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OTSEM 2015, Uppsala
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The Lives of Five Judean Businessmen in the Babylonian Countryside[1]

Focal Points of Discussion

1. I welcome all thoughts about and alternative interpretations of the Āl-Yāhūdu and Murašû material and the Judean community in the Babylonian countryside.
2. How should we read the biblical accounts of the Exile in the light of the Āl-Yāhūdu material?

Introduction

Since the publication of the Murašû archive over a century ago, the presence of Judeans in the Babylonian countryside has been a well-established fact. Like other groups of foreign origin, Judean deportees received state lands to cultivate but had to pay taxes and perform corvée and military service in exchange. Moreover, the sources from the Nippur region reveal that deportees from a given region were often kept together and settled in villages that were named after the origin of their inhabitants. Even though the Murašû archive remained the most important source for the study of Judeans in Babylonia until 2014, it has received surprisingly little attention in the studies of the Exile.

In 2014, Laurie Pearce and Cornelia Wunsch published 103 cuneiform documents from the sixth and fifth centuries BCE.[2] The documents were written in a place called Āl-Yāhūdu, 'the town of Judah', and in other localities nearby. They confirm that the Babylonian state resettled also Judeans in a twin town and granted them state lands to cultivate soon after the deportations in the early sixth century. What is more important, the texts provide us with fresh new data that allows us to peek inside the Judean communities and follow the lives of two Judean archive holders, Ahīqam and Ahīqar.

In this paper, I focus on the business profiles of five Judean men in the Babylonian countryside. Two of them, Ahīqam and Ahīqar, were active in the Āl-Yāhūdu region in the late sixth century. Over half a century later, another three Judeans, Yadi-Yāma, Pili-Yāma and Yāhû-natan, were active in the Nippur countryside and dealt with the Murašû family. The study of their lives and dealings does not only reveal the ups and downs of these men, but allows us to glimpse the life of other Judeans as well. The following study is also an attempt

[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] Pearce and Wunsch 2014. From now on, all the dates referring to the historical events in Babylonia are BCE.

to take a fresh look at the Judeans of the Murašû archive and bring this important material into a dialogue with the Āl-Yāhūdu texts.

The Land-for-Service Sector of the Babylonian Agriculture

The great majority of Judeans are attested in a rural context in Babylonia, primarily in the texts from the Āl-Yāhūdu region[3] from the mid-sixth to early fifth centuries and in the Murašû archive[4] from the late fifth century. The former texts originate from the antiquities market and their exact geographic origin in Babylonia is debated, whereas the latter archive was unearthed in Nippur and it records the economic activities of the Murašû family in the local countryside.

Texts from the Āl-Yāhūdu region and Murašû archive bear witness to the land-for-service sector of the Babylonian economy.[5] The system existed already in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II[6] and its most elaborate form is known from the Murašû archive. In short, royal land was granted to individual landholders[7] who had to pay taxes and perform military or corvée service in exchange for the land. 'Taxes' are to be understood here in the widest sense of the term: they also encompassed rent-like *sūtu* and *imittu* payments in kind or silver. The basic unit of the system was *bīt qašti* or *bīt azanni*, 'bow land' or 'quiver land', which was intended to be cultivated by one family.

Bow lands were grouped together in larger administrative units that were called *haṭru*s in the Murašû archive. A *haṭru* consisted of several bow lands and landholders, who often shared a common ethnic or geographic background or were members of the same military or professional unit.[8] Each *haṭru* had a foreman called *šaknu* and his subordinates, who ensured that the unit fulfilled its joint responsibilities and produced the required tax revenue. Even though the word *haṭru* is not mentioned in the earlier texts, the Āl-Yāhūdu documents and other evidence point towards the existence of similar structures (see below). In addition to bow lands, more extensive land holdings existed as well: whereas the holder of a bow land was required to maintain a bowman, the holders of *bīt sisê*, 'horse land', had to maintain a horseman and the holders of *bīt narkabti*, 'chariot land', a chariot with its crew. These

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[3] Texts are published in Joannès and Lemaire 1996; 1999; Abraham 2005/2006; 2007; Pearce and Wunsch 2014 (= CUSAS 28). Roughly one half of the texts remain unpublished; they are supposed to appear in Wunsch *forthcoming* (= BaAr 6). Accordingly, the discussion and conclusions below are in many points tentative. Studies of the material include Pearce 2006; 2011; 2014; Magdalene and Wunsch 2011; Wunsch 2013.

[4] Most of the texts are published in Hilprecht and Clay 1898 (= BE 9); Clay 1904 (= BE 10); Clay 1912 (= PBS 2/1); Stolper 1985 (= EE); Donbaz and Stolper 1997 (= IMT). Important studies include Augapfel 1917; Cardascia 1951; Stolper 1985; van Driel 1989; 2002, 226–273.

[5] The following discussion of the land-for-service sector draws mainly from Stolper 1985, 24–27, 52–103; van Driel 2002, 226–273; Jursa 2011, esp. 435–437.

[6] The earliest attestation of *bīt qašti*, 'bow land', is from 35 Nbk (Jursa 1998) and *bīt azanni*, 'quiver land', from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II (CUSAS 28 2).

[7] 'Landholder' does not denote here the owners of the land but people to whom the state granted lands encumbered with service obligations.

[8] For a list of *haṭru*s in the Murašû archive, see Stolper 1985, 72–79.

designations were, however, sometimes nominal and the actual obligations could be more diverse and complex. 'Bow land', 'horse land' and 'chariot land' are best to be seen as labels designating land holdings of different size and quality.[9] On the highest administrative level, the land holdings and their tax revenue were subject to the king, but, in practice, the royal land was allocated to the members of the royal family and to high officials or it was managed by royal estates and other administrative bodies.[10]

The land-for-service sector aimed at increasing agricultural output and tax revenue by settling deportees and other state-dependent groups in non-cultivated but fertile regions in Babylonia. The system also created business opportunities for entrepreneurs who worked as middlemen between the royal administration and landholders, facilitating the smooth flow of tax payments and efficient use of land. They helped to convert the yields in kind into tax payments in silver and granted credit to landholders who had difficulties in paying their taxes or fulfilling their service obligations. Entrepreneurs had channels and resources to retail the crops and brew beer from the dates, and the resulting silver was used to make tax payments on behalf of the landholders. Such credit operations often resulted in the pledging of fields and gardens, and the entrepreneurs were able to get foothold in the farming of the state lands. Agricultural management of the pledged or leased lands was an important aspect of entrepreneurial activities in the land-for-service sector.[11]

The Āl-Yāhūdu Region

The first attestation of Judeans in the land-for-service sector comes from the last years of Nebuchadnezzar II. They appear in a village called Ālu ša Yāhūdāia, the 'Town of the Judeans', or, later, Āl-Yāhūdu, the 'Town of Judah', which was located somewhere in the Babylonian countryside. The phenomenon of naming new settlements according to the geographic origin of their inhabitants is well-attested in the Nippur region, where place names such as Ashkelon (EE 111), Sidon (YOS 19 32) and Neirab[12] appear.[13] These rural villages were closely connected with the state program to settle foreign deportees in the Babylonian countryside and incorporate them into the administrative structures of the land-for-service sector in order to bring new lands under cultivation.[14]

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[9] See van Driel 2002, 226–245.
[10] In the Āl-Yāhūdu region, the holders of landed estates included the *rab mūgi*, a high officer in charge of cavalry (CUSAS 28 7, see Jursa 2010b, 85–86). Persian queen Parysatis (e.g. PBS 2/1 50; see Stolper 1985, 63–64) and Aršam, satrap of Egypt (e.g. PBS 2/1 145–148, see Stolper 1985, 64–66), are among the holders of estates in the Murašû archive.
[11] This type of business behaviour is best known from the Murašû archive (Stolper 1985, 27–28) but attested in other archives as well (see below and Jursa 2010a, 198–203). On the development of and privatisation within the land-for-service sector, see MacGinnis 2012b.
[12] Tolini *forthcoming*.
[13] On twin towns, see Ephʿal 1978; Dandamayev 2004.
[14] Jursa 2011, 435.

The Judeans of Āl-Yāhūdu fit the picture of the land-for-service sector very well. They were often holders of bow lands, and, in the reign of Darius, Judean *šušānu*s start to figure in many documents from the region. In the Persian period, *šušānu*s were semi-free population who often hold bow lands and were incorporated in *haṭru*s. Their legal status was different from slaves, but they were apparently not free to alienate the lands they held.[15] Moreover, even though a *haṭru* of Judeans is not mentioned in the texts, a similar organisation likely existed.[16] First, the Murašû texts make clear that there was a direct connection between several *haṭru*s and homonymous towns or villages; some of them were named after the geographic origin of their inhabitants.[17] Second, a Judean tax-summoner, *dēkû*, is mentioned in two documents (CUSAS 28 12; Joannès and Lemaire 1999 2) and the *dēkû* of Āl-Yāhūdu in CUSAS 28 83. In the Murašû archive, *dēkû*s collected tax-payments in *haṭru* organisations.[18] Third, the expression 'fields of the Judean *šušānu*s' clearly refers to collective lands, managed within an administrative unit. These lands fell under the authority of several officials, such as *rab urāti* and the governor of Across-the-River (CUSAS 28, 18–19), and *rab ṣāb kutalli* (CUSAS 28 24–25). In sum, the Judeans of Āl-Yāhūdu farmed state lands, were organised in one or more *haṭru*-like administrative units, and were supervised by several high officials and their subordinates.

Ahīqam, Son of Rapā-Yāma

Texts from the Āl-Yāhūdu region constitute three main groups, two of which pertain to the dealings of Judean entrepreneurs in the land-for-service sector.[19] The first group records the activities of a certain Ahīqam, whose grandfather Samak-Yāma was probably deported from Judah to Babylonia in the early sixth century and settled with other Judean deportees in Ālu ša Yāhūdāia. No documents pertaining to Samak-Yāma's activities have survived, but his son Rapā-Yāma figures in five texts, dated between the first year of Amēl-Marduk (561 BCE) and the fifth year of Cyrus (533 BCE).[20] The nature of his activities is somewhat elusive because all the surviving documents pertain to his debts to five different people, and the origin of the debts is never made explicit. The debts were in barley, dates and silver, and their amounts were not very big. CUSAS 28 7 connects him to royal lands and to the estate of a *rab mūgi*, high Babylonian officer, which indicates that he was active in the land-for-service sector.

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[15] The use of the term *šušānu* developed in the sixth and fifth centuries. Originally, it referred to people working with horses, but already in the Neo-Babylonian period, the word started to designate a social status in addition to a profession. Only in the Persian period, the connection with a subordinate social status in the land-for service sector is apparent. See CAD Š/3, 378–380; Stolper 1985, 79–82; van Driel 2002, 210–211, 232 n. 28; Dandamayev 2009, 626–642; MacGinnis 2012a, 13–14.

[16] On the question of *haṭru*s in the Āl-Yāhūdu texts, see Pearce 2011, 271–274. The absence of the term *haṭru* is expected, because it starts to appear in Babylonian sources only in the mid-fifth century. However, the related term *kiṣru* is mentioned in CUSAS 28 23. See van Driel 2002, 308–310.

[17] See the list of *haṭru* names and corresponding villages in Stolper 1985, 72–79.

[18] Stolper 1985, 83. See also Pearce 2011, 273–274.

[19] Very little is known about the third group of texts, connected to a certain Zababa-šar-uṣur. See Joannès and Lemaire 1996; Pearce and Wunsch 2014, 3–9 for some preliminary information.

[20] CUSAS 28 6–9, 11.

However, it is difficult to decide whether he just cultivated his own land holding together with his family[21] or participated in the agricultural management like his son Ahīqam.

Rapā-Yāma's son Ahīqam and his business activities in Āl-Yāhūdu and the surrounding region are well documented.[22] Two stray texts originate from the fifth and seventh year of Cyrus (533–531 BCE), but the rest of his documents are dated between the fourth and 15th years of Darius I (518–507 BCE). Ahīqam died soon after his last documented business transaction, and his business assets in Babylon were divided by his sons probably in the 16th year of Darius.[23] The earliest Ahīqam document (CUSAS 28 12) records his *ilku* payment to the substitute of a Judean *dēkû* official, which further corroborates our view that his family were fief holders of the land-for-service sector, members of the Judean *haṭru*-like organisation and perhaps *šušānu*s.

Ahīqam's activities were not confined to his own plot of land, but he pursued an evidently successful business career in the land-for-service sector. He worked as a middleman between the state administration and the units of landholders by collecting annual rental payments from the latter.[24] The rights to collect the rental payments were bought from royal officials who represented the local level of administration in the land-for-service sector: Iddinâ, son of Šinqā, and Mudammiq-Nabû, son of Nabû-aplu-iddin, were subordinates of Uštanu, the governor of Across-the-River, who was ultimately responsible for the royal lands in the Āl-Yāhūdu region.[25]

The rental payments were collected from the farmers of bow lands, usually *šušānu*s, who were often of Judean origin. Two lists of assessed rental payments show how the holders of bow lands were grouped together in units of ten that were represented by one of the respective farmers.[26] On behalf of the royal officials, Ahīqam and his colleagues assessed the rents[27] and took care of collecting, processing and retailing the produce.[28] Ahīqam himself probably belonged to the same social class of state-controlled landholders as his debtors, but he managed to obtain a position that allowed him to profit from the structure of the land-for-service sector. His Judean countrymen are well-presented in his archive, but, interestingly enough, Judean witnesses are mostly absent from the documents pertaining to direct

[21] Note that his wife Yapa-Yāhû guarantees his delivery of dates and barley in CUSAS 28 8.
[22] Ahīqam is mentioned in texts CUSAS 28 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 25, 29, 31, 33–36, 40–44; BaAr 6 5, 6, 9, 12. Moreover, several other documents are closely linked to his activities.
[23] His last transaction was recorded on 24-V-15 Dar (CUSAS 28 25), and his sons divided his assets on 5-VII-16? Dar (CUSAS 28 45 || Abraham 2007). The year of the inheritance division is not perfectly clear: there is discrepancy between the transliteration (16th year) and cuneiform copy (19th year) in CUSAS 28 45. The photograph seems to suggest reading '16' instead of '19'.
[24] This side of Ahīqam's business is documented in CUSAS 28 14–18, 25, 33. Nos. 19–22 record similar transactions and are closely related to Ahīqam and his circles.
[25] CUSAS 28 17–18. See also fig. 1 on page 7 below.
[26] CUSAS 28 14–15.
[27] CUSAS 28 16AB, 25, 33.
[28] See below.

transactions with the royal administration.[29] In these documents, witnesses have both Akkadian and West Semitic names, but Ahīqam is usually the only one who can be safely connected with the Judean community.[30] This is not dependent on the place of writing: Judeans did not witness Ahīqam's transactions with Babylonian officials in Āl-Yāhūdu, but the division of Ahīqam's private business assets was witnessed by several Judeans in Babylon.[31] We may suggest that Ahīqam was working between two worlds, and most Judeans had limited access to higher administrative echelons of the land-for-service sector.

In addition to collecting rents, Ahīqam granted credit and participated in the cultivation of lands. Once he loaned silver to a Judean to allow him to hire a substitute to serve the king in Elam; the debt was to be paid back in barley (CUSAS 28 41). There are a number of other promissory notes as well,[32] and credit granting was apparently of some importance for Ahīqam's business. Unpaid debts could allow Ahīqam to get hold of the pledged lands, and documents pertaining to a purchase of an ox and joint cultivation of lands suggest that Ahīqam participated in agricultural management.[33] Ahīqam likely held his own share of institutional land, but he probably also cultivated fields he had leased or held as a pledge for credit.

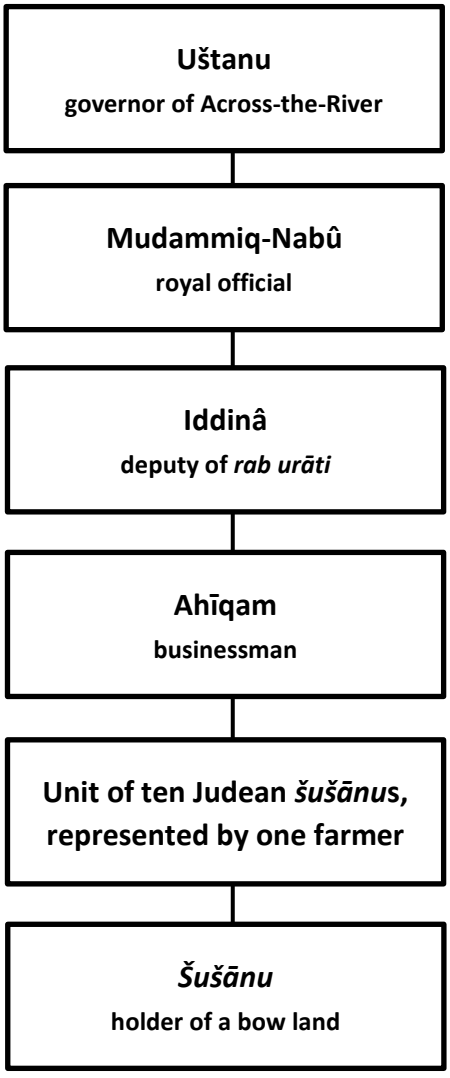
Ahīqam bought the rights to collect rents with a lump sum of silver, but the rental payments were made in dates or barley, which indicates that Ahīqam had means to convert crops into cash. Three documents pertain to Ahīqam's beer brewing activities,[34] and we have to suppose that he had his channels to retail the barley crops as well. It is noteworthy that the retail sales of beer took place in Babylon, and Ahīqam's business was thus regional rather than local. In sum, Ahīqam's activities in Āl-Yāhūdu and Babylon were two integral parts of his business which can be compared with the dealings of some native Babylonian businessmen.[35] His profits likely derived from the difference between the lump sum he paid to the royal authorities and the retail price of the crops and processed food stuffs like date beer. Ahīqam's activities were not of a small scale, and once he bought rights to collect the rental payments of 160 kor of barley for four minas of silver (CUSAS 28 17–18).[36]

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[29] CUSAS 28 14–15, 17–22, 24–25.
[30] There is one exception, an isolated text CUSAS 28 1, which probably pertains to Babylonian officials but involves Judean witnesses. However, even though written in Āl-Yāhūdu, the text cannot be connected with Ahīqam or his relatives.
[31] Compare CUSAS 28 14–15, 19–22 with CUSAS 28 45 || Abraham 2007.
[32] CUSAS 28 23, 25, 33, 34, 35, 43.
[33] CUSAS 28 23, 29, 31. Add CUSAS 28 30 and Joannès and Lemaire 1999 no. 1 which pertain to similar activities by Ahīqam's sons.
[34] CUSAS 28 40, 44, 45.
[35] Compare with the Murašû family (see below) and Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu from Larsa, for which see Beaulieu 2000b. For further examples, see van Driel 1989; Jursa 2010a, 198–203.
[36] 1 kor equals c. 180 litres and 1 mina c. 500 grams (Baker 2004, ix–x).

Even though an inheritance division between Ahīqam's sons has survived in two copies, we know very little about his personal wealth.[37] The inheritance division evidently pertains only to the share of his business assets in Babylon: two slaves, eighteen vats and some unspecified equipment were connected with the retail sales of beer in the capital.[38] Ahīqam had five sons, and at least three of them, Nīr-Yāma, Haggâ and Yahû-izrī, continued their father's businesses, rent farming and agricultural management.[39] The last attestation of Ahīqam's sons dates to 34 Dar (488 BCE), when Yahû-izrī is mentioned in an agricultural contract BaAr 6 16.

Fig. 1. Administrative hierarchy of the local land-for-service sector as it appears in the Ahīqam archive



[37] CUSAS 28 45 || Abraham 2007.
[38] This is corroborated by CUSAS 28 44, a promissory note pertaining to the delivery of 15 vats of beer to Babylon.
[39] CUSAS 28 26–27, 39, 46; BaAr 6 13, 15–16; Joannès and Lemaire 1999 no. 1.

Ahīqar, Son of Rīmūt

Ahīqar, son of Rīmūt, was Ahīqam's contemporary who also lived in the countryside close to Āl-Yāhūdu. He is attested from the first regnal year of Cyrus (538 BCE) until the seventh year of Darius I (515 BCE), and the documents pertaining to his businesses constitute the second main group of the texts from the Āl-Yāhūdu region.[40] Ahīqar's activities were centred in the village of Našar that was located somewhere in the Babylonian countryside, not far away from Āl-Yāhūdu. His father bore a Babylonian name and his own name was West Semitic, but he gave a Yahwistic name Nīr-Yāma to his son.[41] This confirms his Judean background, but, unlike Ahīqam, he had very little contact with other Judeans. However, his links to Āl-Yāhūdu become apparent in a document that records his tax payment to the *dēkû* official of that village.[42] Therefore, it is likely that Ahīqar held a bow land or a similar landholding, but his archive makes it clear that he actively expanded his business activities into agricultural management.

Ahīqar's business activities have resulted in three major types of documents: promissory notes for barley and dates, land leases, and contracts related to cattle and to the formation of plough teams. Unlike Ahīqam, Ahīqar did not interact with the royal administration apart from the tax payments to two *dēkû* officials.[43] Moreover, the Ahīqar documents lack references to rent collection from the *šušānu* fields or from other large tax-responsible units. Instead of rent collecting, Ahīqar's business activities focused on credit granting and agricultural management. His clients were farmers in the land-for-service sector, often of non-Babylonian origin, whose economic status was strained. The majority of promissory notes in Ahīqar's archive refer to previous debts, and the abundance of promissory notes owed to him indicates that they were unpaid, bad debts.[44]

The number of promissory notes and other preserved documents peaks between the first year of Bardiya (522 BCE) and the third year of Darius I (518 BCE), and three of them refer to loans which Ahīqar granted to finance the *ṣāb šarri* tax payments owed by

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[40] The relevant texts are CUSAS 28 60, 62, 63, 66–79, 81–83, 85–100; BaAr 6 23–25, 27–40; Joannès and Lemaire 1999 no. 2. It is noteworthy that the activity of Ahīqar is clustered in the years when no Ahīqam texts were written, and Ahīqam's activity suddenly peaks when Ahīqar's activity ceases. This tells something about the relationship between these two text groups, but the exact nature of this relationship remains elusive until more texts are published.

[41] This is not indicated in any of the published texts but referred to in Pearce and Wunsch 2014, 9 + n. 24.

[42] CUSAS 28 83.

[43] CUSAS 28 83; Joannès and Lemaire 1999 no. 2.

[44] In Babylonia, promissory notes were to be destroyed or given to the debtor after the debt was settled. Accordingly, the large number of promissory notes in the creditor's archive may indicate bad debts, even though creditors are also known to have preserved copies of settled debts (Wunsch 2002, 222; Jursa 2005, 42). In the case of Ahīqar, it is very likely that the promissory notes were not mere copies but unsettled, bad debts. See Wunsch 2002 for a convenient overview of debt and credit in Babylonia.
The published promissory notes owed to Ahīqar are CUSAS 28 63, 66, 68, 70–74, 81–82, 85–94. More are expected to be published in BaAr 6.

landholders.[45] The big number of bad debts from these years may indicate that many farmers had severe difficulties in managing with the tax burden during the accession wars after the death of Cambyses.[46] Tax payments and service obligations in general were likely to cause economic troubles for landholders who also had to cope with the high costs of setting up plough teams to cultivate their fields efficiently.[47] This offered business opportunities for entrepreneurs who had the required capital to buy oxen and their equipment. Several documents in Ahīqar's archive relate to oxen and to the formation of plough teams, which suggests that this type of agricultural management played an important role in his business.[48] Sometimes landholdings were pledged to Ahīqar to secure the payments,[49] and occasionally landholders had to allow him to enter into rental contracts that were disadvantageous to the lessors.[50] In this way, Ahīqar was able to control more extensive land holdings and take full advantage of the plough teams in his disposal.

Entrepreneurs like Ahīqar usually had means to convert agricultural produce into silver;[51] this is implicated by documents that refer to *ṣāb šarri* payments made by Ahīqar in silver but paid back by the debtor in kind. Beer brewing or retail activities are not attested in his archive, but CUSAS 28 97 pertains to a *harrānu* venture financed by Ahīqar. Examples of beer brewing from Ahīqam's archive likely apply to Ahīqar as well. Ahīqar's personal wealth is difficult to estimate on the basis of the surviving documentation – he is known to have owned oxen and farming equipment only – but his capability to grant loans and form plough teams tells something about his financial means. The biggest transactions in his archive value less than one mina of silver or 40 kor of staples, which are relatively small when compared to the biggest transactions recorded in the documents pertaining to Ahīqam or some Judeans of the Murašû archive.

Do the business profiles of Ahīqam and Ahīqar represent the economic status of Judean farmers in general? The answer is most likely negative. The majority of Judeans in the Āl-Yāhūdu region cultivated their relatively small fields and orchards within the land-for-service sector, and it is likely that Ahīqam and Ahīqar were successful exceptions to this rule. Even though the number of badly indebted Judeans is relatively small in our archive, this may be just the result of a coincidence: most Judeans appear in Ahīqam's archive, in which promissory notes play only a minor role. In contrast, Ahīqar's archive shows that small landholders had severe difficulties in making the ends meet in the early years of Darius. The Judeans were not powerless slaves of their landlords and they were able to buy, sell and rent

[45] CUSAS 28 73, 86, 91.
[46] For a historical overview of the period, see Briant 2002, 107–128; Lorenz 2008, 5–18, 183–184.
[47] On tax burden and credit in the land-for-service sector, see Stolper 1985, 104–107; van Driel 1999, 219–220; Jursa 2011, 435–437. On the costs of plough teams and oxen, see Stolper 1985, 125–143; Wunsch 2013, 254–257, the latter with a discussion of some relevant Āl-Yāhūdu texts as well.
[48] CUSAS 28 60, 75–79; BaAr 6 25, 27–29.
[49] CUSAS 28 66, 70–73, 92.
[50] CUSAS 28 62, 67, 69.
[51] Jursa 2010a, 216–224.

property and expand their businesses far beyond the villages they lived in. Some of them were able to attain official positions such as that of a *dēkû* in the administrative structures of the land-for-service sector.[52] The majority, however, had to face the economic realities of being a farmer of state-owned land. To feed themselves and their families, pay taxes to the crown and perform service obligations was hard work which did not raise their income high above the subsistence level.

Yadi-Yāma, Pili-Yāma and Yāhû-natan of the Murašû Archive

Texts of the Murašû archive originate from the Nippur region and date to the second half of the fifth century, in the reigns of Artaxerxes I and Darius II. They belong to a single private archive of the Murašû family, and the total number of preserved texts is over 700. In general, the Murašû archive allows us to see the land-for-service sector from a different perspective and in a more developed form than the texts from the Āl-Yāhūdu region. The *haṭru* structure was now fully developed, the Persian aristocracy held large estates in the Nippur countryside and the terminology pertaining to various taxes and obligations had expanded from the early Persian period.[53] Before the publication of the Āl-Yāhūdu texts, the Murašû archive was the most important source for the study of Judeans in Babylonia. Apart from some early studies,[54] the status of Judeans in this archive has remained largely unstudied,[55] but the new texts from the Āl-Yāhūdu region emphasise the need to re-examine the Murašû archive as well.

The Nippurean family of Murašû was a significantly bigger player in the land-for-service sector than Ahīqam and Ahīqar, and its archive even pertains to leases of whole canals and adjoining fields from the royal officials. Even though their operations were larger, the business of the Murašû family had many similarities with that of Ahīqam and Ahīqar. They worked as middlemen between the state administration and landholders by facilitating the cultivation of state land and the collection of tax payments. First, the Murašûs granted credit to landholders to help them pay taxes and perform their service obligations. Lands were pledged to secure the debts which allowed the family to control the pledged property as their own. Secondly, the Murašûs engaged in large-scale agricultural management. Their employees and debtors cultivated the lands that the family held as a pledge or had leased from the land-holders or state officials. As a part of agricultural management, the Murašûs leased water rights and supplied animals and equipment to farmers. Consequently, the Murašûs facilitated the operation of the land-for-service sector, which benefited the firm, some landholders and the state. The losers of the Murašûs' business were those indebted

[52] Judean *dēkû*s appear in CUSAS 28 12, 83; Joannès and Lemaire 1999 no. 2.
[53] See Cardascia 1951; Stolper 1985; van Driel 1989; 2002, 226–273.
[54] Clay 1907, 235–250, 390–429; Daiches 1910; Ebeling 1914; Sidersky 1929. There is also Gerard Wallis' unpublished dissertation from 1953, which I could not access.
[55] During the last 50 years, there has been very little interest in the social and economic history of the Judeans in the Murašû archive. For exceptions to the rule, see Bickerman 1978; 1984. However, the Judean naming practices have attracted considerable attention (Coogan 1976; Wallis 1980; Zadok 1979; Zadok 2002).

landholders who lost their lands to the Murašûs and had to continue farming them as the lessees of the family.[56]

Like the contemporaries of Ahīqam and Ahīqar, the Judeans of the Nippur region were a heterogeneous group. Some of them leased canals and large tracts of land while others held official positions in the land-for-service sector, but the majority were, again, farmers of state lands. An interesting cluster of documents are the business transactions pertaining to three Judean men, Pili-Yāma, son of Šillimu, Yadi-Yāma, son of Banā-Yāma, and Yadi-Yāma's son Yāhû-natan, from the 24th until the 40th regnal year of Artaxerxes I (441–425 BCE).[57] In the earliest two documents, both Pili-Yāma and Yadi-Yāma appear on the same or even on a higher rung of hierarchy than their counterpart Enlil-šum-iddin, descendant of Murašû. In the 24th year of Artaxerxes (EE 2), Yadi-Yāma subleased the Bēl and Mušēzib-Bēl canals and *uzbarra* land to Enlil-šum-iddin for the annual rent of 200 kor of staples. Pili-Yāma is encountered in BE 9 14 (28 Art I) for the first time when he leased lands and (a part of) the Puratti-Nippur canal together with Enlil-šum-iddin from the manager of the Sîn canal. The annual rent was 97 kor of millet.

These transactions are impressive in size, but in the following years these two Judean men engaged in even larger transactions, even though Yadi-Yāma's economic status worsened at the same time. Yadi-Yāma leased the Urāti canal and adjoining lands from Enlil-šum-iddin twice for a two-year period, but, in both documents (BE 9 25, 45; 31 and 36 Art I, respectively), it is stated that the lands included Yadi-Yāma's *bīt ritti* which was held as a pledge by Enlil-šum-iddin. Accordingly, even though Yadi-Yāma engaged in contracts involving very large rents (200 kor and 700 kor of barley per annum, respectively), his situation was clearly difficult. Enlil-šum-iddin held his land as a pledge for several years and Yadi-Yāma was apparently not able to pay his previous debts and free the pledged land. At the same time, we are indirectly informed that Yadi-Yāma had also rented a derivative of the Badiātu canal around the 28th year of Artaxerxes (BE 9 29). This canal was, in turn, rented by Pili-Yāma and two other men from Enlil-šum-iddin in 36 Art I (EE 26). Yadi-Yāma's son Yāhû-natan, who already participated in the lease of the Urāti canal in 36 Art I, leased this canal together with a certain Bānia, son of Amēl-Nanāya, from Enlil-šum-iddin for a two-week period in 40 Art I (EE 92). This is the last attestation of these three men.

