) would be needed. As the same rules cannot be applied to different sites the importance of a pilot study on the artifacts together with trial excavations should be promoted.

The excavation projects of Tel Kinrot have their contexts of archaeological thought foremost in culture-historical tradition, which has determined the role of the ceramic finds. In the 1994–2001 project the role of pottery was focused on chronological issues and questions of cultural relations resulting in special interest on well preserved vessels with features considered good chronological markers – as the decoration. The body on pottery assemblage of the Project 2003–2008 looks essentially different as the bulk of material consists of rim shards. Still, the preliminary publications have focused on well preserved items considered to be good chronological markers.

It is of interest to examine if the more systematic retrieval of the pottery finds brings about similar advantages in different contexts. It is customary to keep more material from so called “clean loci” consisting of homogeneous material in chronological sense (e.g. Arie 2006, Sharon 1995). This is a significant choice. The study of materials from mixed contexts might bring about information helpful for their interpretation. In the study of well stratified contexts the increased amount of material enables subtle chronological trends to arise.

This study demonstrates how the retrieval and keeping strategy of ceramic finds affects the artifact study. The impact can be seen in the amount of the studied items and in their nature. These aspects affect the possible interpretations that can be justified with the material. All these relate to the research interests that the methods should serve. The study makes the interpretative process transparent and enables the audience better evaluate the results. Such advances for site reports in general are recommended. The pottery descriptions of the site reports are a genre of their own. These reports present pottery descriptions often in form of typologies and they aim in presenting the material for other people doing artifact studies.

How it relates to broader issues relevant for archaeologists

Archaeological research is often characterized by a discrepancy between an ideal to document minutely all what has been done before, during and after the excavation including a detailed study of all excavated finds and a reality of limited resources of time and money that force the actors to choose a lower level of documenting. The striving towards the best attainable result with minimizing the costs is a difficult equation. The decision need to be taken before the excavations take place and during the work. Still, concrete tools for decision making are few. The trend in the research generally has been to excavate less with more accurate recording than the preceding generations. This seems to be self-evident, but it has not been performed, what are the costs on one hand and the effect on results on the other.

A method of total retrieval has been advocated by Van Beek (1989[1]) and Magness-Gardiner (1996) in the context of archaeology of Israel -Palestine. It is anyhow presented as an unfeasible ideal due to the amount of material and restrictions of resources of the research. Some selection is thus an inevitable step (Magness-Gardiner 1996: 179, 191). The Case study presented by Magness-Gardiner aimed at revealing spatial organization, economy and society at Tell el-Hayyat excavations of a Middle Bronze Age village. The ceramic analysis was concentrated on functional identification and patterning of the functional groups at the site. In practice, also in the case of Tell el-Hayyat excavations with the aim of total retrieval in mind, the material to be studied in detail was selected. After cleaning the ceramics were first looked for restorable vessels. If those were recognized, all shards were kept. If restorable material was not identified, all shards were counted and a selection was kept for further analysis. The selection included all shards that were thought as "diagnostic of forms: rims, bases, handles, spouts, and sherds with surface decoration, as well as an equal number of body sherds and all EB [Early Bronze Age] IV ware. … All EB IV ware was saved as control for mixed loci because it is easily distinguishable from Middle Bronze Age ceramic material by its texture and color" (Magness-Gardiner 1996: 184). The process resulted in a sample of 23 000 shards, 10–12 percent of the total amount of excavated shards (Magness-Gardiner 1996: 185).

The systematic retrieval and keeping strategy is a prerequisite for the proper use of statistical inference. In archaeological field reports the use of statistics is often restricted to presenting the proportions of different vessel types and changes in the frequencies between cultural phases. This kind of presentation is a compact and reader-friendly way of describing the material that has been kept and studied. It is not very clear, how the given frequencies relate to the amount vessels of the ancient population of a given time period. Drawing a direct parallel between the assemblage kept and the ceramics used the ancient population can be misleading, especially if the keeping strategy of the finds is biased.

There are also other issues that affect the frequencies of finds. The rate of breakage and discard affects the amount of items in an archaeological context. The cooking pots and bowls typically have a relatively short lifespan. They are thus over-represented in archaeological record when compared to their frequency in the systemic context (David & Kramer 2001:100; Shott 1989: 14–15). The amount of fragments is also affected by the vessel shape: the wide forms will most likely fall in many rather small pieces when broken. In cultural sphere, some items are more likely discarded outside the living compounds as others. In the natural sphere

[1] The article from Eretz Israel 20:12*–29* referred to by Magness-Gardiner (1996) is not available to me.

some kinds of artifacts are more likely to be disintegrated and perish. These kinds of processes and their systematics have been studied in ethno-archaeology and experimental archaeology (e.g. Schiffer 1987; David & Kramer 2001). Systematic retrieval allows the use of statistical modeling for type formation (Gilboa et al. 2004) or its use to solve stratigraphic questions (Fletcher & Lock 1994: 51; Shennan 1997).

1.2 Sources and Methods

This study is in its core comparing two research projects at the same site, their frameworks, field and recording processes, the study of artefacts and the interpretations of the material. In addition some statistical testing and analyses will be performed with the pottery retrieved in the later excavation of the Kinneret Regional Project (2003–2008). The applicability of posing different kind of research questions with material retrieved in different ways will be an essential part of evaluation of the two projects.

The primary source material is the pottery itself. What has been kept can be seen from the assemblages themselves. This material can be analyzed and the assemblages retrieved by Fritz in 1994–2001 and by the KRP in 2003–2008 can be compared with each other. In addition the material retrieved in the 2003–2008 needs to be divided into two according to two diverging strategies of pottery keeping. The question of what was discarded is more problematic. To some extent it can be deduced from the pottery material itself. As the assemblage retrieved in the 1990's consists of mainly well preserved material, but the assemblage retrieved in 2000's mainly includes badly preserved shards, one can conclude that the badly preserved material was largely discarded in the earlier excavation project. This can be further corroborated with the field documentation in the locus cards (see in detail in chapter 4).

The definition of the loci is another issue that seems to affect the amount of kept material. This is more difficult to clarify. The principles that Fritz expressed in his study book "*Einleitung in die Biblische Archäologie"* (1985, revised English translation in 1994) can be taken as a reference with caution. The field work always requires adjusting to the situations during the actual work. There are also differences that reflect the choices of Area supervisors. The locus cards indicate when a new Locus was opened and usually also why. If there were features or installations in the Locus that did not receive a Locus number of their own, they are described in the Locus cards. Thus, the Locus cards can be used as source when the definition of the Loci is considered.

The documentation forms used in the digital documentation from 2003 on obliged the area supervisor to indicate several details in the description of the earth material and the interfaces between the Loci, while the documentation in the 1990's left the way of description largely free. Therefore, the reason of changing the locus is more transparent and explicitly stated in the later project. The change in the recording system has most likely affected the work of area supervisors to take notice on certain features in the excavated materials.

The pottery types, their indicated functions, chronological or cultural relations are not in focus of the study. The formation of the typology is considered as the artifact study *par excellence* that is affected by the retrieval process in a certain way. The typology is an object of study, not a result. This requires a description

of the process of typology building and theoretical discussion on typologies in general and in Palestine in particular.

As the documentation about the selection process of the pottery especially during the excavations 1994–2001 is scant, interviews of people engaged in the field work during these seasons can provide an additional source of information. There are a few problems with this source. The first is that the temporal distance between the 1994–2001 excavations and this study is considerable in order to recall details of field work. Their accuracy is also difficult to evaluate. Especially it becomes challenging to recall processes if they were instable. Another problem is posed by the methodology of interviews requiring specific skills derived from the social sciences that are not a part of my proficiency. The interviews provide a different body of material as the other sources. There are also practical questions regarding to the selection of the people to interview: who should be interviewed and on what grounds? In this study the interviews are considered as a source of supplementary information. People chosen to be interviewed are thus not meant to be a random sample of area supervisors or even "typical" ones. Rather, few but well informed people with some education on archaeology and taking part during several field seasons have been regarded preferable. Thus following people have been interviewed: Anke Welzel, who worked as finds registrar in 1994–1999; Stefan Münger, Axel Knauf and Merja Alanne, who all worked as Area directors and had archaeological training. As detailed information is wished, a semi-structured interview was preferred as it allows the interviewees not only answer direct questions but also produce freely ideas about the theme of the interview (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2008; Kvale 1996: 124–143).

The primary archaeological material of the study is comprised of two groups. The first group consists of material excavated from most of the excavated areas on the Eastern slope of the Tel Kinrot mainly consisting of domestic architecture (fig. 1.2; for a more detailed map of whole tell, see appendix 1). These areas were mainly excavated under the leadership of Dr. Volkmar Fritz from 1994 until 2001. The strategies of recovering and recording of finds followed a traditional, selective agenda common in archaeology of Israel-Palestine, keeping mainly complete, nearly complete or full profiles of vessels and shards that were for some reason though of special importance. In addition a rather intuitive collection on typical shards was kept from "important" loci. When the areas were finished after the change in the excavation leadership in 2003, the strategies of keeping the fragmentary finds were kept as before, even though several adjustments or

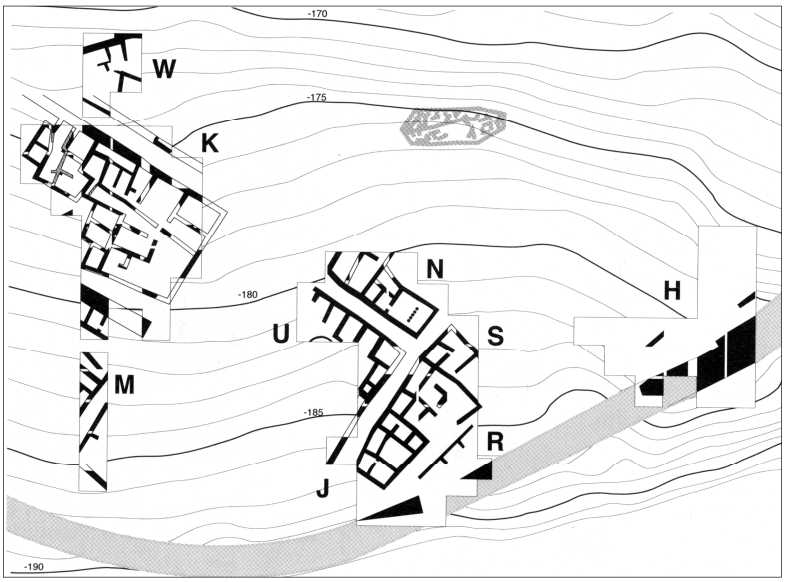


Fig.1.2 The architecture of the Early Iron Age on the southeastern slope of Tel Kinrot. The thick grey line presents the city wall partially excavated and partially reconstructed according to surface survey. Drawing by Axel Maurer & Stefan Münger, © KRP

improvements in recording took place.[2]

The other group is defined into two areas on the slope, namely areas U and W. Area W is located at the North-Western end of the larger, excavated fields on the slope and it is physically connected to the area K on its South-Eastern side. Area U is located in the middle of the excavated areas on the slope. It is physically connected to areas N, S and J on its North-Western, Northern and Eastern sides. These two areas were excavated in 2004 (Area W) and 2003–2005 and 2007 (Area U). These excavations took place after a change in the excavation team when Professor Fritz resigned. The strategies of recovery and recording were modified. All the rim shards of pottery were kept and recorded. The full amount of pottery was weighted to give an idea of the whole amount of material but the body shards were not counted. Body shards that were considered special (decorated pieces, special wares) were kept and recorded. The strategy was kept the same in all excavated loci in these areas, except the surface survey and topsoil material. These contexts were kept in the described manner only in one square in Area U to give an impression of the nature of these mixed contexts near the surface (the rim shards were counted, though). It is vital for the use of statistical analyses that the recovery and recording of the material is done systematically in the same way. All selection strategies can be regarded as some kind of samples from a larger amount of material. In statistics, the sampling refers to the strategy of making the sample. If the sample is used to make inferences from the original population (all material), the sampling has to be representative for the population. Usually this is achieved by random on systematic sampling (Shafer 2009: 25–40; other? Orton? Doran & Hodson?). The intensive retrieval strategy of analyzing all rim shards can be regarded as a systematic sampling. In this case it is possible to assume a constant relation between the rim shards studied and original vessels excavated. The target population is the excavated pottery while the original pottery used and discarded by the ancient people would be somewhat different due to differences in discard patterns of artefacts (see e.g. Schiffer 1987).

The Areas that were started by Fritz and finished by Kinneret Regional Project from 2003 onwards form in a way a group between the two. They are treated here as part of the KRP campaign, but as a special group therein. In a way they form a transitional phase between the two other strategies. The retrieval strategy was like during the Fritz's excavations, while the field working methods were adjusted similarly with the areas with intensive retrieval strategy.

The secondary material is brought about by the wider framework of archaeological research in Israel-Palestine. The excavation reports that have documented the process of the field work and analyses of the material are not too many in the early years of the research. The principles of detailed documenting were not always followed even by those who in theory insisted on them, like Sir Flinders Petrie (Davis 2004). Therefore the discussion will concentrate on the few reports that describe the processes of selecting and keeping the fragmentary finds, like Megiddo (2000 and 2006), Timnah (1997, 2001 and 2006), Tell Qiri (Hunt 1987) and a study of pottery of Tyre (Bikai 1978).

[2] Professor Volkmar Fritz (1938–2007) left the excavation lead after the 2001 field season due to a severe illness. He could not conduct the publication process of the excavation project started in 1994. The Publication is prepared by Stefan Münger, Jürgen Zangenberg and Juha Pakkala.

The sources are thus: 1) the pottery assemblages themselves, 2) field documentation concerning the definition of the Loci and the keeping of the pottery finds, 3) Interviews of selected informed participants, 4) preliminary and final excavation reports and 5) secondary literature. The pottery is the very starting point of the differences in the retrieval and keeping strategies – already the differences between the kept materials reveals interesting insights. The reconstructing the process requires other sources to be used. The field documentation can provide information about the contexts of which the material was discarded and the chronological periods presented in the contexts. Interviews can add information about the selection process of the ceramics in the field.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

The nature of research problem and the available sources have some implications for the ways it can be approached in research. Thus, it seems proper to present the epistemological point of departure for my study. As the excavation process and the material culture both are complex phenomena where many things affect each other, the construction of knowledge is also a complex process with very few secure facts. The process is interplay between induction and deduction. Foremost it should be described as justified guessing as means of reaching knowledge. Such a combination is also called *abductive* reasoning, foremost rooted in the work of American philosopher Charles Peirce (1839–1914). It can be described as more realistic way of explanation that pure deduction or induction. It does not promise to reach any ultimate truth but rather seeks for best available reasoning, economic explanation and probable solutions (Grönfors 2011:17–20; Peirce 1958: 96–97). I understand knowledge as a common, evolving construction process of scholars.

The Research Traditions in Israel-Palestine

There are two especially influential and still vital theoretical traditions in archaeology of Israel-Palestine: the *culture-historical* and *processual*. The background for the development of archaeology in Israel-Palestine has been the historical and biblical research and the study of history. Therefore, philology and art history have been integral parts of the training of the Israeli archaeologists until the 1980's. The culture-historical framework has dominated the field from the beginning (Bar-Yosef & Mazar 1982: 318). Also the tradition of the so called *'Biblical archaeology'* is culture-historical in its theoretical framework. Though this is not usually explicitly stated, it can be seen from the historical aims connected with biblical texts (in general, Davis 2004: 104; Wright 1947: 8, 16).

The *culture-historical archaeology* evolved in a context of the rise of nationalism in Europe when ethnicity appeared to be especially important factor in human history. Attention was paid especially to the geographical and chronological distributions of artifacts and their relation to specific ethnic groups. Human nature was considered conservative and biologically determined and cultural change was explained by diffusion and migration (Trigger 1989: 148-151). Typological method, developed by Oscar Montelius (1843–1921) and Christian Thomsen (1788–1865) has its roots in this theoretical tradition. Series of regional chronologies were built by examining material from closed finds to determine, what kind of artifacts occurred together. Cultures were defined on the basis of diagnostic artifacts, specific for a region and limited time (Trigger 1989: 156-157, 170). Pottery was important because its stylistic attributes are sensitive indicators of change. Probably, the culture-history will always occupy a part of archaeology, as

often an archaeological study of a site produces "a story of the sequence of events and cultures" as its first phase (Kenyon 1979: 15).

The Biblical Archaeology School rose in the early 20th century and was the dominant framework of archaeological research in Israel-Palestine from the 1920's until 1960's (Davis 2004). For a considerable time, the framework of biblical stories about the Israelite people, affected strongly the interpretations of archaeological remains of both Jewish (e.g. Yadin, Biran, Benjamin Mazar) and Christian scholars. Especially clear the connection was in the Biblical archaeology school foremost connected to William F. Albright (1891–1976), Nelson Glueck (1900–1971) and Albright's student Georg Ernest Wright (1909–1974) (Davis 2004:81–92; 102–104; Albright 1928; Glueck 1959; Wright 1947). Biblical archaeologists used actively the biblical narratives to interpret the archaeological remains, as illustrated by following two quotes:

> "Ai was destroyed by the Hebrews as narrated in the Book of Joshua and never reoccupied in strict agreement with the Biblical tradition" (Albright 1928: 8).
>
> "It may be stated categorically that no archaeological discovery has ever controverted a Biblical reference. Scores of archaeological findings have been made which confirm in clear outline or exact detail historical statements in the Bible. And, by the same token, proper evaluation of Biblical descriptions has often led to amazing discoveries" (Glueck 1959: 136).

The culture-historical approach has continued to be influential and serves significant needs up till present and is socially attractive especially in contexts of evolving group identities (Trigger 1989: 202-205, 244). The culture-historical research and a keen interest on ethnicity in material culture have been long vital in Israel. The context of in 1948 established national state of Israel that has since then has felt itself threatened from the outside has been a fertile ground for research of the Iron Age, considered the period of Israelite kingdom under David and Solomon. The interpretation of new features in material culture as a sign of Israelites conquering the Holy Land had a political requisition. Several active archaeologists were also active in politics and/or in military forces (e.g. Yigael Yadin, Avraham Biran, Yohanan Aharoni). In Israeli archaeology the culture-historical approach has offered a link between the national state and its ancient past; the periods interpreted as Israelite have been a focus of research. Archaeology has been used to demonstrate the rights of modern Jewish population to the occupied land (Kletter 2005: 314-319; Kletter 2013; Andrén 1997: 61; Trigger 1989: 183). The interest on the archaeologists themselves reflects insights brought about post-processual school of thought (e.g. Shanks & Tilley 1992; Olsen 1997; Hodder 1999).

Field work is always a part of a process of research and interpretation. The level of documenting has partially been restricted by the available means of the day, but even more they have been guided by the question setting of the archaeologists and in Israel-Palestine also by biblical scholars. The area of Israel-Palestine was one of the earliest places where archaeological investigations took place. Early geological and topographical surveys were done in the 19th century by American Edward Robinson (1794–1863) who surveyed in Palestine in 1838 (Robinson 1841–1842). Several scholars from Europe worked in the following decades (Tristam in 1865, Conder in 1895) Grand surveys of Western Palestine were conducted by a British society Palestine Exploration Fund in 1880's. At that time the Bible was read uncritically as historical source and the surveys identified biblical places (Robinson 1865; Tristram 1866; Conder 1895; Davis 2004: 4–12).