Not only were their business profiles similar, but Yadi-Yāma and Pili-Yāma knew each other, perhaps very well: Pili-Yāma witnessed two of Yadi-Yāma's transactions (BE 9 45 and EE 98). Unfortunately, the status of Yadi-Yāma and Pili-Yāma in their local communities is elusive and we do not know whether they represented a community of people or ran a business for their own profit. In any case, it is evident that a large number of people participated in the cultivation of the lands that could yield rents as large as 700 kor (126,000

[56] The business of the Murašû family is treated in detail in Stolper 1985. See also Jursa 2010a, 405–414.
[57] The relevant texts are BE 9 14, 25, 29, 45; EE 2, 26, 92, 94, 98. EE 86 should be perhaps included as well.

litres) of barley per year. The average barley yield of a hectare was 1728 litres in the sixth century Sippar, which means that circa 73 hectares of land and two full plough teams were needed to produce the rent of 700 kor alone.[58] The involvement of a larger group of people is made explicit in BE 9 45, which names a number of co-lessees after Yadi-Yāma and finally concludes that 'all the colleagues in Bīt-Gira?' are counted among the lessees. However, Pili-Yāma is once attested as a business partner of Enlil-šum-iddin, and Yadi-Yāma's involvement in beer brewing indicates a private business (EE 98). It is therefore more likely that these two men were not merely representing a *haṭru* of Judeans, but their businesses touched their own personal interests and the interests of local farming communities at the same time. Water was essential for irrigation agriculture, and by acquiring and perhaps subleasing rights to use water, Yadi-Yāma and Pili-Yāma benefited their communities as well.[59]

Because the Murašû archive records the transactions of the archive-holding Babylonian family, its perspective on Judeans is different from the Āl-Yāhūdu texts. The Murašûs operated on a high rung of hierarchy in the land-for-service sector and thus their transactions were often very large. These documents cannot concern the lands of a single farmer, but, as in the case of Yadi-Yāma and Pili-Yāma, they have to pertain to the dealings of businessmen or the representatives of larger communities. Moreover, several Judeans were involved in the administration of the local land-for-service sector as subordinates of higher officials or foremen of *haṭru* organisations.[60] It is noteworthy that the economic status of Judeans does not appear to be particularly strained, unlike the situation of the debtors in the Ahīqar documents. Judeans, who belonged to several *haṭru*s and cultivated royal lands, used the services offered by the Murašûs to get credit and transfer the cultivation of their land holdings to the lessees of the Murašûs. It is likely that the individual land holders and their small plots are hidden beneath the complex administrative structures of the archive.

Conclusions

The documents from the Āl-Yāhūdu region and from the Murašû archive cover most of the sixth and fifth centuries, leaving only a gap of 25 years between the last Āl-Yāhūdu and the earliest Murašû text pertaining to Judeans.[61] Like other groups of foreign deportees in the early sixth century, Judeans were settled in communities in the Babylonian countryside and integrated into the land-for-service sector of the Babylonian agriculture. The basics of the system remained the same over the whole period of 150 years: Judeans cultivated state lands and were obliged to pay taxes and perform corvée and military service for the state. Even

[58] Jursa 2010a, 49–50.
[59] Cf. van Driel 2002, 215.
[60] A certain Barīk-Yāma, servant of the *mašennu* official Artabara (BE 10 60), and Matan-Yāma (PBS 2/1 50), subordinate of queen Parysatis, collected payments from Rīmūt-Ninurta, son of Murašû. A Judean *sepīru* Hanan-Yāma, son of Aplâ, is attested in EE 34. There is also evidence that Judeans could act as foremen of *haṭru*s: Išribi-Yāma, son of Pili-Yāma, was the *šaknu* of the *haṭru* of the *šušānu*s of the storehouse in the third year of Artaxerxes I (BE 10 65; cf. PBS 2/1 205 and see Stolper 1985, 91 + n. 85).
[61] CUSAS 28 53 was written on 25-V-9 Xer I (477 BCE) and BE 9 3 on 26-II-13 Art I (452 BCE).

though administrative structures and the corresponding terminology developed over time, it is clear that from the very beginning, Judeans were grouped in units that had joint responsibilities over their fields. Due to the nature of the available evidence, we can only seldom glimpse the Judean farmers of bow lands. However, there is no reason to assume that the life of common Judeans was any different from the other farmers in the land-for-service sector. The life of a single land holder was often hard and the inability to pay taxes or fulfil service obligations could result in heavy indebtedness, as the texts from the Ahīqar and Murašû archives show.

Some Judeans were able to rise to minor administrative positions in the land-for-service sector, but the most prominent examples of successful Judeans are the five businessmen studied in this paper. The cases of Ahīqam and Ahīqar are unique in two ways. First, the remnants of their private archives allow us to peek inside the affairs of the Judeans themselves, not to see the Judeans only through the lens of the Babylonian archive owners. Second, the business profiles of Ahīqam and Ahīqar make clear that the descendants of Judean deportees were able to pursue a business career, even though they were holders of state lands. The obligations attached to their landholdings did not prevent them from extending their business beyond their own plot of land, and at least Ahīqam had business interests even in the city of Babylon itself. It is noteworthy that the business profiles of Ahīqam and Ahīqar have a lot in common with some native Babylonian entrepreneurs, which suggests that, despite their foreign background, they were well-positioned to take advantage of the business opportunities offered by the Babylonian economy.[62]

Whereas Ahīqam and Ahīqar were certainly private entrepreneurs, the case of Yadi-Yāma, Pili-Yāma and Yāhû-natan is more complicated. Their very large transactions manifest that they were doing more than cultivating their own plots of land, but the scarcity of preserved documents prevents us from determining their precise role within the local Judean communities. However, Yadi-Yāma's beer brewing activities, Pili-Yāma's partnership with Enlil-šum-iddin and the example of Ahīqam and Ahīqar leads me to conclude that also these three men should be counted among businessmen, not merely as the representatives of Judean communities.

In the light of the cuneiform evidence, the Judeans of the Babylonian countryside did not suffer from enslavement or economic distress. This should not, alternatively, lead us to argue that Judean communities prospered in Babylonia and had a firm foothold in the business world of the Babylonian countryside. It appears to me that even though most Judeans remained as small landholders in the land-for-service sector, they had the freedom to strive for wealth and prosperity.

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[62] The most prominent example are the Murašûs themselves, but another important case is the Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu archive from Larsa, for which see Beaulieu 2000b. For further examples, see van Driel 1989; Jursa 2010a, 198–203.

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The abbreviations used

BaAr 6 = Wunsch *forthcoming*
BE 9 = Hilprecht & Clay 1898
BE 10 = Clay 1904
CUSAS 28 = Pearce & Wunsch 2014
EE = Stolper 1985
IMT = Donbaz & Stolper 1997
PBS 2/1 = Clay 1912
YOS 19 = Beaulieu 2000

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The Function of Theological Language in the Gibeonite Request in Joshua 9

By: Maryann Amor, University of Edinburgh

Preface: I don't really have any significant issues about which I am interested in getting feedback. I would really appreciate general comments on my paper/thesis project, specifically in relation to my method and overall argument.

When the dishevelled Gibeonites approach the Israelites in Joshua 9, dressed as if they had completed a long journey and seeking a treaty, the response from Israel is somewhat unexpected. The Israelites are not obligated to listen to the Gibeonites because they are characterised as powerful military victors who, with their LORD at the helm, have just destroyed Jericho (Joshua 6) and Ai (Joshua 8). One almost expects them to respond by ignoring the Gibeonites, ordering them to go away, or slaughtering them and taking their donkeys. Instead, the Israelites not only listen to the Gibeonites, but also they grant their request, two actions which beg the question: what has happened to make the Israelites behave so favourably towards the Gibeonites?

Scholars have analysed Joshua 9 from various angles, often focusing on its intertextual relationship with Deuteronomy and other biblical books[1] and its possible etiological purpose.[2] Additionally, as Robert P. Gordon notes, "[Joshua 9] has been studied many times from the point of view of source analysis and historicity, but seldom as a narrative composition with

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1. For a more detailed discussion of the intertextual relationship between Joshua 9, Deuteronomy, and other books in the Bible, see: John Day, "Gibeon and the Gibeonites in the Old Testament," *Reflection and Refraction: Studies in Biblical Historiography in Honour of A. Graeme Auld* (ed. Robert Rezetko, Timothy H. Lim, and W. Brian Aucker; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 113-137; Adrian H.W. Curtis, *Joshua* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 15-21; A.D.H. Mayes, "Deuteronomy 29, Joshua 9, and the Place of the Gibeonites in Israel," *Das Deuteronomium: Entstehung, Gestalt und Botschaft,* (ed. Norbert Lohfink; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1985), 321-325; Peter J. Kearney, "The Role of the Gibeonites in the Deuteronomic History," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 35 (1973), 1-19; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Gibeon and Israel: The Role of Gibeon and the Gibeonites in the Political and Religious History of Early Israel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

2. For an analysis of the etiological purpose of Joshua 9, see: Jörn Halbe, "Gibeon und Israel: Art, Veranlassung und Ort der Deutung ihres Verhältnisses in Jos. IX," *Vetus Testamentum* 25 (1975), 630. In this article, Hälbe suggests that Joshua 9 should be divided into two sections, 9:3-15 and 9:16-27. 9:16-27 contains distinct etiological markers (i.e. "to this day" in 9:27) and has a different author than 9:3-15. The author of 9:16-27 is a later author who is building on 9:3-15 to account for why the Gibeonites are subordinates in Israel, who have status within the cult.

its own artistry and internal dynamics."[3] However, it is precisely by engaging this passage as a narrative, looking beyond the details that have occupied scholars for so long, that the above question might be answered and a new interpretation produced.

In this paper I will adopt a narrative and sociolinguistic approach to answer my introductory question. I will suggest that the Israelites act favourably towards the Gibeonites because of the Gibeonite request itself (9:3-15).[4] In particular, although they frame their request using deferent language, it is their reference to Israel's theology that shifts the request in their favour, compelling the Israelites to both listen to and heed their request.

The Request in Joshua 9—A Narrative Analysis

Joshua 9:1-2 prefaces the Gibeonites' request and reveals how the Israelites are perceived by other nations. Although the narrator never tells readers what it is that the kings of the Hittites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites hear that causes them to unite,[5] the details he gives, such as listing the names of every nation, create an exaggerated image of how "the threat presented by Israel is...so great that it forced racially diversified former enemies to join together."[6]

This reaction aligns with the militaristic character of the Israelites that runs throughout the book of Joshua. As Hawk describes, "much of [Joshua] depicts a *blitzkrieg* in which the repeatedly victorious Israelites conquer the entire land of Canaan."[7] Although there are moments when the conquest is incomplete and foreign nations survive, the overall narrative is intensely interested in portraying Israel as possessing more military might than the nations

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3. Robert P. Gordon, "Gibeonite Ruse and Israelite Curse in Joshua 9," *Covenant as Context: Essays in Honour of E.W. Nicholson* (ed. A.D.H. Mayes and R.B. Salters; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 169-170.

4. I have marked the request scene as running from 9:3-15, because it shows the Gibeonites making the request (9:6,11) and its fulfilment (9:15). Scholars who argue that the text should be cut as I have cut it are: Halbe, "Gibeon und Israel: Art, Veranlassung und Ort der Deutung ihres Verhältnisses in Jos. IX"; L. Daniel Hawk, *Joshua* (Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1989), 138; and Trent C. Butler, *Joshua* (Waco, Texas: Waco Books, 1985), 99.

5. Hawk, Daniel, *Every Promise Fulfilled: Contesting Plots in Joshua* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1991), 81.

6. Butler, *Joshua*, 101.

7. Hawk, *Every Promise,* 15.

whom they encounter.[8]

Central to this aspect of the Israelites' character is their LORD. The texts assume that the "activity of Yahweh is what determines—in a psychological respect, first of all—the behaviour of Israel as well as that of the enemies."[9] When Israel goes to war it is usually not instigated by them, but the LORD tells them to go, tells them how to fight, and delivers them from their adversaries. This image shapes many of the Israelites' triumphant battle scenes, showing that "although some military strategy was involved (for example, sending spies in advance) [many events] were essentially ritual operations surrounded by miracles."[10]

The narratorial interest in the Israelites contributes to the lack of details surrounding the character of the Gibeonites, who are introduced in 9:3. At the start of this verse the narrator uses a "disjunctive [that] mark[s] the beginning of a narrative unit,"[11]shifting the focus to the Gibeonites' point of view.[12] The narrator also juxtaposes the Gibeonites with the kings, noting both how it is the inhabitants of Gibeon and not their kings who gather,[13] and how the

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8. For a full discussion of the impact of ideology on shaping the biblical narrative, see K. Lawson Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts: A Study in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical History Writing* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 25-58.

9. Gerhard von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel* (trans. and ed. Marva J. Dawn; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 45.

10. J. Maxwell Miller and John H. Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah* (2nd ed.; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2006), 67; For more information on the relationship between Israel's LORD and their interactions in war, see: Brad E. Kelle, Frank Ritchel Ames, and Jacob L. Wright, ed. *Warfare, Ritual, and Symbol in Biblical and Modern Contexts* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014); Susan Niditch, *War in the Hebrew Bible: A Study in the Ethics of Violence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); T.R. Hobbs, *A Time for War: A Study of Warfare in the Old Testament* (Delaware: Michael Glazier, 1989); Moshe Weinfeld, "Divine Intervention in War in Ancient Israel and the Ancient Near East," *History, Historiography, and Interpretation: Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Literatures* (ed. H. Tadmor and M. Weinfeld; Leiden: Brill, 1984), 121-147; Patrick D. Miller, Jr., *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1973).

11. Robert G. Boling and G. Ernest Wright, *Joshua: A New Translation with Notes and Commentary* (New York: Yale University Press, 1982), 262; Butler, *Joshua*, 99.

12. Butler, *Joshua*, 99; It is also possible that the focus placed on the Gibeonites in this scene means that the narrative originated with them (Gordon, "Gibeonite," 170).

13. For a discussion of the significance of the inhabitants of Gibeon reacting to Israel, see: Boling and Wright, *Joshua*, 262; Marten H. Woudstra, *The Book of Joshua* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981), 155; Hawk, *Joshua*, 139.

Gibeonites respond not to some unknown threat, but to having "heard what Joshua did to Jericho and Ai."

Before the narrator describes how the Gibeonites will respond to Israel, in 9:4a he states that they act with ערמה. This term, which is often translated as crafty, shrewd, or sensible,[14] introduces ambiguity into the narrative regarding how one is to assess their actions to follow (9:4bc-5).

Christa Schäfer-Lichtenberger in her article, "Das gibeonitische Bündnis im Lichte deuteronomischer Kriegsgebote: Zum Verhältnis von Tradition und Interpretation in Jos 9," provides a detailed discussion of the meaning of ערמה in Joshua 9. She considers ערמה alongside ערום, because both terms are lexically and semantically related and both are inherently ambiguous.[15] For example, ערום appears in Gen 3:1, where it describes the 'crafty serpent,' but it is also used in Prov 12:23, where it describes a clever man who is contrasted with the fool. In these two passages, the same term has both a negative (Gen 3:1) and a positive (Prov 12:23) connotation, which means both senses could be appropriately applied to ערמה in Joshua 9.[16]

After accounting for the various interpretations of these terms, Shäfer-Lichtenberger concludes that ערמה, specifically in Joshua 9, reflects two types of cunning. Because the Gibeonites act to deceive the Israelites they express a fraudulent sense of ערמה. However, they also appear to have detailed knowledge of what happened to Jericho and Ai and of the

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14. Francis Brown, *The New Brown-Driver-Briggs-Gesenius Hebrew and English Lexicon with an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic* (Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1979), 791. Translations diverge on how to render ערמה in Joshua 9. For example, the KJV has "wilily," the ISV has "they took the initiative," the NIV has "they resorted to a ruse," and the ESV has "acted with cunning."

15. Christa Schäfer-Lichtenberger, "Das gibeonitische Bündnis im Lichte deuteronomischer Kriegsgebote. Zum Verhältnis von Tradition und Interpretation in Jos 9," *Biblische Notizen* 34 (1986), 63.

16. Butler, *Joshua,* 101.

Bündnisverbotes (alliance ban)[17] in Deuteronomy 20, which prescribes how the Israelites are to offer peace to those from a distant land, but those in nearby regions are to be annihilated.[18] That the Gibeonites know these details and hide their identity to obscure the fact that they were from the same land as the Israelites,[19] increasing the chance that Israel would make the treaty with them in line with its own legislation, demonstrates their wisdom. Therefore, Shäfer-Lichtenberger argues that when interpreting ערמה in Joshua 9, the one term should encompass both deception and wisdom simultaneously.[20]

This assessment overlaps with Butler's comments on ערמה. He notes that when it is used by Saul in reference to David in 1 Sam 23:22 it has a double meaning— for Saul, David's ערמה is a negative aspect of his character, whereas, the reader is being led to see it as positive. For Butler this double sense of ערמה should be applied in Joshua 9, "from the Gibeonite point of view, they were quite wise in what they did, whereas the Israelite version saw this as deceptive and wrong."[21]

That the Gibeonites choose to act with ערמה and not to fight is significant in the narrative. Schäfer-Lichtenberger suggests that they made their decision because they felt that they were not capable of presenting a serious military resistance to Israel.[22] Similarly,

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17. Schäfter-Lichtenberger, "Das gibeonitische," 59.

18. Gordon Mitchell, *Together in the Land: A Reading of the Book of Joshua* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 85; Boling and Wright, *Joshua*, 265; A. Graeme Auld, *Joshua, Judges, and Ruth* (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1984), 64; E. John Hamlin, *Joshua: Inheriting the Land* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 78-79; Woudstra, *Joshua*, 157.

19. Auld, *Joshua,* 64; Auld notes, "The Gibeonites lived only a little to the south-west of Bethel and Ai in the very heart of the promised land just north of Jerusalem" (Auld, *Joshua,* 64); Butler, *Joshua*, 101.

20. Schäfter-Lichtenberger, "Das gibeonitische," 65.

21. Butler, *Joshua,* 101.

22. Schäfer-Lichtenberger, "Das gibeonitische," 63.

Woudstra argues that the Gibeonites approach Israel out of "fearful submission."[23]

These interpretations are challenged by Josh 10:2, where the narrator calls the Gibeonites גברים, who instil fear in king Adoni-zedek. If they are 'strong/mighty men/ warriors,' it is possible that they could have fought with the kings and led them to triumph over Israel. However, that they choose not to fight, but to act with ערמה, characterises them as not relying on their overt physical power to deal with the Israelites.

From 9:4bc-5 the narrator "recounts vividly the preparations for the intended deception of Israel and its leaders"[24] that "build[s] up the narrative tension around the deception of the Gibeonites."[25] With the same exaggerated detail that he used when narrating the kings' response to Israel, the narrator here speaks of the great lengths to which the Gibeonites go to hide their identity and appear to have made a long journey.

The narrator shifts into an extended dialogue at 9:6 that continues to 9:13, a section which Butler calls the "narrative climax" of this passage.[26] In 9:6 the Gibeonites are the first to speak and, even though they have not met Israel before this scene, they begin with a direct imperative: מארץ רחוקה באנו ועתה כרתו־לנו ברית, "from a distant land we have come and now make (cut) a treaty (covenant) with us! (my translation)" The imperative, כרתו, depends on the Gibeonites being from a מארץ רחוקה, which is placed first in the clause and emphasises their distance travelled.

The request itself is also very specific as the Gibeonites ask for a ברית with Israel and not that they provide them with general safety. ברית might be translated as covenant, pact,

23. Woudstra, *Joshua*, 153.

24. Woudstra, *Joshua*, 155.

25. Butler, *Joshua*, 99.

26. Butler, *Joshua*, 99.

compact, treaty, alliance, or league, with the translation often based on the parties involved. [27] When God and people make a ברית it is usually translated as 'covenant' (Gen 9:9-7; 15:8; 17:2-21); however, when humans make a ברית it might be translated using one of the other terms. Those working with Joshua 9 tend to translate ברית as 'treaty,' which echoes the political context of this passage. [28]

In response to the Gibeonites, in 9:7 Joshua and his men[29] "defuse the force of the imperative by transforming it into a question."[30] They also raise the problem that, in line with Deuteronomy, if the Gibeonites were from nearby then a treaty would be an impossibility.[31] It is clear from this response that the Gibeonites' ruse has not been completely successful, because the Israelites challenge the Gibeonites' claims. The Israelites' questions alert the Gibeonites that they need to try something different if they want to succeed.

This they do in 9:8 and 9:9 where they call themselves עבד (slave/servant), a word often used by those approaching someone in power.[32] For example, עבד appears throughout

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27. Brown, *Brown-Driver-Briggs,* 136.

28. Kenton L. Sparks, *Ancient Texts for the Study of the Hebrew Bible: A Guide to the Background Literature* (Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 2005), 435.

29. Israel's representative is inconsistent in the narrative. The Gibeonites speak to Joshua and the Israelites (as per the NRSV translation) in 9:6-8, but it is the men who eat their provisions, Joshua who makes peace and establishes the treaty, and the leaders who swear an oath with them (9:15). Notably, the phrase that is translated in the NRSV as 'Israelites' in 9:6-8 is actually אֹשׁ־ישׂראל, which is better translated as 'man of Israel.' Discussing this variation is beyond the scope of this paper. For more information see Hawk, *Joshua*, 139; Schäfer-Lichtenberger, "Das gibeonitische," 66-72; and Ray K. Sutherland, "Israelite Political Theories in Joshua 9," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 53 (1992), 65-74.

30. Hawk, *Joshua*, 142.

31. In this verse the Gibeonites are referred to as the Hivites. Woudstra argues that "the use of this name on the part of the narrator may be intentional, for Hivites were among those to be driven out by the Lord. Here, however, negotiations are under way between them and Israel. The anomaly of the situation in which Israel will soon involve itself is thus hinted at" (Woudstra, *Joshua*, 158). For more information on the Hivites, see Soggin, *Joshua,* 115.

32. Woudstra, *Joshua*, 158; Butler suggests that "the Gibeonites use the polite language of Near Eastern diplomacy by referring to themselves as Joshua's servants. The later tradition understood the term literally as referring to the servile status of the Gibeonites over against

the books of Samuel, where it reflects the formal court language of address to a king.[33] Hyman, writing on Judah's use of similar terminology in Genesis 44, argues that it makes his words "deferential and polite."[34]

Even by drawing on this language, again the Gibeonites fail to get their treaty, because in 9:8 Joshua and his men question them as they did in 9:6, pushing the Gibeonites' regarding their identity.[35]

In a final attempt to win over the Israelites, in 9:9-11 the Gibeonites not only emphasise, with the term מאד (9:9 and 9:11), their distance travelled and that they are the עבד of Israel, but also they outline their knowledge of the LORD: "from a very far land we, your servants came for the name of the LORD your God, because we heard of his fame and of all that he did in Egypt and all that he did to the two kings of the Amorites who were beyond the Jordan, to Sihon, king of Heshbon, and to Og of Bashan, which is in Ashtaroth" (9:9-10, my translation).

The Gibeonites' use of לשׁם suggests that their reason for coming in the first place is not to make a treaty, but because they have heard of Israel's LORD. Additionally the phrase כי שׁמענו, when coupled with the outline of what the LORD did to King Sihon and Og implies that the reason that provoked their coming is not what the narrator reported in 9:3, Joshua's battles with Jericho and Ai, but the fame of the LORD's battles that occurred in

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Israel" (Butler, *Joshua*, 102).

33. Frank H. Polak, "The Styles of the Dialogue in Biblical Prose Narrative," *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 28 (2001), 83; Andy Warren Rothlin, "Politeness Strategies in Biblical Hebrew and West African Languages," *Journal of Translation* 3 (2007), 55-71; Butler, *Joshua,* 102; Servant language is also found in extra-biblical sources such as the Meṣad Hashavyahu inscription, where it is used 8 times (Klaas D. Smelik, *Writings from Ancient Israel: A Handbook of Historical and Religious Documents* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1991), 96)). Also, in the Lachish Ostracon deferent speech (and theological language) is used many times (James B. Pritchard, ed., *The Ancient Near East: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 292-293). These parallels will be discussed in fuller detail in my thesis, where I will have more space to work with them.

34. Ronald T. Hyman, "Power of Persuasion: Judah, Abigail, and Hushai," *Jewish Bible Quarterly* 23 (1989), 10.

35. Hawk, *Joshua,* 142.

Num 21:21-35. This reveals that the Gibeonites have knowledge not only of recent events in Israel's conquest history, but also of events that took place much earlier, which they attribute to the LORD and not to Joshua (c.f. 9:3).

After rehearsing these details the Gibeonites repeat their imperative from 9:6, now including it as part of a paraphrase of their elders' words (9:11).[36] However, the Gibeonites do not say that their elders knew of the activities of the LORD that were detailed in Numbers and told them to make the treaty on the basis of this information. This suggests that although the elders might have had knowledge of Joshua's battles and this led them to send an envoy to the Israelites (9:3-4), the theological words in 9:9-10 are relevant only to those present in the situation and speaking with the Israelites.[37]

Additionally, the repetition of the imperative highlights that the Gibeonites' words in 9:6 and the words that their elders are reported to have spoken in 9:11 are different—in 9:6 the Gibeonites speak of their distance travelled before speaking the imperative, but in 9:11 their elders told them to call themselves the servants of Israel and then to speak the imperative.

Finally, the Gibeonites stress, once again, their distance travelled, now giving a more detailed description of their clothes and possessions, inviting the Israelites to examine them as proof of their journey (9:12-13).[38] These two verses take readers back to the Gibeonites' initial imperative in 9:6 and the connection to Deuteronomic legislation but, because of the dialogue in 9:9-13, the force of their words has changed, "they take the edge off their initial imperative by recasting it in a much less aggressive form."[39]

Once they have finished speaking, in 9:14-15 Joshua and the Israelites eat of the Gibeonites' provisions and grant their request—the treaty is made and Gibeon is saved.

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36. Woudstra, *Joshua*, 103; Hawk argues that the reference to the elders further connects the Gibeonites with the Israelites, because elders would have had authority in Israel too (Hawk, *Joshua*, 143).

37. The NRSV translates this verse as "so our elders," which makes the elders' words a result of the theological speech. However, the Hebrew text lacks this connection.

38. Hawk, *Joshua*, 143.

39. Hawk, *Joshua*, 143.

As the above analysis shows, the Israelites, who are characterised as militaristically powerful and supported by a potent deity, initially refuse the Gibeonites' request for a treaty but grant it by the end of the narrative. This suggests that something must have happened, particularly in verses 9:9-13 which precede their positive response, to compel the Israelites to change their answer. In order to assess this possibility, a sociolinguistic lens provides the necessary heuristic tools.

Central to the Gibeonites' request is their use of deferent language. E.J. Revell, in *The Designation of the Individual: Expressive Usage in Biblical Narrative*, examines Judges, Samuel, and Kings, arguing that deferential speech is found "where an addressee is superior in status to the speaker" and may appear in the biblical texts as "deferential nominals" (i.e terms such as 'your servant' or 'my lord') or third person pronouns that create a sense of distance between the speaker and the hearer.[40] He further notes that there are certain kinds of speech, "such as request or contradiction [that] require a particular care in presentation, as they may adversely affect the relationship between speaker and addressee."[41] The speaker, aware that his/her words might "displease the addressee," uses polite/deferential terms "to [minimize] this possibility."[42] Put another way, the speaker's use of deference language signifies his/her attempt to minimise the impact of his/her words on the 'face' of his/her addressee.

By using the term 'face,' Revell draws from a sociolinguistic theory developed by Brown and Levinson in their *Universals in Language Usage: Politeness Phenomena*. In this study they argue that "all competent adult members of a society have (and know each other to have) 'face,' the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself."[43] The

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40. E.J. Revell, *The Designation of the Individual: Expressive Usage in Biblical Narrative* (Kampen: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1996), 267.

41. Revell, *Designation,* 269.

42. Revell*, Designation,* 270.

43. Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson, *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*

concept of 'face' might be further categorised as either 'negative' or 'positive.' 'Negative face' is defined as "the want of every 'competent adult member' that his actions be unimpeded by others,'" whereas 'positive face' is "the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others."[44] In general, requests, because they impose on the hearer something that the speaker wants him/her "to do or refrain from doing," necessarily threaten the hearer's 'negative face,' by challenging his/her "freedom of action."[45]

Edward Bridge in his article, "Polite Israel and Impolite Edom: Israel's Request to Travel Through Edom in Numbers 20:14-21," references both Revell and Brown and Levinson to interpret Israel's request of the Edomites in Num 20:14-21. He argues,

> politeness can be expressed in how language is used...This can be shown by the application of politeness theory to the communication, in our case the text of Num 20:14-21. Such an application will give a theoretical basis for the observation that Israel's request is politely given. As a corollary, Edom will be shown to be unreasonably rude, which matches the usual portrayal of Edom in the Hebrew Bible.[46]

Politeness theory is Brown and Levinson's suggestion that the use of polite terms increases as the threat to 'face' increases.[47] According to Bridge, because "Israel's request is, in effect, a huge face-threatening action with the potential of a significant loss to Edom's face," their language increases in politeness throughout the discourse.[48]

Because the Gibeonites are not, as shown above, portrayed as being as powerful as Israel, their request, first made in 9:6, would have imposed on Israel's 'face' by asking that the military powerhouse act in accordance with the Gibeonites' desire. Since Israel's power was well known,[49] if it had been made public that they were inconsistent in their response to

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(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 66.

44. Brown and Levinson, *Politeness,* 67.

45. Brown and Levinson, *Politeness,* 70-71.

46. Edward Bridge, "Polite Israel and Impolite Edom: Israel's Request to Travel through Edom in Numbers 20:14-21," in *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 35 (2010), 79.

47. Bridge, "Polite," 80.

48. Bridge, "Polite," 83.

49. We find evidence that the fame of Israel was known in Joshua 2:8-10, 5:1, and 9:3.

their enemies, allowing some to live while slaughtering others, their reputation would have been tarnished, negatively impacting their 'face.' Therefore, it is not surprising that the Gibeonites use politeness techniques throughout their dialogue with Israel.

By requesting a treaty in particular, it is possible that the Gibeonites are deferring to Israel's 'face.'[50] In the Ancient Near East, treaties were necessary to ensure the survival of small states who "depended on their ability to forge protective relationships with one of the major powers in the region or with each other."[51] Although some treaties were parity treaties, where the nations were viewed as equals, the Gibeonites' use of עבד, suggests that they were attempting to institute a vassal treaty, making themselves the vassal and Israel the suzerain.[52] As Halpern argues, the Gibeonites wanted to create a "suzerain::vassal relationship, with Israel the major, Gibeon the minor party."[53]

Even though, as a condition of the treaty Israel would have to protect the Gibeonites, which could threaten Israel's 'face,' inherently the Gibeonites are trying to save Israel's 'face' by showing that they will give something to Israel in return.[54] For the Israelites, the vassal

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50. Baruch Halpern argues that the Gibeonites' use of ל, which should be translated as 'to/for,' shows the Gibeonites "confess[ing] to an inferior status these are the same terms as those employed by the people of Gilead to sue Nahash the Ammonite for terms (1 Sam 11:1)" (Baruch Halpern, "Gibeon: Israelite Diplomacy in the Conquest Era," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 37 (1975), 303). However English translations agree that the ל should be translated as 'with,' both in Josh 9:6, 11 and 1 Sam 11:1. Halpern's argument would have been stronger had this preposition been ב and not ל.

51. Sparks, *Ancient Texts*, 435.

52. Sparks, *Ancient Texts*, 435; Philip Esler describes how in covenantal exchanges there were "three central characteristics—they involved a formal and legally binding oath, they made explicit reference to obligations, and they were entered into by parties of unequal status (examples include but are not limited to the suzerain-vassal relationship and the landlord-tenant relationship)" (Philip Esler, ed., *Ancient Israel: The Old Testament in its Social Context* (London: SCM Press, 2005), 84).

53. Halpern, "Gibeon," 303; see also Butler, *Joshua*, 102, who notes that by using the phrase כרתו־לנו ברית, the Gibeonites were hoping to establish a relationship "between an overlord and his vassals [that] places obligations on the vassals with promises being given by the overlord." Additionally, because the Gibeonites take on a servile role in the cult (Josh 9:27), it is even more likely that the treaty was not a parity treaty, but a vassal treaty (Halpern, "Gibeon," 304).

54. This suggestion was influenced by my reading of Edward Bridge's assessment of Israel's

treaty would be central to their growth as a nation. According to Sparks, "vassal treaties—not military conquest—accounted for much of the growth and expansion of great empires. This was simply because smaller nations generally knew better than to resist the Near Eastern powers and therefore accepted terms of peace before resorting to futile bloodshed."[55] Although it was often the stronger party who initiated the treaty, the Gibeonites take the lead and make the request, which would not only save themselves from war with Israel, but also would help Israel grow into a more powerful nation. Perhaps this is why Adoni-zedek later shows fear when he hears that the Gibeonites have joined Israel (Josh 10:1-2)— they have turned Israel from "a buffer into a threat."[56]

However, despite this benefit, in 9:7 the Israelites do not grant the request, but respond by questioning the Gibeonites. Even though the narrator does not explain why the Israelites act in this way, this response increases the likelihood that Israel interpreted the Gibeonites' request as a *bald on-record* piece of communication,[57] which is one of "the least polite strategies [they are] direct, unambiguous communications that permit no chance of miscommunication."[58] Perhaps, with their military prowess, the Israelites expected explicit respect and deference and, when this was not obvious in the Gibeonites' words, they became suspicious and defensive, questioning them instead of agreeing.

In 9:8, the Gibeonites react to the Israelites' questions by using overt deferential language, but the Israelites still do not respond positively. In this verse, instead of making the request a second time, the Gibeonites refer to themselves as עבד, as part of an emphatic, 2-

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use of politeness terms in Num 20:17. Specifically he argues that when Israel promises not to "pass through field or vineyard, or drink water from any well" they are acting to "minimise [their] imposition" on Edom (Bridge, "Polite," 84).

55. Sparks, *Ancient Texts*, 435.

56. Hawk, *Joshua*, 150.

57. Bridge, "Polite," 80.

58. Bridge, "Polite," 80.

word, declarative statement עבדיך אנחנו. Revell interprets עבד as a "'statement of fealty' [that is used when] the speaker claims, or accepts, a master-servant relationship between himself and a status-marked addressee."[59] When a speaker uses this kind of term it shows that he/she "is uncertain as to how [the] speech will be received, and so feels the need to display deference in order to avert any suggestion that it reflects hostile or presumptuous feelings."[60]

In comparison to their imperative that began the dialogue, עבד shows the Gibeonites reframing the interaction by introducing a deferential term that not only clarifies that they want a vassal treaty, but also deflects the 'presumptuous feelings' that their initial statement would have evoked in their interlocutors.[61] As Hawk suggests, the Gibeonites use עבד to make a "markedly obsequious gesture" towards the Israelites.[62]

Still, for reasons not given by the narrator, the Israelites do not agree to the treaty and ask again about both the Gibeonites' identity and their origin (9:8). This response leads the Gibeonites to make their final request as part of a speech that runs from 9:9-13.

In 9:9-13 the Gibeonites not only repeat their use of עבד, but also they include theological language, which is superfluous to the content of their request— since their only goal is to establish a treaty, there is no reason for them to mention Israel's LORD. Perhaps, although this language is not a politeness term as עבד clearly is, it is functioning as such— theological language could deflect the imposition of the Gibeonites' request away from Israel's 'face.'

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59. Revell, *Designation*, 295.

60. Revell, *Designation*, 295.

61. What is interesting is that in 9:11, readers are told that the Gibeonites' elders told the envoy to begin their speech with deferential language (עבדיכם אנחנו), but they did not do this. Perhaps the elders knew that the Israelites would have responded better if met with deference.

62. Hawk, *Joshua*, 142.

By speaking of Israel's LORD, who was close both to Israel's identity and its military success, the Gibeonites touched on something very personal and important to Israel. The LORD was not just a static part of the Israelites' story, but was incredibly dynamic and active in their military conquest. To speak of this LORD would have, as Hawk and Woudstra comment, "[struck] at the heart of Israel's self-concept"[63] and unintentionally paid "homage to Israel's God."[64] The Gibeonites, by using this language, unite themselves with the core of what it meant to be an Israelite, distracting the Israelites from the impact of the request.

In 9:11 the Gibeonites make the request again but, because they have just spoken of their knowledge of the LORD using direct statements and make the request indirectly through their elders, they distance themselves from the force of what they are asking. This downplays the request, which consequently emphasises their knowledge of the LORD by making it more immediate.

Finally, they speak in extended detail of being from far away, now calling the Israelites to examine their clothes (9:12-13). These verses not only recall the first imperative, where they also spoke about their journey, but also they reinforce this aspect of their identity. Because these verses are placed after their theological speech, by this point the Gibeonites' position in the narrative has shifted and their claims are more believable. This is what leads Joshua and his men in 9:14-15 to make the treaty and spare the Gibeonites.

Conclusion

This paper began with a question: what has happened, in Joshua 9, to make the Israelites behave so favourably towards the Gibeonites? Although scholars have engaged with

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63. Hawk, *Joshua,* 142; Woudstra writes, "psychologically, [the Gibeonites] strike a responsive chord in Joshua's heart by referring to the great *name of the Lord your God*" (Woudstra, *Joshua*, 158).

64. Woudstra, *Joshua*, 159; Butler suggests that theological language might reveal the Gibeonites' "Yahwistic piety" (Butler, *Joshua*, 104). It must be noted that scholars often suggest that these lines are Deuteronomistic insertions, as Butler further comments, it is a "Deuteronomistic credo" (Butler, *Joshua*, 104; Curtis, *Joshua,* 17-21). A discussion of redactional seams in Joshua is beyond the scope of this paper, see J. Alberto Soggin, *Joshua: A Commentary* (London: SCM Press, 1970), 110-111.

this passage for a variety of reasons, this question has not been answered adequately. However, by adopting a narrative and sociolinguistic approach the Gibeonite request has taken centre stage and an answer to the above question has emerged. The Israelites behaved favourably towards the Gibeonites, because the Gibeonites used theological language, which functioned as a deference tactic and united the Gibeonites with the Israelites; thereby, lessening the impact of their request on Israel's 'face.'

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The Book of the Watchers or Books of the Watchers?
The manuscript evidence of *1 Enoch 1-36* and its implications

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1. Preface

The so-called *Book of the Watchers* is the first part of the *Book of Enoch* (also *1 Enoch* or *Ethiopic Enoch*), a collection of five different works followed by two appendices that were attributed to the patriarch Enoch.[1] All in all they describe Enoch as prophet and sage who traverses the heavens and the most remote realms of the earth and who gets to know the secrets of history and cosmology. The initial point for this textual development is in all likelihood Gen 5:24: "And Enoch walked with God. And he was not, for God took him."

The *Book of the Watchers* itself is usually considered as a work of Early Judaism and dated in the third century BCE. But the manuscript evidence for this pre-Christian date is rather scarce. Although we have Aramaic fragments of a few Qumran-manuscripts of the second and first century BCE, the main evidence of this text is provided by Christian witnesses. Apart from two to a certain extent fragmentary Greek versions of the fifth or sixth respectively eleventh century CE, the text as a whole is extant only in the Old Ethiopic language on manuscripts of the fifteenth century CE onwards.[2] This is due to the fact, that the work only obtained canonical status in the Ethiopian church, but not in any other Christian or Jewish group. This data could lead to argue that the *Book of the Watchers*, like other so-called Jewish pseudepigrapha, has to be read as a writing transmitted by Christians and therefore as part of the Christian literature so that it has to be studied especially in a Christian perspective.[3] But is such an approach really necessary respectively even appropriate? Moreover, comparing these different witnesses with each other, one can observe many

[1] Besides the *Book of the Watchers* (1 En 1-36) these are the *Book of Parables* (1 En 37-71); the *Astronomical Book* (1 En 72-82); the *Book of Dreams* (1 En 83-90) and the *Epistle of Enoch* (1 En 91-105). The two appendices are the *Birth of Noah* (1 En 106-107) and the *Eschatological Admonition* (108). Generally these parts are considered as originally independent works that were written in different times.

[2] In my paper I will only discuss and assess the Aramaic, Greek and Ethiopic witnesses of the *Book of the Watchers*. For the other witnesses (e.g. the Syriac fragment of 1 En 6:1-6 or the quotations in the New Testament and Early Christianity) and for the other parts of *1 Enoch* cf. the overviews given e.g. by Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 70-135; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2:6-46; Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, 470-483; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 9-20; Stuckenbruck, "The Book of Enoch," 15-21, or VanderKam/Adler, *Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage*, 8-101 (especially 33-101).

[3] For this position cf. especially De Jonge, *Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, 1-68.

variants, omissions, glosses and also modifications. Can these differences be considered as merely text critical variants so that we can compare the different versions and produce a critical edition and a reliable translation in terms of an eclectic hybrid text?[4] Or are these differences of that kind that the witnesses have to be regarded rather as parallel versions that have to be studied and examined in a synoptic way? Accordingly one has to assume that none of the today available text versions could be considered as the reliable archetype respectively as the text critical *Vorlage* of the other versions.[5]

Therefore, the focus of the paper will be on a concise description of the manuscript evidence of the Aramaic, Greek and Ethiopic witnesses and on a discussion of some examples to underline the above mentioned problems. One of the main questions will be to what extent the different versions are text critical valuable and, closely related to this, in what way it is possible to talk about the one version or **the** *Book of the Watchers*. The paper will finally claim that the different witnesses have to be regarded rather as parallel versions and that an eclectic hybrid text as given in some common translations should not be the basis for the study on the Book of the Watchers. Rather one should differentiate, study and evaluate the different versions on their own and work with a diplomatic approach.

2. The Aramaic fragments

Among the Dead Sea Scrolls, there were found Aramaic fragments of five leather manuscripts that contain different parts of the *Book of the Watchers.*[6] These are 4Q201, 4Q202, 4Q204, 4Q205 and 4Q206.[7] In addition, there is also a small papyrus fragment (XQpapEnoch) whose text corresponds to 1 En 8:4b-9:3a.[8] Whereas Milik in his *edition princeps* claimed, that these fragments cover fifty per cent of the text as given by the Ethiopic version,[9] it is today generally recognized that the Aramaic fragments provide only just five per cent of the text of

[4] Cf. for example the translations of Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch* (1984), or Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1* (2001) that are based on such an eclectic hybrid text. Nickelsburg describes his approach as follows: "My translation and commentary presume my own eclectic text, which represents my best judgment about the value of the resources available in the Aramaic fragments, the Greek and Ethiopic versions, and the fragments of versions preserved in Latin, Coptic, and Syriac. […] I have attempted as much as possible to translate what I consider to be the oldest form of the text at any given point" ibid., 3.

[5] Cf. e.g. Knibb, "Christian Adoption", 396-415.

[6] The *edition princeps* of these manuscripts is provided by Milik, *The Books of Enoch*. Additional fragments of 4Q201 were published by Stuckenbruck, "4Q201 2-8," 3-7. For a detailed overview see cf. also Stuckenbruck, "The Early Traditions Related to 1 Enoch," 41-63.

[7] Three of them contain also other works of *1 Enoch*. According to the manuscript evidence, 4Q204 includes also parts of the Book of Dreams, the Epistle of Enoch and the Birth of Noah, whereas 4Q205 and 4Q206 contain only parts of the Book of Dreams.

[8] This fragment was edited by Eshel/Eshel, "New Fragments from Qumran," 146-157.

[9] Cf. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 5.

the *Book of the Watchers*.[10] Nevertheless, these fragments can be considered as to be the closest material to the archetype of this work, not only by language – the *Book of the Watchers* was presumably written in Aramaic – but also by time.[11] According to Milik, 4Q201 namely dates for paleographic reasons from the first half of the second century and is thereby the oldest preserved manuscript of the *Book of the Watchers.*[12] The other manuscripts are usually dated somewhere in the second and first century BCE, with the youngest of the early Herodian time (50-20 BCE).[13] They attest herewith a more or less ongoing interest in the *Book of the Watchers* during Early Judaism. But it is worthwhile to take a closer look especially at 4Q201.

With regard to the Dead Sea Scrolls altogether, 4Q201 is special in several ways. It is not only an Aramaic text, but also exceptional in paleographical, orthographical, linguistical and codicological respects. Milik describes its hand as follows:

> "The alphabet of 4QEn^{a} is quite archaic and is connected with the semi-cursive scripts ('semi-formal') of the third and second centuries B.C. […] However, it does not fit very well into the scribal traditions of the Jewish copyists of Judaea or even Egypt; the scribe would perhaps be dependent upon the Aramaic scripts and the scribal customs of Northern Syria or Mesopotamia."[14]

Moreover, scholars like Sokoloff and Beyer pointed out that the language of this manuscript differs distinctly with regard to other Aramaic texts and dialects, and therefore, they postulate phenomena as archaisms, Hebraisms or a special Palestinian dialect and orthography to explain the characteristics of the Aramaic Enoch.[15] But Sokoloff's remarks on the linguistics of 4Q201 show rather mixed results that struggle with the paleographic analyses as given by Milik.[16] And also Beyer's assumption of a special Palestinian dialect and that Enoch was

[10] Cf. Ullendorf/Knibb, review of Milik, 601-602.
[11] But they are not identical with the archetype. Cf. Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, 482-484.487; idem, "Überlieferungsgeschichte," 186; Stuckenbruck, "The Book of Enoch," 9, see also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 9. Since the discovery of the Aramaic fragments only Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, 229-230, argues with reference to 1Q19 that the original *Book of the Watchers* was written in Hebrew. His thesis is based on Milik's assumption that the Aramaic texts were occasionally translated into Hebrew and 1Q19 is an example for this (cf. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 59-60). Beyer only changes the order of the relationship of dependency. But in my opinion one cannot decide whether 1Q19 was prior to the Aramaic manuscripts or later because the extent of 1Q19 is too small to draw reliable conclusions (cf. Stuckebruck, "The Early Traditions," 57). See also below.
[12] Cf. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 22, 140. For a similar dating cf. also Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, 227.
[13] Cf. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 22; See also the overview in Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, 479-481, or Stuckenbruck, "The Early Traditions," 44-56. The youngest manuscripts are 4Q204 and XQpapEnoch; cf. Stuckenbruck, "The Early Traditions," 47-48.55.
[14] Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 140.
[15] Cf. Sokoloff, "Aramaic Fragments of Enoch," 201-203, and Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, 227-229.
[16] Cf. Sokoloff, "Aramaic Fragments of Enoch," 202-203: "In sum: The morphological features of 4QEn^{a} indicate that it should be placed somewhat after 11QtgJob. Because of the paleographical dating of 4QEn^{a} (1st half of the 2nd century B.C.E.), this would then place 11QtgJob earlier than hitherto assumed. On the other hand, the archaic orthographical features which this manuscript shares with the Hermopolis Papyri would seem to suggest an earlier date. Alternatively, we may have in 4QEn^{a} a local Palestinian orthography which was

originally written in Hebrew[17] is in my opinion problematic – e.g. the so called Hebraisms could also be due to the fact that *1 Enoch* is literary dependent on Genesis and other Hebrew texts that later became biblical or to the fact that the scribe used deliberately Hebraisms and archaisms as stylistic device.[18]

Already Wise recognized difficulties concerning both Milik's paleographic dating and Sokoloff's and Beyer's linguistic categorizations.[19] He rather assumes that 4Q201 was a personal copy, thus a manuscript that was not written by a professional scribe and did not circulate in public; the recognition of its paleographic and linguistic complexity becomes in his opinion obsolete and, therefore, the exercise of dating futile.[20] He wants to support his theory with the fact that 4Q201 is an opisthograph, a rather uncommon phenomenon among the manuscripts of the Dead Sea Scrolls.[21] The text on the verso is probably written in Hebrew and could have contained a genealogical list of the patriarchs that could have been connected with the content of the recto.[22] But finally the content of the verso must remain hypothetical.

All in all it is difficult to evaluate these different facts, observations and hypotheses concerning 4Q201. First of all, the fact that it is an opisthograph does not entail that the actual content fell into disuse, but at the most this specific manuscript.[23] The evidence of the younger manuscripts and the ongoing reception of the content by later texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls, of the New Testament and of Early Christianity rather point to the opposite.[24]

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employed in the earlier copies of Enoch, but which was displaced on the later ones by that of Standard Literary Aramaic."

[17] With this claim, Beyer wants to explain the bulk of Hebraisms and the wordplays that in his opinion make only sense in Hebrew. Cf. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, 229.

[18] See also Black, "The Fragments of the Aramaic Enoch," 19-23.

[19] Cf. Wise, "Accidents and Accidence,"134-136.

[20] Wise, "Accident and Accidence," 125.136.151. To support this assumption Wise presumes a diglossic background for the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls, i.e. a situation, in which the scribe spoke a language different from the dialect in which he wrote so that the written text is often contaminated by spoken forms. Cf. Wise, "Accident and Accidence," 146.

[21] Cf. Wise, "Accident and Accidence," 130. An opisthograph is a scroll that is inscribed on both sides, thus not only on the recto but also on the verso. For a detailed description of this phenomenon and a list of other Dead Sea Scrolls opisthographs cf. Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 68-73; Brooke, "Between Scroll and Codex?," 123-138. The verso of 4Q201 I-III is now dealt with under the siglum 4Q338, see Tov, "4Q338. 4QGenealogical List?," 290. It is noteworthy that the verso of 4Q201 is only inscribed in the fragments that contain columns I-III but not in any other fragment of 4Q201 and by a hand different from the hand of the recto (cf. Brooke, "Between Scroll and Codex?," 128.132). The hand of the verso seems definitely to be younger than the hand of the recto. But does this mean that there is no connection between the two texts?

[22] Thus Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 139. Cf. also Tov, "4Q338. 4QGenealogical List?," 290. The only word that can be read on the verso is הוליד and occurs twice. Milik also assumes that the text of the verso was a school exercise and indicates that the recto fell into disuse. Cf. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 139.

[23] Cf. Stuckenbruck, "The Early Traditions," 46. Of course, the text of verso could have had a connection to the text of the recto and therefore could have been something like an addition or extension with regard to the *Book of the Watchers*. But finally we do not know.

[24] For a short overview of the reception history see e.g. Stuckenbruck, "The Book of Enoch," 9-21.

Moreover, a linguistic and orthographic analysis is, as Wise pointed out, rather difficult and remains hypothetical. We do not know the methods and language skills of ancient scribes and the textual basis of the Aramaic *Book of the Watchers* is too small to allow us to draw conclusions in this regard. Therefore, only a careful paleographic classification remains possible. But the scribal hand of 4Q201 is, as already Milik pointed out,[25] difficult to classify. It shows indeed characteristics such as an unequal size of letters (i.e. an irregular writing), no keraia or an open samekh on account of which the manuscript can possibly be seen as an earlier script, perhaps dated in the beginning of the second century BCE. Otherwise the scribe already used more or less final letters, a feature of rather younger hands.[26] But it remains problematic that the scribe apparently used a rather bad, broad pen and seems to have been unpracticed in writing. Therefore, the dating of 4Q201 is not only difficult but also rather a probable and relative one.

At last we should take a look at the content of the recto of 4Q201: It contains fragments that do not correspond to anything of the known versions of *1 Enoch*;[27] when they really belong to the *Book of the Watchers* than the version as preserved by 4Q201 differs from the Greek and Ethiopic traditions.[28] Furthermore with regard to all Aramaic manuscripts of the *Book of the Watchers*, one can observe at times a longer respectively better or shorter text than the Greek and Ethiopic versions.[29] According to this, Stuckenbruck concludes: "We are thus reminded that one should not be too quick to assume what exact text the Aramaic stage of the early Enoch tradition contained."[30] The Aramaic evidence is therefore rather ambiguous and must not necessarily be identical with the Greek and Ethiopic traditions but entails in fact the question about the content and extent of the *Book of the Watchers* and *1 Enoch* during Early Judaism.[31] Hence one should be careful to equate the different versions and traditions with each other over-hastily.

Finally, comparing the different Aramaic manuscripts with each other it is sometimes argued with regard to the complete Enoch material that there are both orthographic and textual variants.[32] As for the present state of preservation of the Aramaic *Book of the*

[25] See above.
[26] Cf. e.g. the final kaph in 4Q201 f1ii,8, the final mem in 4Q201 f1ii,14, or the final nun e.g. in 4Q201 f1iii,1 passim.
[27] These are in particular 4Q201 2-8.
[28] Cf. Stuckenbruck, "4Q201 2-8," 3-7.
[29] For a longer respectively better text see e.g. the example below (4Q206 f1xxii,1-4 = 1 En 22:4-5); for a probably shorter text see e.g. 4Q201 f1ii,11-14 = 1 En 5:2.4, where 1 En 5:3 is omitted. For possible explanations of this shorter version see e.g. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 149.
[30] Stuckenbruck, "The Early Traditions," 45-46.
[31] Cf. also Stuckenbruck, "The Early Traditions," 43.
[32] Cf. e.g. Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, 486-487, or Knibb, "The Book of Enoch," 32.

Watchers, these variants are in my opinion insignificant insofar as they do not represent different recensional versions but rather text critical variants.[33] At least, the rather bad state of preservation does not allow us to draw more conclusions than this. All in all, the Aramaic manuscript evidence provides us invaluable material by giving us a glimpse of the probably original language of the *Book of the Watchers* and of a version that is not only by language but also by time very close to the archetype (insofar such an archetype of this text ever existed at all).[34] But it seems reasonable that these fragments cannot be considered as the reliable archetype respectively as the text critical *Vorlage* of the other versions not only because of the scarce extent but also because of the probable textual differences with the Greek and Ethiopic traditions.

3. The Greek manuscripts

Apart from the Aramaic fragments there are also two to some extent fragmentary Greek versions which are transmitted in a Christian context. Both are not immediate translations of a Semitic model, but witnesses of a longer transmission process of Enochic traditions in a Greek environment that started first recognizable with allusions and citations e.g. in the Wisdom of Solomon, Philo and the New Testament.[35] Therefore, it seems probable that the *Book of the Watchers* as other parts of *1 Enoch* circulated to some extent in the Greek environment somewhere around the turn of the Common Era and the ensuing centuries. But it is not entirely clear whether the author e.g. of the Wisdom of Solomon or Philo already had a Greek version respectively when, where and by whom (i.e. by Jews or by Christians) these texts were translated.[36] At least the preserved copies were made by Christians for Christians.[37]

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[33] Cf. also Larson, "The Relation between the Greek and Aramaic Texts," 435. In contrast Milik, *The Books of Enoch,* 22, who assumes recensional alterations.

[34] Cf. also Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch,* 487.

[35] Cf. e.g. Stuckenbruck, "The Book of Enoch," 14-15; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch,* 78-86. The author of the Wisdom of Solomon knew at least the *Epistle of Enoch,* Philo the *Book of the Watchers* or a summary of it. For citations and allusions in the New Testament see 1 Cor 11:10; 1 Pet 3:18-22; 2 Pet 2:4-5; Jude 6, 14-15; Rev 4:1, 12:8. Regarding the Synoptic Gospels Stuckenbruck, "The Book of Enoch," 15 writes: "If we limit ourselves to a possible background in the Book of the Watchers, the Synoptic Gospels share a perspective that considers malevolent beings as responsible for wielding destructive forces against humans while, at the same time, operating out of an already defeated state of being." In contrast the reception of Enochic traditions in rabbinic respectively non-Greek Jewish literature is rather scarce. One text that most likely knows Enochic traditions is Targum Pseudo Jonathan of Gen 6:1-4. VanderKam/Adler, *Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage,* 24, even talk about "Jewish rejection of the book."

[36] Cf. also Knibb, "Christian Adoption," 401. Stuckenbruck, "The Early Traditions,"14-15, assumes that both the writer of the Wisdom of Solomon and Philo got to know the Enochic traditions by a Greek translation made by Jews. Cf. likewise Larson, "The Relation between the Greek and Aramaic Texts," 437; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch,* 14, and Barr, "Aramaic-Greek Notes (II)," 191, who concludes: "It seems at first sight probable that the translation of Enoch into Greek belonged to the same general stage and stratum of translations as the LXX translation of Daniel."

[37] See below.

All in all, the evidence of the *Book of the Watchers* and *1 Enoch* in Early Christianity[38] show that these writings circulated mainly in Egypt and – although more or less widely known – did not belong to the popular respectively official Christian literature.[39] And after the time of Augustine the *Book of the Watchers* disappeared almost certainly in Western Christianity.

a. Codex Panopolitanus

The Codex Panopolitanus was found in a grave at Akhmim (ancient Panopolis, Egypt) at the end of the nineteenth century.[40] It was presumably a Christian codex and produced in the sixth or early seventh century.[41] Altogether the codex consists of thirty-three sheets, i.e. sixty-six pages and contains a big cross on the initial page, the *Gospel of Peter* (pages 2-10), the *Apocalypse of Peter* (pages 13-19, but bound upside down) and the *Book of the Watchers* (pages 21-66); pages 11, 12 and 20 were left blank.[42] Finally, on the inner surface of the book cover, at the end of the volume is affixed a fragment of the *Acts of St. Julian*.[43] Remarkably, all texts are not complete but are lacking in particular the initial and final parts of each of the literary works.[44] Does this imply that initially each text had been in use separately and were later bound together, albeit incompletely, in order to be placed in the grave?[45] Or does this rather mean that these texts were copied especially for the purpose of burying them there?[46]

First of all it is obvious that the *Gospel of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Peter* are written in the same hand.[47] Furthermore, the more or less distinctly ornamentation respectively at the beginning and at the end suggests that their scribe had only these parts of both texts available or – which is more likely[48] – that he himself wanted to transcribe only these excerpts.[49] In

[38] Cf. e.g. VanderKam/Adler, *Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage*, 33-101.
[39] Cf. VanderKam/Adler, *Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage*, 24-26; and also Stuckenbruck, "The Book of Enoch," 20.
[40] Therefore, it is also called Akhmim manuscript. Another name for the codex is Gizeh fragment because it was stored there for a while after excavation before it was brought to Cairo.
[41] Bouriant was the first editor of the manuscript and assumed that it was written between the eighth and twelfth century (cf. Bouriant, "Fragments grecs," 93). But his dating was soon corrected by Grenfell/Hunt, *Cataloque general*, 93, to the fifth and sixth century, and recently by Kraus/Nicklas, *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 29, to the sixth and, concerning the compilation of the collection, the early seventh century.
[42] Cf. the description by Bouriant, "Fragments grecs," 94. For plates of the codex see the appendix by Lods, "L'Évangile et l'Apocalypse de Pierre," or http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/AE/AE01.html (cited 11 August 2015).
[43] Cf. Bouriant, "Fragments grecs," 94,146.
[44] Cf. Bouriant, "Fragments grecs," 94.
[45] Thus Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 71.
[46] Cf. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, 8, who argues as follows: "The carelessness of the copy, its frequent itacisms, misspellings, omissions, ets., suggests that these texts were transcribed, possibly even in haste, for the sole purpose of inclusion in the grave of a relative or friend. They may have been copied from complete texts or from earlier similar excerpts, put together in this way as a single text."
[47] Cf. Grenfell/Hunt, *Cataloque general*, 93.
[48] Cf. Kraus/Nicklas, *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 30.
[49] Whereas the ornamentation of the *Gospel of Peter* is quite distinctive (big cross on the initial page, small cross above the text on the top margin of the first page and a small interlace pattern with three small crosses below the

contrast, the hands of the *Book of the Watcher* and of the *Acts of St. Julian* are different from the hand of the Petrine texts and their pages lack any kind of ornamentation.[50] Then, the codex is in any case a collection of texts of different scribes with different styles. With regard to contents the rationale for this special collection is according to Nickelsburg as follows:[51]

> "The *Gospel of Peter* refers to the dead to whom Christ preached between his death and resurrection, and it features a sensational narrative about Jesus' resurrection (35-42). The other texts deal with the realm of the dead, the judgment, and the hope of the righteous. Such concerns were eminently appropriate in a book laid in a Christian grave, and it would appear that the codex was compiled for this purpose."[52]

Therefore, the compilation of this codex resulted presumably from the thematic overlap but whether the codex was intended as burial object or for another purpose remains finally unclear – there are no evident indications for either hypothesis.[53] Likewise, the question whether some of these texts were copied especially for this codex or had been in use beforehand has in my opinion no definite answer, although the state of preservation of the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Acts of St. Julian* points to a former use.[54] The evidence of the codex merely shows that the *Book of the Watchers* seemed to be consistent with Christian beliefs[55] and was considered as a literary work that was complete and coherent on its own and circulated separately with regard to the entire corpus of *1 Enoch*.[56]

The Enochic part of Codex Panopolitanus begins with the short piece 1 En 19:3-21:9, running over the first two and a half pages and beginning and ending in mid-sentence. In the middle of the eight line of page 23 the text switches with no break to 1 En 1:1 and proceeds up to and including 1 En 32:6, again ending in mid-sentence, albeit this time at the end of the page.[57] Hence, we have a duplicate of 1 En 19:3-21:9. In addition, there is scribal change in

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text at the bottom margin of the last page), the beginning and the end of the *Apocalypse of Peter* is only indicated by a small cross at the top margin of the first respectively of the penultimate page (the fact that the second cross is on the penultimate and not on the last page shows that the scribe had presumably a certain excerpt in mind that he wanted to copy, but failed in the right estimation of the required space). For a detailed description see Kraus/Nicklas, *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 25-31. The *Apocalypse of Peter* is also attested by two other Greek and one Ethiopic witness. The Ethiopic version provides a text that differs by length and content from the version of Codex Panopolitanus. Cf. e.g. Kraus/Nicklas, *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 82-83.

[50] Cf. Grenfell/Hunt, *Cataloque general*, 93. For further discussion of the paleography of the *Book of the Watchers* see below.

[51] Cf. also Kraus/Nicklas, *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 29.

[52] Nickelsburg, "Two Enochic Manuscripts," 254. Moreover, the burying of the codex in the grave follows in his opinion the Egyptian custom of the Book of the Dead, cf. ibid., 254.

[53] Cf. also Kraus/Nicklas, *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 30.

[54] Cf. also Kraus/Nicklas, *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 29. For a detailed discussion of the state of preservation of the *Book of the Watchers* see below.

[55] Cf. Knibb, "Christian Adoption," 402.