After the World War II new optimism and technical advances rose in the Western World, and they encouraged a revival of cultural evolutionism (Trigger 1989: 284; Johnson 1999: 22). The term "new archaeology" refers to approaches that reflected dissatisfaction with culture-historical approach, not to a single set of beliefs or a particular theoretical conviction. Common traits were ambition towards more *scientific and anthropological* approaches and an idea of a *culture process* – hence the term *processual archaeology* (Johnson 1999: 20-25). Perceptions of culture were in many cases materialistic and deterministic. Ecological adaptation was seen crucial in explaining cultural differences; environment was determinative to culture and cultural change. (Trigger 1989: 290-292) Culture was man's means of adaptation to the environment. (Johnson 1999: 22-24; Binford 1964) Scientific stress involved striving for generalizations, modeling and intensive use of natural sciences. Modeling included setting up hypotheses and testing them, and use of statistical tools increased. (Johnson 1999: 26-30) Although processualism advocated studying all aspects of cultural systems, the research concentrated strongly on subsistence patterns, trade and social organization (Trigger 1989: 327). In Israeli archaeology, interest in economic questions and social issues or "life-ways" started the show on the field during the 1970's as shown by the excavation project at Gezer (Walker 1978: 2). Anthropological aspects as well as other influences of processualism increased since the 1980's (Bar-Yosef & Mazar 1982: 318).

The archaeology of Israel-Palestine, like classical archaeology, has been able to use classic written sources (Andrén 1997: 21-26, 58-63). The Classical texts were often read as the key to a comprehension of a social reality behind the artifacts used as illustrations for textual data. The primacy of textual material has often led to a static and monolithic view of life in the Roman world (Allison 1999b: 57-65). Texts emphasize the role of society's élite (Allison 1999a: 3) and especially Biblical material is fundamentally ideological in nature (e.g. Dever 1990). The Palestinian archaeology has been closely connected with studies of history and philology and to a lesser extent affected by methodological and theoretical developments elsewhere. The impact of processual archaeology was for a considerable time limited to use of technical aids in data analysis (Andrén 1997: 46-47; Trigger 1989: 184; Hanbury-Tenison 1986: 108). This is also evident from the absence of theoretical and methodological discussion in the latest 20 years of Journals like *Tel Aviv*, *Israel Exploration Journal* or *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*. The writings focus on chronology, culture and history. The processual ideas concerning space use and its implications for society first entered the archaeology of Israel-Palestine in the study of earlier periods, like the Neolithic (Gadot & Yasur-Landau: 584) or the Early Bronze Age (Philip & Baird 2000: 5-6) not having the connection to textual records and with less immense amounts of material. My impression is, that still in the beginning of the 21st century, the scientific analyses included in the excavation reports are to large extent not very well integrated into the interpretations that concentrate on historical issues.

More recent trends in the research have risen with New Archaeology (or processualism) from 1960's on. This meant active use of science and anthropology. Afterwards the use of statistical analyses has become a routine, as well as different scientific analysis of the plant, animal and human remains and plotting of all finds in their contexts for a spatial studies. Socio-economic questions have largely colonized the field from the monopoly of historical questions also for the periods that can be linked with biblical sources. These approaches were first introduced to earlier periods, like the Early Bronze Age that were free of the baggage (Gadot & Yasur-Landau: 2006).

For artefact study the trends of processual archaeology meant foremost an increased use of fragmentary material, like shards and their statistical and scientific analyses. The latter include studies of clays and provenance. Pioneering work in this tradition was carried out by Franken at Tell Deir 'Alla, Jordan in 1960's (Franken & Kaalsbek: 1969). Examples of Israeli archaeologists for this are Amihai Mazar, excavating in Tel Qasile and Amnon Ben-Tor in Jokne'am (both published in the 1980's). A growing interest was set upon artefact study, including detailed analyses on the shard material (e.g. Patricia Bikai in Tyre already in 1978). These studies include use of statistics and a representative keeping strategies, but their framework can still be described as culture-historical and their use of pottery is fundamentally typologico-chronological.

Processual archaeology has been accused for naïve positivism, natural determinism and imposing a passive role for human. Post-processualism is a broad umbrella term covering a wide range of approaches – common being the dissatisfaction with the processual tradition. Common ground in post-processualism is a critique on the idea of objective, positivist science and the environmental determinism that often accompanied scientific approaches. The critique towards straightforward reading of archaeological contexts without a careful analysis of the varied formation processes started already in the 1980's foremost by Michael B. Schiffer (e.g. Schiffer 1987). The analysis of formation processes has since then became widely acknowledged, first in the American archaeology and to growing extent also in the Near East (a recent example in Megiddo by Gadot & Yasur-Landau: 2006).

Widely shared ideas include the view of data as theory laden and constructed nature of knowledge; the interpretative nature of all research; the active role of an individual; the idea that material culture not only reflect ideas and beliefs but is an active part of the world that is material, symbolic and ideal; a fluidity of meanings of things in different contexts and the awareness of the political context of research itself (Johnson 1999: 100–108). Differences between the approaches can be crystallized to the role of human – both ancient and modern. The ancient human can be regarded more passive, behaving according to general laws or more active constructing the world around. The modern scholar can perceive oneself as *finding* patterns (culture-historical and processual traditions) or *constructing* them (post-processual tradition). These options stand on a continuum and both may be present in one study. The retrieval strategy is a part of a process, where the scholar actively constructs the material to study in the first place.

The post-processual archaeologists also share an intensive use of social sciences and humanities (e.g. study of language or sex/gender). An awareness of the context of research itself and an interest on the philosophy of science in cultural studies has grown (Herva 2008: 91; Hodder 1982, 1986; Shanks & Tilley 1987; Tilley ed. 1990; Trigger 1989). A Consciousness of the ideologies behind archaeologists themselves and religious and/or political contexts of the research has recently risen also in Israel (Davis 2004; Kletter 2005; 2013). Results of biblical criticism have been widely adopted and the use of biblical texts does not play a prominent role in the present research (Davis 2004). It is important not to abandon everything that was brought about by processual archaeology, but to sift the shards and scarabs out of the sands: to sharpen the tools with the help of later critique.

My own profile

Personally, I have during the pottery studies of the Tel Kinrot material lived through all these approaches and I am still engaged with them all. I started working within the culture-historical setting. My initial interest was looking for minor changes reflecting chronology and connections reflected by similar artifacts to other sites in the region. Feeling uncomfortable with the different and often blurred pottery representations and the intuitive nature of pottery types I started working with statistical tools expecting quite naïvely objectivity and "hard facts." Later I was disappointed facing the manipulative possibilities of statistics and the need of interpretation reading the statistical "results". I confronted the notion that one is incapable of knowing beforehand what kind of features turn out to be interesting, significant or revealing, and the need to rely on inherited wisdom upon what feature to measure and on what scale. I also faced problems with the material from different contexts that could not be used in a uniform way for the initial chronological purposes.

However, admitting that statistics did not provide absolute answers, I still find their use helpful in many respects. Advanced, heuristic statistical tools with sensitivity to the archaeological multidimensional materials can offer a practical tool to describe phenomena in a compact way and gain insights of masses that otherwise would be hard to reach. The different assemblages of the Tel Kinrot pottery I worked with raised an interest on methodological issues concerning the whole process from excavation, finds retrieval, sorting and measuring to the analysis of the material and its interpretation and presentation in publication. Adding the interview material and an analysis of the documentation systems to the agenda of studying the research process reflect a constructivist conception of knowledge typical for post-processual thinking.

[Theory answers to "why"-question; do I have a theory that I employ – not really? -> Do I need this sub-chapter at all and if, is the title wrong? > this sub-chapter should tell the reader, what is my *perspective*.]

Emphatics, Sibilants, and Interdentals in Hebrew and Ugaritic: An Interlocking Model

Ola Wikander, Lund University

Dear OTSEM members!

As some of you may know, my current main research project concerns cultural interaction between the OT and Indo-European worlds, especially the transformation of the "dragon mythology". This work is, however, now in a "main buildup stage" (gathering, analysis and categorization of texts, etc.), where it would be difficult to formulate a fitting piece of separate text for the OTSEM setting at this point (cf. my OTSEM text from Tartu 2013 for an overview of that research).

Therefore, what I will be presenting this year is another piece of scholarship, a long-gestating article concerned with Northwest Semitic phonology. The focus is on the vexing problems of the emphatic sounds and the sibilants ("s-sounds") of Northwest Semitic – I must admit that I've tried to tackle two of the most complicated problems there are in the field of NWS phonology. The matters I would propose as central points of discussion are:

- Is my analysis of Hebrew *ṣādē* convincing?
- Do you agree that velarization need not have come from Arabic even though glottalization is older? Do you agree that is does not have to be "either or"?
- Is my idea of the interrelatedness between the change in the pronunciation of sibilants/interdentals and that of the emphatics believable?
- Is my argument concerning forms such as *hiṣṭaddēq* convincing?
- Is my argument about the word *qoṭobkā* (and parallels) convincing?
- And of course: are my main arguments "followable"? The matter is, after all, rather complicated.

I'm sure we'll find more than this to talk about, though. I hope you will enjoy this rather technical paper!

/ OWr

This article deals with two oft-discussed and bewildering questions of ancient Northwest Semitic phonetics and phonology: that of the relationship between the sibilant and interdental phonemes and that of the nature of the emphatic sounds. It is my view that these two questions may in certain ways influence each other, and it is my intention to present a possible model for the development of the Northwest Semitic phonemes in question.

The two problem spheres are among the most vexing in Semitic phonological history generally. The first concerns the emphatic sounds: were they in some way "backed", i.e. pharyngealized, velarized or uvularized (as in Arabic or many dialects of Neo-Aramaic) or glottalized/ejective (as in Ethiopic and often in Modern South Arabian)? Today, the trend is

generally to view the glottalized/ejective pronunciation as the original one and the pharyngealized/velarized one as secondary (or even as originally confined to Arabic).

The question of the nature of the various sibilant and quasi-sibilant phonemes is even more complex. Here, I will concentrate on the developments of these various sounds in Northwest Semitic – specifically in Hebrew and Ugaritic, and to a certain extent Aramaic – though comparative evidence from other languages will sometimes be adduced as well.

Basic points of departure

If one is to make any sense of these confusing and interlocking developments, the following facts need to be kept in mind:

- The interdental series of consonants (*t̲, d̲, ẓ*),[1] while undoubtedly present in early Northwest Semitic, was highly unstable in all its branches – including Ugaritic. The existence of separate graphemes expressing this series in Ugaritic must not blind one from noticing this tendency. A similar instability affected the lateral fricatives (*ś* and its emphatic counterpart *ṣ́*),[2] which disappeared in many languages and often fell together with other phonemes.
- In transcriptions of foreign languages into Ugaritic, sibilants are normally rendered as *t̲*, not as *s* or *š*. In Hurrian words/names, the corresponding voiced allophone is often rendered by *d̲* rather than *z*.
- Regardless of the recent trend of regarding the pharyngealized/velarized pronunciation of the Northwest Semitic emphatics as a late phenomenon (possibly influenced by Arabic) and the glottalized pronunciation as the actual ancient pronunciation, the evidence for pharyngealization is not to be ignored (as I shall argue below). It is, however, quite clear that glottalization is still the oldest phonetic realization of the emphatics, and both these facts must be remembered. As we shall se below, the question of the realization of the emphatic sounds may also affect the history of the interdental fricatives, and vice versa.
- When discussing the question of the pronunciation of the emphatic sounds, it is necessary to be aware that, cross-linguistically, "backing" (pharyngealization or velarization) tends to spread throughout a lexeme, whereas glottalized/ejective sounds often tend to dissimilate from each other (i.e. the exact opposite development). Thus, the two possible pronunciations of emphatics in ancient Semitic languages behave in diametrically opposed ways, which is often regarded as significant.
- The sibilant series *s/z/ṣ* was in all probability a series of affricates in early Northwest Semitic, only later changing to a pure sibilant realization.[3] This fact has far-reaching consequences.
- This affricated pronunciation appears to have been preserved in some reading traditions in the case of Hebrew *ṣāḏē* – the Ashkenazic (and Modern Hebrew) realization of the letter as [ts] should not simply be ascribed to Yiddish influence: why, in this were the only deciding factor, would the identification happen to this exact letter? Also, there is ancient transcriptional evidence for an affricate *ṣ* in

[1] For typographical reasons (and because it is normal in Ugaritological circles), I here use the common (though strictly incorrect) transcription *ẓ* for the emphatic interdental fricative. This transcription is derived from the value of the cognate sound in modern Arabic – it should be noted that nothing suggests that the phoneme was voiced in antiquity.

[2] Again due to the influence of Arabic on earlier comparative Semitic, the sound *ṣ́* is sometimes rendered *ḍ*. It was certainly not voiced in antiquity but represented an emphatic lateral fricative.

[3] This view is today so common as to be regarded as standard (see, for example, Kogan 2011: 61, who talks of a "growing consensus", with ample references in the sections that follow). See also Kogan 2011: 69.

> Northwest Semitic in the forms of Hebrew *ṣpn* being transcribed into Demotic Egyptian as *tspn* and of *ḥṣr* being rendered in Greek as αστηρ (there are a number of other similar cases).[4]

The historical pronunciation of the emphatic consonants

In older grammars and textbooks of Biblical Hebrew, it is almost always stated that the letters *ṭēṯ* and *ṣādē* were originally pronounced with pharyngealization or velarization, and that the third Hebrew emphatic, *qôph*, was pronounced as an uvular [q] – all three being pronunciations well known from Arabic. Although, sadly, few "Western" students of Biblical Hebrew have tended to make the effort to pronounce the sounds in this way, there was at one time something of a consensus that this was the historical realization once represented by these letters. In later years, however, there has been a slow but clear shift of the pendulum towards the view that in Ancient Hebrew (and in Northwest Semitic generally), the emphatic letters were rather pronounced glottalized ejectives, in the manner represented by the modern South Semitic languages. The movement in this direction may well be viewed as part of a more general (and in itself highly commendable) tendency not to view Classical Arabic as the "perfect Semitic language" in the way that seems to have been *a là mode* say, fifty years ago.[5]

There are, however, a number of arguments suggestive of a pharyngealized or velarized (or uvularized) pronunciation of the emphatics in Northwest Semitic. Of these, the most apparent and intuitive is also the most unconvincing when subjected to thorough scrutiny, viz. the tradition of pronouncing them in this manner in reading traditions of Syriac and Mizrahi or Yemenite Hebrew. This fact, while seemingly indicative of an ancient pharyngealized/velarized feature, has been brushed aside by much modern scholarship based on the (on the face of it) rather plausible suggestion that all these traditions have come to be due to adstrate influence from Arabic. Thus, it has been suggested that this "backed" pronunciation of emphatics is indicative of nothing more than Arabic having been the spoken language in the regions where these traditions of Hebrew and Syriac arose and of the pronunciation of the emphatics in spoken Arabic being superimposed on the phonological systems of the traditional, religious languages.[6] This would certainly not be an uncommon phenomenon – one could for example note the accommodation of the Coptic language to the Arabic phonological system that took place during the Middle Ages. There is, however, still the tantalizing question of why the Arabic-speaking users of mediaeval Hebrew and Syriac would specifically have identified glottalized phonemes with the pharyngealized/velarized phonemes of Arabic – of course, the apparent identity of the names of many of the letters may have helped if such a process really occurred.

But there are more compelling reasons for maintaining pharyngealization/velarization as a probable pronunciation of these ancient Northwest Semitic phonemes, or rather, that such a pronunciation was in development during the productive period of the classical Northwest Semitic languages, independently of Arabic. The important point is not really which of the two pronunciations of emphatics (glottalization or "backing") is the older one – it is quite clear that glottalization is the more archaic pronunciation, which may well have persisted here and there even in Northwest Semitic.[7] The question is whether the "backed" pronunciation is

[4] Lipiński 2001: 132. More transcriptional indications of this sort can be found throughout Steiner 1982, the classic study on the subject.

[5] The view that Hebrew emphatics were glottalized/ejective can now also be found in beginning textbooks – see e.g. Hackett 2010, which teaches it.

[6] For an example of this view concerning Hebrew, see Rendsburg 1997: 75-76.

[7] There is one Jewish reading tradition that uses ejective emphatics, viz. the Georgian one. But, as pointed out by Lipiński (1997: 106), this pronunciation is historically suspect due to the replacement of the actual pharyngeal phoneme *ʿayin* by a glottalized velar (sometimes described as a glottalized uvular) in that tradition, which shows that it had a tendency for replacing "backed" phonemes with ejective ones. In the case of Georgian

only attributable to Arabic influence or rather, as I will argue, was developing across the Northwest Semitic area even in antiquity. I will here point out a number of reasons for such a view, the first two of which have often been adduced in the literature, while the rest are, as far as I know, unique to the present study:

(1) The evidence of historical emphatics being rendered as velar or uvular phonemes in Ugaritic and early Aramaic.
(2) The evidence of hithpaʿel forms in Hebrew, and parallel phenomena in Aramaic.[8]
(3) The vocalization of the Hebrew word *qoṭobkā* (and parallels, such as *qorobkem*).
(4) The lack of spontaneously appearing emphatics based on vowel-less sequences of Hebrew (or Aramaic) *s*, *t* or *k* and a following glottal stop.
(4) The fact that Aramaic initially showed dissimilation of two emphatics in the same root (during the Old Aramaic period) but later displays no such process.

Point (1) in this list refers to the fact that (under certain, not entirely, clear) circumstances, the etymological emphatic interdental fricative (often, though misleadingly, transcribed **ẓ*) appears in Ugaritic written using the sign normally used to indicate the voiced uvular fricative, *ġ*. Similarly, early Aramaic renders the etymological emphatic lateral fricative sound **ś́* (also sometimes transcribed *ḏ* due to its reflex in Arabic) using *q*,[9] and later Aramaic uses *ʿayin* for the same purpose. The *q* rendering is less than conclusive, as that letter is of course also subject to the uncertainty concerning the realization of the emphatic (creating a risk of circular reasoning).[10] The Ugaritic *ġ* and later Aramaic *ʿayin* are, however, more telling. As Lipiński argues, these are most easily explained by assuming that the emphatic feature inherent in the unstable interdental phoneme was some sort of co-articulation in the velar, uvular or pharyngeal region. An ejective/glottalized articulation would not provide as ready an explanation of this phenomenon. [11] We will return to this matter later on.

Hebrew, adstrate influence from Caucasian languages (which abound in ejectives) must not be ignored. There is also some evidence for glottalization in certain Neo-Aramaic dialects (see Dolgopolsky 1977: 1), which (given the perspective argued here) could well be viewed as an archaism (most Neo-Aramaic dialects do not use glottalization but "backing" or simple lack of aspiration to mark the "emphatic" feature). But note that Dolgopolsky points out (n. 2) that even few those dialects of Neo-Aramaic that *do* use glottalization also attest to a "backing" of vowels in the vicinity of emphatics, which points to those dialects being "on the fence" and in the process of a sound change. This is actually stated by Dolgopolsky himself on pp. 6-7.

[8] These first two arguments are basically the same as some of those adduced in Lipiński 1997: 105-106. Lipiński is of the view that pharyngealization/velarization was the *original* feature characteristic of the emphatic sounds of Semitic as a whole, a view which is clearly untenable in light of evidence from both Akkadian and South Semitic.

[9] A similar rendering appears to occur in the notoriously hard-to-identify dialect of the Deir Alla inscription as well (see Hackett 1984: 111-112).

[10] Kaufman 1997: 119 argues that the sound in Old Aramaic was actually articulated as "a velar spirant", which would make the parallel with the Ugaritic development nearly perfect. For further, and more detailed, analysis of this Aramaic phoneme, see below (and footnote 32).