[56] Cf. Knibb, "The Book of Enoch," 35, and also Larson, "The Relation between the Greek and Aramaic Texts," 437-438

[57] The last line of the last page ends with a symbol that serves as line filler. Therefore, it is likely that this version

mid-sentence of 1 En 14:22,[58] thus a first scribe copied pages 21-50 "written in a good-sized square uncial of rather irregular appearance" and a second pages 51-66 "in a smaller more regular calligraphic uncial."[59]

Both scribes also differ with regards to orthography. Although there are several abbreviations, ligatures and alterations and a general addiction to be careless and hasty that both partly share,[60] the first scribe seems to be more frequent and capricious in making these changes and omissions than the second scribe.[61] Whereas Lods thought that both scribes used one and the same model and the duplicate goes back at a transposition of pages of the model,[62] Milik supposed that the Enochic parts were transcribed from two different manuscripts and had been in circulation before they were included in the codex.[63] Be that as it may, the codex Panopolitanus attests in any case that there was indeed more or less interest in the *Book of the Watchers* in Egypt at that time[64] – as will be shown below this is an important precondition not only for the Synkellos fragments but also for the Ethiopic tradition of Enochic texts.

b. The Synkellos fragments

Georgios Synkellos[65] was a Byzantine monk and Christian historian who lived at the end of the eighth respectively at the beginning of the ninth century and was in the later part of his life

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of the *Book of the Watchers* was originally complete or at least longer and the last pages got lost. Cf. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 71, and cf. also Kraus/Nicklas, *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 28.

[58] Cf. Bouriant, "Fragments grecs," 94; Grenfell/Hunt, *Cataloque general*, 93.

[59] Grenfell/Hunt, *Cataloque general*, 93, and cf. also Kraus/Nicklas, *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 28.

[60] E.g. ει alternates with ι, ο with ω, ε with αι etc., cf. Bouriant, "Fragments grecs," 110, and Lods, *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, XLIX. Typical abbreviations are e.g. κ̄ς for κύριος, κ̄υ for κυρίου etc. or ο̄θ̄ς for ὁ θεός, θ̄υ for θεοῦ etc., cf. Lods, "L'Évangile et l'Apocalypse de Pierre," 229. According to Bouriant, "Fragments grecs," 109, these characteristics conform to other Egyptian Greek texts of this time.

[61] Cf. Lods, *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, XLIX. Lods, ibid., XLVIII, asserts concerning the first scribe that "le copiste de G^1 surtout se fait remarquer par sa negligence." His observations are based on the comparison of the duplicate passage (1 Enoch 19:3-21:9), whereat he assumes that both were copies of the same model.

[62] Cf. Lods, *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, XLVII.

[63] Cf. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 71: "The two different manuscripts of the Book of Watchers (En. 1-36) offered by the Cairo codex are both mutilated. The first (our siglum C') begins at p. 21 with the last words of En. 19:3 […]. It seems probable to me that C' began right at the beginning (En. 1:1), the early leaves having subsequently been lost. In any case the model which the first scribe had at his disposal was mutilated and ended with En. 21:9a […]. In the meantime a complete copy of the same work was found, which the same copyist set about transcribing after the preceding one, without leaving any gap […]. A second scribe finished this text, which now ends with […] En 32:6 (our siglum C). It must, however, originally have been complete, the remainder of the text (En. 32:6b-36:4) having filled the first page of the last leaf, subsequently lost, while the second page was left blank apart from the subscription with the title of the work."

[64] Like in other so-called apocryphal texts. Cf. e.g. Kraus, "Bücherleihe im 4. Jh. n. Chr.," 285-296: He discusses in particular *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4365, a short letter in which one of the *Esra* books and *Jubilees* are mentioned, and therefore, he assumes that there were groups in Egypt in that time who were interested in and read apocryphal texts.

[65] Hereafter referred to only as Synkellos.

the s*ynkellos,* i.e. the advisor of the patriarch of Constantinople.[66] He intended to write a complete world history, beginning with the creation and ending with his own time, and presumably composed his chronography between 808 and 810 in Constantinople.[67] But Synkellos failed to finish his work because he died before; his chronography ended originally with the reign of the Roman emperor Diocletian (285 CE) and was continued by Theophanus Confessor up to the year 813 CE.[68] However, the manuscript evidence of Synkellos' literary work dates from the eleventh century.[69]

As other Christian chronographers before him, Synkellos wrote his chronicle with the desire of inclusiveness and to give the impression of erudition, i.e. he quoted a large and heterogeneous corpus of ancient sources and historiographical works, in particular for antediluvian history.[70] But the fact that he quotes a source does not mean that he believes in its historical credibility.[71] Apart from biblical texts he cites also Jewish pseudepigrapha and ancient Greek sources, among them four quotations of the *Book of the Watchers* – the so-called Synkellos fragments:[72] The quotations correspond to 1 En 6:1-9:4, 8:4-10:14 and 15:8-16:1 respectively, whereas the fourth quotation bears no resemblance to any part provided elsewhere.[73] The first quotation (1 En 6:1-9:4) is framed by the title Ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου βιβλίου Ἐνὼχ περὶ τῶν ἐγρηγόρων "From the *First Book of Enoch* concerning the Watchers" and a kind of summary of 1 En 9-10 with a close as follows:

> … καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. τότε ὁ ὕψιστος ἐκέλευσε τοῖ ἁγίοις ἀρχαγγέλοις, καὶ ἔδησαν τοὺς ἐξάρχους αὐτῶν καὶ ἔβαλον αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον, ἕως τῆς κρίσεως, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς.
>
> καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἐνὼχ μαρτυρεῖ.
>
> "… and so on [summary of 1 En 9]. Then the Most High commanded the holy archangels, and they bound their leaders and cast them into the abyss until the judgment, and so forth [summary of 1 En 10].
>
> To these things, then, Enoch is witness."[74]

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[66] For bibliographical information on Georgios Synkellos see e.g. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus*, 2.176-189.
[67] Cf. Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 4-5, and Adler/Tuffin, *The Chronography of George Synkellos,* XXIX.
[68] Cf. Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 4-5, and Adler/Tuffin, *The Chronography of George Synkellos,* XXIX.
[69] The evidence is given mainly by two codices: Codex Parisinus, Bibl. Nat. Gr. 1711 and 1764. Cf. Mosshammer, *Georgii Syncelli Ecloga Chronographica*, VIII-IX. There are also more and partly older manuscripts but only for the parts that were written by Theophanus. Therefore, they are irrelevant for the discussion of Enochic evidence. For a detailed description of the manuscripts see the introduction of Mosshammer, *Georgii Syncelli Ecloga Chronographica,* V-XXX.
[70] Cf. Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 3-7.
[71] Cf. Adler, *Time Immemorial,* 7 n. 25: "Thus, in the antediluvian portion of his chronicle, Syncellos will often quote from sources whose credibility he completely rejects. Among the reasons he names for citing them are 'for the sake of curiosity' (cf. 5.26), or lest someone might deem his work 'incomplete (ἀτελές)' (16.33)."
[72] He quotes also *Jubilees* and *Life of Adam and Eve* or refers to the *Babyloniaca* (Berossus) and the *Aegyptiaca* (Manetho).
[73] According to Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 14 note to 1 En 6:2, the fourth quotation correspond to a passage of the *Book of Noah*, according to Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 72.317-320, to the *Book of Giants*.
[74] Translation, also the following ones, by Adler/Tuffin, *The Chronography of George Synkellos.*

The title of the first quotation, on which the common designation "Book of the Watchers" for the first part of *1 Enoch* (1 En 1-36) draws,[75] entails that Synkellos respectively his source for this quotation was presumably aware of other books assigned to the patriarch Enoch.[76] But we do not know what books these were.[77] Moreover, the first quotation contains also a reference to a date and details about the offspring of the giants that are lacking in the other versions of the *Book of the Watchers*.[78] They seem to be an editorial insertion by Synkellos or his source.[79] The remaining quotations (1 En 8:4-10:14, 15:8-16:1 and the fourth one) are also framed by a title and a close[80] and were cited together one after another, but with a transition between the several sections.[81] According to Adler, Synkellos himself was not responsible for the shape of these excerpts of the *Book of the Watchers*; it was rather Panodorus, an Alexandrian monk of the fifth century CE, of whom Synkellos had only indirect and limited knowledge via excerpts of his chronicle, who preselected and shaped the Enochic quotations with a special purpose.[82] Therefore, Synkellos draws indirectly on material that originates more or less from the same cultural and temporal context as the Codex Panopolitanus. Comparing both with each other, the so-called Synkellos fragments reveal the tendency "[…] of removing or improving upon theologically offensive passages, especially those that encouraged a supernaturalistic reading of Gen 6."[83] Correspondingly, the term οἱ ἐγρήγοροι seems to be favored over οἱ ἄγγελοι e.g. in 1 En 10:7, presumably to make this event more "naturalistic".[84] Another example for a textual emendation in the Synkellos tradition against the Codex Panopolitanus appears to be 1 En 15:9a. Whereas the Codex Panopolitanus reads

[75] Cf. Milik, *The Books of Enoch,* 22; Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch,* 506.
[76] Cf. Adler, *Time Immemorial,* 176 n. 59.
[77] Theoretically there are several possibilities. With regard to 1 En 37:1 in which the *Parables* are introduced with "the second vision that he saw" Milik, *The Books of Enoch,* 78, assumes that "the first Book of Enoch" refers to the early Enochic Pentateuch to distinguish it from the *Parables* that were not yet part of it. But Adler, *Time Immemorial,* 176 n. 59, rightly points to a similar formulation, namely in 1 En 108:1 "another book that Enoch wrote." Finally, one could also refer to *2 Enoch* and *3 Enoch.* For further possibilities and discussions, see Milik, *The Books of Enoch,* 77-78, and Adler, *Time Immemorial,* 176.
[78] Cf. Adler/Tuffin, *The Chronography of George Synkellos,* ad loc. 16. The date is the year of the world history, in which this event happened = A.M. 1170. With regard to the details about the offspring, Adler/Tuffin refer to Jub 7:21-22.
[79] Adler/Tuffin, *The Chronography of George Synkellos,* ad loc. 16
[80] The title for the remaining quotations is: Ἐκ τοῦ λόγου Ἐνὼχ Τὰ λοιπὰ περὶ ἐγρηγόρων "From the *Book of Enoch.* The remaining narrative about the Watchers;" the close is: καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου βιβλίου Ἐνὼχ περὶ τῶν ἐγρηγόρων "and this is from the *First Book of Enoch* concerning the Watchers."
[81] 1 En 15:8-16:1 is introduced by καὶ μεθ' ἕτερα "and after some other words," the forth quotation by καὶ αὖθις "and again."
[82] Adler, *Time Immemorial,* 145-158.165-172.176. Panodorus' reasons for citing *1 Enoch* were e.g. the reconstruction of primordial history (*1 Enoch* as enlargement of Moses' account) or the euhemeristic fusion of Gen 6 with Berossus and Manetho.
[83] Adler, *Time Immemorial,* 180.
[84] Cf. Adler, *Time Immemorial,* 180-181.

ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνωτέρων[85] as place of origin of the wicked spirits, Synkellos has ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων:

Synkellos[86]	**Codex Panopolitanus**
THEY WILL BE wicked spirits, THE SPIRITS having come out from the body OF their FLESH, because they were from *men*, and from the holy ones, the Watchers, is the beginning of their creation and foundation.	Wicked spirits have come out from their body, because they were from *above*[87] and from the holy Watchers is the beginning of their creation and foundation.

At first sight, both versions seem probable. The reading of the Codex Panopolitanus provides a synonymous parallelism with "the holy Watchers" of the following part, the reading of Synkellos instead an antithetical parallelism, but seems to correspond to 1 En 15:8.[88] However, in my opinion the point of this sentence is the explanation why *spirits* come out of bodies on earth – because the giants who were begotten both by eternal and non-eternal beings[89] "consist" of both an immortal and mortal part.[90] Therefore, it seems probable that the Synkellos text provides an emended version.

Finally, do these examples reflect the general text critical value of the Synkellos fragments? Although the text of Synkellos provides at times a rather paraphrased or theologically modified version, he corresponds to the Aramaic fragments or runs parallel to the Codex Panopolitanus in equal measure.[91] Therefore, it is not possible to give a general assessment of the text critical value of the Synkellos fragments. Since it remains problematic that this version of the *Book of the Watchers* displays at times obvious editorial insertions and theological modifications, one has to ask whether this witness can be really more than a mere confirmation of the other versions. However, one could talk about the "Synkellos version" of the *Book of the Watchers* as a kind of parallel version to the others that has its own features and correct readings.

[85] By the way the Ethiopic corresponds to this reading: ኦመልዕልት "from above."
[86] "normal script" = both text correspond verbatim or are synonym; *italics* = variations of words etc. other than additions/omissions; small capitals = additions in comparison to the other text.
[87] Or: "the above ones."
[88] Cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, ad loc. 268.
[89] See 1 En 15:3-7.
[90] Cf. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, ad loc. 2.101
[91] Cf. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, 8; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.15-20; Larson, "Relation between the Greek and Aramaic Texts," 438-439; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 12-13; Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, 477-478.

4. The Ethiopic manuscripts

The text of the *Book of the Watchers* as a whole is only provided by Old Ethiopic (Gəʿəz) manuscripts as the first part of *1 Enoch*.[92] But the evidence and transmission history of these manuscripts is very complicated. It is generally assumed that during the Aksumite kingdom, in particular between the fourth and seventh century the scriptures were translated from Greek into Gəʿəz.[93] However, the manuscripts we possess date from the fifteenth century and later.[94] Among these translated texts were also *1 Enoch* and therewith the *Book of the Watchers*, also based on a Greek model[95] and presumably with an Egyptian background.[96]

Concerning the "biblical texts"[97] in general, three main stages are identifiable concerning their transmission history: the so-called Old Ethiopic stage (until the fourteenth century), the vulgar recension (fifteenth and sixteenth century) and the academic recension (seventeenth century onwards).[98] Whereas the vulgar recension is characterized by a revision respectively improvement of mainly corrupt parts of the text, the academic recension had presumably the aim "to produce a grammatically correct and smooth Ethiopic text that corresponded more closely than the existing text to the Hebrew."[99] In this context the case of *1 Enoch* is exceptional in two respects: On the one hand *1 Enoch* was disputed in its status for a long time and obtained a growing acceptance first with the reign of Zarʾa Yaʿqob (1434-1468).[100] On the other hand the revisions of *1 Enoch* were made in contrast to the so-called biblical texts in all likelihood without any textual base.[101] Therefore, this fate of *1 Enoch* bore a textual disparity and instability in particular with regard to the earliest Ethiopian witnesses:

> "Whereas the more numerous manuscripts of the later recension, as a whole, reflect a fairly consistent text that do not vary widely, the older recension manuscripts contain many variants, making the notion of

[92] For an historical overview of the Ethiopian manuscripts of *1 Enoch* as it has became available to Western Scholarship see Erho/Stuckenbruck, "A Manuscript History," 89-120.
[93] Cf. Knibb, *Translating the Bible*, 17-19; Stuckenbruck, "The Book of Enoch," 22-23; Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, 484-486; idem., "Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte," 185. Knibb, ibid., refers to several reasons why a Greek *Vorlage* is most likely (e.g. word order according to the Greek version of the Old Testament, transliterations from the Greek, mistakes that can only be explained with regard to a Greek *Vorlage*).
[94] Cf. Knibb, *Translating the Bible*, 18
[95] For a discussion of the *Vorlage* of *1 Enoch* (whether it was an Aramaic or Greek one) see e.g. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.37-46; Stuckenbruck, "The Book of Enoch," 22-23.
[96] Cf. Stuckenbruck, „The Book of Enoch," 20.22.
[97] The terms "biblical" and "Bible" is with regard to Ethiopian manuscripts problematic since the Ethiopian church has to date no closed and invariable canon. Cf. Stuckenbruck, "The Book of Enoch," 23-39.
[98] Cf. Knibb, *Translating the Bible*, 34-43; idem., "The Book of Enoch," 38-39. The vulgar recension seems to be done on the basis of Arabic texts (presumably an Arabic version of the Peshitta), whereas the academic recension on the basis of the Hebrew Bible itself. For the historical/political background of these recensions see e.g. Knibb, *Translating the Bible*, 41-43; Uhlig, "Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte," 188-190.
[99] Knibb, "The Book of Enoch," 39.
[100] Cf. e.g. Stuckenbruck, "The Book of Enoch," 23-39; Uhlig, "Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte," 185.
[101] Cf. Knibb, "The Book of Enoch," 39.

an *Urtext* in Geʿez remote and almost impossible to reconstruct."[102]

In fact the manuscripts that belong to the first recension seem to consist of five or six different text families so that the question arises whether this is a stage of recension at all.[103] Moreover, a manuscript of *1 Enoch* that belongs to the Old Ethiopic stage is not preserved. Only Lake Tana 9, a manuscript from the fifteenth century that often differs considerably from the other manuscripts of the older text group, seems to provide at times readings that could reflect the Old Ethiopic stage.[104] Thus, there is no version available that comes close to or reflects the initial translation but rather the Ethiopic manuscripts represent different stages among themselves as well as with regard to the Aramaic and Greek witnesses.[105]

To date around 115 manuscripts of *1Enoch* are known, under which fifteen or sixteen witnesses of the first recension[106] and according to Erho/Stuckenbruck there are still further copies to be found in libraries of Ethiopian monasteries and churches so that only a part of the actual existing manuscripts received scholarly attention.[107] However, the most current edition of the Ethiopic manuscripts by Knibb (1978) is based only on 35 witnesses, thus in fact not much more than Charles used for his edition in 1906.[108] Moreover, Knibb used a manuscript of the academic recension as textual base, arguing that none of the first recension texts seems suitable for being the base text since they contain many mistakes, omissions and additions making an extensive emendation necessary.[109] Hence, he argues valuably and not text critically with regard to the manuscripts.[110] All in all, a new text critical edition seems to be a desideratum.

What can be said about the character of the translation of *1 Enoch* in general? The Ethiopic scriptures altogether seem to be at least a quite literal translation of the Greek, although with a smaller variety of vocabulary and rather instinctively creating at times a more

[102] Stuckenbruck/Erho, "The Ethiopian Manuscript Tradition," 258. Cf. also Stuckenbruck, "The Book of Enoch," 23 n. 62, where he finally summarizes: "The main question to ask regarding the instability of recension I to *1 Enoch* are two-fold: (1) the extent to which the large number of textual variants among the manuscripts was due to political fragmentation that allowed transmission traditions to develop in isolation from one another and (2) whether or not, in the absence of a text, new source materials were found and a secondary translation (from Greek or a cognate Semitic language) was produced."
[103] According to Loren T. Stuckenbruck, personal communication, 19 February 2015.
[104] Cf. Knibb, "The Book of Enoch," 37-38; Uhlig, "Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte," 191. But it is problematic that the collations of Lake Tana 9 in Knibb's edition of the Ethiopic text are sometimes incorrect because the photos he used provided at times no readable text so that he had to reconstruct (Loren T. Stuckenbruck, personal communication, 19 February 2015).
[105] Cf. Knibb, "The Book of Enoch," 40; Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, 487.
[106] Cf. Stuckenbruck/Erho, "The Ethiopian Manuscript Tradition," 259-260.
[107] Erho/Stuckenbruck, "A Manuscript History," 120.
[108] Cf. Stuckenbruck/Erho, "The Ethiopian Manuscript Tradition," 258. In contrast to Knibb, Uhlig (1984) and Nickelsburg (2001) used in each case around fifty manuscripts as textual base for their translations.
[109] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.36.
[110] Cf. Stuckenbruck/Erho, "The Ethiopian Manuscript Tradition," 258.

or less relative or free rendering.[111] Furthermore, it differs frequently in its wording and constructions from the Greek, partly due to the characteristics of the Ethiopic language, partly for no apparent reason.[112] Therefore, it would not be possible to predict the vocabulary used by the Greek model on the basis of the Ethiopic translation.[113] Looking on *1 Enoch* as a whole a conclusive comparison is because of the little Greek evidence rather difficult to draw.[114] But with regard to the *Book of the Watchers* the basis of comparison is due to the Codex Panopolitanus and the Synkellos fragments far better. All in all, the Ethiopic version seems to have a close connection to the Codex Panopolitanus, whereas the Synkellos fragments give the impression of a more or less different tradition.[115]

Finally, a comparison of the Greek and the Ethiopic versions with the Aramaic fragments is still outstanding. Can the Greek and the Ethiopic witnesses be regarded as close translations?[116] Or do they rather represent different versions of a text that underwent different stages of redaction and development?[117] Before answering this question, an example of a passage where the Aramaic version is superior to the Greek and Ethiopic witnesses will be given: 1 En 22:4-5.[118] Chapter 22 describes how Enoch gets to know the realm of the dead during his cosmic journeys and, related to this, the different opportunities of human fate after death. The mentioned verses are the beginning part of the description of Abel's individual fate. The text runs as follows:[119]

[111] For a detailed discussion see especially Knibb, *Translating the Bible,* 55-112.
[112] Knibb, *Translating the Bible,* 84.
[113] Knibb, *Translating the Bible,* 92.
[114] The Greek witnesses of *1 Enoch* provide altogether about thirty percent of the text as given by the Ethiopic version (besides Codex Panopolitanus and the Synkellos fragments there are mainly two a Greek witness: the Chester-Beatty-Papyrus (1 En 97:6-107:3) and the Codex Vaticanus Graecus (1 En 89:42-49)). Cf. e.g. Uhlig, "Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte," 187.
[115] Cf. e.g. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch,* 19-20; idem., "The Book of Enoch," 37; Milik, *The Books of Enoch,* 88; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch,* 12; Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch,* 486.
[116] Cf. Larson, "The Relation between the Greek and Aramaic Texts," 438-439 (with regard only to the Greek in comparison with the Aramaic).
[117] Cf. e.g. Black, "The Fragments of the Aramaic Enoch," 24-27; Knibb, "The Book of Enoch," 40; Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch,* 487-488.
[118] For another example see e.g. Black, "The Fragments of the Aramaic Enoch," 26-27, who discusses the names of the fallen angels (1 En 6:7 and 1 En 8:1-3) whose spelling and number differ much in the different versions.
[119] Translation of the different versions of 1 En 22:4-5 by the author. Text formatting of the translation as follows: "normal script" = all three versions correspond verbatim or are synonym; *italics* = variations of words etc. other than additions/omissions; small capitals = additions in comparison to the other two text; italicized small capitals = additions provided by two versions in contrast to the third text. For a detailed text critical analysis of 1 En 22:4-5 see Wacker, *Weltordnung und Gericht,* 49-56.

	4Q206 f1xxii,1-4[120]	Codex Panopolitanus[121]	Ethiopic[122]
22:4	והא אלן אנון פחתיא לבית עגנון 2 לכדן עב[י]דו עד יום די יתדנון ועד זמן יום קצא ד[י] 3 דינא רבא די מנהון יתעבד *vacat*	καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τόποι εἰς ἐπισύνσχεσιν αὐτῶν ἐποίησαν μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς κρίσεως αὐτῶν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ διορισμοῦ καὶ διορισμένου χρόνου ἐν ᾧ ἡ κρίσις ἡ μεγάλη ἔσται ἐν αὐτοῖς.	ወእሙንቱ፡መካናት፡ኀበ፡ያኀብርዎሙ፡ ተገብሩ፡እስከ፡ዕለተ፡ኮነኔሆሙ፡ወእስከ፡ አመ፡ዕድሜሆሙ፤ወዕድሜ፡ውእቱ፡ዐቢይ፡ እስከ፡አመ፡ኮነኔ፡ዐባይ፡በላዕሌሆሙ።
	AND BEHOLD, these are *the pits as the place of their incarceration* FOR THIS PURPOSE *they are ma[de]* until the day on which they will be judged and until *the time of the day of the end time* of the great judgment that will be passed on them.	And *these places where one accommodates them,* *one has made (them)* until the day of their judgment and until *the limit and the determined time* in which the great judgment will take place upon them.	And *these places where one accommodates them,* *One has made*[123] *(them)* until the day of their judgment and until *their determined time – and that time is great – until the time* of the great judgment upon them.[124]
22:5	תמן חזית רוח 4 אנש מת קבלה [ו]אנינה ע[ד] שמיא סלק ומזעק וקב[ל]	τεθέαμαι ἀνθρώπους νεκροὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, καὶ ἡ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ μέχρι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ προέβαινεν καὶ ἐνετύγχανεν.	ርኢኩ፡መናፍስተ፡ውሉደ፡ሰብእ፡እንዘ፡ ምውታን፡ውእቶሙ፡ወቃሎሙ፡ይበጽሕ፡ እስከ፡ሰማይ፡ወይሰኪ።
	THERE I saw *THE SPIRIT* of *a dead man*, *MAKING COMPLAINTS* [and] *his lamentation* ascending up t[o] heaven AND CRYING FOR HELP and lamen[ting].	I saw *dead men*, *MAKING COMPLAINTS* and *his voice* ascended up to heaven and lamented.	I saw[125] *SPIRITS of the sons of men*, who were dead, and *their voice* ascended up to heaven and lamented.

The two verses show in particular two different tendencies of the Greek and Ethiopic version: With regard to 1 En 22:4, the description of the purpose of the pits, the Greek and Ethiopic translation can be characterized as a rather relative respectively free rendering, partly abbreviating the text or moderating the images.[126] Concerning 1 En 22:5, which already draws

[120] Unfortunately, 4Q206 f1xxii provides more or less only these two verses of this chapter so that a more comprehensive comparison is not possible.
[121] Greek text as edited by Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, 33.
[122] Ethiopic text as edited by Flemming, *Das Buch Henoch*, 28.
[123] ተገብሩ „they are made": only BM 491 and Ull (two manuscripts of the first recension); nearly all other Mss read ገብሩ = translation above.
[124] Lake Tana 9 reads this verse as follows: ወእሙንቱ፡መካን፡ኀበ፡ያኀብርዎሙ፡ገብሩ፡እስከ፡ዕለተ፡ኮነኔሆሙ፡ወዕድሜ፡ኮነኔ፡ዓቢይ፡ ላዕሌሆሙ። "And these are the place, where one accommodates them. One has made (them) until the day of their judgment and the time of the great judgment upon them." Thus, it has a shorter version than the other Ethiopic witnesses.
[125] Several Mss (mainly manuscripts of the second recension) read ወርኢኩ „And I saw".
[126] For the tendency of abbreviating see e.g. the beginning of 1 En 22:4; for the tendency of moderating see the image of the prison as provided by the Aramaic that seems to be changed to mere accommodation places.

on Abel's fate without mentioning his name,[127] one can see a slight addiction to omissions and as a result a secondary correction respectively smoothing of the text.[128] Also a comparison of only the Greek and the Ethiopic version shows somewhat differences.[129] But likewise there are several passages where all three versions run parallel to another and provide the same text in a broader sense.[130] Therefore, it is still possible to speak of the same content, albeit in different versions.

5. Conclusion

All in all, the examination of the manuscript evidence of the *Book of the Watchers* has shown that each of its witnesses has its own historical contexts, features and contents that require a careful handling of the material. On the one hand, the Aramaic, Greek and Ethiopic versions provide a more or less same text that witnesses certain constancy in transmission and finally an origin of Early Judaism. Therefore, the *Book of the Watchers* can be read as Jewish literature that can be dated in the third century BCE and that reflects the circumstances and problems of the Second Temple period offering solutions in a very special way that also influenced many later texts up to the New Testament. On the other hand, the different versions offer at times more than mere text critical variants that are due to certain historical circumstances, theological emendations or simply free respectively defective renderings with no apparent reason. Thus, they represent occasionally new literary versions respectively different stages of development that underwent processes of recension and redaction.[131] As a result none of the different versions can be considered as the reliable archetype as well as they cannot simply be equated. It is rather necessary to study and evaluate them in a synoptic way, comparing them as parallel versions while keeping in mind their different historical settings of production and transmission. Hence, we should not work and argue with **the** *Book of the Watchers,* but rather with the different versions and manuscripts.

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[127] See 1 En 22:6-7 where it is explicitly stated that this is the spirit of Abel.
[128] For example, the original singular is rendered consequent into plural in the Ethiopic version.
[129] See also e.g. 1 En 22:2 (which has no Aramaic parallel):

Codex Panopolitanus	**Ethiopic**
And four places were in it, *hollow*, deep and very smooth, THREE OF THEM WERE DARK AND ONE BRIGHT, AND A SOURCE OF WATER WAS IN ITS MIDST. AND I SAID: How smooth are *these hollows* and deep and dark to look at.	And four *beautiful* places AND inside it was very deep AND WIDE and smooth. How smooth is w*hat rolls* and deep and dark to look at.

For a detailed text critical analyses of 1 En 22:2 see Wacker, *Weltordnung und Gericht*, 42-45.
[130] Cf. Knibb, "Christian Adoption", 412.
[131] Cf. Knibb, „Christian Adoption," 404-405; idem., "The Book of Enoch," 40; Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, 487-488.

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Keeping Company in the Psalms

> *Bad company corrupts good character.*
>
> Menander, *Thais*, 217 [218][1]

> *Thus the friendship of bad men turns out an evil thing (for because of their instability they unite in bad pursuits, and besides they become evil by becoming like each other), while the friendship of good men is good, being augmented by their companionship; and they are thought to become better too by their activities and by improving each other; for from each other they take the mould of the characteristics they approve - whence the saying 'noble deeds from noble men'.*
>
> Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics IX.12

How true is the oft-quoted maxim of being defined by the company one keeps?[2] Does the company someone keeps define them? Are righteousness and unrighteousness "catching", as it were? This paper examines this question with respect to the Psalms. Engaging first with the language of "surround" in the Psalms, and its semantic domain, I then move on to focus on some selected texts. Finally I draw conclusions about the importance and meaning of this notion in terms of righteousness in the Psalms.

Surroundings in the Psalms:[3] an overview

With 23 occurrences of the root סבב "surround" in the Psalter it does not immediately seem to be an all-pervasive lexeme.[4] Effectively synonymous and found in parallelism are כתר (twice)[5] and נקף (4 times).[6] Further salient verbs found in parallel with these are שׁדד "oppress" (3 times)[7] and קדם "confront" (23 times)[8] reinforcing the negativity of being surrounded as a threatening experience. In terms of antonyms, neither סבב nor

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[1] See also 1 Cor. 15:33.

[2] The maxim may extend back as far as Euripides (5th century BC) but no extant quotation is found. Nevertheless the observation seems to have greatly influenced virtue and character ethics at least since the Greco-Roman empire.

[3] **REF** also TDOT entry/-ies; other semantic studies. E.g. G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry, *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* (Grands Rapids, Cambridge: Eerdmans, [1974-]); *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology & Exegesis*, ed. Willem VanGemeren (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1997).

[4] Pss 7:8; 17:11; 18:6; 22:13, 17; 26:6; 32:7, 10; 48:13; 49:6; 55:11; 59:7, 15; 71:21; 88:18; 109:3; 114:3, 5; 118:10ff; 140:10.

[5] Pss 22:13 and 142:8.

[6] Pss 17:9; 22:17; 48:13; 88:18.

[7] Pss 17:9; 91:6; 137:8.

[8] Pss 17:13; 18:6, 19; 21:4; 44:2; 55:20; 59:11; 68:26, 34; 74:2, 12; 77:6, 12; 78:2; 79:8; 88:14; 89:15; 95:2; 119:147f, 152; 139:5; 143:5.

כתר nor נקף are found negated in the Psalter.[9] Other roots contrasting with "surround" are רחוק, "far from" (seven times),[10] and עזב, "desert" (twenty-two times).[11]

As for nouns in this semantic domain of "surround", the most apparent contender is קהל "congregation", occurring eleven times,[12] of the godly congregation, with only one exception.[13] The synonym סוד occurs six times,[14] only twice in connection with the wicked.[15] By contrast, עדה occurs ten times,[16] with both positive and negative connotations; also with mixed values associated with it, חבר occurs six times in five verses, both as a noun meaning "company", and as a verb meaning "unite".[17] Other roots too involve both noun and verb forms which are relevant here. Rarely used in combination with סבב but clearly significant, albeit with much broader reference, is root קרב, as a noun meaning "middle" or a verb meaning "draw near" (40 times).[18] Not dissimilar to this noun is the less frequently employed תָּוֶךְ (14 times), always used with the prepositional prefix בְּ־ to connote "in the midst of".[19]

The verb כסה "cover" is also related to "surround", occurring 17 times,[20] which is contextually connected to language of "swallowing up", בלע, eight times,[21] and semantically connected to the vocabulary of clothing. Thus חבל takes on significance as something that binds, "cords" or "snares" in the plural;[22] interestingly sometimes in the singular it is contrastingly welcome, a "portion" usually associated with land of inheritance.[23] It is further intriguing to note that the root בגד as a noun connotes "garment"[24] while as a verb conveys "act faithlessly".[25] The roots אזר[26] and חגר[27] "gird" however are always positive in connotation, always associated with God.

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[9] מול is found in contrast with סבב in each of the latter's occurrences in Ps 118. This could be translated to be in contrast with סבב but the meaning is not immediately evident given the strong overtones of the circumcision in many forms of the root מול.

[10] Pss 10:1; 22:2; 38:12; 56:1; 65:6; 119:155; 139:2.

[11] Pss 9:11; 10:14; 16:10; 22:2; 27:9f; 37:8, 25, 28, 33; 38:11, 22; 40:13; 49:11; 71:9, 11, 18; 89:31; 94:14; 119:8, 53, 87.

[12] Pss 22:23, 26; 26:5, 12; 35:18; 40:10f; 68:27; 89:6; 107:32; 149:1.

[13] Ps 26:5

[14] Pss 25:14; 55:15; 64:3; 83:4; 89:8; 111:1.

[15] Pss 64:3; 83:4.

[16] Pss 1:5; 7:8; 22:17; 68:31; 74:2; 82:1; 86:14; 106:17f; 111:1.

[17] Pss 45:8; 58:6 (twice); 94:20; 119:63; 122:3.

[18] Pss 5:10; 27:2; 32:9; 36:2; 39:4; 46:6; 48:10; 49:12; 51:12; 55:5, 11f, 16, 19, 22; 62:5; 64:7; 65:5; 68:31; 69:19; 72:10; 74:4, 11f; 78:9, 28; 82:1; 91:10; 94:19; 101:2, 7; 103:1; 109:18, 22; 110:2; 119:150, 169; 138:7; 144:1; 147:13.

[19] Pss 22:15, 23; 40:9, 11; 57:5, 7; 68:26; 109:30; 116:19; 135:9; 136:11, 14; 137:2; 143:4.

[20] Pss 32:1, 5; 40:11; 44:16, 20; 55:6; 69:8; 78:53; 80:11; 85:3; 104:6, 9; 106:11, 17; 140:10; 143:9; 147:8.

[21] Pss 21:10; 35:25; 52:6; 55:10; 69:16; 106:17; 107:27; 124:3.

[22] Pss 18:5f; 116:3; 119:61; 140:6.

[23] Pss 16:6; 78:55; 105:11.

[24] Pss 22:19; 45:9; 102:27; 109:19.

[25] Pss 25:3; 59:6; 73:15; 78:57; 119:58.

[26] Pss 18:33, 40; 30:12; 65:7; 93:1.

[27] Pss 45:4; 65:13; 76:11; 109:19.

As for particles and prepositions, נֶגֶד "in front of" is used frequently, in phrases that are both negated and not, although this is not so much the language of "surround" but simply being present. Other roots are also used with prepositions, as בְּקֶרֶב "*in* the midst of", or in combination with both prepositional prefixes and personal suffixes, as לְפָנָיו, "before his face". It is perhaps important to note that some of these roots when used with different prepositions are effectively also able to negate any sense of "surround", for instance, by a contrasting use of prefixes לְ־ or מִנ־, "to" or "from". Such language however is increasingly far from the specific language of "surround" and thus I refrain from further analysis of these lexical items in this context.

Filling out these "surroundings" in the Psalms: more detailed reflection

Needless to say this very brief summary of selected lexemes central to this semantic domain is limited in this context yet it provides some interesting observations. Returning to central lexeme סבב, five occurrences refer to individuals' movements of going around and about, always of either Jerusalem[28] or the altar.[29] Both the righteous and the unrighteous go round about God's holy places; when the righteous do so (25:6; 48:13) it is a mark of piety and faithfulness, and when the unrighteous do so (55:11; 59:7, 15) it is ominous and threatening. The notion of "surrounding" by many as a throng is spoken of enemies, of those who in some way threaten the speaker, twelve times;[30] only three times is it an act of God surrounding his favoured ones with good;[31] and a single occurrences refers to God's people gathering around his seat of judgement.[32] The two instances of כתר are first of the Psalmist's assailants,[33] then conversely of the Psalmist being surrounded by the righteous as a sign of God's kindness to the speaker.[34] Of נקף, three occurrences are of the threatening enemy once again,[35] and one refers again to the righteous walking around Zion.[36] Thus these particularly pertinent verb roots are nearly always used with emotive power, and are most frequently placed to describe a terrifying experience in the Psalms, associated with contexts of lament and fear.

By contrast, the language related to clothing and girding is somewhat more positive. אזר and חגר "gird" as noted above are always precursors to thanksgiving or praise, as something good for which God is responsible. God is girded with might or strength, or a metaphor for such power, thrice;[37] the earthly king likewise once;[38] God girds his people

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[28] Pss 48:13, 55:11, 59:7, 15.
[29] Ps 26:6. Twice in Ps 114 (vv. 13, 15) it refers to the River Jordan turning around in fear: a clearly metaphorical usage about which I enquire no further here.
[30] Pss 17:11; 18:6; 22:13, 17; 49:6; 88:18; 109:3; 118:10, 11 (x2), 12; 140:10.
[31] Pss 32:7, 10; 71:21.
[32] Ps 7:8
[33] Ps 22:13
[34] Ps 142:7
[35] Pss 17:9; 22:17; 88:18.
[36] Ps 48:13
[37] Pss 65:7; 76:11; 93:1.
[38] Ps 45:4

with strength twice in one Psalm;[39] his people or his creation are girded with joy once each;[40] and once, rather less attractively, it is as a result of the Psalmist's petition to God that an enemy might be girded with curses.[41] Also with positive connotations, as hinted above, is חבל (either singular or plural) depicting a boundary line of territory that is a pleasant heritage for God's people (three times).[42] However, חבל is also rendered "cords" or "snares" (five times; always in the plural) with concomitant distress.[43] An image of fear is also conveyed by another synonym meaning "cords", עבת.[44] Used with the language of "cords" is the verb אפף, "encompass" (three times).[45] Given its context it is unsurprising that this too expresses negativity and fear. The noun בֶּגֶד connotes "garment" twice in a simile connoting either the fragile changeability of man[46] or the power of God to clothe the wicked with garments of cursing,[47] but otherwise is a straightforward referent to clothes,[48] suggesting that this is simply a homonym for the verb בָּגַד. Nevertheless the unloaded use of language for clothing, wrapping around, binding and girding highlights the fact that much of the time vocabulary about that in which someone is clothed can be emotionally laden, often for the good of the Psalmist.

The group of words associated with gatherings of people is also mixed in tone, and often emotive. Returning to עדה "congregation" in more detail now, this lexeme refers clearly to God's goodly congregation three times,[49] but evildoers, unrighteous, or enemies five times;[50] it is simply an assembly of the peoples at a moment of judgement on one occasion,[51] and once it refers to the council of the gods, again as a setting for judgement.[52] The two occurrences of סוד in connection with the wicked concern plots and scheming;[53] otherwise it seems to denote friendship within the congregation,[54] once even friendship with God,[55] and once of God in the heavenly council.[56] There is a sense here of the overlap between "council" and "counsel": that the company one keeps

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[39] Ps 18:33, 40.
[40] Ps 30:11; 65:13.
[41] Ps 109:19
[42] Pss 16:6; 78:55; 105:11.
[43] Pss 18:5f; 116:3; 119:61; 140:6.
[44] Pss 2:3: 129:4. Both are connected with the wicked.
[45] Pss 18:5; 40:13; 116:3.
[46] Ps 102:27
[47] Ps 109:19. Also relevant here is the root עטה, four of six occurrences of which refer to covering with shame or cursing, twice in Ps 109. The remaining two occurrences however are indisputably good (wrapped "in light" Ps 71:13; or "blessing" Ps 84:7).
[48] Just as the noun לבוּשׁ "garment" which simply has this meaning, occurring six times in the Psalter, Pss 22:19; 35:13; 45:14; 69:12; 102:27; 104:6.
[49] Pss 1:5; 74:2; 111:1.
[50] Pss 22:17; 68:31; 86:14; 106:17f.
[51] Ps 7:8
[52] Ps 82:1
[53] Pss 64:3; 83:4.
[54] Pss 55:15; 111:1.
[55] Ps 25:14
[56] Ps 89:8

influences one's way of thinking. There is also a hint that this is a place of judgement: that one's associations are places where righteousness matters.

As for root קרב, the verb "draw near" occurs eight times:[57] of these it is the enemy that is drawing near twice,[58] there is a rare negation connoting something bad *not* drawing near once,[59] there is one instance where "not staying near" is considered the mark of a brutish intellect,[60] and one instance where God causes tribute to be brought to his earthly king and people;[61] otherwise it is used of God and his people coming near, with interchangeable subject and object.[62] The noun קְרָב as "battle, war", related to a hostile approach, features five times.[63] Not dissimilarly, it refers twice to being "in the midst of" foes or trouble.[64] As an indication and judgement of inner character, it refers six times to "inward parts" as the seat of wickedness or enemies and the unrighteous;[65] and equally six times to the most interior part of the Psalmist.[66] Without any particular value judgement it refers to the innermost part of a human being twice.[67] On a larger scale, it can mean a physical "in the midst of", particularly with respect to Jerusalem or the city of Zion (four times)[68] or the Temple (twice); twice with reference to the Psalmist's own house,[69] and related to this, in the time of the Exodus, the Israelite camp;[70] and it can locate on both a cosmic scale[71] and an earthly (but universal) level.[72] Finally, in a verse where the meaning is not entirely clear, קרב seems to suggest that God too has innermost parts.[73] Thus there is both a considerable range of meaning and context for the root קרב in the Psalms; again however it is particularly notable that it occurs frequently as a loaded term, either rejoicing in nearness to God or the good gifts of God, or lamenting the infiltration of enemy threats.

The less common neighbour lexeme בְּתוֹךְ "in the midst of" is used of the congregation or worship settings five times;[74] of the inner life of the Psalmist three times;[75] of exodus or exile settings four times in quick canonical succession;[76] and of unspecified enemy

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[57] Pss 27:2; 32:9; 65:5; 69:19; 72:10; 91:10; 119:150, 169.
[58] Pss 27:2; 119:150
[59] Ps 91:10
[60] Ps 32:9
[61] Ps 72:10
[62] Pss 65:5; 69:19; 119:169.
[63] Pss 55:19, 21; 68:31; 78:9; 144:1.
[64] Pss 110:2; 138:7.
[65] Pss 5:10; 36:2; 55:16; 62:5; 64:7; 109:18.
[66] Ps 39:4; 51:12; 55:5; 94:19; 103:1; 109:22.
[67] Pss 49:12; 64:7.
[68] Pss 46:6; 55:11, 12; 147:13.
[69] Ps 101:2, 7
[70] Ps 78:28
[71] Ps 82:1
[72] Ps 74:12
[73] Ps 74:11
[74] Pss 22:23; 40:11; 68:26; 109:30; 116:19.
[75] Pss 22:15; 40:9; 143:4.
[76] Pss 135:9; 136:11, 14; 137:2.

settings twice in one psalm.[77] There is a sense then of a more communal flavour to this lexical item: nine out of fourteen occurrences refer to either the Psalmist within the congregation, or a community experience. Little value judgement of the community however is made: what matters is simply its presence and the Psalmist's relationship to it.

Finally, **בלע** "swallowing up" is not only associated with "devouring"[78] but can also be connected with separation and consequent confusion.[79] Indeed the almost complete absence of negated forms of this semantic domain, and the apparent lack of antonyms, draws attention to the fact that when one is surrounded by one group, s/he is cut off from another, and *vice versa*. Where surrounding happens, separation occurs as well. The same observation is evident of the varying use of prepositional prefixes with their power to connote both nearness and distance with the same root.

Thus, surrounding as a semantic domain appears both broad and yet fairly clearly delineated in the first instance. However, exploration of lexical items that are farther away from the central "surround" vocabulary points to an increasing muddiness and interchangeability of senses associated with the boundaries of this semantic domain. Where contrasting prepositional prefixes may be readily employed, so may contrasting senses of surrounding and separation interweave.

Some Selected Surroundings

How does this brief lexical survey assist interrogating the notion of being defined by the company one keeps in the Psalms? To begin this section, I focus on verses using the language of "surrounding" where this notion is evidenced in the Psalms. I then move on to consider other verses in the light of the survey of semantic occurrences above.

A helpful starting point is **Ps 142:8**:

הוֹצִיאָה מִמַּסְגֵּר נַפְשִׁי לְהוֹדוֹת אֶת־שְׁמֶךָ בִּי יַכְתִּרוּ צַדִּיקִים כִּי תִגְמֹל עָלָי׃

Bring me out of prison, so that I may give thanks to your name. The righteous will surround me, for you will deal bountifully with me. (Ps 142:7 NRSV)

The "prison" of the NRSV is a misleading image here.[80] The MT has a primary sense of an individual acting as a guard, and this is maintained in the LXX and Vulgate versions. The prison is effectively a person: the psalmist is indeed physically close to his enemies here. Thus isolated, he envisages his deliverance with the hope of being surrounded

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[77] Ps 57:5, 7.
[78] E.g. Ps 21:9.
[79] Pss 55:10; 107:27. There is also an interesting homonym חלק: "divide" (including "portion") or "make smooth, be seductive". This also demands attention but space (and the risk of too great a diversion!) forbids it here.
[80] **REF**

instead by the righteous.[81] This isolation has already been noted in terms of absence of helpers in v.5: yet from no one at hand to help, only three verses later the absence of friends has become the presence of enemies. It is not surprising that deliverance should be imagined in terms of the presence of godly associates. As Weiser notes on the content of this lament in the context of prayer:

> it becomes clear how closely the individual and the cult community belong together in virtue of their faith. What happens to the faith of an individual member of the cult community is the concern of the cult community as a whole; for thereby the faith of all its members is decisively influenced because it is God and the testimony that is borne to him that are the ultimate purpose of worship.[82]

The company that the Psalmist keeps – or hopes to keep – signifies either great threat or joyous blessing. It will either be a future occasion for praise or a present reason for lament. Thus when explicit in the second half of the verse, "surrounding" is the language of good company, and when implicit in the first half of the verse it is the language of threatening enemy company.

Goldingay notes the language of "surrounding" in Ps 142 and connects it with Ps 22:12[13].[83] The almost all-encompassing language of lament in Ps 22 immediately suggests that the "surrounding" in this case is unlikely to be a pleasant experience.

Indeed, **Psalm 22** begins with language of isolation and distance (MT 22:2):[84]

אֵלִי אֵלִי לָמָה עֲזַבְתָּנִי רָחוֹק מִישׁוּעָתִי דִּבְרֵי שַׁאֲגָתִי׃

My God, my God, why have you forsaken me? Why are you so far from helping me, from the words of my groaning? (22:1 NRSV)

The roots **עזב** and רחוק are well-matched in parallelism in this opening verse of the text which sets the tone of lament for much of what follows. Throughout the following verses the congregation's attitude of shunning the Psalmist is described (MT 22:7–8):

וְאָנֹכִי תוֹלַעַת וְלֹא־אִישׁ חֶרְפַּת אָדָם וּבְזוּי עָם׃
כָּל־רֹאַי יַלְעִגוּ לִי יַפְטִירוּ בְשָׂפָה יָנִיעוּ רֹאשׁ׃

But I am a worm, and not human; scorned by others, and despised by the people.
All who see me mock at me; they make mouths at me, they shake their heads (Ps 22:6–7 NRSV)

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[81] With his deliverance comes "praise and recognition of God's goodness by godly friends, who will then gather round the psalmist, dispelling his loneliness." Geoffrey Grogan, *Psalms* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 221. John Goldingay, *Psalms*, Baker Commentary on the Old Testament Wisdom and Psalms, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006), 669.

[82] Artur Weiser, *The Psalms: a commentary*, trans., Herbert Hartwell (London: SCM Press, 1962), 816.

[83] John Goldingay, *Psalms*, Baker Commentary on the Old Testament Wisdom and Psalms, vol. 3 (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 669.

[84] **REF** commentaries

The Psalmist feels that God is far from him; perhaps as a result of this he is shunned also by the people. Verses 10–11 paint the opposite picture in a charming vignette which makes the present suffering even more pointed: the Psalmist as an infant is close to his mother, and close to God. It is natural that immediately juxtaposed is the petition that God "be not far from" the Psalmist (MT 22:12):

אַל־תִּרְחַק מִמֶּנִּי כִּי־צָרָה קְרוֹבָה כִּי־אֵין עוֹזֵר׃

Do not be far from me, for trouble is near and there is no one to help. (Ps 22:11 NRSV)

The Psalmist feels distanced from God, all too close to troubles, and far away from any helper. Lexemes of "surrounding" as noted in the analysis above are in abundance. Naturally the language of "surrounding" now crescendos in the following verses (MT 22:13):

סְבָבוּנִי פָּרִים רַבִּים אַבִּירֵי בָשָׁן כִּתְּרוּנִי׃

Many bulls encircle me, strong bulls of Bashan surround me (Ps 22:12 NRSV)

Central lexemes **סבב** and **כתר**, with personal suffixes, surround the verse, in both first and last positions. The Psalmist's person is so surrounded that he cannot escape even the language of being encircled. MT Ps 22:17ab echoes this experience:

כִּי סְבָבוּנִי כְּלָבִים עֲדַת מְרֵעִים הִקִּיפוּנִי

For dogs are all around me; a company of evildoers encircles me. (Ps 22:16ab NRSV)

Again a similar construction, with central lexemes of "surround" in combination with personal suffixes, paints the Psalmist's plight. These verses go hand in hand with depictions of the inward suffering of the Psalmist, his very physical distress throughout his body.

The semantic proximity of language of "surrounding" and "garments" is now exploited (MT 22:19):

יְחַלְּקוּ בְגָדַי לָהֶם וְעַל־לְבוּשִׁי יַפִּילוּ גוֹרָל׃

they divide my clothes among themselves, and for my clothing they cast lots. (Ps 22:18 NRSV)

That which covers and surrounds is now separated – not only from the Psalmist, but also divided up amongst the enemies. All that now surrounds the speaker is enemies; there is suffering within his person and division and separation beyond. Naturally a desperate series of petitions follows, introduced once again by language of God coming close (MT 22:20):

וְאַתָּה יְהוָה אַל־תִּרְחָק אֱיָלוּתִי לְעֶזְרָתִי חוּשָׁה׃

But you, O LORD, do not be far away! O my help, come quickly to my aid! (Ps 22:19 NRSV)

What matters most to the Psalmist is getting closeness to God and consequently distance from his enemies: these go together. The subsequent petitions are about separating the Psalmist from the "sword", the "power of the dog", the "mouth of the lion", and the "horns of the wild oxen". The Psalmist is so distant from any help that his petitions depict him as far from any kind of civilisation, in a wilderness of vicious animals.

Next, in a manner reminiscent of Ps 142:8, the Psalmist envisages his deliverance in terms of being amongst the congregation and praising God (MT 22:21):

אֲסַפְּרָה שִׁמְךָ לְאֶחָי בְּתוֹךְ קָהָל אֲהַלְלֶךָּ׃

I will tell of your name to my brothers and sisters; in the midst of the congregation I will praise you (Ps 22:22 NRSV)

Salvation means reintegration with the community; not only that, but also being in a position to have the community gather around one's own leadership of worship, as the Psalmist voices a call to praise in the following verse. Calls to praise interlace the explanation for this praise: that God did not separate himself from the suffering Psalmist

Somewhat intriguingly what follows next is a declaration of social and economic justice. This seems less than fitting since it is the first language of poverty and hunger in a text which has been lamenting suffering quite other. It does however fit the community praise and congregational context (MT 22:25):

כִּי לֹא־בָזָה וְלֹא שִׁקַּץ עֱנוּת עָנִי וְלֹא־הִסְתִּיר פָּנָיו מִמֶּנּוּ וּבְשַׁוְּעוֹ אֵלָיו שָׁמֵעַ׃

The poor shall eat and be satisfied; those who seek him shall praise the LORD. May your hearts live forever! (Ps 22:26 NRSV)

Perhaps signalling a discontinuity of text here,[85] nevertheless this verse draws together the themes of community, justice, and worship. Righteousness towards the poor is at home in a context of gathering to praise God. With the subsequent two verses focussing on the social circles of all the nations and families, there is a clear signal of right relationship here. Right relationship, being in the right company, of man and God, is expressed in both praise and economic justice and equity. The final three verses extend this geographical dominion of the just God who is at the centre of this righteousness to an historical dominion, through generations past, present, and future. Right relationships in both space and time lead to social and economic justice.

[85] **REF**

As such, this might seem an eloquent instance of how the language of surrounding, and the company one keeps, is related to righteousness. The enemy surroundings threaten not only the Psalmist being righteously treated, but also prevent the Psalmist acting with righteousness. It is only on his deliverance – righteous actions done to him – that he can act himself with righteousness, leading worship and celebrating justice.

This then would seem to indicate that there is some truth in the notion in the Psalms that one's righteousness is expressed through one's company – human and divine – and affected by it. But how widespread is this theme?

Other Psalms where the language of "surrounding" is prevalent are shown up by a cursory glance through the footnotes above to the semantic survey section of this paper. Just because the thesis that one's company defines one's own identity can be supported by reference to verses from Pss 142 and 22 does not mean that it is undergirded by any other instances. Further occurrences of the "surrounding" vocabulary need to be investigated.

Some Other "Surroundings" in the Psalms

Casting an eye through the footnotes listing "surround" occurrences above can guide selection of texts for further consideration. While Ps 22 indubitably has a high intensity of "surround" vocabulary with reference to people, other comparable texts are Ps 55, 32, and 101. I will consider these in less detail than Ps 22 due to space considerations; I will then broaden the scope of this examination more fully before concluding.

Psalm 55[86] is again a lament psalm, also beginning with typical petitions for God not to hide himself, but rather to hear the prayer. The violent presence of the enemy is evident in v. 4 while in v. 5 the Psalmist focuses on the interior fear within himself. The fear "covers" him in v.6. Verses 7–9 then express the desire to escape from this surrounding enemy, the wish to "be far from" these threats.

Verses 10–12 use recurring language of "surrounding", "going around" of the enemy in the city of Jerusalem. It is as if there is no escape from the enemy. Language lamenting the enemy who surrounds (vv. 11–12) is mixed up with language petitioning for the "swallowing up" or "confounding" of those very enemies (v. 10). The enemy are clearly associated with the wicked and unrighteous, people who are the very seat of injustice and deceit.

Yet more confusion ensues. For the enemy is not the obvious one it seems (v.13); rather the enemy is someone who has been in the company of the psalmist, and words of friendship are heaped upon one another (vv. 14–15). This very "enemy" has been in the congregation in the psalmist, has been in the house of God in the worshipping throng together with the psalmist. The response of the psalmist is vicious in v. 16: he calls down

[86] **REF** commentaries

curses on this enemy on the grounds that "evil is in their homes and their very innards". Such themes persist, with less evident intensity, throughout the rest of the psalm.

Psalm 55 then displays a complex intertwining of words for "surrounding" and "being far from", intimate language of company and friendship alongside anger at the enemy made more aggressive by his apparent closeness. It is as if the enemy/friend has been an even greater enemy by being formerly in the company of the psalmist: the psalmist has been ethically vulnerable while with this deceitful companion and is physically vulnerable now he has distanced himself from him. The occurrences of the lexemes under consideration fall closely in relation to "wickedness", "oppression", "deceit", "fraud", "iniquity", all of which are risks both in the house of God and the wide open space of the market-place. The violation of justice is posited as even more serious given that it occurs in precisely the settings where it should not exist. Again, words evoking worship, justice, and company sit together; but in this case they do so very uneasily. The right relations that should pertain between these have been themselves confounded.

The language and tone of the opening of **Psalm 32**[87] echo wisdom literature. It reflects primarily on forgiveness as that which "covers" sins (כסה v. 1), and dealing thus in righteousness it shuns deceit and iniquity (v. 2). This yearning to separate the righteous from iniquity and deceit resonates with the themes of Ps 55, albeit – with Ps 32 using the recurring עון – employing different lexemes for such injustices.

In the light of the Psalmist's confession and consequent forgiveness, he describes God as a hiding place in distress[88] who "surrounds" the Psalmist with glad cries of deliverance. A similar positive use of **סבב** occurs a few verses later as the Psalmist in didactic voice moralizes, contrasting the many troubles of the wicked with the steadfast love that surrounds those who trust in the Lord (v. 10). The final verse of the psalm addresses the congregation as "righteous" in a call to praise: they are gathered around the Psalmist and they are following his teaching in wisdom and his leadership in praise.

The semantic domain of "surround" in these eleven verses then puts God in the position of one who surrounds with good things: with forgiveness, with deliverance, with steadfast love. God is the surrounder, and the result of this is praise: not only from the one who has known himself surrounded by God's goodness, but also from those who in turn surround the Psalmist. Being surrounded by God even attracts others to surround the one who is surrounded by God.

Praise and wisdom again go hand in hand at the opening of **Psalm 101**.[89] Here the way of righteousness begins at home (v. 2): the message of this psalm is that integrity is necessarily practised "within my house" (בְּקֶרֶב בֵּיתִי). Verses 3–5 harshly separate the Psalmist from a range of colourful misdoings: wrongs are made vehemently poetic. In

[87] **REF** commentaries
[88] Notably צַר, the noun for "distress" used here, can also convey "straits" with its implicit narrowness.
[89] **REF** commentaries

contrast in v. 6 he cleaves to the righteous. While the language of shunning and being close in 101:3–6 lies outside the cursory semantic analysis above, nevertheless this theme of separating from evil and surrounding with righteousness is evident.[90]

The Psalmist continues his theme (101:7):

לֹא־יֵשֵׁב בְּקֶרֶב בֵּיתִי עֹשֵׂה רְמִיָּה דֹּבֵר שְׁקָרִים לֹא־יִכּוֹן לְנֶגֶד עֵינָי׃

No one who practices deceit shall remain in my house; no one who utters lies shall continue in my presence.

The parallelism here is brought out by the use of both **בְּקֶרֶב** and לְנֶגֶד. Impassioned in his fervour to separate himself from all that is unrighteous, the Psalmist heaps phrase upon phrase to make his point: keep unrighteousness far from me; only let the righteous come to me. In this is loyalty and justice.

Some Isolated Instances?

Other Psalm texts have just a few verses within them where the language of surrounding is repetitive and emphatic. I select a further three texts here as verses within psalms: MT Psalms 18:4–7, 119:61–63, and 40:9–13.

Consider **Ps 18:4–7** (MT):[91]

מְהֻלָּל אֶקְרָא יְהוָה וּמִן־אֹיְבַי אִוָּשֵׁעַ׃
אֲפָפוּנִי חֶבְלֵי־מָוֶת וְנַחֲלֵי בְלִיַּעַל יְבַעֲתוּנִי׃
חֶבְלֵי שְׁאוֹל סְבָבוּנִי קִדְּמוּנִי מוֹקְשֵׁי מָוֶת׃
בַּצַּר־לִי אֶקְרָא יְהוָה וְאֶל־אֱלֹהַי אֲשַׁוֵּעַ יִשְׁמַע מֵהֵיכָלוֹ קוֹלִי וְשַׁוְעָתִי לְפָנָיו תָּבוֹא בְאָזְנָיו׃

I call upon the LORD, who is worthy to be praised, so I shall be saved from my enemies.
The cords of death encompassed me; the torrents of perdition assailed me;
the cords of Sheol entangled me; the snares of death confronted me.
In my distress I called upon the LORD; to my God I cried for help. From his temple he heard my voice, and my cry to him reached his ears. (Ps 18:3–6 NRSV)

The Psalmist is tightly, suffocatingly surrounded by troubles associated with the enemy; the language of cords and snares are metaphors for the fearful enmity that is at hand. Yet even thus isolated he is able to call to God, and his call comes into God's presence. In contrast with this, as a sign of God's help and favour, the Psalmist is "girded with strength" **אזר חיל** in verses 32 and 40. Bound formerly in distress, surrounded by enemies, now the Psalmist is encompassed with might. It is God who surrounds his

[90] The register of language in these verses combines rare and haughty vocabulary with commonplaces, so that to have retained these in the earlier semantic analysis would have skewed the survey in a misleading and unfocused way. Nevertheless there is still plenty of language within this Psalm that has fallen within the semantic field as defined above and consequently attracted attention in this paper.

[91] **REF** commentaries

favoured ones with goodness, who prevents them from being surrounded by their enemies and all that will harm them.

A similar freedom from the metaphor of treacherous bonds is evident in the ח stanza of Ps 119 (**119:61–63**):[92]

חֶבְלֵי רְשָׁעִים עִוְּדֵנִי תּוֹרָתְךָ לֹא שָׁכָחְתִּי׃
חֲצוֹת־לַיְלָה אָקוּם לְהוֹדוֹת לָךְ עַל מִשְׁפְּטֵי צִדְקֶךָ׃
חָבֵר אָנִי לְכָל־אֲשֶׁר יְרֵאוּךָ וּלְשֹׁמְרֵי פִקּוּדֶיךָ׃

Though the cords of the wicked ensnare me, I do not forget your law.
At midnight I rise to praise you, because of your righteous ordinances.
I am a companion of all who fear you, of those who keep your precepts.

Here the cords and snares are those of the wicked rather than enemies, and the righteous Psalmist's companions are those who fear God. In contrast with Ps 18, the threat now is unrighteousness rather than physical ensnaring. Yet in all this the Psalmist remembers that which truly binds him: God's law and justice, which is worthy of worship and praise.