[11] There is another Afro-Asiatic typological parallel to the development of (something like) pharyngealized or velarized phonemes into an actual pharyngeal phoneme. This concerns the outcome of historical, Afro-Asiatic *d* (and possibly also *ð* and *z*) in Egyptian, a language that – according to the "new school" of Egyptian historical phonology – shifted this sound to *ʿayin*. This process is explained by Antonio Loprieno (1995: 31) as having probably come to pass through a stage in which the apical phonemes first turned into a lateral pronounced with pharyngealization, [ɬ]. The pharyngeal feature was allegedly then, so to speak, purified into an actual pharyngeal phoneme [ʕ]. Loprieno himself observes the parallel with the Northwest Semitic development on p. 244, n. 10. A similar typological comparison with Aramaic is done in Peust 1999: 100. Peust also endorses the idea that Egyptian *ʿayin* was originally a dental which shifted in articulation into a pharyngeal around 2000 BC (p. 99). This analysis of the Egyptian *ʿayin* phoneme (which has many adherents today, although others regard it as controversial) originated in Rössler 1971, esp. pages 275-278.

Point (2) is that of the Hebrew hithpaʿel forms such as *hiṣṭaddēq*, which appear to show emphasis spread (*t* becoming *ṭ* in the vicinity of *ṣ*). This is easier to explain if *ṣ* was articulated in a way that included pharyngealization/velarization, as such articulation tends to spread throughout a word, whereas ejective phonemes would rather be expected to dissimilate in such an environment, yielding ***hiṣtaddēq* with a *tāw*.[12] When reading the literature, one sometimes gets the impression that *hiṣṭaddēq* is the only word in Hebrew showing this development, but one should not discount examples such as *hiṣṭāʿēr* ("to be pained"), which occurs in Mishnaic Hebrew. The same phenomenon exists in Aramaic.

As mentioned, this assimilation is much easier to explain if some sort of backed coarticulation is involved (and downright strange if the phonemes are to be analyzed as glottalized ejectives) – *presupposing* that the writings actually reflect two emphatic sounds following each other and not an etymological "group writing" in which a glottalic release occurred only after the second sound (on this later problem, see below, footnote 22).

Point (3) on the list is concerned with vocalism. A common criticism against interpretations of Hebrew emphatics as pharyngealized or velarized is that the language does not appear to display "backing" of vowels close to these consonants. In languages that have pharyngealized emphatics, such "vowel backing" tends to be conspicuous – see, for example, the Arabic vowel *a*, which is mostly pronounced [æ] in neutral environments, but turns into a backed vowel [ɑ] when it occurs next to emphatics. The lack of such a process in Tiberian Hebrew seems telling, as the Masoretes where extremely thorough in recording the minutest differences in pronunciation.

There are, however, two arguments against this objection. The first is simply the fact that a "lighter" velarization would not necessarily have the big impact on vowels typical of full-blown pharyngealization, yet is still a form of "consonant backing".

The other (point 3 on the list) is that I actually believe there are isolated examples in which emphatic letters *do* change the vowels of a Hebrew word in a way reminiscent of that commonly occurring with the "guttural" letters. The first example is the suffixed nominal form *qoṭobkā*, which means "your destruction/your sting" (probably from **qōṭeb*) and occurs once, in Hos 13: 14. According to the normal rules for **quṭl* segholates, the form ought to have been *qoṭběkā*, with one *qāmeṣ ḥāṭûp* and not two. Another similar word is the suffixed infinitive *qorobkem* ("your drawing close") in Deut 20:2.[13] Other similar examples are *qobollô* ("his battering-ram (?)", Hes 26:9) and possibly *qoṭonnî* ("my little one"="little finger" or "penis", 1 Kings 12:10 etc.).

The interesting thing to note here is (a) that all these words contain a *q*, and (b) that they appear to behave as if they contained a "guttural" – the insertion of a second *qāmeṣ ḥāṭûp* is quite typical of words such as *pōʿal*, which produces the suffixed form *poʿolkā*. The same phenomenon occurs in the word *ʾoholkā* ("your tent"), which also contains a "guttural". That is: the words *qoṭobkā* and *qorobkem*, which contain both *q* and *ṭ* in one case and *q* by itself in another use vowel patterns typical of similar roots containing a "guttural" (as do the other words mentioned above – note the dual emphatics of *qoṭonnî*). This, I would say, is a strong argument for a "backed" pronunciation of Hebrew emphatics in the classical era (at least of

[12] The tendency for ejectives to dissimilate is common cross-linguistically, and is represented in Semitic as well, for example in the Akkadian "Geers' Law" (which is actually one the most important arguments for Akkadian emphatics having been ejectives; see Kogan 2011: 60). The importance of the Hebrew *hiṣṭaddēq*-type assimilation was eloquently stated by Alicia Faber (1980: 140-141). Faber also points out the "dissimilatory nature" of ejectives (in relation to the Akkadian law of Geers) on pp. 145-147.

[13] Joüon & Muraoka (2006: 166, §65c) simply refer to this phenomenon as being meant to "facilitate pronuncation". Such is certainly the case, but I argue that the "facilitation" is quite specifically to a backed consonant. In theirs section on nominal inflection (2006: 274, §96*j*), Joüon/Muraoka simply note the strange vocalism of the words and compare them to *poʿolkā*, without further comment.

q).[14] Note that the second case (*qorobkem*) – even though only including one emphatic and not two – does include an *r*, which regularly patterns with "gutturals" in the Tiberian phonological system (and also causes "backing" of vowels in Arabic).

The fourth point on the list is somewhat weaker, as it entails an *argumentum e silentio*, however, I believe that it may still be suggestive. My argument runs as follows: If the feature [EMPHATIC] were really fully equated with glottalization in the extant, historical Hebrew texts, one could well have expected that sequences of unemphatic *k*, *s* or *t* followed by a pronounced *ʾāleph* would coalesce into the corresponding emphatic sound and grapheme (*q*, *ṣ*, *ṭ*). This would be likely, as a glottalized ejective is phonetically made up of a consonant made not through pulmonary pressure but through pressure from air above the closed glottis followed by a distinct "clicking" opening of the glottis (i.e., one can somewhat inexactly describe ejective consonants as being pronounced with a simultaneous glottal stop). In fact, exactly this type of assimilation/conflation is attested in Assyrian, which has been used as a plausible argument that the emphatics of that language were at least usually articulated as ejectives.[15] In Hebrew, however, nothing of the sort happens. One can look at words such as *pitʾōm* ("suddenly"), which is never written ***piṭōm*, *makʾōb* ("pain"), which does not turn into ***maqōb* and, for that matter, forms of *tʾm* (a root having to do with "twins"), which occurs in the Hebrew Bible in the form of the hiphʿîl participle *matʾîmôt* (Song of Songs 4:4), a form that is certainly not turned into ***maṭîmôt*.[16] This root provides even more interesting evidence later on (in this case from Aramaic). I am thinking of the New Testament name (or epithet) Θωμᾶς, which is derived from Aramaic *t(ē)ʾōmāʾ*. In this word (at least in the form underlying the Greek rendering), it appears that the *šĕwāʾ* is not audibly present.[17] This would create an eminent opportunity for the *tāw* and the *ʾāleph* to coalesce (theoretically into a *ṭēth*) if the emphatics were indeed generally pronounced as glottalized ejectives in the Hebrew and Aramaic of the New Testament period. However, the spelling of the Greek rendering strongly points in the other direction. The initial consonant is transcribed by Greek *thēta*, the aspirated dental stop. It is impossible to pronounce a consonant that is at the same time aspirated and ejective, and this means that the probability of Greek speakers rendering a putative ejective dental stop using *thēta* should be zero.[18]

[14] It is quite interesting to note that an early scholar such as F.E. König (1895: 68-69) noted these words, the general phenomenon and its connection with *q* and emphatics, without (of course) using that as an argument for the pronunciation of those letters. He expressly noted that these words have been given a "vollere Aussprache" due to the presence of emphatic consonants.

[15] The word that has been invoked is *našāʾu* ("to lift", cognate with Hebrew *nāśāʾ*), which in Middle and Neo-Assyrian has given rise to forms written with *ṣ* when the *š* meets the old glottal stop without an intervening vowel; this would point to Assyrian *ṣ* having been glottalized/ejective (see Aro 1977: 8, who first made this point). This line of reasoning was also accepted by Kouwenberg (2003) and Kogan (2011: 60). Kouwenberg added similar Old Assyrian (and occasionally later) evidence concerning the verbs *waṣāʾum* ("to go out"), *maṣāʾum* ("to be sufficient"), *kaṣāʾum* ("to be cold") and *nadāʾum* ("to lay down"), using a somewhat different phonological analysis. I find the arguments in these cases to be quite compelling.

[16] In writing these theoretical (and nonexistent) forms, I have not made these words conform to Masoretic rules of vowels and syllabification. The reason that the example I am using here is not the verb *nāśāʾ* (in parallel with the Assyrian evidence presented in the previous footnote) is that Hebrew appears to have kept the ancient pronunciation of *ś* as a lateral fricative for a significant time, which makes the historical development relative to the sibilants less clear.

[17] Like in Ιούδας for *Y(ē)hûdâ*.

[18] One may compare with the system employed in the spelling of the Bohairic dialect of Coptic (also based on the Greek alphabet), in which what appears to be etymologically glottalized ejective stops are rendered using the voiceless unaspirated series (*kappa*, *pi* and *tau*), whereas etymologically non-ejective stops are rendered using aspirates (*thēta*, *phi*, *chi*) before a stressed vowel, semivowel or sonorant (see Loprieno 1995: 42-44). Origen's *Secunda* consistently uses voiceless unaspirates for the emphatic stops and aspirates for the unemphatic voiceless ones (Fernández Marcos 2000: 217), but this tells us absolutely nothing about the nature of the

Thus it has been shown that, in those cases where one could reasonably have expected an emphatic stop to appear in Hebrew and Aramaic because of language-internal phonological processes if the emphatics were consistently pronounced as ejectives, emphatic stops do not occur.[19] This is an argument somewhat lessening the probability of the Hebrew and Aramaic emphatics having been ejective in the classical period.[20]

The emphatic sibilant/affricate

Although I believe that the pharyngealized/velarized pronunciation of the emphatics was spreading through Northwest Semitic already in antiquity, it was probably not ubiquitous. I would like to argue the possibility that while the "emphatic feature" had in Northwest Semitic sometimes switched from being phonologically represented as glottalization to something like pharyngealization or velarization, at least one phoneme, *ṣ*, could still have kept glottalization as an additional phonetic trait for a longer time. Such a state of affairs would account well for the phenomenon that there are a number of signs (mentioned above) of an affricated

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emphatic coarticulation, as both the pharyngealized/velarized emphatics of Arabic and the glottalized ejective emphatics of Ethiopian Semitic are unaspirated.

[19] As pointed out earlier, this argument entails an *argumentum e silentio*. As mentioned, Assyrian shows the type of development searched for here (which argues for that language having ejectives) – but Geʿez (a language which demonstrably has ejectives) does not. This shows that the absence of *ʾāleph* causing assimilation into ejectives is in itself not a definitive argument against ancient Hebrew having ejectives as a prominent part of its phonological system. However, if one presupposes that Hebrew ejectives *were* ejective, and that such assimilations as *ṣṭ* in *hiṣṭaddēq* therefore represented not pharyngeal emphasis spread (as I argue, point 2 in the main list above) but "group writings" of a phonetic sequence [*sṭʾ*], in which the glottalic release occurred after the whole cluster (see the discussion of this possibility in footnote 22 below), one would have a situation in which the glottalic stop/release (which is, after all, phonetically identical to an *ʾāleph*) were subject to motion between and integration within other consonants, which would increase the likelihood of such an assimilation as the one searched for in vain above (e.g. *pitʾōm* > ***piṭōm*). All this rests, however, on a type of "contrafactual" linguistics which certainly has methodological difficulties attached to it.

[20] It is possible to make a similar argument, though even more uncertain, based on the Syriac writing of the name commonly rendered in a Greco-Latinized form as Paphnutius (a name of several different Coptic ecclesiastical figures). This name originally represents a Coptic form *Papnoute* (meaning "the one belonging to God", with the second half of the word reflecting the ancient Egyptian word *nṯr*) and is rendered in Syriac as *Pafnûṭ*. What I find noteworthy here is the use of the Syriac emphatic *ṭ* to signify what was in all probability an ordinary unvoiced, unaspirated dental stop in Coptic; ancient Coptic probably had glottalized ejectives as part of its phonetic inventory (see again Loprieno 1995: 42-44 and note 18 above), but the *t* of *noute* was not one of these (as shown by its being descended from Egyptian *nṯr* which uses the unemphatic palatal stop transcribed as *ṯ*). Thus, Syriac uses emphatic *ṭ* to render *non*ejective Coptic *t*, which would be rather unexpected if a distinction nonejective-ejective were really present in Syriac Aramaic. Again, this would weaken the case for the Aramaic emphatics having been realized as glottalized ejectives in the classical period (and thus, by extension, somewhat strengthening the case for pharyngealization/velarization, or at least "something different than ejectivity"; of course a simple lack of aspiration could also be posited).

Against this line of reasoning two counterarguments could be adduced. The first one is that the Syriac *ṭ* could simply have been intended to render the lack of aspiration in the original form or that the choice of the emphatic was made in order to avoid a pronunciation [θ], caused by Aramaic *bĕgadkĕfat* spirantization of *t*. The other consists in the possibility that the name *Pafnûṭ* was actually borrowed from the Greek form Παφνουτιος and not directly from Coptic, in which case, again, the choice of Syriac *ṭ* could have been intended simply to convey lack of aspiration. There is also another Syriac form of the name ending in the letters *–ys*, which certainly represents the Greek ending -ιος. The possibility that Syriac used emphatic *ṭ* simply to avoid spirantization into [θ] is rendered somewhat less probable by the fact that no such qualms stopped the Syriac transcription with what became (by spirantization) an *f* (but in that case one must remember that there is no emphatic *p* to use in Syriac, so the only recourse would have been an artificial gemination). All in all, though, I believe that the rendering *Pafnûṭ* somewhat lessens the likelihood for the Syriac emphatic having necessarily been pronounced as ejectives.

pronunciation of this phoneme (as opposed to unemphatic *s*) in later times.[21] It is known from the Ethiopian Semitic languages that an ejective *s* has a tendency to sound like an affricate. Thus, in this phoneme, Northwest Semitic may have kept glottalization as a coarticulation – or rather, affrication and glottalization may have helped preserve each other during the two processes where (1) the emphatics evolved from being glottalized to pharyngealized and (2) the affricates became deaffricated and transformed into normal sibilants. That is, both of these archaic (and, in Northwest Semitic, moribund) features – affrication and glottalization – served to keep each other in existence.

Yet, spellings such as the above-mentioned *hiṣtaddēq* (from the root *ṣ-d-q*) suggest that there was a pharyngealization as well – otherwise, the emphatic *ṣ* would hardly turn the *t* into its emphatic counterpart (see above). Thus, I think it quite possible that (at least at an early stage of Northwest Semitic), the phoneme transcribed as *ṣ* was phonetically something like [tsˤ], showing both pharyngealization and glottalization at the same time.[22] This redundantly feature-prone phoneme would probably eventually shed glottalization in some dialects, turning into [tsˤ] (later Ashkenazic pronunciation, which shed all traces of a specific emphatic realization, naturally reinterpreted this as simple [ts], which has persisted even into Modern Israeli Hebrew). The retention of the affricate pronunciation was probably not universal, but restricted to certain dialects, as indicated by the varying reading traditions of Hebrew.

The existence of emphatic sounds both glottalized and pharyngealized at the same was also suggested by I. Maddieson.[23] Maddieson's suggestion was, however, concerned with the original, proto-language, pronunciation of the emphatics. The central idea would be that such a double coarticulation would explain the two attested pronunciations of various Semitic languages in a simple way. This is not the point I am making: rather I am suggested that *ṣ* kept glottalization as a fossilized remnant, or better: *that the affricated and glottalized features helped preserve each other.*

The idea that *ṣ* (as opposed to the other two phonemes that were originally affricated) kept its affricated pronunciation due to the influence of the ejective realization of the emphatic feature (in a way similar to what is found in the Ethiopian languages) has been

[21] For further, and deeper, analyses of *ṣ* as an affricate, and a very thorough survey of the various reading traditions of Hebrew and Aramaic providing evidence for such a pronunciation, see Steiner 1982. See also Kogan 2011: 62-63.

[22] As pointed out obliquely earlier, could possibly also analyze writings such as *hiṣtaddēq* as a sort of etymologizing "group writing", with only the latter of the two sounds actually being realized as an emphatic. If that is so, one could equally well imagine a glottalized realization with the actual glottalic feature phonetically occurring after the second of the sounds: [histˀaddekˀ]. This type of explanation is used in Louwenberg 2003: 84, n. 56 to account for similar spellings of perfect forms in Neo-Assyrian (*iqṭibi* for etymological *iqṭibi*, "he has said"), which have been taken to represent the rise of pharyngealization/velarization in Assyrian as well (so Huehnergard 1997: 438). Howsoever that may be, I personally feel that such an explanation (that the writing does not really represent two pronounced emphatics) would be less compelling in the Hebrew case of *hiṣtaddēq*, etc.; given what is argued here concerning the pronunciation of Hebrew *ṣādē* (accepting that it appears to have had an affricated pronunciation in antiquity, at least in some contexts and dialects), I find it somewhat hard to believe that the phonological process involved would produce a very complex cluster that would have sounded something like [tstˀ]. Rather, one would have expected a process of deaffrication of the (theoretical) glottalic dental affricate before a dental stop (cf. a parallel process in Ugaritic and Akkadian, see Kogan 2001: 63), which would have produced *sāmek-ṭēth* or possibly *šîn-ṭēth*. If, on the other hand, pharyngealization/velarization had already started to appear in period of Classical Hebrew, and the letter *ṣādē* was realized (as is argued above) something like [tsˤ] or [sˤ], it is quite easy to imagine the pharyngeal part of the coarticulation spreading to the dental stop as well, whereas the glottalic one could either just disappear or be pronounced after the cluster as well. Also, in such environments, one could well imagine that the affrication of *ṣādē* would be neutralized – but not the pharyngealization/velarization, which would still keep the spelling with that letter relevant.

[23] Personal comment published in Edzard 1998: 102.

proposed before, notably by Vilenchik, and then later by Richard C. Steiner.[24] I would, however, like to extend the concept to the possibility that the influence "worked both ways", so to speak. The evidence for pharyngealization having come into being as a phonetic trait of the emphatics in Northwest Semitic is strong enough not to be ignored, and thus it cannot be sufficient to presuppose that glottalization was the universally used feature.

Also, one should not discount what St. Jerome says about the various sibilant letters of Hebrew:

> *Siquidem apud Hebraeos tres s sunt littera: una, quae dicitur samech, et simpliciter legitur quasi per s nostram litteram describatur: alia sin, in qua stridor quidam non nostri sermonis interstrepit: tertia sade, quam aures nostrae penitus reformidant.*[25]
>
> Since indeed there are three *s* letters among the Hebrews: one, which is called *sāmek*, and is simply read as what is indicated by means of our own letter *s*, another one called *šîn/śîn*, in which a certain hissing sound not occurring in our language can be heard, and a third one called *ṣādē*, at which our ears deeply shudder.

Though such arguments are perforce subjective in nature, I personally find it rather unlikely that Jerome would describe a simple glottalized *s* as so "scary" a sound. Ejectives are, after all, rather weak, and an ejective *s* would probably sound more or less like an ordinary *s* followed by a hiatus before the following vowel to a speaker of Latin – or possibly like a *ts* (which would hardly seem shudderworthy to Jerome) or as a slightly hissing *s*. If, however, we imagine that the sound that Jerome referred to was something like [tsˠ] or [sˠ],, the "shuddering ears" of the Latinate saint become much more understandable.