An instance where the language of company is in the context of the congregation, and its consequent worship and didactic context, is particularly evident in **Ps 40:9–13** (MT):[93]

לַעֲשׂוֹת־רְצוֹנְךָ אֱלֹהַי חָפָצְתִּי וְתוֹרָתְךָ בְּתוֹךְ מֵעָי׃
בִּשַּׂרְתִּי צֶדֶק בְּקָהָל רָב הִנֵּה שְׂפָתַי לֹא אֶכְלָא יְהוָה אַתָּה יָדָעְתָּ׃
צִדְקָתְךָ לֹא־כִסִּיתִי בְתוֹךְ לִבִּי אֱמוּנָתְךָ וּתְשׁוּעָתְךָ אָמָרְתִּי לֹא־כִחַדְתִּי חַסְדְּךָ וַאֲמִתְּךָ לְקָהָל רָב׃
אַתָּה יְהוָה לֹא־תִכְלָא רַחֲמֶיךָ מִמֶּנִּי חַסְדְּךָ וַאֲמִתְּךָ תָּמִיד יִצְּרוּנִי׃
כִּי אָפְפוּ־עָלַי רָעוֹת עַד־אֵין מִסְפָּר הִשִּׂיגוּנִי עֲוֹנֹתַי וְלֹא־יָכֹלְתִּי לִרְאוֹת עָצְמוּ מִשַּׂעֲרוֹת רֹאשִׁי וְלִבִּי עֲזָבָנִי׃

[I said] "...I delight to do your will, O my God; your law is within my heart."
I have told the glad news of deliverance in the great congregation; see, I have not restrained my lips, as you know, O LORD.
I have not hidden your saving help within my heart, I have spoken of your faithfulness and your salvation; I have not concealed your steadfast love and your faithfulness from the great congregation.
Do not, O LORD, withhold your mercy from me; let your steadfast love and your faithfulness keep me safe forever.
For evils have encompassed me without number; my iniquities have overtaken me, until I cannot see; they are more than the hairs of my head, and my heart fails me. (Ps 40:8–12 NRSV)

The Psalmist keeps God's law within his heart but does not conceal his goodness within his heart: the same lexeme בְּתוֹךְ is used in both vv. 9 and 11. Rather, God's goodness and steadfast love effectively spills out beyond the Psalmist himself, into those who surround

[92] **REF** commentaries
[93] **REF** commentaries

him in the worshipping congregation קָהָל . God's goodness is within him, and from him that good news extends to those around him.

Yet then the tone changes: once again the Psalmist is in need of God's deliverance, because he is beset by evils (v.13 MT). Now the language of surrounding (**אפף**) is that from which deliverance is required. Now the language of the Psalmist's heart is not as filled with God's law, but rather as failing. The Psalm closes in this tone of petitionary lament; surrounded by such troubles, he is not yet reunited with the congregation within which he recalls the praise of God.

An All-Encompassing Notion?

For all these examples, however, the fact remains that even on a fairly broad extension of the semantic domain to include often metaphorical idioms such as לְפָנָיו, "before his face", and allowing the inclusion of instances of some homonyms which in all likelihood have nothing to do with the semantic field, such as קְרָב, "battle",[94] still 38 psalms are entirely unconnected with the semantic domain as outlined here. It is evident that for all the popularity of a maxim today (and even in St. Paul's time) – that the company one keeps defines oneself – this is not an essential element of the theology of the Psalms. It is far from being an all-encompassing feature of the ancient literature of Hebrew praise, petition, or instruction.

Yet it is nevertheless clear that it is a recurring – and intriguing – trope. Is there anything that unites such instances of this language or notion within the Psalms? I put forward some potential areas for discussion.

First, with the exception of Ps 119, all of the Psalms treated above, where the theme of "surrounding" is most evident, are Psalms with Davidic superscriptions. Indeed, a version of Ps 18 is found in 2 Samuel 22, where the language of "surrounding" is also evident.[95] While superscriptions arguably have variably dubious authority, it seems that this one rightly points to the Davidic provenance of the psalms. If a version of Wilson's thesis is taken, concerning the canonical arrangement of the Psalter as an initial kingship-centred corpus in Books 1-3, modified throughout the rest of the collection into an eschatological view of kingship,[96] it is also fitting that language of "surrounding" is generally less common in the later psalms. Indeed in Books 4 and 5 of the Psalter, language of "surrounding" when it does occur is often within those psalms that are thus superscripted as "Davidic".

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[94] Although this occurs strikingly twice in Ps 55 which has already been noted for its language of "surrounding": might this play on words be intentional?

[95] Although slightly less prevalent; furthermore some lexemes are different yet still within the same semantic field.

[96] Gerald Henry Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter*, SBL Dissertation Series, vol. 76 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1985).

Moreover, Ps 18 is also often categorized as a "Royal Psalm", as is 101 (also with Davidic superscription). Kingship and righteousness are natural bedfellows in the theology of the Psalms: God is the seat of justice, his earthly king executes this judgement for him, and righteousness thus extends from God through the king to God's people. This would seem to tie in with a theology of "keeping company" with the righteous. Furthermore, the language of the house only open to the righteous in Ps 101 echoes also the language of righteousness in the posited Temple Entrance liturgy as in Ps 5, or Ps 24. The image of precincts for the righteous is a vision which closely correlates with the notion of keeping company with the right people. Temple and royal palace will be the obvious places where this is taken to be true in the theology and ideology of the Psalms.

Second, being "surrounded" is both a sign of torment and blessing. The semantic domain offers an emotive set of terms. It is equally relevant in the individual lament where the Psalmist petitioner is cut off from his friends, his sources of help, and in hymns of praise, where the Psalmist worships God and thanks him for his goodness. Being surrounded by enemies is not only a physical threat, but a challenge to one's righteousness. The surrounded psalmist does not want to be violently assaulted by his enemies, and neither does he want his innermost character to be at risk by being inescapably close to the ungodly. The field of words that touch upon "surrounding" is intricate and complex. It can be both good and bad: yet, above all, it usually has some kind of emotive content. As such then it fits well within both lament and praise, and equally fits within the oscillations that can occur within any text, the movements from lament to thanksgiving.

Third, the complexity of the idea of being surrounded and/or being isolated is of particular significance among the people of God in the Psalms. With language about friends and enemies sometimes in close proximity with each other in the texts of the Psalms, the trope can readily call into question the very identity of the enemy, the friend, the righteous, the wicked, and so on. This is precisely what Ps 55 sets out to do; Ps 101 likewise suggests that there is indeed a threat of the unrighteous being within the very walls of the Psalmist's house (or royal palace). It begs examination of who precisely is righteous and unrighteous: with whom does the one seeking after righteousness, seeking after the God of justice, want to keep company? It also suggests that the only one whose righteousness can really be trusted is not other people, not even the king, but God. As such, it provides a sense in which righteousness is effectively an equalizer: all people of whatever status in the hierarchy of God's people are capable of righteousness (and unrighteousness) alike.

Fourth, this complexity of being in the midst of friends and foes at one and the same time is also transferable to the vacillating innermost character of any individual. Even Ps 119, with its almost completely undiluted language of the speaker as righteous, admits to ethical wavering in the language of straying in the final verse. The confessional language of Ps 32 paints a picture of a wisdom teacher who has personal experience both of righteous behaviour and sinful actions. The language of "surrounding" penetrates right to the heart of an individual as well as a community.

Fifth, the language of "surrounding" is especially pertinent in worship texts. God's people are gathered for worship; whether physically or metaphorically, they gather around the worship leader in their midst, as the Psalmist calls them to worship. Despite its tone of praise, such worship may occur in the context of lament, as seen in Pss 22:22–25 and 40:9–10. The one who praises God for deliverance, who thanks God for surrounding him with good things, wants to be surrounded by others as he declares these divine acts.

Sixth, it is therefore no surprise to note that the immediate literary context of this semantic domain in the Psalms is often didactic. This is evident in Ps 119, as a "wisdom" or "Torah" psalm; Psalm 32 also may be classified as "wisdom". The didactic voice has also been noted in psalms of lament[97] throughout the Psalms. In prayer, in worship, and in instruction, the "surrounding" is happening on multiple levels simultaneously. The Psalmist may be both worship leader and teacher at one and the same time, and an exemplar of godliness and righteousness in equal measure.[98]

Conclusion

Difficulties in defining this broad and intricate semantic domain have been suggestive of complexities at its very heart: tensions between being surrounded and being isolated, and tensions between being in the midst of a company and in the innermost parts of an individual. It is a semantic field that is hard to boundary, and its extremities may even be found at its centre.

It is emotionally-burdened language that questions, doubts, and celebrates what surrounds and what lies within. In that, it fits well in the context of the Psalter, with its variety of prayer, praise, and instruction.

It is clearly connected with the language and judgements of righteousness. As such the notion "one is shaped by the company one keeps" is a significant trope in the outworking of righteousness and right relationship in the Psalter. While significant, though, it is not all-pervasive in the Psalter. Other metaphors and tropes may be equally significant for the theology of righteousness in the Psalms – but that is a subject for another time.

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[97] Carleen Mandolfo, *God in the Dock: dialogic tension in the Psalms of lament*, JSOTSuppl., vol. 357 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002).

[98] D.C. Owens, *Portraits of the Righteous in the Psalms: An Exploration of the Ethics of Book I* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2013)

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THE ROLES OF THE עַמִּים AND THE גּוֹיִם IN PSALM 96

Preface

The main points which I should like to cover in the discussion of this paper are:

1. Any comments you may have on the details of the 'semantic range' of the terms discussed (עַם, גּוֹי ,and מִשְׁפָּחָה).
2. The argument that the occurrences of these terms in other psalms in the Psalter provide a better indication of their meaning in Psalm 96 than do occurrences in the Hebrew Bible as a whole.
3. I have suggested possible responses of a participant in the liturgy as the psalm progresses and at different historical time periods. How useful is this exercise - for the researcher as a preparatory exercise, and for the thesis project as a whole?
4. Finally, any comments or suggestions about my overall project as set out in the separate 'Brief Summary,' especially about its intertextual aspects, would be most welcome.

THE ROLES OF THE עַמִּים AND THE גּוֹיִם IN PSALM 96

Introduction

Psalm 96 has generated interest and controversy in biblical scholarship for longer than a century. The well-known disagreement between Hermann Gunkel (1862-1932) and Sigmund Mowinckel (1884-1965) concerning the date of its composition has continued to echo to the present day. Mowinckel's theory places its origin in a pre-exilic Enthronement Festival, arguing that Psalm 96 and similar psalms probably influenced Isaiah 40—55.[1] Gunkel regarded it as a post-exilic literary composition dependent on Isaiah 40—55.[2] (His schematic view of the evolution of the Enthronement Psalms is set out in Appendix 2 to this paper.) More recently, redaction criticism has been applied to explain apparent anomalies in the structure of the psalm: for example, Erich Zenger traces different phases of its development as a component of a post-exilic Temple cantata.[3] For canonical scholars such as David Howard the primary determinant for understanding Psalm 96 lies in its relationship to its neighbours in the central section of Book IV of the Psalter, among the 'Kingship-of-YHWH' psalms.[4]

Many scholars working on these approaches have linked the psalm, explicitly or implicitly, to certain overarching themes which have been used to provide an interpretive framework for both Isaiah 40—55 and Psalm 96: themes such as human and cosmic universalism, monotheism, and eschatology. With recent re-interpretations of Isaiah some of these approaches have been called into question. For example, Nathan MacDonald argues that to posit a fully universalist reading of chapters 40—48 of Isaiah 'is to distort seriously the prophet's message' and that it is the 'allusiveness' of the text that has allowed it to be read as universalistic by later generations, especially by early Christians concerned with Gentile converts.[5]

A primary aim of my current research is therefore to re-examine the perceived similarity between Isaiah 40—55 and Psalms 96 and 98. As part of this exercise, the present paper examines the way in which the terms עַמִּים and גּוֹיִם (usually translated into English as 'peoples' and 'nations') function in the composition of Psalm 96. This is intended as a

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[1] Sigmund Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien II: Das Thronbesteigungsfest Jahwäs und der Ursprung der Eschatologie* (Kristiania [Oslo]: Jacob Dybwad, 1922), 190-202; *The Psalms in Israel's Worship* (trans. by D. R. Ap-Thomas; 2 vols.; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962), 1:106-192, especially 116-118, 183-184.

[2] Hermann Gunkel, *Introduction to the Psalms: The Genres of the Religious Lyric of Israel* (completed by Joachim Begrich; trans. James D. Nogalski; Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1998), 66-81. Translation of *Einleitung in die Psalmen: die Gattungen der religiösen Lyrik Israels* (4th ed. Göttingen, 1985).

[3] Erich Zenger, 'Theophanien des Königsgottes JHWH: Transformationen von Psalm 29 in den Teilkompositionen Ps 28-30 und Ps 93-100,' in *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception.* (VTSup 99; ed. Peter W. Flint and Patrick D. Miller Jr.; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 407-442.

[4] David M. Howard, Jr., *The Structure of Psalms 93-100* (Biblical and Judaic Studies from the University of California, San Diego 5; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1997).

[5] Nathan MacDonald, 'Monotheism and Isaiah,' in *Interpreting Isaiah: Issues and Approaches* (ed. David G. Firth and H. G. M. Williamson; Nottingham: Apollos, 2009), 43-61. MacDonald discusses Isaiah 40—48 in relation to monotheism at pages 48-54 and in relation to universalism at pages 54-55. See also in the same volume Richard L. Schultz, 'Nationalism and Universalism in Isaiah,' 122-144.

heuristic exercise, imagining what might have been the response to these terms in the psalm if it had indeed been available in its present form to congregations at different points in history, prior to the time at which we can be certain that a canonical Psalter existed.[6] It attempts to do so without using supporting references to Isaiah, and without making *a priori* assumptions about the date of composition, or the necessity of a universalist perspective on the part of the composer, performers, and congregation. Firstly, I consider the semantic range of the terms עַם and גּוֹי in the Hebrew Bible generally, and in the Psalter in particular. I then examine the occurrences of these terms in Psalm 96 itself, using the simple three-stanza structure proposed by Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger.[7] I consider how the terms עַמִּים and גּוֹיִם might have been understood in the psalm in three different broad time periods of Israel's history. Finally, I ask whether this exercise is able to shed any light on the disputed question of the psalm's date of origin.

For simplicity I shall here use the Masoretic text as it now appears in Book IV of the Psalter (BHS), as set out in Appendix 1.

The terms עַם and גּוֹי in the Hebrew Bible

The relationship of Israel to other 'peoples' and 'nations' is a major theme that emerges from a synchronic or canonical reading of the Hebrew Bible. As its history is portrayed in the various historical and prophetic books, Israel's self-understanding as the elect עַם יהוָה (people of YHWH) is developed through the narrative: in conflicts with nations present in the land at the time of the Judges; in David's wars; and in the frequently hostile relationships with nations immediately surrounding the borders of the land, such as Edom and Moab. Israel's God is portrayed as acting for Israel and gaining victory over these other peoples and their gods. As a result of the later conquests by Assyria and Babylon, empires which practised the exile and dispersion of subject peoples, many of the people of Israel and Judah were brought into contact with a wider range of more distant peoples and their gods. Their failure to observe separation from other peoples is often portrayed as a cause of YHWH's wrath and Israel's consequent misfortune. Alongside this already complex image of YHWH's special and separate relationship with Israel we also find the 'Promise to Abraham' that 'in you all the families of the earth shall be blessed' (Gen 12:3), and the assertion that YHWH is indeed the ruler of 'all the earth' as its creator.

The use of גּוֹי ('nation') in the Hebrew Bible usually implies an entity defined by a combination of descent, territory, and government. Monarchical Israel certainly fell under this definition, but as Israel lost political control, especially from the Babylonian period onwards,

[6] The reception history of later times has, of course, been the subject of considerable interest over the last decade, *see* for example the works listed under Susan Gillingham in the bibliography.
[7] Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalms 2: A Commentary on Psalms 51-100* (ed. Klaus Baltzer; trans. Linda M. Maloney; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 463-464.

the term גּוֹי became increasingly used solely to describe a non-Israelite nation. This tradition is even sharper in the Deuteronomistic texts which forbade religious or political accommodation to the גּוֹיִם who had once inhabited the land, and attributed the fall of the northern kingdom to their influence. However, 'at no point in the OT is the semantic development reached' in which גּוֹי necessarily means "heathen nation" as it does in later rabbinic literature.[8] The meaning therefore needs to be determined from the context.

The distinct nuance of עַם, ('people'), arises from its origin in a real or constructed common ancestry, without necessarily the territorial and political claims of the גּוֹי.[9] In the singular it can refer to any grouping linked by a common ancestry: thus Israel always regarded itself as an עַם even when it was no longer treated as a גּוֹי . One distinction may be inferred from the fact that whereas Israel is often referred to as עַם יְהוָה, there is no corresponding claim involving גּוֹי.[10]

These two terms are therefore difficult to translate. I have retained the common 'nation' for גּוֹי and 'people' for עַם, but E. A. Speiser suggests that these should be treated with caution, particularly in the case of עַם (for which there is no satisfactory modern equivalent), and that the gap between them 'is greater than that between our "people" and "nation."'[11]

The terms עַמִּים and גּוֹיִם in the Psalter

In the Hebrew Bible as a whole, the singular of עַם is much more frequent than the plural, whereas for גּוֹי the reverse is true. However, in the Psalms there is a relatively large number of occurrences of both plural forms.[12] Although an overview of the terms in the whole of the Hebrew Bible forms a useful background, the existence of an Ancient Near East tradition of psalm composition, established long before the written Psalter and handed on in oral instruction and practice, strongly suggests that the primary linguistic influence on the composer of any given psalm consisted of the line structure, word pairs, and general vocabulary contained in earlier psalms. Even in the case of psalms which appear to have close textual connections to other books (such as is the case with Psalm 96 and Isaiah 40—55), I suggest that the first contextual comparator must be the Psalter itself. The use of עַמִּים and גּוֹיִם in other psalms is therefore crucial to an interpretation of Psalm 96.

In Books I—III of the Psalter, and in Book V, the predominant theme associated with the גּוֹיִם is that of their opposition to Israel: for example, the גּוֹיִם appear in parallel with 'the wicked' in 9:6,18. The plural terms עַמִּים and גּוֹיִם appear in this negative sense in

[8] Ronald E. Clements, 'גּוֹי,' *TDOT* 2:426-433, here 428.
[9] A. R. Hulst, 'עַם' (includes גּוֹי), *TLOT* 2:896-919.
[10] E. A. Speiser, '"People" and "Nation" of Israel,' *JBL* 79 (1960):157-163, here 158.
[11] Speiser, '"People" and "Nation,"' 160.
[12] Hulst, *TLOT* 2:899.

synonymous parallelism, as in 9:16-17; 33:10, while each also appears separately in parallelism with לְאֻמִּים , a poetic term for 'peoples', as in 7:8-9; 44:3, 15; 46:7; 47:4; 57:10; 67:5. There are references to Israel 'scattered among the nations' (44:12); pleas to YHWH to 'scatter' and 'punish' them (68:3; 59:6); remembrances of his actions against them in the past (78:55); predictions of his victories over them in the future (10:16). In Psalm 149:6-7 the exultant praise of YHWH is linked to the command to destroy the גּוֹיִם with the 'two-edged sword'.

References to YHWH's future reign and judgment over all the nations of the earth (22:28-29; 82:8; 86:9) are fewer, but they are significant for the exegesis of Psalm 96. Psalm 117 urges all the גּוֹיִם to praise YHWH for his mercy 'to us,' while Psalm 67 calls on both עַמִּים and גּוֹיִם to praise God, looking forward to his judgment and guidance for all the nations on earth (67:3-4). Psalm 47:9-10 predicts that the princes of the peoples will gather as 'the people of the God of Abraham' (עַם אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם), a possible reference to Genesis 12:3. Psalm 47 is particularly relevant to the exegesis of Psalm 96, not only because it describes God as 'king' over the גּוֹיִם, but also because of its more ambiguous use of עַמִּים. In verse 2 'all peoples' (כׇּל־הָעַמִּים) are told to clap hands and shout praise to God, while verse 4 relates that God 'subdued peoples under us' (יַדְבֵּר עַמִּים תַּחְתֵּינוּ). This indicates that, in a short space within the same composition, עַמִּים may refer both to hostile peoples and to the individual tribes which make up the people of Israel itself.

Despite some references to the גּוֹיִם as ultimately belonging to YHWH, the predominant emphasis in the Psalter as a whole is therefore that of the גּוֹיִם as hostile, opposed to YHWH, and to be resisted or shunned. To a frequent singer of the psalms, the word is likely to conjure up an image of a sharply separated 'other.' Where עַמִּים occurs in parallel to גּוֹיִם, there is no hint of a differentiation in this regard: as far as their relationship to Israel is concerned, they are treated as synonymous terms. Where עַמִּים appears without גּוֹיִם, however, its semantic range is not constrained by the synonymity and further nuances of meaning may arise.

The references throughout the Psalter to praising YHWH 'among' the peoples or nations, (בָּעַמִּים, בַּגּוֹיִם) as in 9:12, 18:50, 57:10; 108:4, are also significant for the exegesis of Psalm 96. This will be discussed below.

Turning to the narrower context of Book IV of the Psalter, we find that the 'Kingship-of-YHWH' Psalms 93, 95, and 97-99 contain occasional mentions of the nations and peoples: in 97:6 all the peoples (כׇּל־הָעַמִּים) behold YHWH's glory; in 98:2 'in the sight of the nations' (לְעֵינֵי הַגּוֹיִם) he reveals his vindication of Israel; 98:9 is similar to 96:13, and in 99:1 we find 'let the peoples tremble' (יִרְגְּזוּ עַמִּים). These other psalms do not, however, contain any sustained sequence of references such as we find in Psalm 96. Only when we reach the

historical Psalms 105 and 106 do the עַמִּים and the גּוֹיִם appear in greater profusion, chiefly in relation to the nations and peoples who were driven out at the emergence of Israel in the land (105:44; 106:43-35) and to Israel's dispersion among the nations at the 'present' time (106:41, 47). Psalm 96 therefore demonstrates a greater level of concern, perhaps even of anxiety, in connection with the גּוֹיִם and (especially) the עַמִּים, than do other psalms in Book IV.

The occurrences of עַמִּים and גּוֹיִם in Psalm 96

Appendix 1 sets out the MT text of Psalm 96 with occurrences of עַמִּים and גּוֹיִם and related verbs highlighted in red. In what follows here, I adopt the structural division proposed by Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, who set out three stanzas each beginning with a call to praise: verses 1-6, 7-10; and 11-13.[13] The same simple three-stanza structure is favoured by J. P. Fokkelman.[14] Here each stanza begins with a summons to praise YHWH, described by Zenger as involving a progressively widening circle of addressees ('ausweitenden Adressatenkreis'): Israel in 96:2-6; the peoples in 96:7-10; and the whole cosmos in 96:11-13.[15]

Stanza 1: Verses 1-6

Psalm 96 opens with a call to כָּל־הָאָרֶץ ('all the earth': its exact meaning is left unqualified) to sing a new song to YHWH. In verse 3 the addressees of the psalm are now not simply 'all the earth' but rather specifically those who are able to declare YHWH's glory 'among the nations' and 'among all the peoples'. The terms גּוֹיִם and עַמִּים are used as near-synonymous parallels here, as already discussed and as frequently found in the oral poetic tradition.[16] It has been argued that, taken together in parallel, they stand for humanity generally.[17] The question here is whether they also include Israel, or whether the singers and participators who represent Israel are intended to see themselves as separate and apart. There are few precedents for comparison. Apart from 96:3 itself and its parallel passage in 1 Chronicles 16:24, the verb ספר occurs in conjunction with בַּגּוֹיִם only in Ezekiel 12:16, which is in the context of Israel's dispersion 'among the nations where they go.'[18] In conjunction with בְּכָל־הָעַמִּים (or indeed עַמִּים in any form) ספר occurs only here and in 1Chronicles 16:24.[19] On balance, therefore, the most likely reading of verses 1-3 is the dominant one in the Psalter: the peoples and nations are communities who are actually or potentially hostile to

[13] Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 463.
[14] J. P. Fokkelman, *The Remaining 65 Psalms* (vol. 3 of *Major Poems of the Hebrew Bible: at the Interface of Prosody and Structural Analysis*; Assen: Van Gorcum, 2003), 187-190.
[15] Zenger, 'Theophanien,' 432-433.
[16] Wilfred G. E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to its Techniques* (London: T. & T. Clark International, 2005; repr. with corrections of JSOTSup 26; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984), 139.
[17] Hulst, *TLOT* 2:915.
[18] 'גּוֹי,' *DCH*, 2:333.
[19] 'עַם,' *DCH,* 6:444.

Israel. The addressees of this part of the psalm are called upon to 'say' or speak out YHWH's works 'among' these nations and peoples.

Although the semantic parallelism in 3ab expresses an overall synonymity between the two terms, there is also an intensification in the second line, a common feature of Hebrew poetry. The device of ellipsis of the controlling verb allows the second colon to be expanded to include the כָּל of בְּכָל־הָעַמִּים.[20] After verse 3 there is no further close parallelism between עַמִּים and גּוֹיִם: the recurrent term in the psalm is עַמִּים and the only other place in the psalm that refers to the גּוֹיִם is 10a. When עַמִּים forms a second 'synonymous' parallelism, in 13c-d, its partner is תֵּבֵל, as will be discussed later.

In verse 5 the psalm moves to ridiculing 'all the gods of the peoples' (כָּל־אֱלֹהֵי הָעַמִּים) in a way not common elsewhere in the Psalter. Psalm 97:7 is a rare example, where image-worshippers are described as 'those who make their boast in worthless idols' (בָּאֱלִילִים). Similarly, in Psalm 135:15-18 the 'idols of the nations' (עֲצַבֵּי הַגּוֹיִם) are dismissed as human constructs. With so few examples in the Psalter, it is not surprising that commentators have been tempted to introduce a comparison between Psalm 96:5 and Isaiah 40:18-19 and 44:9-20.[21] For the present exercise, the main point here in 96:5 is that the עַמִּים are now indisputably to be construed as those *other* peoples of the earth who worship worthless idols rather than YHWH.

Stanza 2: Verses 7-10

Here I include one departure from my reluctance to make any assumptions about the dating of the psalms. I have accepted at this point that the second stanza of Psalm 96 begins with an adapted quotation from Psalm 29, which is widely understood as being one of the oldest texts in the Psalter. Psalm 96 adapts Psalm 29:1-2 to produce 96:7-8a and 9a, adding 96:8b as an interpolation. The wording is identical except that where Psalm 29 begins:

הָבוּ לַיהוָה בְּנֵי אֵלִים, ('give to the LORD you sons of God', (or 'heavenly beings'))
our 96:7a reads:
הָבוּ לַיהוָה מִשְׁפְּחוֹת עַמִּים, ('give to the LORD, you clans of the peoples').

In adapting the lines from Psalm 29, the composer of Psalm 96 needed to find a replacement for the mythological term בְּנֵי אֵלִים of Psalm 29, choosing instead one that referred to the עַמִּים. It is possible that מִשְׁפְּחוֹת may have been inserted simply to balance the

[20] Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Poetry* (rev. ed.; New York: Basic Books, 2011), 25-28..
[21] For example, Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Psalms Part 2, and Lamentations* (FOTL 15; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1988), 188; Artur Weiser, *The Psalms : A Commentary* (trans. Herbert Hartwell; London: SCM Press, 1962), 629; trans. of *Die Psalmen* (5th rev. ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959).

line, but its choice is unlikely to have been entirely random. We need to ask what nuances it adds to the line and how it might have affected the listeners' understanding of the עַמִּים.

The noun מִשְׁפָּחָה is usually translated as 'clan' in English and 'Sippe' in German. It is used widely in the Pentateuch to describe both Israel's own tribal divisions into clans, and also the clan divisions of other peoples.[22] The מִשְׁפָּחָה formed a unit intermediate in size between the tribe and the local extended family of the 'father's house' (בֵּית אָב). It formed a unit for military organisation and for administration, and acted as a religious unit, as at Passover (Exodus 12:21) or in local sacrifices (1 Samuel 20:6,9).[23] In the post-exilic period the term largely dropped out of use, apart from its later reappearance in Nehemiah 4:7.[24] It is not certain that the מִשְׁפָּחָה was always constituted on purely genealogical lines: Norman Gottwald has argued that it represented a local federation with a predominantly geographical basis.[25]

The construct chain מִשְׁפְּחוֹת עַמִּים occurs only twice in the Hebrew Bible, once here in Psalm 96:7 and again in 1 Chronicles 16:28, where the whole of Psalm 96 is incorporated into an account of David's thanksgiving at the entry of the ark of the covenant into Jerusalem. There is a close parallel in Psalm 22:28 (מִשְׁפְּחוֹת גּוֹיִם). Apart from these two cases, the term מִשְׁפָּחָה occurs in the Psalter only in Psalm 107:41, where it is promised that YHWH blesses the clans of the poor of Israel. Its rarity in the Psalter suggests that the decision to use it in Psalm 96 was not based on conventional psalmic vocabulary, and so we are justified in suggesting parallels from the wider Hebrew Bible at this point. Here, the construct מִשְׁפְּחוֹת is used widely to specify the clans of particular tribes, but it also appears in more general contexts, as at Genesis 12:3, Amos 3:2, and Zechariah 14:17 (מִשְׁפְּחוֹת הָאָרֶץ and מִשְׁפַּחַת הָאֲדָמָה) or at Ezekiel 20:32 (מִשְׁפְּחוֹת הָאֲרָצוֹת).[26] H.-J. Zobel notes the spread of meanings and contexts within the Hebrew Bible and the growing tendency in the prophetic texts to use מִשְׁפָּחָה to designate nations or parts of nations seen as expressing 'a solidarity based on natural factors established, as it were, through creation,' first for Israel itself but also in terms of promise for the whole world.[27]

The combination of the flexible meaning of מִשְׁפָּחָה with the multiple aspects of עַמִּים creates a wide range of resonances which have the potential to trigger a development in the

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[22] 'מִשְׁפָּחָה,' *DCH*, 5:554-556; *HAH*, 3:759-760.

[23] H.-J. Zobel, 'מִשְׁפָּחָה,' *TDOT* 9:79-85.

[24] For a fuller discussion see H. G. M. Williamson, 'The Family in Persian Period Judah: Some Textual Reflections,' in *Symbiosis, Symbolism, and the Power of the Past: Canaan, Ancient Israel, and Their Neighbours from the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palaestina* (ed. William G. Dever and Seymour Gitin; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 469-485, especially 472-476.

[25] Norman K. Gottwald, *The Tribes of Yahweh: A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel 1250-1050 B.C.E.* (London: SCM Press, 1980), 258.

[26] *DCH* 5:554-556.

[27] Zobel, *TDOT* 9:79-85.

perception of the relationship between Israel and the עַמִּים. In the first stanza the 'peoples' were linked with the 'nations' as hostile entities, defined by their commitment to gods who are 'nothings.' These worshippers of worthless gods stand in opposition to the worship of YHWH, whose glory and marvels are to be proclaimed among them and who alone is responsible for the creation of the heavens. Then in 7-9 the 'peoples' are recognised as being, like Israel, based in 'clans' or extended groups based on common ancestry. They are now, in other words, seen as composed of human beings rather than as faceless mass entities. It is on the more parochial scale of 'clans' that they are now invited to do homage to YHWH, just as in Israel the 'clan' is the basic unit of religious observance. Whether this invitation includes elements of Israel who have strayed into the worship of other gods is an unresolved, and probably unresolvable, question, but a certain similarity between Israel and the 'peoples' has now been established, on the basis of common humanity.

A separate question in the second stanza concerns the addressees of 10a, 'Say among the nations, YHWH is king.' At first reading, it seems most likely that a change from the addressees of 7a (the מִשְׁפְּחוֹת עַמִּים) is intended, and that attention is now once more focused on the immediate participants in the psalm's performance, those who were addressed in 3a. Either Israel, or Israel together with the elements of the 'peoples' who have accepted the call in 7-9 to acknowledge YHWH, are summoned to declare the kingship of YHWH among the גּוֹיִם. Erich Zenger, however, has argued that there is no change of addressee between 96:7 and 96:10: he translates 96:10 as 'Say (to one another) among the nations, "The LORD is king!'. (German: 'Sagt unter den Völkern (zueinander): »JHWH herrscht als König!«'). He opposes the suggestion that 96:10 refers only to Israel and does not include the 'families of the nations', as this would 'contradict the entire statement scheme of the two Psalms 96 and 98' which is linked to Isaiah 40-55.[28] However, in this paper I am, as already stated, suggesting possible responses to the psalm rather than seeking to establish a single definitive meaning. I consider Zenger's reading to be rather forced, but it remains a possibility.

Finally, in 10c we have the first reference in the psalm to YHWH's judgment of the peoples, a theme which will conclude the psalm at 13c.

Stanza 3: Verses 11-13

In the third stanza, attention shifts away from human beings and their relationship to YHWH. Beginning with the larger cosmic elements of heavens, earth and sea, and then progressing to the areas which are closer to human occupation, the elements of non-human

[28] Erich Zenger, 'The God of Israel's Reign over the World (Psalms 90-106)' in *The God of Israel and the Nations: Studies in Isaiah and the Psalms*, by Norbert Lohfink and Erich Zenger (trans. Everett R. Kalin; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2000), 161-190, here 172-173. Trans. of 'Das Weltkönigtum des Gottes Israels,' in *Der Gott Israels und die Völker: Untersuchungen zum Jesjajabuch und zu den Psalmen* (SBS 154; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1994), 151-178. Page reference for this passage in the original: 161.

creation are brought into the hymn of praise through an extended series of jussives. They look forward to the coming of YHWH to restore order through his judgment of the earth. Only in the final bicolon (13b-c) do human beings reappear. As the עַמִּים, they appear in poetic and conceptual parallelism to תֵּבֵל, a word which is sometimes translated as the whole 'world', but which often also implies the inhabited dry land, firmly established over the deeps.[29] It is as part of the cosmos that the עַמִּים are now subjected to the divine judgment.

Temporal and spatial aspects of the response to the psalm

The wide semantic range of עַמִּים therefore results in a range of possible responses to the psalm. There are, of course, problems in envisaging exactly how a non-literate audience in the ancient world (or even a literate one) might perceive nuances deriving wholly or partly from other parts of a given literature.[30] Nevertheless, as we know from present-day experience, a recurring liturgical calendar can act to establish familiarity with other psalms, and other texts read aloud, so that conceptual links can be recognised.

As one possibility, a participant is enabled to make a mental journey from an existing context of hostility towards other peoples, through recognition of the possibility that YHWH will be recognised by all humanity, to an imagined participation in a future restoration of order in creation, together with a favourable judgment characterised by righteousness and equity. In another possible reading, a group of the dispersed is welcomed into the core community on pilgrimage, and then sent back to declare YHWH's kingship in their exilic homelands. In yet another, a note of hostility to the עַמִּים and the גּוֹיִם might prevail throughout, with their imagined refusal to submit to YHWH in 7-9 resulting in a punitive judgment witnessed by all creation in 13.

Having examined the developing significance of the terms עַמִּים and גּוֹיִם as the psalm progresses in time, we now turn to considering how its spatial perspectives relate to these terms. After the psalm opens with the expansive call to כָּל־הָאָרֶץ, attention then shifts in verse 3 to the participants themselves, and to their present location. They are then reminded of their situation 'among' the nations and peoples. Then the מִשְׁפְּחוֹת עַמִּים are called to come into YHWH's presence, to 'enter his courts,' and then to look outwards again to declare his kingship among the nations. This is followed by an appeal to the elements of non-human creation, beginning with the most distant, then moving towards the more local, until finally the עַמִּים are integrated into the realm of YHWH's judgment. There is therefore a sequence of

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[29] 'תֵּבֵל,' *DCH* 8:588-589; *HAH* 6:1423; Heinz-Josef Fabry and N. van Meeteren, 'תֵּבֵל,' *TDOT* 15:557-564.
[30] Cynthia Edenburg, 'Intertextuality, Literary Competence and the Question of Readership: Some Preliminary Observations,' *JSOT* 35 (2010):131-148.

outwardly and inwardly directed changes in spatial perspective as the psalm singing progresses in time.

I shall now consider briefly, as a heuristic exercise, how these changes in perspective might have been understood in three different time periods of the history of Israel: the pre-exilic monarchical period; the Babylonian exile; and the post-exilic period of the restored Temple. The first and last of these cover several centuries each, but within the limits of this paper some broad generalisations may be attempted. Unlike some other psalms in the Psalter, Psalm 96 does not specify the identities of any participants, nor does it give a name or place to the sanctuary of YHWH which is envisaged in the second stanza. Unlike, say, Isaiah 42:10-12, it does not hint at any geographical locations for the cosmic elements of the third stanza. It is this total lack of specificity which has enabled successive generations to apply it freely and immediately to their own situation, without any resort to the typological or allegorising adjustments which are needed where a psalm refers to concrete entities such as Edom, Babylon, or the Jerusalem Temple.

Although I consider it unlikely that the psalm originates in an early monarchical period (for reasons outside the scope of this paper), the plausibility of its reception in that time should at least be considered. Before the Assyrian conquest of the north, the 'peoples' and 'nations' in verse 3, and the 'peoples' who have other gods than YHWH in verse 5, are likely to be imagined as Israel's closest neighbours, its traditional enemies in war such as Edom, Moab, or Tyre. It is perhaps possible to imagine the psalm being sung in an exuberant victory celebration. Memories of the immediately pre-monarchical phase as described in Judges could also trigger identification of these hostile entities with the 'enemy within,' including the Philistines or the remaining Canaanite enclaves, or those within Israel who have adopted foreign deities. Israel is called on to proclaim YHWH 'among' all these entities. The call to the 'clans of the peoples' to honour YHWH might apply to either understanding, involving external or internal enemies in either forced submission following conquest, or in simply recognising YHWH's deeds for Israel. The call to 'enter his courts' might be related to any of the sanctuaries of Israel and Judah, but it is equally well understood as a metaphor in which YHWH as an imperial ruler accepts vassal tribute.

If we consider a later possible setting in pre-exilic Jerusalem, the growing threat from Assyria might introduce a darker and more defensive note into the reception of the psalm. At the same time, an element of hope remained in Judah that the exiled tribes of the northern kingdom might be enabled to return from 'among the nations'. In this setting, the vision of YHWH's rule over the cosmos and the peoples will be imagined as centred in Jerusalem and extending from there over the known world, with a focus on the immediate neighbours of Israel.

Turning now to the Babylonian exile, we might at first find it difficult to see how a congregation might sing this psalm with any conviction. They are now themselves directly and painfully isolated 'among the nations'. Even those left in Judah find themselves surrounded by imported displaced peoples who do not worship YHWH. With no central Temple (although there may have been some centre for worship in any given community) such a psalm, if inherited from pre-exilic times, might be expected to be too painful to be sung, as Psalm 137 suggests. Yet it seems that it is in precisely these situations that the most fertile prophetic imaginations produced both an image of a new heavenly city and Temple (Ezekiel 40—48) and the exultant poetry of praise and hope of restoration (Isaiah 40—55). Furthermore, in the later exilic period the call to 'declare' or 'say' YHWH's glory 'among' the nations and peoples becomes immediately relevant. While the 'families of the peoples' are called on to submit to YHWH's glory and tremble before him, the exiles themselves are to rejoice among them. The triumph of YHWH's plan for Israel's restoration is but a prelude to his re-establishment of order and righteousness throughout creation and for all peoples. In such an environment the re-establishment of his sanctuary in Jerusalem is foreseen as establishing the definitive link between YHWH and his creation, and his future rule over the peoples, focused in one place on earth. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that this psalm was composed in its final form during the exile itself, as an inspired imaginative response to the possibilities of the new situation.

In the broad post-exilic period I shall continue to assume a liturgical performance of the psalm: even if we accept Gunkel's proposal of its post-exilic literary origin based on an earlier liturgical tradition, its presence in the preserved Psalter suggests its early incorporation into the liturgy of the Second Temple, which provided a central reference point for contact with the divine. We may postulate that, even in the earliest phase of restoration, there were outer courts to which the people had access. To these come the dwellers in the land of Judah, both those who have returned from exile and those who had remained in the land throughout. At periods of history when the dominant empires are benevolently inclined, Jews from the diaspora are also able to make pilgrimage to Jerusalem for festivals and 'enter his courts' (verse 8b). Therefore, in addition to the question of whether representatives of pagan nations themselves are imagined as making this pilgrimage, there are two further possible spatial images conjured up by Psalm 96:

In the first, the core of Israel is now situated in the land, with access to the holy place. Celebrating its history and acclaiming YHWH as king, and representing the whole reunited people, the congregation is literally 'among the nations' and 'among all the peoples' who surround Israel. The experience of existence under a widespread and ethnically diverse empire has expanded Israel's view of the significance of כָּל־הָאָרֶץ. Israel is imagined as the centre of this wider world and Jerusalem the centre of the centre, where the world-king is encountered.

The second image relates to the elements of the diaspora who may have come to the feast. These are encouraged by the psalm to stand together with Israel-in-the-land, to make the same acclamations, and then (by implication) to go back to their homes 'among the nations' and repeat the acclamations there. Such, for example, is one of the themes of the late diaspora fable of Tobit: 'In the land of my exile I acknowledge him, and show his power and majesty to a nation of sinners' (NRSV Tobit 13:6).[31] When these worshippers repeat the psalm in their diaspora home congregation, they will be drawn back into the centre of YHWH's presence in Zion.

It is therefore possible to suggest a plausible response to Psalm 96 at any of the time periods under consideration. This means that such an exercise, considered in isolation, is of little help in deciding on a date of composition, but it does raise questions which illuminate how the psalm may have been perceived and understood subsequent to its composition.

Conclusion

This exercise in imagining responses to Psalm 96 has deliberately avoided engagement with many of the concerns and perspectives in contemporary scholarly discussion of the Kingship-of-YHWH psalms. However, by concentrating more narrowly on the terms עַמִּים and גּוֹיִם it has brought the question of Israel's relationship with other peoples into sharper focus. It has produced a range of suggestions for development in the perceived meaning of עַמִּים as the psalm singing progresses. It has also demonstrated how the flexibility of meaning embedded in psalmic poetry generally, and in this psalm in particular, might enable participants in the liturgy at any period to appropriate the psalm to their particular situation. This same flexibility of language adds to the difficulty of assigning even an approximate date to the composition of the psalm.

[31] The possibility of this interpretation is reviewed and then strongly disputed in Zenger, 'The God of Israel's Reign,' 174 (original 162.)

Appendix 1: Psalm 96 Masoretic Text and Translation

1a	שִׁירוּ לַיהוָה שִׁיר חָדָשׁ	Sing to the LORD a new song,
1b	שִׁירוּ לַיהוָה כָּל־הָאָרֶץ	sing to the LORD, all of the earth,
2a	שִׁירוּ לַיהוָה בָּרֲכוּ שְׁמוֹ	sing to the LORD, bless his name.
2b	בַּשְּׂרוּ מִיּוֹם־לְיוֹם יְשׁוּעָתוֹ	Tell of his salvation from day to day.
3a	סַפְּרוּ בַגּוֹיִם כְּבוֹדוֹ	Declare among the nations his glory,
3b	בְּכָל־הָעַמִּים נִפְלְאוֹתָיו	among all the peoples his marvellous works.
4a	כִּי גָדוֹל יְהוָה וּמְהֻלָּל מְאֹד	For great is the LORD and much to be praised.
4b	נוֹרָא הוּא עַל־כָּל־אֱלֹהִים	He is terrible above all gods.
5a	כִּי כָּל־אֱלֹהֵי הָעַמִּים אֱלִילִים	For all the gods of the peoples are nothings,
5b	וַיהוָה שָׁמַיִם עָשָׂה	but the LORD made the heavens.
6a	הוֹד־וְהָדָר לְפָנָיו	Honour and majesty are before him,
6b	עֹז וְתִפְאֶרֶת בְּמִקְדָּשׁוֹ	strength and beauty are in his sanctuary.
7a	הָבוּ לַיהוָה מִשְׁפְּחוֹת עַמִּים	Give to the LORD, you clans of the peoples,
7b	הָבוּ לַיהוָה כָּבוֹד וָעֹז	give to the LORD glory and power,
8a	הָבוּ לַיהוָה כְּבוֹד שְׁמוֹ	give to the LORD the glory of his name.
8b	שְׂאוּ־מִנְחָה וּבֹאוּ לְחַצְרוֹתָיו	Bring an offering and enter his courts.
9a	הִשְׁתַּחֲווּ לַיהוָה בְּהַדְרַת־קֹדֶשׁ	Worship the LORD in holy splendour.
9b	חִילוּ מִפָּנָיו כָּל־הָאָרֶץ	Tremble in awe before him, all the earth.
10a	אִמְרוּ בַגּוֹיִם יְהוָה מָלָךְ	Say among the nations: the LORD is king.
10b	אַף־תִּכּוֹן תֵּבֵל בַּל־תִּמּוֹט	The world is firmly established, it will never be moved.
10c	יָדִין עַמִּים בְּמֵישָׁרִים	He will judge the peoples with equity.
11a	יִשְׂמְחוּ הַשָּׁמַיִם וְתָגֵל הָאָרֶץ	Let the heavens be glad and let the earth rejoice,
11b	יִרְעַם הַיָּם וּמְלֹאוֹ	let the sea roar and all that fills it.
12a	יַעֲלֹז שָׂדַי וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר־בּוֹ	Let the field exult, and everything in it.
12b	אָז יְרַנְּנוּ כָּל־עֲצֵי־יָעַר	Then all the trees of the wood will sing for joy
13a	לִפְנֵי יְהוָה כִּי בָא	before the face of the LORD, for he is coming,
13b	כִּי בָא לִשְׁפֹּט הָאָרֶץ	for he is coming to judge the earth.
13c	יִשְׁפֹּט־תֵּבֵל בְּצֶדֶק	He will judge the world with righteousness,
13d	וְעַמִּים בֶּאֱמוּנָתוֹ	and the peoples with his integrity.

Appendix 2: Hermann Gunkel's scheme for the development of the 'Enthronement Psalms'[32]

§3. Songs about YHWH's Enthronement ¶11.

Schematic Summary of the Development of Enthronement Psalms



[32] Gunkel, *Introduction to the Psalms*, 81.

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Abbreviations

BHS	*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia.* Edited by K. Elliger and W. Rudolph. 5th revised ed. Stuttgart, 1997.
DCH	*Dictionary of Classical Hebrew.* Edited by D. J. A. Clines. Sheffield, 1993-2011.
FOTL	Forms of the Old Testament Literature
HAH	Gesenius, W. *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament.* 18 Aufl. Berlin: Springer, 1987-2012.
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature.*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament.*
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series.
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien.
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.* Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren and Heinz-Josef Fabry. Translated by John T. Willis, Geoffrey W. Bromley and David E. Green. 15 vols. Grand Rapids, 1974-2006. (Trans. of *ThWAT.*)
TLOT	*Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Edited by Ernst Jenni, with assistance from Claus Westermann. Translated by Mark. E. Biddle. 3 vols. Peabody, Mass., 1997. (Trans. of *THAT.*)
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum

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Framing Jerusalem: The Speech Quotations in Jeremiah 2:20-25

OTSEM Conference Uppsala (18-20 Sept 2015)

Focal points of the discussion
- the dynamics and study of quotation (special emphasis on speech quotation)
- the relationship between quoted words and quoting context
- communication structures (i.e., relationship between addressee and referent)
- the study of larger discourse units within prophetic texts
- literary and structural approaches to the book of Jeremiah and the prophets

Introduction

While quoted speech, otherwise known as audience reaction, is a common phenomenon in prophetic literature, the Book of Jeremiah 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. Based on Overholt's exegetical groundwork on Jer 2 (1979) and some tenets of quotation theory, I am arguing in my doctoral project that this situation has brought about a misguided understanding and use of quoted speech as an autonomous textual element. Since quotation, by definition, is only ever quotation-in-context ("speech within speech"), it cannot be adequately approached without close attention to the form, discourse, and integration of its literary frames. To demonstrate the close relationship and the function of quoted speech in context, my project offers a detailed study of the discourse of Jer 2.1-3.5 which, by virtue of the frequency and density of its quotations, provides a formidable test case.

After setting the scene with a brief history of research and a short methodological interlude, this paper presents my analysis of the speech quotations in Jer 2.20-25.[1] In this

1. Although 2.20-28 are commonly regarded to comprise one unit within Jer 2, Schulz-Rauch has presented a good case for drawing the line instead between vv. 25 and 26 (cf. *Hosea und Jeremia* [1995], p. 34). Of primary significance in his analysis are the switches in gender and number: whereas 2.16-25 record 2fs-address, 2.28 shows masculine singular address (אֱלֹהֶיךָ) and 2.29-31 is set in masculine plural address. One further needs to consider the concentric arrangement of 2.23-25, the switch from the metaphors in 2.20-25 to

representative portion of my doctoral thesis, I hope to demonstrate the structural integration and functional significance of quoted speech and thereby to point to the hermeneutical benefits which my work suggests for the device within Jeremiah and the prophetic corpus at large.

1. History of Research

While there are some earlier references and discussions,[2] Wolff's *Zitat im Prophetenspruch* from 1937 remains the first full treatment of quoted speech.[3] As a 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"?[4] Although Wolff accumulates an extensive catalogue of indicators which lead him to deem the majority of the quotations as prophetic *ad hoc* creations,[5] he leaves the door open for authentic quotations, if only so with important qualifications: they are rare and short[6] and they underlie entirely the prophetic design and intentions.[7] Due to the original and comprehensive scope of his study, these conclusions established themselves as a standard reference, quoted and affirmed by subsequent writers like von Rad or Westermann.[8]

After Wolff's impressive work—and quite possibly because of it—few interpreters have devoted substantial attention to prophetic quotation as such.[9] Instead, quoted speech

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the simile in 2.26 (כְּבֹשֶׁת), and the reoccurrence of the entity יִשְׂרָאֵל in 2.26 which has already opened both preceding units (cf. 2.4, 14). Furthermore, the formula נְאֻם־אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה צְבָאוֹת which concludes 2.19 is not as strong a unit marker as often thought (cf. its other two occurrences in 49.5 and 50.31).

2. See the references to scattered remarks by Gunkel and Gressmann in Graffy, *A Prophet Confronts his People* (1984), pp. 2-6.

3. 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), pp. 36-129. All citations are taken from the latter reprint.

4. Ibid., p. 55.

5. "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.

6. Wolff lists only six examples. Ibid., pp. 55-60.

7. "Das zitierte Menschenwort ist der freien Gestaltung des Propheten überlassen." Ibid., p. 60.

8. See Gerhard von Rad, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, Band 2: Die Theologie der Prophetischen Überlieferungen Israels (repr. 3rd ed.; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1964), p. 88. Claus Westermann, *Grundformen Prophetischer Rede* (BEvTh 31; München: Chr. Kaiser, 1960), pp. 40-44.

9. Up to this day, Clark's 1984-dissertation on Ezekiel remains the only comprehensive treatment on the book level. Cf. Douglas R. Clark, "The Citations in the Book of Ezekiel: An Investigation into Method,

was 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.[10] The work of Crenshaw serves here as a good example. Setting out "to look at Israelite religion as it really was," he finds in the quoted speeches in the prophets "a veritable goldmine," a "special source."[11] 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.[12] In the service of this 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.[13] 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,[14] quoted speech serves also as an authentication device for source criticism,[15] can help with the detection of false prophets,[16] and support arguments for the

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Audience, and Message" (Ph. D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1984).

10. 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): pp. 1-6; Edwin M. Good, *Irony in the Old Testament* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1965), pp. 119-121; James G. Williams, "Irony and Lament: Clues to Prophetic Consciousness," *Semeia* 8 (1977): pp. 51-74; Burke O. Long, "Two Question and Answer Schemata in the Prophets," *JBL* 90, no. 2 (1971): pp. 129-139.

11. James L. Crenshaw, "Popular Questioning of the Justice of God in Ancient Israel," *ZAW* 82, no. 3 (1970): p. 392; Ibid., *Prophetic Conflict: Its Effect Upon Israelite Religion* (BZAW 124; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1971), pp. 21-22.

12. "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., p. 24.

13. Ibid., p. 34.

14. Thomas Trapp, "Jeremiah: The Other Sides of the Story," in *Was Ist Der Mensch. . . ? Beiträge Zur Anthropologie des Alten Testaments,* ed. Frank Crüsemann (München: Chr. Kaiser, 1992), 228–42; John T. Willis, "Dialogue between Prophet and Audience as a Rhetorical Device in the Book of Jeremiah," *JSOT* 33 (1985): pp. 63–82.

15. William J. Horwitz, "Audience Reaction to Jeremiah," *CBQ* 32, no. 4 (1970): pp. 555–64.

16. A. S. van der Woude, "Micah in Dispute with the Pseudo-Prophets," *VT* 19, no. 2 (1969): pp. 244–60; Ronald E. Manahan, "A Theology of Pseudoprophets: A Study in Jeremiah," *GTJ* 1, no. 1 (1980): pp. 77–96.

identity of the servant in Isa 53.[17]

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:

> 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?[18]

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."[19] 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.[20]

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 redirecting our attention to the most basic—and most important—parameter for studying quoted speech, namely, the framing context in which it appears. Yet, given the need to respond to earlier quotation studies and the general tenor of Jer studies of his day, his article is organized primarily around the question of authenticity. Given this focus of his work and the brevity of his comments, it becomes necessary to supplement his important observations with some of the insights from contemporary quotation theory.

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17. "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), p. 79.

18. Thomas W. Overholt, "Jeremiah 2 and the Problem of 'Audience Reaction,'" *CBQ* 41, no. 2 (1979): p. 263.

19. Ibid., p. 270.

20. "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., p. 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), p. 9.

2. Definition and Method

In the work of M. Sternberg, well-known from the domain of Hebrew narrative criticism, quoted speech is described as the coalescence of two discourse-events: the inset and the frame (i.e., the quoting context).[21] While these relate on the surface of syntax and deixis as two 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.[22]

By its very existence, then, quoted speech is defined and determined by its quoting context. This innate hierarchy of the device leads to Sternberg's challenge of the "Reproductive Fallacy" (elsewhere he calls it "Direct Speech Fallacy").[23] 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.[24]

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.[25] 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.[26] In view of this basic definition and understanding of quoted speech, the question of authenticity seems to be

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21. Meir Sternberg, "Proteus in Quotation-Land: Mimesis and the Forms of Reported Discourse," *Poetics Today* 3, no. 2 (1982): pp. 107–108.

22. Ibid.," p. 108.

23. Ibid., p. 128. See also his "Point of View and the Indirections of Direct Speech," in *Language and Style* 15 (1982): pp. 67-117.

24. Sternberg, "Quotation-Land," p.108.

25. Sternberg criticizes this analytical programme elsewhere 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), p. 2.

26. "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." Sternberg, "Point of View," p. 72. This neatly echoes Wolff's observation above (see fn. 5).

misplaced. If, according to Sternberg, quoted speech is nothing but "perspectival montage" and if the element of reporting inference and integration cannot be bypassed, there is simply no foundation to regard a quoted inset as a direct, one-to-one replication of an original utterance. If, in the case of Hebrew prophetic literature, one adds to this the virtually complete absence of original material for comparison,[27] the irreproducible nature of intonation, gestures, and style, and several sets of logical discrepancies,[28] it strongly suggests itself to abandon the quest for authenticity. Rather, the definition quoted speech as an integral operation between frame and inset suggests a different course of inquiry, namely, to trace the means and modi of integration and to understand the function of the quotation in the specific structure and argumentation of its immediate and wider context.

3. The Speech Quotations in Jer 2.20-25

Against the background of Overholt's exegesis and the brief sketch of Sternberg theoretical insights, the following analysis of Jer 2.20-25 sets out to demonstrate the procedure and benefits which attend such an approach to quoted speech. Given the particular configuration of this unit, our contextual analysis of its three quoted insets will be pay attention especially to their placement and interrelationship.

2.20	כִּי מֵעוֹלָם שָׁבַרְתִּי עֻלֵּךְ	For[29] in time past, I broke your yoke,
	נִתַּקְתִּי מוֹסְרֹתַיִךְ	I burst your bonds.[30]

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. According to Holladay (p. 97), translating כי here as "For" is not possible because v. 19 marks a closure. He choses "Look" instead. Barbara A. Bozak prefers the asserverative rendering "Indeed;" cf. "Heeding the Received Text: Jer 2,20a, A Case in Point," *Bib* 77, no. 4 (1996): 526-527. Yet, as our analysis will show, what v. 20f articulates makes good sense as the cause for Jerusalem's lacking fear of YHWH (v. 19). So, e.g., also Carroll, p. 130; Wischnowsky, *Zion*, p. 120. With regard to כי in v. 20b, Bozak's assertion that it "is clearly a causal conjunction meaning 'for'," does not square well with her argument for the antithetical poetry of v. 20. With Rudolph (p. 14), the adversative "but" is preferred here (see discussion below).

30. The verbs שָׁבַרְתִּי and נִתַּקְתִּי are often understood as archaic 2fs-forms like those in 2.33 and 3.4-5 (cf. GKC, §26g), thus indicating a break-away from serving YHWH (so LXX, Vul; see also 5.5: שָׁבְרוּ עֹל נִתְּקוּ מוֹסֵרוֹת; see, e.g., Giesebrecht, p. 10; Carroll, p. 130; McKane, pp. 40-41; Rudolph, p. 14; Schmidt, p. 84; Thompson, p. 175; Allen, p. 46; Wischnowsky, *Zion*, 116; *NIV*, *NRSV*, *NET*). But the translation as 1cs-verbs is the better choice: 1) in 2.33 and 3.4-5, the 2fs-forms are indicated as Q in the massorah, not so in 2.20; 2) the yoke image is used in Jer and elsewhere predominantly for YHWH's acts of deliverance (28.2, 4, 11; 30.8; Lev 26.13, Ezek 34.27); 3)

	וַתֹּאמְרִי לֹא אֶעֱבֹד	Then you said: "I will not serve."[31]
	כִּי עַל־כָּל־גִּבְעָה גְּבֹהָה	But on every high hill
	וְתַחַת כָּל־עֵץ רַעֲנָן	and under every green tree,
	אַתְּ צֹעָה זֹנָה	you bend over like a whore!
2.21	וְאָנֹכִי נְטַעְתִּיךְ שֹׂרֵק	I had planted you as a choice vine
	כֻּלֹּה זֶרַע אֱמֶת	entirely of wholesome seed.
	וְאֵיךְ נֶהְפַּכְתְּ לִי	How[32] you have turned yourself before me,
	סוּרֵי הַגֶּפֶן נָכְרִיָּה	and become warped as the tendrils of a wild vine![33]
2.22	כִּי אִם־תְּכַבְּסִי בַּנֶּתֶר	Even if you wash yourself with natron
	וְתַרְבִּי־לָךְ בֹּרִית	and scrub yourself with salt,
	נִכְתָּם עֲוֹנֵךְ לְפָנַי	the stain of your iniquity remains before me.
	נְאֻם אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה	—Speech of Lord YHWH—
2.23	אֵיךְ תֹּאמְרִי לֹא נִטְמֵאתִי	How can you say: "I am not unclean,
	אַחֲרֵי הַבְּעָלִים לֹא הָלַכְתִּי	after the Baalim, I have not gone"!
	רְאִי דַרְכֵּךְ בַּגַּיְא	Look at your way in the valley!
	דְּעִי מֶה עָשִׂית	Consider what you have done!
	בִּכְרָה קַלָּה מְשָׁרֶכֶת דְּרָכֶיהָ	A swift camel, chasing to and fro on her way,
2.24	פֶּרֶה לִמֶּד מִדְבָּר	a wild ass[34] accustomed to the wilderness.
	בְּאַוַּת נַפְשׁוֹ שָׁאֲפָה רוּחַ	In her heat, she sniffs the air,
	תַּאֲנָתָהּ מִי יְשִׁיבֶנָּה	in her rutting time, who can hold her back?
	כָּל־מְבַקְשֶׁיהָ לֹא יִיעָפוּ	All who pursue her shall not be wearied.
	בְּחָדְשָׁהּ יִמְצָאוּנָהּ	In her season, they will find her.

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both Tar and Syr support 1cs-verbs. See further the arguments compiled by Bozak, "Heeding;" Biddle, *Redaction*, pp. 50-51; Craigie, pp. 36-37.

31. Since עלה and עבד are correlated also in 27.8-12 and 30.8, K (אעבד) is to be preferred over Q (אעבור). LXX translates both (Οὐ δουλεύσω, ἀλλὰ πορεύσομαι) which Biddle understands to indicate that "עבר is an ancient commentary on עבד;" cf. *Redaction*, p. 42. Whereas Holladay (pp. 52-53) thinks that Q is an attempt towards moderation, Craigie (p. 35) sees it as a copy mistake.

32. איך can be used both for "true questions of circumstance and in exclamatory questions" (cf. WOC §18.4d). In the accusatory context of vv. 20-25, the latter is appropriate for both occurrences in v. 21b and 23a. Cf. the similar use in 3.19, 8.8 (איכה), and 9.18.

33. The "speculative translation" of v. 21bβ is adopted from Craigie (p. 35). Others have followed Duhm's rearrangement (p. 25) of the corrupt MT to לסוריה גפן (e.g., Rudolph, p. 14; McKane, p. 42).

34. The incongruence between masculine פֶּרֶה לִמֶּד and the feminine verbs and suffixes has evoked a host of emendations (for an overview, cf. Kenneth E. Bailey and Holladay, "The 'Young Camel' and 'Wild Ass' in Jer. II 23-25," *VT* 18 (1968): p. 257; Benjamin A. Foreman, *Animal Metaphors and the People of Israel in the Book of Jeremiah* [FRLANT 238; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011], pp. 146-148). As these two studies have demonstrated, the best solution is to retain the MT (reading here with Q נַפְשָׁהּ) and to regard פֶּרֶה to be epicene, i.e., to have both male and female gender (cf. Foreman, *Animal*, p. 148). Fischer (p. 168) suspects "eine absichtliche Verkehrung der Geschlechtersymbolik."

2.25	מִנְעִי רַגְלֵךְ מִיָּחֵף	Keep your foot from going bare
	וּגְרוֹנֵךְ מִצַּמְאָה	and your throat[35] from being parched!
	וַתֹּאמְרִי נוֹאָשׁ לוֹא	But you said: "Forget it! No![36]
	כִּי־אָהַבְתִּי זָרִים וְאַחֲרֵיהֶם אֵלֵךְ	For I love strangers and after them I will go."

Our analysis takes us midway into the discourse of 2.1-3.5. After his address to the people of Judah in 2.4-13, YHWH accuses Jerusalem[37] in 2.14-19 of not having learned her lesson from the nation's history of failure and fall in the past (cf. יִשְׂרָאֵל in vv. 3, 14). Having attended YHWH's recital of their history of abandonment (2.4-13) and collapse (2.14-15), the city is threatened that her ways with other nations will lead to the same fateful end (2.16-19). Since she has abandoned YHWH just as the people in the past (cf. עזב in vv. 13, 17, 19), she likewise will be destroyed by the deceptive sources of support to which she has turned. In direct connection to this rhetoric (cf. כי in v. 20), the second part of the unit (2.20-25) switches to a detailed and direct engagement with Jerusalem. Deeply integrated into the fast-paced succession of imagery, questions, and imperatives[38] in this section are three quoted insets:

2.20aβ	לֹא אֶעֱבֹד
2.23aα	לֹא נִטְמֵאתִי אַחֲרֵי הַבְּעָלִים לֹא הָלַכְתִּי
2.25b	נוֹאָשׁ לוֹא כִּי־אָהַבְתִּי זָרִים וְאַחֲרֵיהֶם אֵלֵךְ

In light of the division which exists between 2.20-22 and the chiastic structure of 2.23-25 (see outline below), we will begin our analysis with an individual treatment of each of these two sections. Once the content, integration, and function of the insets has been determined within their respective units, we will draw some conclusions as to their role in the structure and argumentation of 2.20-25.