Jerome also says the following:

> *…. sade, cuius proprietatem et sonum inter z et s Latinus sermo non exprimit. Est enim stridulus, et strictis dentibus vix linguae impressione profertur.*[26]
>
> … *ṣādē*, the nature and sound of which, between *z* and *s*, the Latin language cannot express. For it is hissing/buzzing, and is produced with difficulty, with the teeth "drawn together"/"tightened" with pressure of the tongue.

This, again, sounds like quite a powerful sound; it could theoretically be interpreted as referring to an ejective – it all comes down to what is specifically meant by *stridulus* ("hissing/buzzing") in this context. The reference to "difficult" and "pressure of the tongue" could well point to velarization or pharyngealization as well.

I would argue that the appearance of pharyngealization/velarization/uvularization was a phenomenon that spread as an areal feature across several Semitic languages, and did so by stages, and perhaps not always affecting all phonemes simultaneously or to the same degree.

For example, while most scholars would agree that glottalization was used in the older stages of Akkadian, it is notable that Neo-Assyrian, a relatively late dialect, presents us with two contrasting phenomena indicative of pharyngealization/velarization appearing as well as glottalization. The latter is indicated by the above-mentioned assimilation of a sibilant to *ʾāleph* to produce *ṣ* (see note 15), but the transformation of *qt* into *qṭ* in words such as *iqṭibi*

[24] Vilenchik 1930: 92; Steiner 1982: 85, 88-89. Steiner is, however, undecided as to whether the affrication is and original Proto-Semitic feature or rather a bi-product of glottalization.

[25] *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum* 71.

[26] *In Isaiam*, comment on Isa 11:1-2 (For the importance of this statement, see already König 1881: 35).

("he has said", note 22) is more typical of "backing". As mentioned, this is sometimes explained as a "group writing"; such a solution is, however, contraindicated by the fact that this type of writing appears even when the two consonants are separated by an epenthetic vowel, as in the writing *i-qi-ṭí-bu-ni-šú*.[27] Such a spelling would be extremely hard to explain as a "group writing" with the glottalic element moved to the end of a cluster, whereas it would fit eminently well with "backing". This suggests that Neo-Assyrian was split on the issue of the realization of emphatics, with the older (glottalized/ejective) pronunciation appearing next to a "backed one". One could speculate that this was due to influence from western languages,[28] perhaps specifically Aramaic. It is certainly interesting to note that the Neo-Assyrian phoneme showing the clearest evidence for glottalization is *ṣ* (see note 15), whereas *q* and *ṭ* can be interpreted as having switched to "backing"/velarization/glottalization in that language: the emphatic affricate/sibilant *ṣ* was, after all, argued above to have kept its glottalization the longest in Northwest Semitic, and if areal influence from that linguistic group really was the origin of the "backed" assimilation *qṭ* in Neo-Assyrian (as argued by Huehnergard), the data would fit perfectly, with precisely the phoneme *ṣ* apparently being unaffected and still pronounced as an ejective in Neo-Assyrian.

Interdentals and sibilants in Ugaritic and Hebrew

We now turn momentarily to non-emphatic phonemes. There is no real, hard evidence that Ugaritic *t̲* was pronounced as an interdental: it certainly was so at an early Northwest Semitic period, which is suggested not only by Arabic but also by Aramaic, which later shifted it to a dental occlusive *t*. In (the later stages of) Ugaritic, however, transcriptional material clearly point to a sibilant realization (probably something close to [s]) – the *t̲* letter is consistently used to render sibilants of other languages, such as Hurrian and Hittite. The arguments adduced by Josef Tropper against this conclusion do not appear strong to me. In his view, the Ugaritians used *t̲* for foreign sibilants because they did not (according to him) possess a simple [s] in their phonemic inventory (the phoneme transcribed as *s* represented an affricate [ts], at least at an early period) and thus used the most similar sound they did have for this purpose.[29] But one has to ask oneself: is an interdental fricative really that similar to an [s], when the palatal sibilant *š* is also available? Also, phonological systems completely lacking [s] are cross-linguistically rare (though not non-existent).The conclusion that Ugaritic *t̲* was [s] (at least in later texts) is, to my mind, the most parsimonious one.

This means that, at some point, the originally affricate phonemes were "de-affricated".[30] I find it likely that the processes of deaffricating the phonemes *s* and *z* directly influenced the shift that appears to have occurred from interdental *t̲* to a "neutral" sibilant and then further on to coalescing with the palatal sibilant *š* were directly connected in non-Aramaic Northwest Semitic.

As a first stage of this process, the highly unstable interdental series lost its identity – a process we can see in action in Ugaritic, where *t̲* appears to have come to be pronounced [s], while *d̲* in most cases collapsed into *d* and the emphatic interdental *ẓ* (i.e. the emphatic interdental fricative) fused with other phonemes, for example in the interesting *ġ* merger mentioned above. Indeed, in transcriptions of Hurrian words and names, *d̲* appears often to denote the voiced counterpart of [s], indicating that this letter did not really signify an

[27] See Hämeen-Anttila 2000: 21.

[28] Again, see Huehnergard 1997: 438.

[29] Tropper 2000: 113 (with references to earlier literature on the question). He has a similar argument concerning Ugaritic *d̲* on p. 119.

[30] For the Ugaritic evidence for this, see Tropper 2000: 104.

interdental sound at all in "Classical Ugaritic orthography" but rather a simple voiced sibilant [z] (a sound with which it did indeed become identified in Canaanite).

What then seems to have happened is that the affricate series become deaffricated (excluding the emphatic *ṣ*, which, for reasons described above, probably kept its affricated pronunciation, at least in some dialects). This means that two new phonemes, [s] and [z], appeared. It is of course not certain whether this "[s] from [ts]" phoneme was really identical to the "[s] from *t̲*" discussed earlier – probably it was not, for (as we shall see) their historical development was different. It is quite possible that there was some small articulatory difference between the two, the exact nature of which cannot be known.

My view is that, as a "new" unvoiced [s]-sound came into existence as a result of deaffrication, this provoked the "ex-interdental" [s] to shift into a palatal sound, coalescing with *š*. This would, then, yield the situation found in the Canaanite languages. Such a model would create an explanation for the otherwise somewhat surprising development from an interdental fricative to a palatal sibilant.[31]

These developments can be illustrated in the following table (showing the process in Ugaritic in the first two stages and a sort of later dialect):

Step I: early (pre-)Ugaritic, interdentals preserved as such and *s*-series affricate

t̲=[θ]	d̲=[ð]	ẓ=[θˤ], [θʔ] or [θᵡ]	
s=[ts]	z=[dz]	ṣ=[tsʔ], [tsˤ] or [tsᵡ]	(glottalization of *ṣ* possibly preserved later than in the other phonemes)

Step II: interdentals collapse into other phonemes

t̲=[s]	d̲>d	ẓ>ġ (sometimes)	
s=[ts]	z=[dz]	ṣ=[tsʔ], [tsˤ] or [tsᵡ]	

Step III: *s*-series is mainly deaffricated, provoking further shifting of t̲ so an ʃ-sound

t̲=[ʃ]	d̲>d	ẓ>ġ (sometimes)	
s=[s]	z=[z]	ṣ=[sˤ], [tsˤ] or [tsᵡ]	(affrication dialectally preserved due to emphasis)

Possible conclusions from the interlocking devolopments of emphatics, sibilant and "quasi-sibilant" sounds in Northwest Semitic

It is certainly highly interesting that the two recorded cases in which originally emphatic phonemes have come to be reflected as velar/uvular/pharyngeal letters (Ugaritic *ġ* from **ẓ* and Aramaic *q* and *ʿayin* from the emphatic lateral fricative **ś́*) occur when the original Proto-Semitic phoneme had a primary place of articulation close to the teeth or alveolar wall (see argument number 1, above).

[31] This type of argument is certainly not unique; it is similar to the push-chain analysis described (but not necessarily accepted) in Kogan 2011: 70.

I would say that it is quite thinkable that this is directly related to the beginning instability of the interdental and lateral series (the former demonstrated in the table just preceding): when these two series started to lose their autonomy, just keeping their emphatic representatives as glottalized ejectives would pose a risk of them being absorbed into the originally affricate series (which is indeed what happened to both *ṣ́ and *ẓ in Hebrew, which shifted them to ṣ), due to the "ts-sounding" qualities produced by pronouncing a glottalized ejective with the primary articulation close to the teeth or alveolar wall. In order to keep the phonemic distinctiveness of these two sounds, Aramaic and Ugaritic may sometimes have changed the realization of the emphatic feature to some sort of "backing" in these cases. Another (but similar) possibility is that it was the spuriously appearing "spontaneous and intrusive t" that came about due to glottalization of these phonemes that was dissimilated to some sort of backed sound or feature in order to escape identification with the affricate series, which led to (and was reinterpreted as) a "backing" of the entire sound. This could also be in line with a general lessening of affrication as a feature of Northwest Semitic languages.[32]

Indeed, a fact which accords well with such a hypothesis is the phenomenon that the affected phoneme in Ugaritic was an interdental (a series which was demonstrably collapsing in that language) but not in Aramaic, which kept the interdentals separate in the early (Old Aramaic period) but later merged them not with sibilants/ex-affricates (as did Hebrew) but with dental stops.

If this line of reasoning is accepted, a startling new possibility presents itself: that the appearance of pharyngealization/velarization (or generally "backing") as a possible realization of the emphatic feature in (Northwest) Semitic originally appeared in these particular phonemes (whereupon it may have spread to other parts of the phonological system). If this is so, the developments of the interdentals, sibilants, lateral fricatives and emphatics are not only parallel, but directly interlocking. A possible piece of evidence pointing in this direction comes from Aramaic: in Old Aramaic, the emphatic lateral fricative *ṣ́ was (as mentioned) rendered using the letter *q*, which points to some type of backed articulation. However (and now we come to argument number 5 on our list), these early Aramaic texts also show "Geers' law-like" dissimilation of two emphatics in the same word (e.g. *kyṣʾ* for "summer", cf. Hebrew *qayiṣ* and Ugaritic *qẓ*),[33] which would fit better with the (older) glottalized pronunciation being current in the Aramaic of that time. As time wore on, later Aramaic kept some sort of backed realization of historical *ṣ́ (using *ʿayin* to represent it graphically), but the phenomenon of dissimilation of emphatics is now gone, which may indicate that the glottalized/ejective pronunciation of the emphatics was not as current – indeed, the opposite

[32] A somewhat different analysis of the history of *ṣ́ in Aramaic is argued in Kogan 2011: 99 (based on work by several other scholars), but it may in fact be very well combined with the model proposed here. The view represented in Kogan is that the Old Aramaic spelling with *q* represents something like [kxˀ] or [qxˀ], which would have come into being through a sort of backing dissimilation of an affricated, emphatic (=glottalized) lateral, that is, the original [tɬˀ] dissimilated into [kɬˀ] and finally turned into [kxˀ] or [qxˀ],. Later, so the theory goes, this complex cluster [kxˀ] or [qxˀ] would have been identified with [ɣ] (i.e. *ġayin*, which was a separate phoneme in early Aramaic) and then, finally, with *ʿayin* (when Aramaic *ġayin* collapsed into that phoneme). This interpretation, involved though it is, is alluring in many ways (for example, it fits well with transcriptional material from the Amarna onomastics). The idea that the Old Aramaic sound was pronounced something like [qxˀ] is, however, not at all incompatible with the analysis presented above: as mentioned in the main text, the appearance of some sort of velar or even uvular feature into the pronunciation of what was once *ṣ́ would in itself work as an introduction of a "backing" feature into the phonological system of the language, and could thus have constituted a starting point of an identification between the feature [EMPHATIC] and "backing" of some sort (i.e. velarization or perhaps pharyngealization or uvularization) – and the appearance of the "backed entity" ([qx] or [kx] in Kogan's analysis) could very well have been because of the dissimilation of an "intrusive t", as argued above. None of this causes problems for my suggestion that the demise of the lateral and interdentals series helped provoke these changes.

[33] See Greenspahn 2002: 97.

process (emphasis spread) seems to be in action in the root *qṭl* (versus earlier *qtl*, which appears to be the original form of the root given its cognates in Arabic and Ethiopic). In Classical Aramaic, the "summer" word appears as *qayṭāʾ*, with two emphatics in the same word not being regarded as problematic at all, which fits with the idea that a transition had occurred from a glottalized to a "backed" pronunciation of the Aramaic emphatics (at least in some dialects).

All this seems to strengthen the possibility that **ṣ́* was one of the first phonemes to acquire a backed realization of the emphatic feature in Aramaic, whence it later spread into other parts of the phonological system.[34] One can note with some interest that the Modern South Arabian languages show evidence of both glottalized and pharyngealized realizations of emphatics, which shows that the situation may very well have been in flux at earlier points in the history of the Semitic languages as well. As mentioned above in note 7, there also appears to be some limited Neo-Aramaic evidence for such a transitional stage.

The type of analytical model presented here presupposes that the various developments discussed – the changing phonetic realization of the emphatics, the dissolution of the interdental triad, the deaffrication of affricate phonemes – must be studied not in isolation but as parts of interlocking and complex processes that made Northwest Semitic look the way it does in preserved texts and reading traditions. And the emphatics of ancient Northwest Semitic do not have to be analyzed as having been either "exactly like Arabic" or "transformed by Arabic influence": development from glottalization to "backing" may have happened gradually, and by language-internal processes.

The interrelations that have been proposed between the developments in Ugaritic and Hebrew/Canaanite also imply that the borders between the various branches of Northwest Semitic were not absolute; rather, some of the phonetic changes appear to have developed and spread as areal features across the Levantine area. Indeed, the deaffrication of *s* and *z* has occurred in most branches of Semitic. The various sound-changes must not be studied in isolation, but as part as ongoing and mutually influencing processes.

And, as we have seen, according to this model, these processes had a domino-like quality: the interdentals and laterals started collapsing into other sounds, WHICH caused the *s*-like sounds to change, WHILE the affricates started losing their affrication, ALL OF WHICH TOGETHER caused backing of the emphatic interdental of Ugaritic and the emphatic lateral of Aramaic, WHICH subsequently spread to the other emphatic phonemes. Interlocking, indeed.

[34] The view of Bellem (2007: 152), that treats **ṣ́* (=**ḏ*) as *not* having been an emphatic at all in Proto-Semitic (but holding that it was, however, "backed" in the sense of velarized or pharyngealized), is not the point that I am arguing here. I certainly think that the Proto-Semitic sound was emphatic (originally=glottalized/ejective) but that this articulation shifted in Aramaic, and that this shift (and the similar one in Ugaritic) provide clues as to how the pharyngealized/velarized realization of the emphatic feature came into being. Note that Bellem (p. 155) makes the same connection that I do between the backed pronunciation of **ṣ́* (=**ḏ*) and its Aramaic graphic representations as *q* and *ʿayin*, though with vastly different viewpoints. Bellem's argument against **ṣ́* (=**ḏ*) having originally been emphatic (=ejective) appears only to be mediaeval accounts of the pronunciation of the phoneme in Arabic, which says nothing at all of its earlier realization. The Ethiopic languages show glottalization in their reflexes of the phoneme (though identified with *ṣ*), which would be hard to explain unless it was, indeed, emphatic (=glottalized) from the beginning.

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Identifying earlier Collections

*Inter*titles in the Book of Psalms?



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Possible focal points of discussion are the four topics in section 3: "*Earlier collections*," "*Continuous addition*?" "*Canon and authority*" *and* "*Identification*."

1 Titles and *inter*titles

Among the possible clues to the redaction of the Book of Psalms, the psalm titles are among the more complex. On the one hand, the many obscure terms have been notoriously difficult to decipher, almost leading to somewhat of a weariness as to the task itself, and on the other hand, the titles have, when looked at from a general point of view, been argued to provide a new interpretive setting for the psalms,[1] ultimately connected to (a) redactional intention(s),[2] as so also indicating that the Book of Psalms likely contains several earlier, independent collections.

To this line of inquiry, there are some fundamental issues still to be answered, and the suggestions made by Childs and Wilson could be illuminative as a starting point. As for Childs, he analyzed the "biographical" titles (titles connecting the psalm to some part of the David stories) and suggested that these were very late (post-exilic) additions to the psalms, *added* to either cause or reflect on a reinterpretation. Building on these ideas, Wilson then argued that redactors *made use of* parts of the titles as the Book of Psalms was redacted into its current shape. So put, a potential problem appears. Were titles *added* as means of combining psalms into collections, or were existing titles *used* or perhaps *slightly altered* to perform such a function? Put differently, a fundamental question to be answered is whether the titles were primarily concerned with and related to the individual psalm to which they were added, or if they are to be seen also as *inter*titles, that is, internal titles, titles of sections of a book. To inquire into this question, I will thus first have to present some basic definition of titles and intertitles.

1.1 What is an (inter)title?

1.1.1 Starting with the title

In his, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, Gérard Genette discusses and defines titles and *inter*titles in two separate chapters.[3] As for the title, he

1. See e.g. the influential Childs 1971.
2. See esp. Wilson 1985a; Wilson 1984; Wilson 1985b.
3. Chapters 4 and 11, see Genette 1997a, 55–103, 294–318; cf. Genette 1988.

notes that one of the founders of modern titology, Leo H Hoek, describes it as...

> ... an artificial object, an artifact of reception or of commentary, that readers, the public, critics, booksellers, bibliopgraphers, ... and titologists [...] have arbitrarily separated out from the graphic and possibly iconographic mass of a "title page" or a cover. This mass includes, or may include, many appended bits of information that the author, the publisher, and their public did not use to distinguish as clearly as we do now.[4]

This is indeed a very interesting definition, pinpointing several important features. First, as *paratext*, the title is in some way to be seen as artificial, that is, not intrinsic to the actual text, but as such, it is one of the first interpretive guidelines encountered by the reader. Second, the definition clearly points to the fact that the including of titles, as described here, is a quite recent phenomenon. Thus, to avoid the risk of anachronism, the proposed functions of titles would have to be carefully translated into an Ancient Near Eastern context, and the first step would likely be to include more elements into the title, as suggested in the quote above.

Proceeding from such a definition, Genette identifies several functions. First is what he calls the 'identifying' function, which distinguishes the work from others, and helps the reader to localize and identify it. This is, according to Genette, the only obligatory function, although it is not always possible to separate from other functions.[5]

The second function is the 'descriptive'. This function is achieved by the title describing the text by one of its characteristics, and Genette proposes two main categories: the thematic (titles that speak on the subject of the work) and the rhematic (titles that refer to the work itself, as an object).[6] These should not, though, be kept too far apart since many titles combines elements of both, and some are ambiguous althogether.

So put, the title is to be seen as a key to interpretation, and this second function is closely connected to a third, 'connotative' function.[7] This function is quite complex, as the connotations to a title could be practically unlimited. A title could e.g. connote a notion of ancientness "although the

4. Genette 1997a, 56.

5. Genette 1997a, 76–9, 93. Cf. Dauphin 2008, 13: "L'intitulation d'une œuvre consisterait, en second lieu, à lui assigner une identité symbolique permettant de la reconnaître, de l'appeler, de la désigner parmi la myriade d'artéfacts dont les civilisations humaines sont parsemées."

6. See Genette 1997a, 78–89, who also mentions the terms "formal" and "generic" as appropriate to the latter, especially during the classical period (esp. p.86).

7. Genette 1997a, 89–91.

original denotation was merely technical, but that value has been lost,"[8] but the function is interesting since it might constitute an interesting window into the past. Genette argues that while the connotative features are the ones "most laden with intentions," they are also the ones "most fraught with unintended effects, possible traces of an individual or collective unconscious."[9] Consequently, the constitution of the title could indicate something of how the work was understood and received at the time when the title was created, and thus, if related to the Book of Psalms, give important clues as to the rationale(s) behind e.g. the addition of titles psalms.[10] Thus, title are no mere technicality, but in fact effects the interpretation of a text. This effect pertains regardless of its time of addition, and later additions or changes will so potentially alter the way the text is received. Furthermore, once a title is given, it will likely be used for purposes that bear no relation to the reasons for which it was chosen, the primary function being to identify the text.

1.1.2 *Inter*titles

The basic (simple) definition of *inter*titles (*internal* titles), then, is that they are titles within a book.[11] As such, they are placed in relation to a new section of a work, which in turn means that some works will have no intertitle, either because the text is completely unitary (undivided) or that it is too segmented,[12] and ultimately, intertitles are in no way required.[13] As the name reveals, they perform functions similar to the title, although altered in some way as the addressees are the actual readers. If the (main) title e.g. had an identifying function, intertitles never identify a work, but rather a section of the work.

This said, there is no sharp line to be drawn between titles and intertitles, especially if the work is a collection of some sort, as is the case with Book of Psalms. Here, as has become clear in my discussion on anthologies,[14] the autonomy of each part is greater as compared to e.g. an epic or some continuous narrative, and according to Genette, "even though the thematic unity of the collection may be more or less strong, the effect of

8. Genette 1997a, 90.
9. Genette 1997a, 91.
10. A fourth function mentioned is the 'tempting' function, which I will not focus on here. This function is not given much attention by Genette either (Genette 1997a, 91–3).
11. Genette 1997a, 103, 294–318.
12. Genette 1997a, 295.
13. Genette 1997a, 294.
14. See e.g. my paper at OTSEM 2013.

sequence or progression is usually very weak, and the order of the constituent parts is most often arbitrary. Each poem is in itself a closed work that may legitimately claim its own title."[15] In the case of anthologies, one could therefore claim that there is some ambiguity here, where many of the intertitles function both as intertitles and titles. This means that they can be seen as titles, if the sections they refer to are used individually, but they can also be understood as intertitles, and so clearly relating the section to the other sections in the anthology.

15. Genette 1997a, 312.

2 Overview and analysis

If proceeding solely from the possible (inter)titles found in the MT Book of Psalms (see the table on pp.21ff), well aware of the fact that this is but one piece of the puzzle as to its redaction, three larger sections of psalms appear. In the first section, Pss 1–89, only 6 psalms are untitled (Pss 1–2; 10; 33; 43; and 71), making up a percentage of 93% of titled psalms. In the second section, Pss 90–119, there are a total of 30 psalms. Of these, only 6 psalms have 'author' designations, and if counting הללו־יה as a title, the titled psalms counts to 63%. If הללו־יה is excluded, the titled psalms make up only 33%. Then, in the last section Pss 120–150, only two psalms are untitled (Pss 136–7), and thus, 93% of the 31 psalms have a title. Consequently, there are enough formal indications of three sections to motivate a structuring of my analysis around them. And I start with Pss 1–89.

2.1 Pss 1–89

2.1.1 'Author' designations

The most apparent element of the intertitles in the first section are the 'author' designations. Throughout Pss 1–89, these are regularly grouped in distinct sections. There are two sections of Davidic psalms (Pss 3–41*; 51–70*), one sections of Korahite psalms (Pss 42–49*), and one section of Asaph psalms (Pss 73–83). Besides these four larger sections, one psalm of Solomon is attested (Ps 72), and perhaps surprizingly, several psalms are found "outside" the larger sections: the Davidic Ps 86 and Asaphite Ps 50, where the former divides a possible Korahite section into two smaller parts (Pss 84–5; 87–8 (89?) with two psalms each (where the fourth psalm, Ps 88, also mentions Heman, and the fifth, Ps 89, is attributed to Ethan).

How then should these 'autor' designations be interpreted? Well known is the ambiguity of preposition ל in these titles, an ambiguity which has rendered some various interpretations, often depending on which "author" it prefixes. As it comes to Asaph and the sons of Korah, the main view is that the preposition is to be understood as indicating that the psalm belongs to the reportoire of groups of temple singers tracing their ancestry back to Asaph and Korah.[16] If so, the titles לאסף and לבני קרח would not primarily indicate a (literary) collection, although they might

have been assembled early on, but rather some conceptual affiliation to these guilds pre-exilic guilds.[17] In favor of such a suggestion is both the fact that the psalms belonging to these two guilds respectively has not been gathered in the same place, as well as the suggestion that they share some common theological features and stresses respectively.[18]

When it comes to David, however, the interpretation "belonging to a Davidic reportoire" seems at first to be less attractive, due both to the fact that there were no "Davidic" temple singer guilds, and to the fact that it is quite clear that by the second temple times, these titles were interpreted as indicating Davidic authorship (cf. e.g. DavComp in 11QPs[a]).[19] So, some scholars have suggested that the expression לדוד must originally have meant "for David," that is, "for the Davidic ruler" (to be used by him in cult), or "about David."[20] Others have maintained that the title actually indicates at least a Davidic collection, possibly with a core consisting of psalms either written by David, or at least believed to have been sung by him,[21] and in that sense, it would be reasonable to posit that the expression לדוד relates the psalm to a dynamic tradition where psalms were continuously associated with David. As psalms were written down, so were these interpretive traditions increasingly fixed.[22]

Thus, one of the primary functions of these titles would have been to place it into a wider tradition of psalms. If so, they have a twofold direction. First, they are directed at the individual psalm, as the 'author' introduced is portrayed as the author of the psalm, but in so doing, a larger

16. See e.g. Mowinckel 1980, 357–60, although the mentioning of the sons of Korah as temple singer in 1–2 Chr is not straightfoward, as can be seen in their abscence in 1 Chr 6:16–33. For a discussion, see Willgren 2014, n.p.; cf. perhaps Firth 2008, 24–7.

17. To this conclusion, there are many indications. See e.g. the early Sarna 1979. I will return to the question of the origin of these possible collections in a later chapter.

18. Cf. Zenger 1998, 27. For the Asaphite psalms, see e.g. Buss 1963; Illman 1976; Goulder 1982a; Nasuti 1988; Goulder 1995, Houston 1995 and Weber 2001. For the psalms of the sons of Korah, see e.g. Goulder 1982b, Zenger 1994 and Mitchell 2006. This interpretation would then, as a consequence, apply also to Heman and Ethan, as they apparently were connected to the Korahite guilds (see e.g. 1 Chr 15:17, 19, cf. e.g. Anderson 1972, 43–51).

19. So e.g. Rendtorff 2005, 53. The biographical notes are also likely to be signs of such a notion, contra e.g. Kleer 1998, 78–127, who connects the notion of authorship to Ps 72:20.

20. For the former see e.g. Weiser 1962, 96; Mowinckel 1980, 87–8, 360–65. For the latter, see Sawyer 1970.

21. Hossfeld & Zenger 2005, 3 suggests that the biographical notes indicates that David, by the 5th century, was not yet regarded as author, but merely one praying the psalms.

22. Cf. Mays 2011, 12 how suggests that "the earliest attributions of some psalms to David may have been based on the tradition that honored him as patron and founder of temple music."

context is implicitly evoked, as the psalm is put in relation to other psalms belonging to e.g. David.

What about the juxtaposition, then? Well, the fact that all psalms with the same "author" are not juxtaposed could be interpreted in at least three ways. First, one might compare with the Mesopotamian catalogues of incipits and conclude that any strict application of organizational criteria seems to be unheard of. In these catalogues, incipts are indeed arranged by genre and the like, but the frequent presence of "orphan" incipits is quite striking. Second, one could argue that 'author' designations were indeed an important organizational criteria, but that occasionally, other criteria took the upper hand, e.g. genre criteria. Third, one might suggest that orphan psalms indicate a complex *literary* growth of the collection, thus implying that once a psalm collection had been formed (and considered authoritative?), it was not to be altered. Objections could be raised against all these solutions. Against the first, the juxtaposition of psalms with similar "author" designation is surely striking. Against the second, one could point to the fact that no such alternative organizational criteria has been successfully identified, and against the third, one could point to the psalms scrolls in Qumran and argue that the very idea of a collection of psalms resisting every attempt of reorganization rests on an anachronistic view of literature and materiality.[23]

Ultimately then, this issue cannot be settled on the basis of these titles only, but I would nevertheless suggest that a possible solution lies somewhere between the first and the last suggestion. Namely, that the exeptions are both due to an apparent neglect of applying organizational criteria in any strict sense, as well as to the complex growth of the collection.

2.1.2 'Genre' designations

A brief look at the table on pp.21ff shows that there are several 'genre' designations, in no way gathered into one single group.[24] Thus, it seems quite clear that their primary function is to designate the individual psalm, but Wilson suggested that they showed signs of purposeful arrangement in either smoothing out or enforcing junctures.[25] As I have

23. For an interesting argument of the latter, see Mroczek 2012.

24. It has commonly been argued that genre indications never occur together in the same title (see e.g. Wilson 1985a, 158), a feature that seems to be consistent throughout Pss 1–89, if not counting שיר to this group. The terms that are relevant here are consequently תפלה, משכיל, מכתם,מזמור and שגיון.

25. Wilson 1985a, 158–67.

refuted his argument elsewhere,[26] I will here only briefly discuss the weakness of the material presuppositions. For Wilson's ideas to work, there must have been a scroll with a fixed order of psalms, arranged by 'author' designations prior to any smoothening redactional work. Redactors must then have seen a problem with "abrupt" changes of author designation, and for a coherent reading to be achieved, they added(?) 'genre' designations to lessen the effect of the 'author' changes. Wilson, though, claims that psalms with similar 'genre' designations were juxtaposed, but that would indicate that the order of the psalms was not fixed, and so, the problem supposedly solved by 'genre' designations would never have existed. Let me clarify. According to Wilson, "author-groupings are used to mark points of disjuncture in the Psalter."[27] These points of disjuncture are then found at the end of each 'author' group, and had to be dealt with in some way. So, redactors either enforced these *existing /fixed* junctures, or softened them by the use of 'genre' designations. But for this to work, one would have to posit that while the 'author' designations (as well as the placement of these psalms) were fixed, the 'genre' designations were not. And to such a claim, there is no foundation. Even more problematic is the fact that the 'book' divisions and the doxologies are mentioned in this context,[28] implying that the redactors would have enforced 'authorship' junctures around these divisions, despite the likely conclusion that these 'book' divisions are far later than the addition of 'genre' designations, so that, if anything, the doxologies would enforce 'authorship' junctures, not the other way around.

2.1.3 Musical directions and indications of use

The third feature sometimes present in the titles are what has commonly been referred to as "musical directions" or the like. This is a fairly broad category, comprizing many different terms, the meaning of most of them notoriously hard to uncover (their meaning seem to have been lost at an early time, as seen in e.g. Greek and Latin versions).[29] Since my aim here is not to comment in detail on the meaning of the different elements of each psalm title, but to discuss their potential function as *paratexts*, related to the question of the redaction of the Book of Psalms, suffice to mention

26. See my paper at OTSEM 2012.
27. Wilson 1985a, 163.
28. Wilson 1985a, 157.
29. Cf. perhaps the inability of Akkadian scribes to translate technical terms in Sumerian texts.

here that although they are attested in 29 of the 89 psalms in the first section (33%), they in no way reveal any organizational pattern. The same is true for what I call "indications of use." These are expressions relating the psalm to either some kind of liturgy (Ps 38, 60, 70), to a specific person supposed to perform the psalm in some way (Ps 18, 36 and the 52 למנצח[30] psalms), or to some specific time or event (Ps 30).[31] While the last is indicative of a change in use (the psalm is a psalm of thanksgiving of the individual),[32] the meanings of the other are not straight-forward. However, an interesting feature reveals itself as LXX is considered. Here, Ps 24 (LXX Ps 23) reads τῆς μιᾶς σαββάτων, Ps 38 (LXX Ps 37) περὶ σαββάτου, and Ps 48 (LXX Ps 47) δευτέρᾳ σαββάτου. These three additions are to be seen in relation to other similar additions made to Pss 93–4, and will consequently be discussed later, but it is interesting to note that the way some of these psalms were used ultimately effected the text itself, so that the psalms and their context of use are to be seen as in constant dialogue.[33] The addition to Ps 29 (LXX Ps 28) is probably to be understood in a similar way (ἐξοδίου σκηνῆς, "of the going forth of the tent").[34]

2.1.4 Biographical notes

One feature, shared by Pss 3; (7; 18;)[35] 34; 51–2; 54; 56–7; 59–60 and 63 are what I have called biographical notes. These all share an identical syntax (except for Pss 7; 18), and as have been pointed out in an influential article by Childs, they were all probably added by the same hand,[36] although not juxtaposed.[37] Conceptually placing the psalm within the context of the life of David, they are often interpreted as effectuating a more private setting of the psalms. Consequently, they were now to be used as individual responses to various situations in life, where the connection of psalms to the life of David would implicate him as a model of such a use,

30. Cf. Braun 2002, who argues that it has no musical connotation.

31. According to e.g. Mowinckel 1980, 495 לענות (Ps 88) belongs here as well. Cf. Sawyer 1970.

32. Cf. Vos 2009, 2.

33. The additions to LXX Pss 28; 30; 66 possibly belongs here as well (REFERENS??).

34. See the discussion in Schaper 1998, 179.

35. As for the biographical notes in Pss 7 and 18, the rationale behind their addition is likely similar to the one sketched above, although the syntax indicates that they were not added by the same hand.

36. Childs 1971.

37. Hossfeld & Zenger 2005, 18–9 argues that the biographical notes are part of an intentional theological progression throughout Pss 51–72.

"as David, so every man."[38] Characteristic of this view is thus the stress on the inner life of the implied reader, but often also on the idea that these titles were the result of a careful, literary crafting together of well known (written) scriptures.[39] But both these aspects have problems. First, the psalms are, to a great extent, psalms of the individual, thus making the biographical notes superfluous if their main function would have been to make the psalm appropriate to personal or private use. Second, the lack of literary dependance should oppose the idea of literary crafting. Furthermore, if approached as *paratexts*, the biographical notes could be described as adding a thematic feature to the titles, as they provide an interpretive framework to the contents of the psalm, a feature that would only be effective if the narratives referred to in the title were known.[40] And so, it seems as if one of the main functions of these titles were to make explicit an increasingly growing tendency to connect these individual prayers to David, thus indicating something of how they were received and used, rather than prescribing a specific use.

2.1.5 Titles or *inter*titles?

What, then, have these observations indicated, as for the question of whether the titles could be considered as *inter*titles, and for the question of organizational patterns throughout Pss 1–89? The first question has been answered partially in my discussion above, where I have continuously claimed that the main context for these titles is the individual psalm. So put, they are *not* to be seen as primarily *inter*titles. For one, they do not in any semantic or systematic way allude to or quote neighbouring psalms, never anticipate anything other than the individual psalm, and so never join psalms into groups. In fact, many of the features analyzed above are quite uncommon to titles, as defined by Genette, so that it would be possible to suggest that the answer to the first question above is a double negative: in a strict sense, what I have called psalm titles are *neither* titles *nor* intertitles. But what, then, are they? I would here suggest that they rather approach the form of a (short) preface. According to the definition given in a previous chapter, a preface designated every type of introductory text consisting of a discourse produced on the subject of the text that

38. The quote is from Wilson 1985a, 172–3; cf. Hossfeld & Zenger 2011, 565; Kleer 1998, 126; Ballhorn 1995, 24; Eissfeldt 1971, 99; Knowles 2005, 236; Rendtorff 2005, 56. Zenger 1991, 407.

39. E.g. Childs 1971, 148–9; cf. Slomovic 1979.

40. Cf. Ballhorn 1995, 23.

followed or preceded it.[41] According to Genette, these could, in the pre-Gutenberg era, consist of the first lines of a composition, stating its date of appearance, formal status, establishing the sender, the addresse and the like,[42] and so put, it becomes quite clear that all of the features analyzed so far are possible to understand in line with this definition, while they at the same time do not fit so neatly into the definition of a title.[43]

That the psalm titles are no titles, but short prefaces is then ultimately seen in the fact that they all lack what is described as the fundamental function of titles, the identifying function. As the analysis above implies, none of the elements (perhaps except for the biographical notes) can fulfill such a function. They are either too general or uninterested with the compositions *per se*, but more prefaces have to be inquired into before drawing any conclusion.

Although not as titles, they nevertheless revealed some answers to the second question, that of organizing patterns, and as my analysis showed, the only element possible to interpret as having hade some general impact on the organization of the psalms throughout Pss 1–89 were the 'author' designations. Worth noting here is also that as the prefaces all introduce the single composition by providing various kinds of information about it, they implicitly govern the interpretation of the psalm, or at least reflect an early understanding and possible use, and the fact that they are not in any formal or syntactical way attached to the psalm that follows it then quite expected. Consequently, the psalm prefaces cannot be claimed to "bind collections together." It is rather the very material juxtaposition of psalms with similar titles that performs the "binding." Put differently, there is nothing in the individual psalm title that evokes the notion of a literary collection, but the relation to other Davidic, Asaphite, מזמור psalms etc is created when they are gathered together in an anthology. If so, this anthology is merely a platform for conceptual linkage, as is seen in e.g. the biographical notes, and furthermore, links between psalms are not restricted to the anthology, but transcends its boarders to create conceptual connections far beyond the written text, ultimately keeping a living tradition alive.

41. Genette 1997b, 161.
42. Genette 1997b, 170.
43. The only possible exception would be the 'genre' designations.

2.2 Pss 90–119

2.2.1 'Author' designations

If 'author' designations were frequently used throughout Pss 1–89, this use form a sharp contrast to Pss 90–119. Here, only 6 psalms (20%) have 'author' designations, five attributing the psalm to David and one to Moses, and only in one place are they juxtaposed (Pss 108–10), the rest being dispersed throughout (Pss 90, 101, 103). The function of relating individual psalms to the context of Davidic psalms, as well as the life of David and Moses likely being the same as described above, it is equally clear that 'author' designations do not perform any organizing function within this section.

2.2.2 'Genre' designations

Of the 30 psalms in this section, 9 psalms (1/3rd) have 'genre' indications, and they form, at the most, but one group of three psalms (Pss 108–10). Consequently, if it was unlikely that 'genre' designations served any organizing function throughout Pss 1–89, they certainly do not do so here, although the overlapping occurrence of לדוד and מזמור in Pss 108–10 might indicate an existing group.

2.2.3 Musical directions and indications of use

Perhaps the greatest difference between the two sections in focus so far is the total lack of any musical directions in any of Pss 90–119. This could not be due to mere chance, but reasonably reflects some change in how these psalms were perceived and used, as well as organized.

As for indications of use, an interesting feature is found in the LXX, as mentioned before. Where Ps 92 contains the only reference to the day of the sabbath in the MT, LXX has several additions. In this section, LXX adds εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ προσαββάτου (Ps 93) and τετράδι σαββάτων (Ps 94), making up a total of 6 psalms related to the sabbath, scattered throughout Pss 1–119. Several features are interesting here. First, the psalms are related to a specific day, and second, it is clear from e.g. *mTamid* 7:4 that Ps 82 (third day) and Ps 81 (fifth day) were also used in a similar way.[44] The

44. For a discussion, see Schaper 1998, 177–80, who eventually suggest that the LXX additions are due to the different setting of the greek translation, a setting far from the temple, where psalms could no longer be sung in relation to offering (as described in e.g.

presence of these LXX titles, and the omission of expected titles in Pss 81–2 would then indicate that the rationale between the addition of these titles was not to prescribe a specific use. Rather, it seems as if a well known use was noted, perhaps in the margins, only to eventually be made part of the actual psalm preface. This did not happen in a single move, but gradually, so that, although Pss 82 and 81 were used on the third and fifth day, this was never inscribed in their titles.

2.2.4 Biographical notes

As was observed in Pss 1–89, several prefaces had biographical notes. Thus, it is surprizing to note that this is attested in none of Pss 90–119.

2.2.5 Halleluiah

A new feature observed in this section, not present in Pss 1–89, is the use of the expression הללו־יה. As these titles occur also in the next section of psalms, I will here provide another overview, more sensitive to the placement of הללו־יה in MT, DSS and LXX, and including also the psalms from the next section.[45]

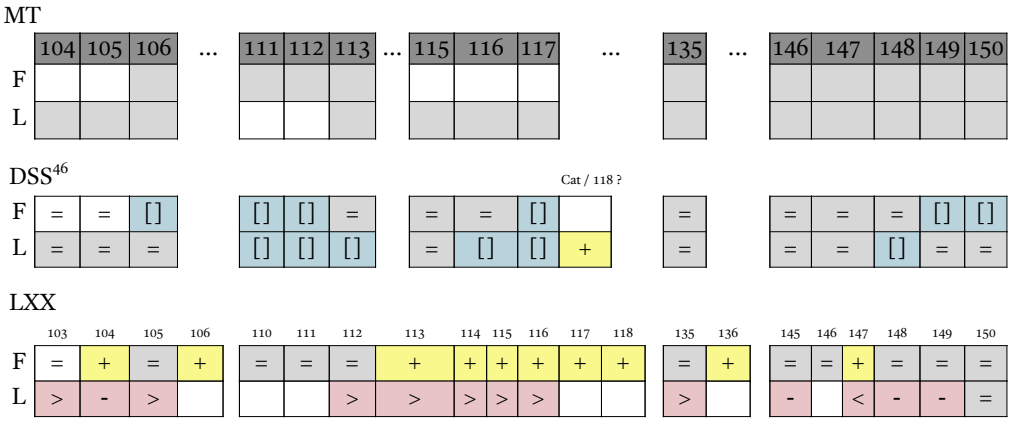


Table 1

Several interesting features can be observed in this table. First, although the fragmentary state of many of the Qumran scrolls precludes any definitive conclusion, it seems as if it agrees with MT in all but one occurrence.[47]

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2 Chr 29:26–8), but rather used in the synagogues.

45. F = first; L = last, >/< = displaced to the next or previous psalm.

46. Outside the psalms, הללו־יה is attested 5 times, all in severly damaged fragments probably containing psalms of some sort: 4Q88 10:15; 4Q196 f18:10; 4Q448 1:1; 4Q456 f1:2, 3. KOLLA UPP DETTA NOGGRANNARE..

47. This occurrence, however, is not clear cut, as the verse is very formulaic.

Equally clear is that LXX has some significant variations. The fairly inconsistent pattern in MT has been dealt with in LXX, where the expression is exclusively placed at the head of the psalm,[48] except for in Ps 150, where it is used as a frame. Moreover, LXX both removes and adds הללו־יה to several psalms so that new groups are formed: LXX Pss 113–118 and LXX Pss 104–106, and furthermore is Ps 136 brought somewhat closer to Ps 135. LXX is then likely to be seen as a later development, and most alterations could have been made with only a minor change (deliberate or by mistake) on the actual scroll.[49]

Consequently, what might have been a redactional tendency in MT is made all the clearer in LXX, but in so doing, the function of הללו־יה is altered into a genre designation, thus more in line with the known function of the titles.

2.2.6 Prefaced or not?

What, then, could be said about the second section, Pss 90–119? First, quite a contrast is observed as compared to Pss 1–89. This pertains especially to 'author' designations, musical directions and biographical notes, but also to 'genre' designations. As suggested, it is clear that none of these elements were used as organizing criteria. Second, as noted by many, the amount of psalms without any preface or title abound. Of 30 psalms, 11 are without a preface or title (37%), a clear contrast to the 7% in Pss 1–89, and if not counting the הללו־יה psalms, the total amount is 67% (20 out of 30 psalms)! Thus, if searching for organizing criteria, one would have to look beyond prefaces and titles, and it seems as if the suggestion by Wilson that Books 4–5 reflect distinct redactional techniques is well supported, at least by Pss 90–119.[50]

2.3 Pss 120–150

2.3.1 'Author' designations

Starting with 'author' designations, 12 of the 30 psalms are attributed to David, while one psalm is attributed to Solomon. The rationale behind

48. Cf. Millard 1994, 24.

49. If the expression became somewhat visually separated from the psalm to which it belonged, the desicion as to which psalm it belonged would depend only on the size of the blank space.

50. See e.g. Wilson 1984; Wilson 1993; Wilson 2005.

these attributions reasonably being the same as presented above, it is noticeable that there is, as in Pss 1–89, a clear group of Davidic psalms (Pss 138–45), while the other five psalms with 'author' designations are not juxtaposed. Thus, there is reason to assume that these prefatorial elements do perform an organizing function in this section. Interestingly enough, this section also provides the only examples of LXX *lacking* Davidic designations (Pss 122 and 124), although it adds a Davidic title to Ps 137, thus extending the Davidic group. As for DSS, a Davidic title is supplied in Ps 123, while probably lacking in Ps 144. A new feature in LXX is also that it adds to four psalms an attribution to Haggai and Zechariah (Αγγαιου καὶ Ζαχαριου), rather than to David, so that LXX Pss 145–8 are formed into a group.

2.3.2 'Genre' designations

In contrast to the two previous sections, Ps 120–150 has a clear example of psalms with similar 'genre' designations being juxtaposed into a major group, probably reflecting them being used in a similar context.[51] Pss 120–134 all share the term שיר, further specified by מעלות, the latter commonly prefixed by ה, or as in Ps 120, ל (DSS lacks this preface in Ps 134, as well as שיר in Ps 123). Apart from the use of שיר, though, no other 'genre' designations have any organizational function.

2.3.3 Musical directions and indications of use

As in Pss 90–119, there are no musical directions present in this section, and the only indication of use is the two Davidic psalms including the expression למנצח (Pss 139–40).[52] Thus, it seems as if the so frequent feature of Pss 1–89 has disappeared entirely as from Ps 90 and onwards, and is furthermore never supplied by LXX.

2.3.4 Biographical notes

Pss 120–150 contain but one biographical note, prefaced to Ps 142. It has the same syntax as the notes in Pss 1–89, and thus likely belongs to the same hand. Apart from this, single biographical note, the only in the two last sections analyzed here (Pss 90–119; 120–150), LXX adds notes to Pss 143 and 144, both alluding to the David stories (one to when he was pursued by his son, and the other to Goliath).[53]

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51. For a good overview over the alternatives, see the excursus in Hossfeld & Zenger 2011, 286–99

52. One could perhaps include Ps 120 here, since it has the preposition ל with מעלות.

3 (Inter)titles, prefaces and redaction

3.1 Earlier collections

Proceeding from the analysis provided above, it has become clear that the juxtaposition of psalms with similar preface sometimes indicates some earlier collections, and as far as the redaction of these collection goes, the basic threefold division suggested in the introduction seems to be sustained. Thus, the common view that Books 1–3 reveal similar editorial techniques while Books 4–5 use different techniques need to be modified. First, a study on the redaction of the Book of Psalms should not presuppose a book division. This became especially clear as I discussed Wilson's ideas about softening use of 'genre' designations, but this pertains also to the larger question of editorial techniques. As presented above, Pss 1–89 and 120–150 were organized by similar prefaces, but Pss 90–119 were not. So put, it would indicate the fivefold division to be later than at least the addition of the second section to the anthology. While the first division after Ps 89 is widely held among scholars,[54] and confirmed by several observations above, e.g. the lack of musical directions or mention of any temple singer guilds after Ps 89, the second division is not,[55] and thus seem to need some reconsideration.

If looking at traces of collections within these major sections, the following major groups could be identified in the first section:[56] Pss 3–41 (David I); 42–9 (Korah I); *51–72 (David II); and 73–83 (Asaph I). So put, one could easily posit that Ps 50 is not to be considered "orphan", but actually constitute the first part of an Asaphite frame around David II,[57] so indicating an earlier, larger collection. As to the reconstruction of their possible combination, and the addition of the remaining psalms in this section, I will return in a later chapter.

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53. For הללו־יה, see pp.13–14.

54. See e.g. Koch 1994; Rösel 1999; Ballhorn 2004; Wilson 1985a; Zenger et al 2012; Millard 1994; Mays 2011; Creach 1996; Howard Jr 1997; deClaissé-Walford 1997 and many others.

55. Although suggested by first Westermann 1981 and followed by e.g. Seybold 1990.

56. The early attempt of Berry 1914 to order the collections chronologically by analyzing the position of the elements of the prefaces has not gained any influence, and probably rightly so.

57. Cf. e.g. Millard 1994, 30.

In the second section, the prefaces and titles do not provide any help as to reconstructing its growth other than observing that neither titles, nor prefaces serve as any organizing criteria.

In the third section, three major groups surfaced: Pss 120–34 (Songs of Ascents); 138–45 (David III); and 146–50 (Halleluiah).

Consequently, the prefaces and titles can assist in identifying earlier groups, although they themselves perform no such function, as concluded above. The common claim that since none of the prefaces or titles of the psalms belongs to the actual time of inception, the directions must therefore regard the compilation of the single psalms into a collection,[58] is consequently misguided and need to be reformulated. The prefaces and titles surely reflect the transmission and interpretation of these psalms, but not always on a literary level, regarding psalm collections, but related to a larger corpus of psalms, and e.g. a developing notion of David as not only king, singer, musician but ultimately the founder of the temple cult. So put, the prefaces and titles do not so much establish a secondary setting as they do confirm it, consequently, the appreciation of the interpretive framework provided by these prefaces and titles does not necessarily presuppose a canonical reading of a written collection, as is often assumed.[59]

3.2 Continuous addition?

If the prefaces and titles could be said to demarcate some early collections, it is equally clear that the addition of titles continued well beyond the first gathering of psalms into anthologies. From the observations made above, I would suggest that the musical directions probably are the oldest,[60] but that both 'author' designations (especially those pertaining to the temple guilds) and 'genre' designations have a fairly old core, too. The latter two apparently having been added during a long period of time, as can be seen in the comparison between MT, DSS and LXX, but one could also here include the titles in e.g. early Syriac manuscript tradition, bearing witness to the fact that this process continued well beyond the final redaction of the Book of Psalms.[61]

58. The phrasing is borrowed from Vos 2009, 1.

59. E.g. by Zenger 1991, 407.

60. Cf. Wilson 2002, 81. The suggestion by Dorival 2011 that MT introduced *hapax* in an attempt remove references to the Church has been correctly refuted by Munnich 2011. For the context of that particular discussion, see Dorival & Munnich 2011.

Looking first at the Qumran Psalms scrolls, it is often claimed that they reveal an intentional Davidization of the psalms, especially so the great Psalm scroll 11QPs[a].[62] Here, it is clear from DavComp that David was closely associated with the composing of psalms, even divinely inspired, but if looking at the actual psalms, there are not much indications of an increased attribution. From the table below (pp.21ff), it is rather clear that the DSS basically agrees with MT. As for the Davidic 'author' designations, DSS indeed have a Davidic preface in four psalms where MT lacks one, but it also lack one in two psalms where MT has a Davidic preface. Thus, the increased attribution of psalms to David in the DSS would consist of two psalms, which is scarcely evidence enough to draw such a conclusion.

However, this picture changes considerably in LXX. Here, elements are added to the prefaces of over 30 psalms, and the end result is a Book of Psalms where only two psalms lack a preface or a title: Pss 1–2. But even though LXX contains more titles than MT, it is interesting to note that in each case where it has the same title, it has the elements in the exact same order,[63] so that no alteration is made to make the titles more consistent. A good example is perhaps Pss 40–41 (LXX Pss 39–40) where Ps 40 has לדוד מזמור and Ps 41 has מזמור לדוד. Here, LXX has the same order as MT, but in each case where LXX adds e.g. Δαυιδ or ψαλμός, the reading is always ψαλμός τῷ Δαυιδ. A similar pattern applies to all additions of LXX. Εἰς τὸ τέλος is e.g. always added at the beginning (see Ps 30 [LXX 29]), while other additions, e.g. linking the psalm to the Sabbath, or including a biographical note is added at the end of the title.[64] Thus, it would be reasonable to conclude that LXX presumes MT, but from the analysis above, and the nature of the addition of prefaces and titles, it also seems as if LXX presumes an MT arrangement, since all additions of 'author' designation, as well as the additions of e.g. Αλληλουια evidently remove "gaps" so that all psalms are provided with a title. This seems to be done in two main ways. If a psalm had no preface or title at all, a Davidic preface was added, sometimes with an accompanying 'genre' designation. In sections 2 and 3 (Pss 90–119; 120–150), an elimination of unprefaced psalms was also accomplished by the adjustment of the הללו־יה. The general tendency in LXX is thus that prefaces and titles are added, not removed, although there are some exceptions here (e.g. LXX Pss 121; 123).

61. For a recent discussion of this exegetical tradition, see Rooy 1998; Baarda 2000; Taylor 2006 and van Rooy 2008; van Rooy 2013.

62. Wilson 1985a, 156, and chapter 5.

63. Are there exceptions? See e.g. Ps 48? KOLLA UPP!!

64. The one exception is the biograpical note in LXX Ps 96, as commented on above.

3.3 Canon and authority

In discussing a possible definition of titles, I mentioned that they influence how a text is received, so that they in fact assert interpretive control over the text. As this pertains also to prefaces, in fact in various degrees to all *paratexts*, a brief relating of this interpretive control to the process of canonization would be in place. In discussing the latter, Stordalen claims that "the production of authorized interpretation is a characteristic pertaining to all canon processes, and in the early stages of the biblical text, these interpretations were continuously inscribed in the text, the latter being in a fluid canonical state."[65] So put, the prefaces represent an early understanding of how the psalms which they were attached to were understood, and so also establishing that understanding for subsequent generations to build upon. If correct, the addition of prefaces would not primarily be to structure a literary collection,[66] but to embed an authorized tradition into the very text of the psalms. Looking at the various elements of the prefaces analyzed above, it seems as this pertain in particular to two of them. The adding of Davidic 'author' designations, and the adding of Davidic biographical notes. Ultimately, this would turn the whole Book of Psalms into a Davidic collection, but this reception would not blossom until later. As is seen in MT, as compared to DSS, and LXX, the Davidization is quite modest, but if including later tradition, the prominence of David is seen in full light. Consider e.g. BT Pesharim 117b: "All the praises that are stated in the Book of Psalms – David uttered all of them."[67] Space does not allow an investigation into the characterization of David in the psalms,[68] but it is worth noting that the David of the prefaces is neither a royal figure, nor an inaugurator of the temple cult. He is a suffering, ordinary man, with extraordinary connotations. Ultimately, this identification of psalms to David legitimizes the entire collection, so that it eventually took its place among the sacred books of Christianity and Judaism.

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65. Stordalen 2014, 124. My transalation of the original: "Produksjon av autorisert fortolkning er et kjennetegn ved all kanondannelse, og i de bibelske tekstenes tidlige periode ble tolkninger fortløpende skrevet inn i teksten, som da var i en flytende kanonisk status."
66. As e.g. Howard Jr 1997, 3 argues.
67. Quote from Shinan 2005, 60???
68. For some influential studies, see Mays 1986; Ballhorn 1995; Kleer 1998; Nogalski 2001; and Seybold 2010.

3.4 Identification

To conclude this paper, I will address the observation made in section 2.1.5 (pp.10–11), namely that the prefaces lacked the identifying function. That this is the case is perhaps best seen in the fact that all psalms, whenever used in contemporary scholarly discussion, or any other context, has been given a rhematic title derived from the numerical sequence of the Masoretic text. Consequently, "Ps 12" is no longer a reference primarily to a twelfth psalm on a scroll, but the rhematic title of that specific composition, regardless of its place and position in other collections (e.g. DSS or LXX). Thus, the lack of titles required other titles to be supplemented, so that psalms could be identified and easily found. Naturally, the question would be how this was done in the second temple period. Are there any signs of individual psalms having been given titles, rhematic or thematic? Space does not allow any further discussion, but the following observations could perhaps pave a way forward:

1. The Psalm scrolls among the DSS show no sign of any titles being given to individual psalms.[69]
2. There seems to have been an early attribution of rhematic titles to psalms, relating to their placement within a collection. Act 13:33 is a witness to this. Interestingly enough, for such a way of identification to be effective, there must have been some agreement as to how these psalms were numbered, and thus, a fairly fixed order on a scroll would be presumed.
3. Groups of psalms used in liturgy were commonly identifyed by some general title. So is e.g. the collection currently called the "Egyptian Hallel" (Pss 113–8) referred to ההלל "the Hallel" in rabbinic literature.
4. There seems to be a knowledge of a numbering, at least in early Christian tradition. So does e.g. Justyn Martyr refer to psalms by number (49, 46, 98, 44, 95 and 21).

In the end, not much can be adduced from these observation, but the question needs some further treatment, as this could shed some important light both on the question of use of the psalms (the lack of proper titles would thus also be indicative), and their means of identification.

69. Is 4QFlor perhaps referring to Ps 1–2 by incipit?

Appendix: Tabular overview

Here follows a table of all the psalm prefaces and titles, and apart from the key below, some additional explanation might be in place. As the table compares three groups of texts, here designated as MT, DSS and LXX, it will not do justice to the variation occuring within these groups. As for MT, the table follows BHS, for DSS, I include psalm scrolls only, not e.g. 4QFlor, although it quotes Ps 1, and I mark manuscript variation (that is, when different scrolls or fragments of the same psalm disagree) with the asterix •. Finaly, regarding LXX, = indicates that the hebrew *Vorlage* of the translated text probably agrees with MT both as to the order of the elements in these prefaces and titles, as well as to the wording of e.g. the biographical notes, although the translation would inevitably be of various kinds.[70]

Key:

=	Same (DSS), or equivalent (LXX)	+	Adds	~	Slight alteration	[=]	Reconstructed
[]	Not attested in any scroll	-	Lacks	<	Same as to the left	•	Mss variation

A	לאסף	Ai	αἶνος	Al	(לבן) עלמות	An	ἀναστάσεως	Ay	אילת השחר	Ass	Ἀσσύριος	Bt	חנכת הבית
D	לדוד	E	לאיתן האזרחי	Ek	ἔκστασις	Ey	לעבד יהוה	Gt	הגתית	H	להימן האזרחי	Ha	Αγγαιου
Hi	Historical	Hl	הללו־יה	* At the end of the Ps		** As frame		Hz	להזכיר	Io	υἱῶν Ιωναδαβ καὶ τῶν πρώτων...		
K	לבני־קרח	L	למנצח	La	... לעני	Lm	ללמד	M	למשה	Mh	מחלת	Mhl	מחלת לענות
Ml	משכיל	Mm	מכתם	Mt	המעלות	Mz	מזמור	Ng	בנגינות	Nh	הנחילות	Od	ᾠδή
Ps	ψαλμός	S	לשלמה	Sb	Sabbath	Se	ששנים עדות	Sg	שגיון	Sh	שיר המעלות	Sr	שיר
Ss	ששנים	St	השמינית	Su	שושן עדות	T	לתודה	Te	εἰς τὸ τέλος	Tf	תפלה	Th	תהלה
Ts	אל־תשחת	Yd	לידיתון	Yn	יונת אלם רחקים	Yy	ידידת	Ys	ליום השבת	Za	Ζαχαριου	Zk	להזכיר

70. For a good discusion of various aspects of the translation, see Pietersma 2005, and Pietersma 2001, and for alternative views on the lxx translation (especially the quetion of exegesis) effecting the understanding of the LXX prefaces and titles, but not directly the question of the agreement with mt of translated text, see e.g. Rösel & Zenger 2001 and Schaper 1995.

Pss 1–89

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45
MT			D	D	D	D	D	D	D		D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D		D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	K		K	K
				L	L	L		L	L		L	L	L	L				L	L	L	L	L								L					L			L	L	L	L		L	L
			Mz	Mz	Mz	Mz	Sg	Mz	Mz			Mz	Mz		Mz	Mm	Tf		Mz	Mz	Mz	Mz	Mz	Mz				Mz	Mz	Mz	Ml					Mz	Mz	Mz	Mz	Ml		Ml	Ml
																		Sr											Sr															Sr
			Hi				Hi											Hi											Bt				Hi											
				Ng		Ng												Ey																	Ey		Hz							Ss
					Nh	St		Gt	Al			St										Ay																Yd						Yy
DSS	[]	=	[]	[]	[]	[=]	[]	[=]	[]	[=]	[=]	[]	=	[=]	-	[=]	[=]	[=]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[=]	[]	[]	[=]	[=]	[=]	[]	[]	[]	+•	[]	[=]	[=]	=	[]	[]	[=]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
															D																		D												
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	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	
LXX	=	=	=	=	=	=	~	=	=	+	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	+	=	+	+	+	=	+	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	
							Ps			Ps			Ps											Sb	Ps		Hi		Sk	Te	Ek		D					Sb					D	Ps		
																																												Ps			

	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89
MT	K	K	K	K	A	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D			D	D	D		S	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	K	K	D	K	K	E
	L	L		L		L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L		L	L	L	L	L	L	L					L	L	L			L	L			L	L			L	
		Mz	Mz	Mz	Mz	Mz	Ml	Ml	Ml	Ml	Mm	Mm	Mm	Mm	Mm		Mz	Mz	Mz	Mz	Mz	Mz	Mz					Mz	Ml	Mz	Mz	Mz	Ml	Mz	Mz		Mz	Mz	Mz	Mz	Tf	Mz	Mz	Ml
	Sr		Sr																	Sr	Sr	Sr	Sr							Sr	Sr						Sr				Sr	Sr		
						Hi	Hi		Hi		Hi	Hi		Hi	Hi			Hi																				Sr					H	
															Lm									Hz																			Ml	
	Al							Mh	Ng	Ng	Yn	Ts	Ts	Ts	Su	Ng	Yd					Ng		Ss						Ts	Ng	Yd			Se	Gt			Gt				Mhl	
DSS	[]	[]	[=]	[=]	[]	=	[]	[=]	[=]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[=]	[]	[]	[]	[=]	[=]	[=]	[]	=	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[=]	[=]	[]	[]	[]	[=]	=	[=]	[=]	[]	[]	[=]	[]
	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	
LXX	~	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	
	Ps		Sb																		An					D					Ass				Ass	Ps									
																										Io																				

Pss 90–119

	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119
MT	M											D		D					D	D	D									
																				L										
	Tf		Mz						Mz		Mz	Mz	Tf		Hl*	Hl*	Hl**		Mz	Mz	Mz	Hl	Hl	Hl**		Hl*	Hl*	Hl*		
			Sr																Sr											
			Sb								T		La																	
DSS	[]	[]	[]	+	[=]	[]	[=]	[]	[]	[+]	[]	[=]	[=]	[=]•	[+]•	=	[] =	[]	[]	[=]	[]	[]	[]	=	[]	=	[]	[]	[=]	=
				Hl						D					D															
										Mz																				

	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118
LXX	=	+	=	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	=	=	=	=	+ -	~	-	+	=	=	=	=	=	-	~	+	~	~	+	+
		D		D	D	D	D	D	D	D					+ D	Hl	Hl*	Hl						Hl*	Hl	Hl	Hl	Hl	Hl	Hl
		AiOd		AiOd	Ps	AiOd	Od	Hi		Ps					- Hl*															
				Sb	Sb		Hi																							

Pss 120–150

	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150
MT	Sr	Sr	Sr	Sr	Sr	Sr	Sr	Sr	Sr	Sr	Sr	Sr	Sr	Sr	Sr																
	Mt	Mt	Mt	Mt	Mt	Mt	Mt	Mt	Mt	Mt	Mt	Mt	Mt	Mt	Mt				D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D					
			D		D			S				D		D		Hl**											Hl**	Hl**	Hl**	Hl**	Hl**
																				L	L										
																				Mz	Mz	Mz	Ml	Mz		Th					
																							Tf								
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DSS	[]	=	=	[+ -]	[]	[=]	=	[=]	[]	[=]	=	[=]	[]	=	-	~	=	=	=	[]	=	[]	[]	=	[-]	~	=	[=]	[ ]	[] =	- =
				+ D											Sr										D	Tf					Hl
				- Sr											Mt																

	119	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150
LXX	=	=	-	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	+ -	+ -	+ -	+ -	-	=
			D		D											Hl*	Hl	D						Hi	Hi		+HaZa	<	<	+HaZa	Hl*	
																											- Hl*	<	<	- Hl*		

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1. The dissertation project

In my dissertation project I have sought to explore the literary- and theological-historical development of the Joseph Narrative (Gen 37–50). Literary and redaction critical analyses of each chapter form the basis for my thesis which suggests that the Joseph Narrative represents the result of a gradual *Fortschreibungsprozess*.

The oldest material of the narrative may be seen in the events of Joseph in Egypt (Gen 39–41*) that likely rely on older traditions. This material was equipped with an exposition in Gen 37* which – through links included in Gen 37:3–4 –connects the Joseph Narrative with the preceding Patriarchal Narratives. At the same time or later, chapters 39–41* were continued by those passages dealing with the conflict between Joseph and his brothers in Gen 42–45*.

The composition Gen 37–45* was then supplemented (gradually) by the events described in chapters 46–50*. These chapters center on the history of Israel and his sons – the twelve tribes – rather than on Joseph and his brothers, thus paving the way for the national history narrated in the book of Exodus. It was not until this literary stage was reached that the Joseph Narrative could and would become the narrative bridge between Genesis and Exodus. In the course of this process of "nationalization", which likely proceeded from Israel's sojourn in Egypt, new motifs were introduced into chapters Gen 37–45* as well (Benjamin, Judah, the "sons of Israel").

Likewise during the later stages of its literary development several theologizations were incorporated into the Joseph Narrative. One of the more extensive theological revisions is found in the dream accounts Gen 40–41*, on the literary development of which the following paper will focus.

2. Joseph and Daniel

2.1. Introduction

Dreams form a substantial element in the Joseph Narrative (Gen 37–50). Already the exposition in Gen 37 knows of two dreams received by Joseph, in which the primacy over his brothers is prefigured: For the brothers, depicted as sheaves (Gen 37:7) and stars (Gen 37:9), will bow down (חוה) before Joseph. This image, when Joseph reveals it to his brothers, stirs up their hatred towards the father's favorite. Consequently, they conspire to kill Joseph; yet end up selling him – for their own gain – to Egypt. There, he is purchased by the שׂר הטבחים who makes him overseer of his house. And it is in the

house of his master that we first hear about Joseph's ability to interpret dreams. The first pair of dreams is discussed in Gen 40 and received by the שׂר המשׁקים and the שׂר האופים who had incurred the wrath of Pharaoh and were put into custody in the house of Joseph's master. One night they both dreamed each their own dream, and each dream with its own meaning (Gen 40:5). Joseph interpreted their dreams for them. And just as he interpreted them, so it came to pass.

Two years later, when Pharaoh's spirit was troubled by an uninterpreted dream, Joseph was given the opportunity to show his exceptional abilities before the Egyptian king as well. He interprets the two images of Pharaoh's dream (correctly) and is made the second man over Egypt. It is this pattern of a successful foreign interpreter of royal dreams and his exceptional promotion[1] that reminds of the protagonist of the Aramaic book of Daniel, especially Dan 2, where Daniel interprets the dreams of Nebuchadnezzar and is made "governor of the whole province of Babylon and head of all the sages of Babylon" (Dan 2:48). The commonalities between the two narratives have long been recognized and are virtually undisputed. Not uncommonly, they are explained by assuming that the author(s) of Dan 1–6 already knew Gen 40–41.

In this regard, already Gunkel proposed that Dan 2 would represent a variant of Gen 41[2]. And, indeed, some strong literary-critical arguments seem to favor the idea of a direct literary dependence. The reasons leading to the general perception that the author of Dan 2 imitated Gen 41[3], however, seem rather undifferentiated. For the assumption largely relies on the late dating of the Aramaic Book of Daniel, in which the dream of the four empires in Dan 2 refers to the dominion of the Babylonian, Mede, Persian, and the divided Greek empire. Hence, it is concluded that the Aramaic Daniel cannot be dated before the reign of the Diadochi and thus before 323 BCE. Since the Pentateuch, to which the Joseph Story belongs, supposedly reached its current form between in 450 and 400 BCE[4] the Aramaic Daniel would then have to post-date the composition of Gen 40–41.

From a literary historical perspective, however, this largely accepted assumption fails to include a detailed analysis of the intertextual relations which should represent the decisive criterion for an assessment of the direction of literary dependence. The following paper will, therefore, focus on a literary analysis of Gen 40–41 and the light it might

[1] Cf. e.g. Ruppert, FzB, 215, or Whybray, Tradition, 15–17.
[2] Cf. Gunkel, HK.AT, 434.
[3] Cf. Gunkel, HK.AT, 434.
[4] Cf. Zenger, Einleitung, 79.

shed on the intertextual relations between the dream accounts in Genesis 40–41 and in the Aramaic Daniel.

2.2. Analysis

The interpretation of dreams in the Joseph story is connected to the root פתר. Within the Hebrew Bible, this root is only attested for Gen 40–41. In comparison, Qohelet and Daniel use the related verb פשׁר. So as to gain a more general overview regarding the use of the respective verbs, a brief look at the attestations for the roots פתר and פשׁר in the Hebrew Bible will precede our literary critical analysis.

(a) The roots פשׁר/פתר in the Hebrew Bible

The root פתר is only attested in Gen 40–41, where it appears a total of twelve times. In seven instances it is used as a verb (Gen 40:8, 16, 22; Gen 41:8, 12–13, 15), in five instances as the noun פתרון (Gen 40:5, 8, 12, 18; Gen 41:11). The root פשׁר occurs 34 times in the Hebrew Bible, 33 attestations of which are encountered in the Book of Daniel (Dan 2:4–7, 9, 16, 24–26, 30, 36, 45; Dan 4:3–4, 6, 15–16, 21; Dan 5,7–8, 12, 15–17, 26; Dan 7:16) and one in Qohelet (Eccl 8:1). In 32 instances the root appears in the form of the noun פשׁר and only twice as a verb, namely in Dan 5:12, 16.

Considering the entirety of attestations it is remarkable that only the root פתר appears as a finite verb (Gen 40:16, 22; Gen 41:12–13), while the verbal attestations of the root פשׁר are restricted to a participle and an infinitive (Dan 5,12 [part. pael msc. sg. cstr.], 16 [inf. cstr. peal]), that is to nominal verbs. In the Aramaic Daniel the noun פשׁר[5] would – in contrast to Gen 40–41, but in accordance with Eccl 8:1 – usually be combined with a *verbum dicendi* that deviates from the root פשׁר (→חוה[6], ידע[7], אמר[8]).

The use of the roots פשׁר/פתר in the Hebrew Bible then shows that only Gen 40–41 apply active, finite verbal forms that do not distinguish explicitly between the act and agent of interpretation. With the exception of Dan 5:12, 16, the book of Daniel, however, seems to prefer the use of the nominal form פשׁר that is consistently combined with one of various *verba dicendi* (cf. Eccl 8:1). This way, the agent is separated from the interpretation by establishing a mediator who delivers the interpretation. To what extent these observations might be of importance for the literary-historical assessment of Gen 40–41 and Dan 1–6* shall be illustrated by the following analyses of select passages

[5] Dan 2:4–7, 9, 16, 24–26, 30, 36, 45; 4:3–4, 6, 15–16, 21; 5:7–8, 12, 15–17, 26; (7:16).
[6] Dan 2:4, 6–7, 9, 16, 24; 5:7, 12, 15.
[7] Dan 2:9, 25–26; 4:3–4, 15; 5:8, 15–17; 7:16.
[8] Dan 4:6.

from Gen 40–41.

(b) Literary-Critical Analysis

Gen 40:6–8

Let us start by looking at Joseph's first encounter with the cup-bearer and the baker in Gen 40:6–8. Here, we learn that Joseph came to them in the morning and saw that they were troubled (זעף, part. msc. pl. qal). For that reason he asks them in v. 7b: „Why are your faces downcast today?" In this context, it is striking that, while both verses correspond with each other contentwise, they do not agree with regard to their terminology (רע/זעף). This observation alone does, of course, not give substantial reason to suspect a literary inconsistency. Yet, further aspects might support that proposition. The root זעף as a part. msc. pl. qal in the meaning „troubled", for instance, only appears one more time in the Hebrew Bible, namely in Dan 1:10. There, the participle occurs alongside the root ראה and in reference to the suffixed noun פניכם "your faces". This combination reminds of Gen 40:6–7, where Joseph first sees (ראה) that cup-bearer and baker look troubled and then inquires why „your faces" (פניכם) are downcast. It is further noteworthy that the officers of Pharaoh, who within the Joseph Narrative are usually referred to as שׂרים (16 attestations in Gen 40–41), are now addressed as סריסים. This term, again, is characteristic for Dan 1 (7 attestations), where it is frequently preceded by the *nomen regens* שׂר (6 attestations; cf. Gen 40:2). In view of the entirety of the above observations it might then be considered whether the anticipation of the question (v. 7a) in v. 6b.7a (until לאמר) represents an intentional allusion to Dan 1:10 that was only inserted secondarily into the context of Gen 40.

Gen 40:6–7

[6]ויבא אליהם יוסף בבקר
וירא אתם והנם זעפים׃
[7]וישׁאל את־סריסי פרעה אשׁר אתו במשׁמר בית אדניו
לאמר מדוע פניכם רעים היום׃

Dan 1:10

סריס 2x in Gen 40 — סריס 7x in Dan 1
שׂר 16x in Gen 40f — שׂר הסריסים 6x in Dan 1

[10]ויאמר שׂר הסריסים לדניאל ירא אני את־אדני המלך אשׁר מנה את־מאכלכם ואת־משׁתיכם אשׁר למה יראה את־פניכם זעפים מן־הילדים אשׁר כגילכם וחיבתם את־ראשׁי למלך׃

Viewed in isolation this proposition seems, of course, hardly compelling. In order to better grasp the significance of the supposed allusion for the understanding of the narrative as a whole we might thus have a closer look at the immediate context, in this case

v. 8.

V. 8 has the officers reply to Joseph's question in v. 7. The cup-bearer's and the baker's face are downcast because each of them had a dream, but there is no one to interpret it. The phrase ופתר אין אתו parallels Gen 41:8, where Pharaoh summons all the magicians and all the wise men of Egypt. Yet, amongst them there is no one to interpret Pharaoh's dreams (ואין־פותר אותם). While these proceedings seem plausible in the case of the king of Egypt, they appear purely hypothetical in the case of the royal officials, who are held in custody. For unlike Pharaoh the imprisoned officials are lacking both means and opportunity to explore such endeavors and consult the diviners.

Gen 40:8

[8]ויאמרו אליו חלום חלמנו ופתר אין אתו ויאמר אלהם יוסף הלוא לאלהים פתרנים ספרו־נא לי׃

Gen 41:8

[8]ויהי בבקר ותפעם רוחו וישלח ויקרא את־כל־חרטמי מצרים ואת־כל־חכמיה ויספר פרעה להם את־חלמו ואין־פותר אותם לפרעה׃

A logical tension can be perceived in v. 8b. There, Joseph first confronts the royal officials with a rhetorical question: "Do not interpretations belong to God?" As if ignorant of this theological reservation, however, he immediately encourages the royal officials to tell him their dreams. With this request he paves the way for the following recapitulation of the officers' dreams and his own interpretation thereof, which in Gen 40:16, 22 is expressed through the active and finite verb פתר referring to Joseph as the subject. In view of this active use of פתר Joseph's explicit dissociation from the interpretation in v. 8 seems rather paradox.

Gen 40:8–9, 16, 22

[8]ויאמרו אליו חלום חלמנו ופתר אין אתו ויאמר אלהם יוסף הלוא לאלהים פתרנים ספרו־נא לי׃
[9]ויספר שר־המשקים את־חלמו ליוסף ויאמר לו בחלומי והנה־גפן לפני׃
[16]וירא שר־האפים כי טוב פתר ויאמר אל־יוסף אף־אני בחלומי והנה שלשה סלי חרי על־ראשי׃
[22]ואת שר האפים תלה כאשר פתר להם יוסף׃

This observation is all the more interesting, since the human dissociation from dream interpretation finds another parallel in the book of Daniel, i.e. in Dan 2:27–28. There, Daniel points out to the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar that "[27]no wise men, enchanters, magicians, or diviners can show the king the mystery (רז) that the king is asking, [28]but there is a god in heaven who reveals mysteries". And this, Daniel knows for a fact, because it was God himself who in a vision of the night (Dan 2:19) revealed both

dream and interpretation to him.

In Dan 2 the idea of a divine dream interpretation is thus explicitly related to a numinous revelation, on the authority of which Daniel is acting. Accordingly, the express reference to the divine origin of the dream (cf. Dan 2:2ff) and its interpretation is more coherently integrated into the immediate context of Dan 2 than it is in the case of Gen 40, where the idea of an explicitly divine interpretation stands in tension to the active phrasing of Gen 40:16, 22 that imply Joseph as the acting subject.

In view of the apparent coincidence of literary tensions and peculiarities with references to motifs and terminology of the Aramaic Daniel, it might not be too far-fetched to assume that the original phrasing of Gen 40:6–8 was only secondarily supplemented by allusions to Dan 1–2. The trigger for this development might be seen in the ambivalent use of פתר perf. qal in Gen 40:16, 22 that bears the semblance of a human participation in the act of interpretation. By including allusions to the Aramaic Daniel – that seems to avoid a similar ambivalence of terminology – the act of interpretation in Gen 40:6–8, too, becomes tied inseparably to the deity.

Gen 40:6–9

[6]ויבא אליהם יוסף בבקר
וירא אתם והנם זעפים׃
[7]וישׁאל את־סריסי פרעה אשׁר אתו במשׁמר בית אדניו
לאמר מדוע פניכם רעים היום׃
[8]ויאמרו אליו חלום חלמנו ופתר אין אתו ויאמר אלהם יוסף הלוא לאלהים פתרנים ספרו־נא
לי׃
[9]ויספר שׂר־המשׁקים את־חלמו ליוסף ויאמר לו בחלומי והנה־גפן לפני׃

Dan 1:10

ויאמר שׂר הסריסים לדניאל ירא אני את־אדני המלך אשׁר מנה את־מאכלכם ואת־משׁתיכם אשׁר למה יראה
את־פניכם זעפים מן־הילדים אשׁר כגילכם וחיבתם את־ראשׁי למלך׃

Dan 2:27–29*

[27]ענה דניאל קדם מלכא ואמר רזה די־מלכא שׁאל לא חכימין אשׁפין חרטמין גזרין יכלין להחויה למלכא׃
[28]ברם איתי אלה בשׁמיא גלא רזין והודע למלכא נבוכדנצר מה די להוא באחרית יומיא חלמך וחזוי ראשׁך
על־משׁכבך דנה הוא׃ פ
[29] אנתה אֱנתע מלכא רעיונך על־משׁכבך סלקו מה די להוא אחרי דנה וגלא רזיא הודעך מה־די להוא׃

That dream interpretation is reserved for the deity, is further corroborated by the use of the noun פתרון in Gen 40:5(, 8), 12, 18 which ensures that the interpretation is severed from Joseph as a potential human agent of interpretation. It is not Joseph who interprets the dreams, but Elohim. Joseph, however, is chosen to convey to the people the divine

interpretation that is the only true interpretation (זה פתרנו, Gen 40:12, 18).

That the use of the nominal form could be considered secondary in the context of Gen 40, might in the case of Gen 40:5 be supported by the *Wiederaufnahme* (resumption) of the root איׁש from v. 5a in v. 5b. V. 5b adds to the statement that *each* dreamed his dream in one night, that *each* dreamed his dream according to the interpretation. Thus, the emphasis shifts from temporal simultaneity to the exact meaning of the dreams. In this regard, the phrase איׁש כפתרון חלמו might, perhaps, best be perceived against the background of a predetermined, divine dream interpretation. For he, who induces dreams, is he, who interprets them. Hence, the dream itself already includes its one and true meaning.

Gen 40:5



[5]ויחלמו חלום שׁניהם איׁש חלמו בליׁלה אחד איׁש כפתרון חלמו המשׁקה והאפה אשׁר למלך מצרים אשׁר אסורים בבית הסהר׃

In the cases of Gen 40:12, 18 (זה פתרנו) a look at the subsequent chapter Gen 41 might be helpful. With regard to structure and terminology, Pharaoh's dreams in Gen 41 show a strong resemblance to the account in Gen 40. It is, therefore, all the more striking that in some aspects Gen 41 deviates from Gen 40. Thus, for instance, Joseph's interpretation in Gen 41:26 lacks the phrase זה פתרנו encountered in Gen 40:12, 18. Instead, Joseph merely explains the numbers mentioned in Pharaoh's dream to refer to a certain period of time: The seven good cows – seven years are they. A comparison of the respective interpretations given in Gen 40 and 41 thus shows that the nominal reference to the interpretation in Gen 40 exceeds the scope of Gen 41. This is especially interesting, since in view of the general analogy of the dream accounts in Gen 40–41 this surplus seems to support what the context of Gen 40 already suggested: that the nominal form of פתר represents a secondary development in this chapter.

Gen 40:12, 18

[12]ויאמר לו יוסף זה פתרנו שׁלשׁת השׂרגים שׁלשׁת ימים הם׃
[18]ויען יוסף ויאמר זה פתרנו שׁלשׁת הסלים שׁלשׁת ימים הם׃

Gen 41:26*

[26]שׁבע פרת הטבת שׁבע שׁנים הנה ושׁבע השׁבלים הטבת שׁבע שׁנים הנה חלום אחד הוא׃

Gen 41:1–8

A comparison of the structure, motifs, and terminology of Gen 40 and 41 might also

prove significant for an evaluation of Gen 41:1–8. For in Gen 40 it is mentioned that baker and cup-bearer have a dream, each in one night. Yet, we only learn of the actual content of the dreams when the royal officials narrate them to Joseph. In Gen 41, however, the content of the dream is already revealed, while Pharaoh dreams. "He dreamed, and behold, he was standing by the Nile". What follows are the motifs of the good and bad cows and the good and bad grain. They are communicated to Joseph in Gen 41:17ff, where the formula introducing the dream disagrees with Gen 41:1, yet conforms with Gen 40:9, 16: In my dream, (and) behold (I) … [9]

Gen 40:9, 16

[9]ויספר שַׂר־המַשְׁקים את־חלמו ליוסף ויאמר לו בחלומי והנה־גפן לפני׃
[16]וירא שַׂר־האפים כי טוב פתר ויאמר אל־יוסף אף־אני בחלומי והנה שלשה סלי חרי על־ראשי׃

Gen 41:1, 17

[1]ויהי מקץ שנתים ימים ופרעה חלם והנה עמד על־היאר׃
[17]וידבר פרעה אל־יוסף בחלמי הנני עמד על־שפת היאר׃

The agreeing introductions of the dream narration (Gen 40:9, 16; 41,17) along with the deviating introduction of the dream account (Gen 41:1) might then be regarded as a first indication that the narrative surplus in Gen 41:1–7 could represent a secondary development. This idea might be supported by the assumption that the purpose of anticipating the dream narration Gen 41,17ff in Gen 41:1–7 was to introduce the magicians and sages in Gen 41:8, who will prove incapable of interpreting Pharaoh's dream. For, thus the résumé in Gen 41,8b: ואין־פותר אותם. This phrase, again, has a parallel in Gen 40, namely in v. 8, which according to our analysis appeared to be secondary. With the actual summoning of the mantics it seems, at first glance, that the motif of the lacking interpreters is better incorporated into the context of Gen 41 than it was into that of Gen 40. Yet, the diviners summoned in Gen 41:8 are only briefly resumed in Gen 41:24. And though they were brought before the Egyptian king to interpret his dream(s), they do neither interact with Pharaoh nor does their failure to comply with Pharaoh's demand entail any negative consequences (cf. Dan 2:2ff).

[9] For this introductory formula cf. the letters of Mari. „Another feature common to the prophecy in Mari and the Bible is the dream, and here also identical conventions are employed. The opening formula for the dream revelation in Mari is ina šuttiya 'in my dream' which is exactly like the formula in the dreams of Pharaoh and his servants […]" [Weinfeld, *Patterns*, 185; cf. also Cragham, *Texts*, 43–45, or Hamilton, NICOT, 479].

Gen 41:8, 24

8ויהי בבקר ותפעם רוחו וישלח ויקרא את־כל־חרטמי מצרים ואת־כל־חכמיה ויספר פרעה להם את־חלמו ואין־פותר אותם לפרעה:	Summoning of the diviners
24ותבלען השבלים הדקת את שבע השבלים הטבות ואמר אל־החרטמים ואין מגיד לי:	no interaction / no potential punishment

Dan 2:2– 5*

2ויאמר המלך לקרא לחרטמים ולאשפים ולמכשפים ולכשדים להגיד למלך חלמתיו ויבאו ויעמדו לפני המלך:	Summoning of the diviners
3ויאמר להם המלך חלום חלמתי ותפעם רוחי לדעת את־החלום:	
4וידברו הכשדים למלך ארמית מלכא לעלמין חיי אמר חלמא לעבדיך ופשרא נחוא:	Interaction between the diviners and Pharao
5ענה מלכא ואמר לכשדיא מלתא מני אזדא הן לא תהודעונני חלמא ופשרה הדמין תתעבדון ובתיכון נולי יתשמון:	potential punishment in case of failure

In addition, the mantics do not actually serve as Joseph's antagonists in a „competition of the sages" (cf. Dan 2; Ex 7). For Joseph is not summoned before Pharaoh due to the incompetence of the Egyptian mantics. Rather, his own ability to interpret the dreams of baker and cup-bearer correctly leads to his being brought before the Egyptian king (Gen 41,9–13). In sum, the appearance of the mantics is only loosely connected to the events in Gen 41.

The introduction of the mantics (Gen 41:1–8*) might then, perhaps, best be explained as another allusion to Dan 2, where the diviners possess a pivotal role in the narrative context. They are summoned by Nebuchadnezzar in order to reveal to him the meaning of the dream that troubled his spirit. Unlike in Gen 41, however, where the diviners are only mentioned twice, the impotence of the magicians runs like a red thread through the entire chapter of Dan 2, where the mantics serve to prove that only the God in heavens can induce dreams and reveal their interpretation. It might likely have been this motif of human impotence contrasted with the omnipotence of Elohim that triggered the adoption of the mantics in Gen 41:8, 24. Amongst humankind there is no פתר, for no man can interpret dreams – not even Joseph. But Joseph, like Daniel, is chosen to convey to humankind the divine interpretation. And this, he does, in his conversation with Pharaoh that starts in Gen 41:15–17. To this first dialogue between Pharaoh and Joseph we will now draw our attention.

Gen 41:15–17

After Joseph came in to Pharaoh in v. 14, the Egyptian king explains his situation in v. 15 as follows: "I have had a dream, and there is no one who can interpret it. I have heard it said of you that when you hear a dream you can interpret it." This assumption is

rejected vehemently by Joseph in v. 16, who points out that "it is not I; God will give Pharaoh a favorable answer." It is thus not Joseph, who interprets Pharaoh's dream. He merely delivers the divine answer. Only when these circumstances are clarified, does Pharaoh narrate his dream: "In my dream, and behold I was standing on the banks of the Nile".

As discussed earlier, the introduction to the dream narration in Gen 41:17 concords with Gen 40:9, 16. And as was the case in Gen 40, the context immediately preceding the dream narration in Gen 41:17 offers a discussion between Joseph and the dream recipient, in the course of which the divine origin of dream interpretation is emphasized (Gen 41:15–16). In this regard, it is noteworthy that Pharaoh's initial speech in v. 15 חלום חלמתי parallels the (plural) statement of the royal officers in Gen 40:8 (חלום חלמנו), which in the context of Gen 40 appeared to be secondary. The conformity between Gen 40:8 and 41:15 is all the more interesting as, apart from these instances, the combination חלום חלם is only attested once more in the Hebrew Bible, namely in Dan 2:3, where Nebuchadnezzar reports to his sages: חלום חלמתי ותפעם רוחי לדעת את־החלום.

Furthermore, the subsequent statement that Pharaoh „heard it said of you that when you hear a dream you can interpret it", finds an almost verbatim parallel in the Aramaic Book of Daniel, i.e. in Dan 5:16. There, Nebuchadnezzar's son Belshazzar addresses Daniel by saying: "I have heard that you can give interpretations and solve problems". A look at the concordance discloses that in the entire Hebrew Bible the infinitive construct qal/peal of פּשׁר/פתר *only appears in these two instances and in the context of the same statement*. It is moreover to be noted that the strange duplication of פּשׁרין למפשׁר in Dan 5:16 is omitted in Gen 41 in favor of the combination פתר חלום encountered in Dan 5:12 (פּשׁר חלמין).

The singular combination of the noun פּשׁר with the identical verb פּשׁר represents a peculiarity even in Dan 5. It is explained in the context of Dan 5:14–16 as an ability granted by God that allows Daniel to solve riddles and unveil mysteries – such as in the case of Dan 5 the meaning of the writing on the wall. It is the interpretation (sg.!) of that writing that Belshazzar desires to know and that he begs Daniel to provide (ופּשׁרה להודעתני).

Ripped from its context, however, the combination of the noun פּשׁר and the verb פּשׁר involves the same danger that is entailed by the use of the finite verb פתר in Gen 40–41: the semblance of a human agent of interpretation. Unsurprisingly, the hearsay in Gen 41:15 is, therefore, contrasted by Joseph's utter rejection in v. 16 that "it is not I;

God will give Pharaoh a favorable answer."

An overview of Dan 41:15–17 thus shows that while the dream introduction in v. 17 concords with the statements of the royal officials in Gen 40:9, 16, the first dialogue between Pharaoh and Joseph in v. 15–16, that emphasizes the divine origin of dream interpretation, includes references to Gen 40:8 (secondary) and to passages from Dan 2; 5. We might then, again, suggest a diachronic distinction between the two dialogues in Gen 41:15–16 and Gen 41:17ff, the former of which would have been prefixed to the latter in order to tie the interpretation of dreams to Elohim. For, as we might conclude with Daniel, "no wise men, enchanters, magicians, or diviners can show to the king the mystery that the king is asking" (Dan 2:27). Only the God in heaven can reveal mysteries and only he can disclose to the king what is to be (Dan 2:28–29*). It is, hence, not the human Joseph, who answers Pharaoh. Rather, it is Elohim who answers through Joseph.

Gen 40:6–8*, 16

[6]ויבא אליהם יוסף בבקר
וירא אתם והנם זעפים:
[7]וישאל את־סריסי פרעה אשר אתו במשמר בית אדניו
לאמר מדוע פניכם רעים היום:
[8]ויאמרו אליו חלום חלמנו ופתר אין אתו ויאמר אלהם יוסף הלוא לאלהים פתרנים ספרו־נא
לי:
[9]ויספר שר־המשקים את־חלמו ליוסף ויאמר לו בחלומי והנה־גפן לפני:
[16]וירא שר־האפים כי טוב פתר ויאמר אל־יוסף אף־אני בחלומי והנה שלשה סלי חרי על־ראשי:

Gen 41:15–17

[15]ויאמר פרעה אל־יוסף חלום חלמתי ופתר אין אתו
ואני שמעתי עליך לאמר תשמע חלום לפתר אתו:
[16]ויען יוסף את־פרעה לאמר בלעדי אלהים יענה את־שלום פרעה:
[17]וידבר פרעה אל־יוסף בחלמי הנני עמד על־שפת היאר:

Dan 2:3, 27–29*

[3]ויאמר להם המלך חלום חלמתי ותפעם רוחי לדעת את־החלום:
[27]ענה דניאל קדם מלכא ואמר רזה די־מלכא שאל לא חכימין אשפין חרטמין גזרין יכלין להחויה למלכא:
[28]ברם איתי אלה בשמיא גלא רזין והודע למלכא נבוכדנצר מה די להוא באחרית יומיא חלמך וחזוי ראשך
על־משכבך דנה הוא: פ
[29]אנתה מלכא רעיונך על־משכבך סלקו מה די להוא אחרי דנה וגלא רזיא הודעך מה־די להוא:

Dan 5:16

[16]ואנה שמעת עליך די־תוכל פשרין למפשר וקטרין למשרא כען הן תוכל כתבא למקרא ופשרה להודעתני
ארגונא תלבש והמונכא די־דהבא על־צוארך ותלתא במלכותא תשלט: פ

Gen 41:33–39

That it is Elohim who is answering through Joseph, is also implied in Pharaoh's speech

v. 38: "Can we find anyone else like this – one in whom is the spirit of God?" In view of Dan 5:14 we would have to say: Yes! For Belshazzar had heard of Daniel that the spirits of the gods was in him. In Dan 5:14 this divine spirit is paralleled with the attributes of enlightenment, understanding, and wisdom חכמה, through the latter of which Daniel had already distinguished himself alongside בינה in Dan 1:20. That none of the above attributes might be considered a human ability, but rather a divine gift is explained in the context of Daniel's thanksgiving in Dan 2:21b–23 that programmatically precedes all interpretations in the book of Daniel: "[21]he gives wisdom to the wise and knowledge to those who have understanding. [22]He reveals deep and hidden things … [23]To you, O God of my ancestors, I give thanks and praise, for you have given me wisdom and power, and have now revealed to me what we asked of you, for you have revealed to us what the king ordered". These verses from the book of Daniel show terminological and motivic commonalities with Pharaoh's statement in Gen 41:39: "Since God has shown you all this, there is no one so discerning and wise as you". This realization, again, corresponds with Gen 41:33, where Joseph himself encourages Pharaoh to "select a man who is discerning and wise, and set him over the land of Egypt." Joseph's proposition (v. 33) and Pharaoh's acknowledgement in v. 39 thus prepare Joseph's promotion. Yet, within the immediate context the statement contradicts v. 34–36, according to which Pharaoh should not be looking for a single wise man, but for a plurality of overseers, who during the seven years of abundance should gather food for the seven years of famine. These provisions then correspond directly to the interpretation of Pharaoh's dream, in which it is predicted that the seven years of abundance will be followed by seven years of hunger.

As was the case with the preceding text examples, a close look at Gen 41:33–39 reveals that the motif of an explicitly divine dream interpretation correlates with allusions to the book of Daniel and leads to literary tensions within the immediate context. Yet, unlike the passages discussed so far, the motif of a divine dream interpretation is now intertwined with the aspects of understanding and wisdom that stand in causal relation to the divine spirit. Just as dream interpretations are not the result of human contemplation but matters of God, so understanding and wisdom are no qualities of which humans can freely dispose. It is this explanation that might have caused the introduction of motifs and terminology from the book of Daniel in this section of Gen 41 that now towards the end of the dream accounts serve to identify the interrelation of human mediator and divine interpretation.

Gen 41:29–30*, 33–39*

[29] הנה שבע שנים באות שבע גדול בכל־ארץ מצרים׃
[30] וקמו שבע שני רעב אחריהן ונשכח כל־השבע בארץ מצרים וכלה הרעב את־הארץ׃
[33] ועתה ירא פרעה איש נבון וחכם וישיתהו על־ארץ מצרים׃
[34] יעשה פרעה ויפקד פקדים על־הארץ וחמש את־ארץ מצרים בשבע שני השבע׃
[35] ויקבצו את־כל־אכל השנים הטבת הבאת האלה ויצברו־בר תחת יד־פרעה אכל בערים ושמרו׃
[36] והיה האכל לפקדון לארץ לשבע שני הרעב אשר תהיין בארץ מצרים ולא־תכרת הארץ ברעב׃
[37] וייטב הדבר בעיני פרעה ובעיני כל־עבדיו׃
[38] ויאמר פרעה אל־עבדיו הנמצא כזה איש אשר רוח אלהים בו׃
[39] ויאמר פרעה אל־יוסף אחרי הודיע אלהים אותך את־כל־זאת אין־נבון וחכם כמוך׃

Dan 1:20

[20] וכל דבר חכמת בינה אשר־בקש מהם המלך וימצאם עשר ידות על כל־החרטמים האשפים אשר בכל־מלכותו׃

Dan 2:21–23

[21] והוא מהשנא עדניא וזמניא מהעדה מלכין ומהקים מלכין יהב חכמתא לחכימין ומנדעא לידעי בינה׃
[22] הוא גלא עמיקתא ומסתרתא ידע מה בחשוכא ונהירא עמה שרא׃
[23] לך אלה אבהתי מהודא ומשבח אנה די חכמתא וגבורתא יהבת לי וכען הודעתני די־בעינא מנך די־מלת מלכא הודעתנא׃

Dan 5:1, 14

[1] בלשאצר מלכא עבד לחם רב לרברבנוהי אלף ולקבל אלפא חמרא שתה׃
[14] ושמעת עליך די רוח אלהין בך ונהירו ושכלתנו וחכמה יתירה השתכחת בך׃

2.3. Conclusion

Let us conclude with a brief summary of the results yielded. The above analysis has shown that the explicit references to the divine origin of the dream interpretations in Gen 40–41

- → concur with allusions to motifs and terminology from the Aramaic Book of Daniel and
- → cause literary tensions in their immediate context.

This striking coincidence might, perhaps, best be explained by assuming that those verses tieing both dream interpretation and wisdom to the deity were only added secondarily into Joseph's dream accounts in Gen 40–41. The trigger for this theologizing revision might be seen in the use of the active, finite forms of the verb פתר in Gen 40:16, 22; 41:12 that bear the semblance of a human agent of interpretation. In order to avoid this (mis)perception, the authorship of the revision distinguishes between the interpretation, its agent, and its mediator and corroborates/legitimizes this differentiation with allusions to motifs and terminology from the Aramaic Daniel (Dan 1–6*). Joseph, just as Daniel, is bestowed with the spirit of God that grants to him wisdom and understanding

and, thus, lets him know the true divine meaning of dreams, which he then conveys to the dream recipient. This explicit illustration of the interrelation between interpretation, agent, and mediator clarifies that there is no wisdom except the divine wisdom in which humans can participate through their exceptional relation towards the deity.[10]

With regard to the literary-historical interrelation of Joseph and Daniel we might then conclude that, while the original version of Joseph's dream accounts in Gen 40–41* might be (and most certainly is) older than the Aramaic Book of Daniel, the theologizing revision outlined above presupposes at least the oldest version of Daniel 1–6*.

[10] This does not mean that the author(s) of the „original" version of the dream accounts did not regard Joseph's ability to interpret dreams the result of his relation towards the deity. Rather, later hands might have perceived as problematic what earlier hands considered self-evident: that the ability to interpret dreams is always dependent on the individual's relation to God.