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35. K (וּגְרוֹנֵךְ) reads "your threshing floor." As a parallel to רגל, Q (וּגְרוֹנֵךְ), "your throat," (LXX: φάρυγγά) is to be preferred.

36. As we will argue below, the context hardly allows for translating the unique לוֹא נוֹאָשׁ with the ambiguous and resigned phrase "it is hopeless" (cf. Lundbom, p. 284; Carroll, p.25). *HALOT* ("Damn!;" p. 382) and HOL ("To hell with it!;" p. 126) capture it more accurately. Marked by a great *zaqef* as a sub-phrase, the single לוֹא is categorized by the grammars and dictionaries either as an absolute (*GKC* §152c), as elliptic (*WHS* §398), or as an interjection (*DCH*, p. 492).

37. Space does not permit me to offer here an in-depth argument for understanding the 2fs-addressee in 2.1-3.5 as the personified woman Jerusalem (cf. v. 2: וְקָרָאתָ בְאָזְנֵי יְרוּשָׁלִַם). While this discussion is provided in my thesis in full length, it must suffice here to point to the work by Wischnowsky, *Zion*; Steck, "Zion als Gelände und Gestalt;" Biddle, *Redaction History*; Hardmeier, "Redekomposition."

38. Rudolph (p. 15) speaks appropriately of a "Sichjagen der Bilder mit schroffen Wechseln."

3.1 Inset and Frame in 2.20-22

As in 2.4-9, the sub-unit of 2.20-22 also opens with a reference to the past (מֵעוֹלָם). Yet, rather than accusing Jerusalem of previous failures (cf. the sins of the fathers in vv. 5-6), this frame sets YHWH's gracious deliverance at the head of the divine address. From its first line, then, the framing perspective emphasizes YHWH's redemptive and relational initiative as demonstrated by his acts in the past. Jerusalem's current state of freedom is entirely and solely based on what YHWH has done for her.

By way of its placement, this introductory assertion of 2.20aα governs the subsequent discourse, including the quoted inset "I will not serve" (לֹא אֶעֱבֹד) in 2.20aβ. Since Jerusalem's announcement stands as the direct sequel to YHWH's rehearsal of having broken her bondage, the quotation is usually taken along the lines of Wolff's antithesis, namely, as a refusal to serve YHWH.[39] He has delivered the city, yet she has rejected him as her lord. This interpretation, however, requires some adjustments. While Jerusalem's speech is framed in sequence to YHWH's speech, it is noteworthy that the inset neither mentions YHWH, nor does it contain a pronominal reference or address to him. Frequently such a communicative marker is added in translations, at times with recourse to the expansory reading *οὐ δουλεύσω σοι* of LXX-Vaticanus and the Lucian recension.[40] Yet, in the MT, the focus of the inset is centered entirely on Jerusalem. Rather than as a direct response to YHWH, the expression לֹא אֶעֱבֹד is thus more precisely to be understood as an articulation of Jerusalem's determination to be ruled, in general, by no one at all. This reading is affirmed by the use of the lexeme עבד in Jer. Apart from personal references, such as YHWH's prophetic servants or Zedekiah's attendants (e.g., 7.25; 22.2-4), the theme of servitude is never connected to YHWH but exclusively to idols and foreign nations.[41] In view of the references to Egypt and Assyria in 2.18, and the political idiom of yoke-breaking in 2.20aα,[42] the national dimension lies close at

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39. So, e.g., Lundbom (p. 278), Fretheim (p. 69), Craigie (p. 37), Carroll (p. 130), Schmidt (p. 91). Wolff himself comments only on the authenticity of 2.20 which remains a possibility for him ("könnte vielleicht echt sein"); *Zitat*, p. 71.

40. See, e.g., Duhm, p. 24: "Ich will [dir] nicht dienen;" McKane (p. 39): "I will not be subject to you." So also *NIV*, *NET*, *CEB*, *NLT*. Reference to Vaticanus (= לֹא אֶעֱבְדֵךְ) is made, e.g., by Wolff (*Zitat*, p. 71), Cornill, (p. 23), and Volz (p. 24).

41. The accusation against serving strange gods appears in 5.19 and elsewhere in the book (e.g., 8.2; 11.10; 13.10; 16.11-13; 22.9; 25.6; 44.3). Serving foreign nations is either a threat or command of YHWH (17.4; 25.14; see esp. ch. 27), but also a promise of security (40.9) and YHWH's deliverance (וְלֹא־יַעַבְדוּ־בוֹ עוֹד זָרִים; cf. 30.8).

42. For yoke-imagery in the Hebrew Bible and the ANE, see Biddle, *Redaction*, p. 51: "The picture is universally of oppressive political dominion and overlordship." The interpretation of 2.20 as an animal-metaphor misses this dimension; so, e.g., Schulz-Rauch, *Hosea*, p. 35 ("ein Arbeitstier, das das Joch abzuschütteln versucht"), Rudolph (p. 15), or Holladay (p. 97). But since there is no mention of an animal in the text, "kann [das Rind] also auch nicht das Vergleichsobjekt sein;" Herrmann, p. 139. This is affirmed in

hand. Jerusalem's quoted statement has nothing to do with religious service to YHWH but expresses first and foremost her determination to maintain her status of political independence.

If the quotation is not a direct response to YHWH, how does it relate to his initial rehearsal of past deliverance? To answer this question one needs to attend to the imbalance between 2.20aα and 2.20aβ. Not only is YHWH's twofold and affirmative account of his redemption (שָׁבַרְתִּי/נִתַּקְתִּי) set against Jerusalem's short and negative declaration (לֹא אֶעֱבֹד), the relational dynamics of his speech (*"I* broke *your* yoke") likewise contrast with the egocentric perspective of the city ("I will not serve"). This formal and communicative disparity between YHWH's address and Jerusalem's self-assertion points to her disregard for the fact that her broken bondage is owed entirely to YHWH. Not only is there no grateful response,[43] but even the most basic acknowledgment of YHWH's agency in her liberation is lacking as well. The contrast between the two utterances in 2.20a points to a disconnect in terms of communication—YHWH addresses her, she does not reply to him—which reflects a deeper, relational disorder. Concerned only with herself, Jerusalem shows no awareness of what YHWH has done for her in the past. Although it was him who has set her free, she sees only herself and speaks only on her own terms.

In response to Jerusalem's self-absorbed speech, YHWH quickly moves the discourse from serving nations to serving other deities.[44] Indicated by the adversative כִּי in 2.20b (see textual notes), this blurring between the national and religious dimensions of Jerusalem's misbehaviour is meant to confront her quoted words. By pointing her to her idolatrous ways, YHWH exposes her assertion of autonomy to be far from the truth:

2.20aα	YHWH:	I have released you from serving other nations.
2.20aβ	Jerusalem:	I will not serve.
2.20b	YHWH:	But you *are* serving, namely, other deities!

By means of framing the quotation in this manner, the city's self-assured freedom is positioned between YHWH as her liberator (2.20aα) and the other deities as her newly acquired lords (2.20b). This particular juxtaposition serves to support two arguments. First,

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Foreman's study of animal metaphors in Jer; cf. *Animal*, pp. 190-191.

43. Cf. Craigie (p. 37) speaks of "profound ingratitude."

44. The phrase עַל־כָּל־גִּבְעָה גְּבֹהָה וְתַחַת כָּל־עֵץ רַעֲנָן appears in whole or with variations x16 in the Hebrew Bible, often with explicit references to the worship of other deities (e.g., Deut 12.2; 1 Kgs 14.23; Isa 57.5-7). For the interrelationship of these occurrences, see Holladay, "On Every High Hill and Under Every Green Tree," *VT* 11, no. 2 (1961): 170-176.

Jerusalem's service to other gods highlights her lacking acknowledgment of YHWH's redemption. If she would regard him as her deliverer, surely she would devote herself to him alone. Second, the construction serves to articulate the striking accusation that Jerusalem has abused YHWH's liberation in such an irrational way as to put herself again in bondage.[45] As she appears not to realize that her current religious activities ensnare her in new structures of dependence, YHWH's reply in 2.20b aim to present her as a self-deluded character. In the framing enclosure of YHWH's address and the quick transition from political independence to religious dependence, the inset functions to declare Jerusalem to be an incoherent conversation partner who is ignorant as to whom she owes her freedom and blind as to who currently owns her.

This conclusion finds expression also in the poetic constitution of 2.20 which presents itself as two parallel verse-halves:

	2.20a		2.20b
A	כִּי מֵעוֹלָם	A'	כִּי
B	שָׁבַרְתִּי עֻלֵּךְ	B'	עַל־כָּל־גִּבְעָה גְּבֹהָה
	נִתַּקְתִּי מוֹסְרֹתַיִךְ		וְתַחַת כָּל־עֵץ רַעֲנָן
C	וַתֹּאמְרִי לֹא אֶעֱבֹד	C'	אַתְּ צֹעָה זֹנָה

While Bozak has made an important case for considering the antithetical dynamics of the poetry of 2.20, it is not clear how, according to her analysis, both C-elements "stand apart from the first two [i.e., A-B]."[46] As we have noted above, the quotation in 2.20a (C) is not necessarily in antithesis to A-B. Moreover, in the second half of the verse, the phrase אַתְּ צֹעָה זֹנָה (C') is entirely continuous with the prepositional clause of A'-B'. Poetic antithesis is at work in this verse, yet in a different way than Bozak has suggested. Introduced by their respective כי-conjunctions, both halves of the verse contain a two-part description of the divine sphere, viz. YHWH and idols (B/B'), and a closing statement of Jerusalem's activity (C/C'). The contrast unfolds not within the verse-halves, but rather across them: the agency which has brought about the city's freedom (YHWH's breaking/bursting) stands against the

45. McKane (p. 42) comments on "the irrationality of the manner in which she has exercised her freedom." This irrationality is brought out more strongly in LXX which extends the quoted inset to include all of 2.20b: *καὶ εἶπας οὐ δουλεύσω ἀλλὰ πορεύσομαι ἐπὶ πᾶν βουνὸν ὑψηλὸν καὶ ὑποκάτω παντὸς ξύλου κατασκίου ἐκεῖ διαχυθήσομαι ἐν τῇ πορνείᾳ μου*. In this reading, Jerusalem not only contradicts her assertion of autonomy by her own speech but she also blatanly declares her devotion to other deities. Since this declaration is reserved in MT until the quotation in 2.25b, Diamond and O'Connor are entirely Hebrew and Greek versions of Jer 2.1-3.5 "alternative performances." For other substantial differences between MT and LXX, see their discussion in "Passions," pp. 134-141, and also the comparison by Finsterbusch, "Kommunikationsebenen."

46. "Heeding," p. 536.

recipients of her current devotion (hill/tree); the assertion of freedom expressed in her speech stands against the reality of her activities as a whore. Whereas the contrast between B and B' highlights her ingratitude and the illogical nature of her behaviour, the contrast between C and C' effectively undermines her assertion of freedom. Rather than giving "a specific example" of what she has spoken,[47] the bending before other gods exposes her speech as a delusion which does not square with reality. Jerusalem thinks she is free from all; yet, her deeds on *every* hill and under *every* tree demonstrate the exact opposite.[48] By means of the quick interplay between political and religious dependence, the particular framing of the inset within YHWH's speech, and the poetic constitution of the verse, the first speech quotation of Jerusalem in 2.1-3.5 presents her in a state of self-assured independence which is ungrateful with regard to YHWH's salvation and unrealistic with regard to her current illicit worship.

From these observations on the quoted inset and its immediate frame of YHWH's two speeches in 2.20, we turn now to the other two verses of this unit. Since the dynamics of inset and frame stand at the head of 2.20-22, our primary question is how the address and argumentation of verses 21 and 22 continue and develop this introduction. As a reinforcement of the assertion in 2.20aα, YHWH's speech in 2.21 also opens by recalling his well-meaning actions in the past which are articulated here by means of an agricultural image (נְטַעְתִּיךְ שֹׂרֵק). The language of planting (נטע), often in conjunction with building (בנה), is used in Jeremiah primarily to express YHWH's benevolent intentions[49] and this is evidently also in view in 2.21 (cf. the supreme quality of the seed material; זֶרַע אֱמֶת). While the vehicle for YHWH's argumentation thus advances from the image of the yoke to that of the vine, the plant rhetoric communicates the same point, namely, that Jerusalem has abused her YHWH-given freedom: YHWH liberates, she goes to other deities; YHWH plants, she grows into something that he had not intended.[50] As in 2.20, the problem is not that YHWH's expectations and hopes are disappointed by a partial or insufficient fulfillment, but rather, that they have been entirely overturned (הפך).[51] At the same time, however, the planting

47. In Bozak's analysis, אַתְּ צֹעָה זֹנָה "indicates how the Israelites realized in deeds what they expressed in words;" "Heeding," p. 535.

48. "Not only does she break her vow not to serve, but her 'serving' becomes indiscriminate;" Moughtin-Mumby, *Sexual and Marital Metaphors*, p. 11.

49. Cf. 1.10; 18.9; 24.6; 29.5, 28; 31.5, 28; 32.41; 42.10. For נטע in different contexts, see the threats in 11.17 and 45.4, the code of conduct of the Rechabites (35.7), and the complaint in 12.1-3.

50. Wischnowsky speaks here of a "Pervertierung der von Jahwe intendierten Daseinsberechtigung;" *Zion*, p. 123.

51. While Isa 5.1-7 is often evoked in discussions of the plant imagery in 2.21 (e.g., Duhm, p. 25; Carroll, p. 131), Jindo draws attention also to the verbal links with Judah's blessing in Gen 49.11 (שורק/גפן/כבס): "The

imagery takes the argumentation of 2.20 a step further in that it asserts that Jerusalem not only owes her autonomy to YHWH but, on a deeper level, her existence as such. All of her life is rooted in his act of planting and was dependent on his care and cultivation. Yet, her conduct and development shows no recognition of this fundamental aspect of her life. She acts as if she had life on her own with no responsibility to him who gave it to her. The divine shock and frustration at this irrational and ungrateful behaviour finds expression both in the exclamation אֵיךְ in 2.21b and the emphatic, fronted pronoun וְאָנֹכִי in 2.21aα. In juxtaposition with אַתְּ in 2.20bβ, this self-reference also serves to combine the two verses into an argument for YHWH's gracious initiative and against Jerusalem's conduct: you went after other gods, yet it was me who gave you life!

While grammar and content thus identify 2.21 as a continuation and development of the opening verse—note in addition the two waw-conjunctives—the conjunction כי אם which leads into 2.22 marks this verse as conclusion of the unit. From the metaphorical use of כבס in the parallel Jerusalem-passage in 4.14 (כַּבְּסִי מֵרָעָה לִבֵּךְ יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם) and the appeal in Ps 51.4 (כַּבְּסֵנִי מֵעֲוֹנִי), we can deduce that YHWH speaks here of internal cleansing, that is, of eradicating one's record of iniquity or guilt.[52] In the present context, however, כבס is not used in an appeal or as a petition. To the contrary, the preceding critique of Jerusalem's independence and her overthrow of YHWH's good plans indicate that she does not feel any guilt at all. What is in view is a rhetorical and hypothetical scenario (כי אם) rather than a description of the city's actual desire to come clean before YHWH.[53] While she appears to see nothing wrong in her course, the washing image declares that her breaking away from YHWH has, in fact, reached a point of no return.[54] On the rhetorical foundation of yoke and plant, this final verse offers YHWH's grave evaluation of Jerusalem's state and fate: her guilt cannot be washed away, her relationship with YHWH has been permanently spoiled.

As shown here, the argumentation of dynamics of frame and inset in 2.20 moves via the affirmation and intensification of the plant imagery to this final verdict. The abrupt

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oracle in Jer 2:21-22 reverses the meaning of the imagery in Gen 49:11 from blessedness to corruption. This ironic twist expresses the divine frustration at the 'choicest grapes,' expected to be the ultimate symbol of blessing, turning into the utterly corrupt grape;" *Metaphor*, p. 185.

52. According to Schulz-Rauch (cf. *Hosea*, pp. 47-48), this iniquity is of a cultic nature (כבס occurs non-metaphorically mostly with reference to ceremonial washing; cf. Exod 19.10; Lev 11.25; Num 8.7). Yet, as he himself states, נכתם is a hapax legomena and it is questionable in how far its post-biblical attestation and interpretation in terms of cultic uncleanness can be read back into Jer 2.22.

53. The compound conjunction כי אם is used in this way, e.g., in Exod 8.21; 9.2; Deut 11.22; Prov 2.3; Eccl 4.10; Isa 10.22; Jer 7.5; 37.10; Hos 9.12.

54. According to McKane (p. 43), 2.20-22 expresses ultimately "a scepticism about the possiblity of reformation;" so also Schmidt, p. 86.

change of images is not an artistic *faux pas*,[55] but an appropriate reflection of the multiple and intersecting dimensions of Jerusalem iniquity; her failure is a mixture of ingratitude, lacking acknowledgment, thwarted expectation, and irreparable corruption. Placed at the head of 2.20-22, the rhetoric of the speech quotation provides a foundation for what the images of vine and soap articulate. As Jerusalem's dependence and indebtedness to YHWH's gracious acts is established in the particular framing of her words in 2.20, the plant imagery can formulate an even stronger assertion, namely, that the city's very existence is owed to YHWH. Accordingly, the self-absorption and lacking communication which the quoted inset had articulated is to be counted all the stronger against her: as the frame grows, Jerusalem's guilt grows as well. The particulars of the plant image also provide a corroboration of the evidence for this guilt that YHWH had mounted in 2.20. In the same way in which her idol-worship proved the lacking veracity of her anti-service words, the fruit that can readily be seen to come from her likewise gives proof for her self-asserted autonomy and contrariness to YHWH's good intentions. These dynamics culminate in 2.22 which holds up her guilt stain as a piece of evidence which cannot be eradicated.

In conclusion: the mechanics of 2.20, especially the opening assertion of YHWH's redemption, the merging of political and religious aspects, and the poetic constitution of the verse, frame the quoted words of Jerusalem in such a way as to introduce and identify her as an egocentric, non-communicative, and irrational character. As the notion of YHWH as liberator is extended to the notion of YHWH as life-giver, the frame amplifies this characterization and with it also the weight of Jerusalem's guilt. As the result of this framing process and the evidence accrued along its course, Jerusalem shows in both word and deed to have utterly failed YHWH's good intentions. In juxtaposition to YHWH's good deeds which open both 2.20 and 2.21, the city is thus identified as bearing the sole responsibility for the irreparable state of the relationship. By means of its placement and the subsequent development of the frame, the first speech quotation of Jerusalem thus functions as a justification for YHWH's condemnation which is further expounded in the second part of the unit to which we now turn.

3.2 Insets and Frame in 2.23-25

The unit of 2.23-25 is arranged as a concentric structure. Marked by its relative length, medial position, and its departure from the consistent 2fs-address of the unit—in 2.16-25,

55. Duhm (p. 25), for instance, suspects behind the rapid change of topics the inexperience of the young Jeremiah: "Der junge Dichter versteht mit seinem Reichtum noch nicht recht Haus zu halten, weiss noch nicht, dass oft ein Weniger mehr ist."

only 2.23b-24 are in referential speech—the metaphor of camel and ass stands out as the central and governing element of this structure:

2.23aα	quoted speech	תֹּאמְרִי
2.23aβ	2fs-imperatives	רְאִי/דְּעִי
2.23b-24	animal imagery (בִּכְרָה/פֶּרֶה)	הָ- (x3); הָ (x3)
2.25a	2fs-imperative	מִנְעִי
2.25b	quoted speech	וַתֹּאמְרִי

While this arrangement already suggests some sort of relationship between the two quotations which open and end the passage, the lexical correspondence between the inset evidently reveals their affinity:

2.23aα	לֹא נִטְמֵאתִי אַחֲרֵי הַבְּעָלִים לֹא הָלַכְתִּי
2.25b	נוֹאָשׁ לוֹא כִּי־אָהַבְתִּי זָרִים וְאַחֲרֵיהֶם אֵלֵךְ

When compared to the quotation in 2.20, we note that both phrases are stated likewise as negative expressions. However, the distribution and function of their negative markers differs: whereas 2.23aα sets two constructions of לא + verb in sequence, 2.25b links לוא with the participle נואש. In addition to this nuance of their respective expressions, the two insets exhibit a contradictory use of the phrase הלך + אחרי which is used first in denial, then in an affirmative declaration: I have not gone after the Baals, I have gone after strangers.[56] While already the alternative reading of LXX may be explained as a reaction to this incongruity,[57] some scholars have chosen to delete the הלך-phrases altogether or to read the inset of 2.25b in conjunction with 2.26-27 or, in Biddle's case, with 2.33-34.[58] Again others have wondered if the expressions may stem from different quotees.[59] Yet, in light of the chiastic structure of

56. Overholt: "What the quotation of v. 23 denies, that of v. 25 admits, a curious kind of contradiction indeed;" "Problem," p. 268. While Wolff makes no statement regarding the relationship between the two quotations, he judges the latter one to be inauthentic because the "Selbsturteil [in 2.25b] ist im Munde des Volkes undenkbar;" *Zitat*, p. 71.

57. LXX restricts the 1cs-inset in 2.25b to Ανδριοῦμαι and places the rest of the line on YHWH's lips (ὅτι *ἠγαπήκει ἀλλοτρίους καὶ ὀπίσω αὐτῶν ἐπορεύετο*) who thus gives an explanation for Jerusalem's denial. For retroversion and discussion of this "alternative performance," see Diamond and O'Connor, "Passions," p. 139.

58. Whereas Duhm (cf. pp. 25-27; followed by Cornill, p. 25) describes both הלך-phrases as illogical and unnecessary additions, Volz (p. 24) and Rudolph (p. 16) excise לֹא הָלַכְתִּי from 2.23a with explicit reference to 2.25b. Lundbom (p. 280), otherwise so astutely aware of rhetorical structures, breaks up the chiasm of 2.23-25 because "the people cannot deny going after the Baals, and then be quoted in the same oracle as saying they are hopelessly attached to the same." According to Herrmann's redaction, 2.25b is a later addition which has "keinen direkten Bezug mehr zu V. 25a;" p. 145. For Biddle's rearrangement, see *Redaction*, p. 56.

59. So Schmidt (p. 90): "Spiegeln V. 23.25 eventuell verschiedene Positionen von Gruppen—im Gegenüber zu Jeremia—wider?"

2.23-25, the consistent 2fs-address to Jerusalem across 2.16-25, and the clear break between 2.25 and 2.26, neither of these proposals is convincing. The particular phrasing and the tension between the quoted insets can only be understood in view of their contextual parameters and the sequential unfolding of the argumentation into which they are embedded.

That 2.23 marks a new step in YHWH's argumentation is signaled once again by a question particle (איך; cf. 2.5, 11, 14, 17-18).[60] Although 2.22 had the character of summary and pause, YHWH again takes up his address and engages Jerusalem despite her aversion and the dim hope for reconciliation. In parallel construction to 2.20aβ, the quoted inset of 2.23aα is phrased as a self-referential and negative statement. Yet, as a development from the previous quotation, it consists of two constructions of לא + verb: according to Jerusalem's words, she is not unclean (לֹא נִטְמֵאתִי), she has not gone (לֹא הָלַכְתִּי) after the Baalim. Since a conjunction is lacking, the parallelism of these two phrases is probably best understood as an ascending argumentation in which the second statement is offered to affirm the initial assertion.[61] Jerusalem adduces the denial of having devoted herself to any other religious entities besides YHWH as a forceful and insistent defence of her purity.

As a parallel to 2.21b (וְאֵיךְ נֶהְפַּכְתְּ), the "How" of 2.23aα is likewise of a rhetorical nature, that is, it does not ask for an answer but is posed to level an accusation at the addressee.[62] The incentive for YHWH's attack is that Jerusalem's assertive speech reveals itself to be a blatant lie when compared to the assertions and evidence in 2.20-22: her relations to other deities (v. 20b) stands again her denial of the Baalim, her overturn of YHWH's good intentions (v. 21) leaves no room for her implicit assertion of upright walk, her stain of guilt (v. 22) shows her denial of defilement to be far from the truth.[63] By means of this evident contradiction, the speech quotation in 2.23aα is framed as a verbal affirmation of the foregoing exposure of Jerusalem's incoherent behaviour and her inadequate

60. Herrmann (p. 143) ascribes to איך "eine vermittelnde Funktion, die nach der Abschlußformel V. 22 eine Art Neubeginn, aber im gleichen Sachzusammenhang, darstellt."

61. The verb טמא occurs only five times in Jer. Apart from 2.7 (וַתְּטַמְּאוּ אֶת־אַרְצִי), all references relate to idol worship (cf. 7.3; 19.13; 32.34). In Carroll's view (p. 132), it is not clear whether the quotee denies her devotion to the Baalim—Duhm energically denies this (cf. p. 25)—or that this devotion brings about defilement. Since there is no conjunction in the MT (cf. LXX: καὶ), the structure of repetition (לא) and addition (אהרי בעלים) supports the interpretation given here, as does Holladay's comment on the word order: "As if to say: 'Baals? I have not gone after *them*!" p. 100 (emphasis original).

62. Cf. Overholt, "Problem," p. 268; Carroll, p. 132.

63. While Holladay (p. 100) understands this as a "tangle of contradictions" and Craigie (p. 38) as hypocrisy, the assessment by Schulz-Rauch is more to the point: "Auf den Schuldaufweis reagiert das Volk mit *Leugnen*" (*Hosea*, p. 34; emphasis original).

communication. Apparently, she sees no commitment to speak truthfully to YHWH.[64] Beyond mere affirmation, however, the extended inset and the contradictory framing has a significant impact on the development of the discourse as such. As Jerusalem's lie not only affirms the deep-seated guilt but also her ignorance thereof, YHWH's graphic efforts in 2.21-22 must be judged to have failed. Far from realization or repentance, Jerusalem even doubles her efforts to consolidate her egocentric position (לא x2). This stern reinforcement noticeably changes the way in which YHWH addresses her. While it is striking that there is any further address at all after the revealing and resistant speech of 2.23aα, it is noteworthy that YHWH no longer makes any references to himself in 2.23b-25 (cf. שָׁבַרְתִּי in v. 20; נְטַעְתִּיךְ in v. 21; לְפָנַי in v. 22). The focus of this unit, both in his address and the third-person account of the animals, rests entirely on Jerusalem; the strong denial of her guilt, it seems, has led YHWH to distance himself from his defiant addressee. If she will not acknowledge him as her lord and life-giver and if not even the fateful pronouncement of 2.22 can produce an appropriate response, her egocentric perspective must be targeted with different rhetorical measures than further accounts of his care and goodwill. The speech quotation in 2.23aα thus functions as a pivotal element within the frame of YHWH speech and as a justification for its turn to a more forceful and provocative address.

This shift in YHWH's verbal strategy comes to expression immediately in the use of imperatives in 2.23-25 of which there were none in 2.20-22.[65] While the double-command רְאִי/דְּעִי is an apt expression of the divine frustration at the quotation in 2.23aα, it serves primarily to point to counter-evidence which would expose the lacking validity of Jerusalem's words:[66] Look at your way in the valley, consider what you have done! While the exact location and events associated with this particular valley remain inevitably speculative, the imperatives indicate that the extended animal metaphor in 2.23b-24 provides a commentary in this regard.[67] As shown in the layout of 2.23-25 above, the imagery of the

64. Weiser (pp. 26-27) appropriately summaries these dynamics: "Es wirft ein bezeichnendes Licht auf die Entartung des Gottesvolks, daß es, obwohl es schuldbefleckt 'vor Gottes Angesicht' steht, seine Unschuld mit einer glatten Lüge zu bekennen wagt."

65. This particular pair of imperatives was already used in 2.19 (וּדְעִי וּרְאִי), where it likewise gives expression to YHWH's frustration and intensified address.

66. Volz (p.26): "Dem trotzigen Leugnen gegenüber weist Jeremia auf die stärksten Auswüchse hin;" So also Nicholson (p. 37).

67. So Foreman, *Animal*, p. 152: "The two animal metaphors occur in apposition to this statement [i.e., v. 23aβ] and thus help to illustrate the phrase." In Foreman's view, the valley is not a mere metaphor but refers to the Valley of Ben Hinnom (cf. גיא in 7.32 and 19.6) and "to literal acts of Baal worship;" cf. ibid., pp. 152-156. While some scholars share this view (e.g., Giesebrecht, p. 11; Condamin, p. 17; Hitzig, p. 17; Rudolph, p. 17; Fischer, p. 168), others remain doubtful (e.g., Duhm, p.26; Carroll, p. 133; McKane, p.43). Böhler suggests instead a valley at Bet Pegor; cf. "Geschlechterdifferenz," pp. 113-114. The exact nature of *what* was practiced in

camel and the wild ass occupies the central position in the concentric arrangement of this unit; it is the nucleus around which the imperative phrases and the speech quotations are organized. In contrast to the communication structure of the rest of the unit, and to 2.14-25 as a whole, the account in 2.23b-24 is not phrased in direct address ("*you* are a camel"), but entirely in referential language.[68] Besides highlighting the central role of the metaphor, this distinction affirms the change in YHWH's verbal strategy to which we have referred above. Since the previous, direct accusations have had no effect, the referential, evocative account of camel and ass provides an object lesson which is meant to speak louder than a direct rebuttal.

According to Foreman's analysis, the image "is *theological*, and not moral or political" as other animal metaphors in Jer.[69] If, however, the 2fs-addressee is identified as Jerusalem, there may well be a political dimension to her running after lovers, that is, after alliances with other nations.[70] As parallels to דרך in 2.18 and 2.33, the "chasing to and fro on her ways" (מְשָׁרֶכֶת דְּרָכֶיהָ) might likewise have political overtones. In conjunction with the reference to the Baalim in 2.23aα, the metaphor thus introduces into 2.23-25 the same blurring of religious and political entities which we have seen at work already in 2.20. As a manifestation of her uncontrollable nature,[71] Jerusalem runs after anyone who offers support, be that nations or idols. While Foreman is right to say that the function of the metaphor is not moral, i.e., an accusation against illegitimate sexual behaviour (cf. the lusty horses in 5.8), the vivid description of the lusting animal carries explicit sexual dimensions.[72] The provocative and wild nature of this metaphor strikes quite a different tone than the domestic images of yoke, plant, and soap in 2.20-22 and thus point again to the change in

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the valley remains nebulous (so, e.g., Schulz-Rauch, *Hosea*, pp. 43-44). The scholarly suggestions include Baal worship, child sacrifice for Molech, cultic prostitution, and a cult for the dead (cf. LXX: πολυανδρείῳ = "graveyard").

68. As Glanz has demonstrated, such shifts in Jer's communication structures are frequently trigger by imperatives (e.g., 4.11-14; 18.18-21; 31.7); cf. *Shifts*, pp. 304-306.

69. *Animal*, p. 160 (emphasis original). Foreman follows here Brueggemann (pp. 39-40).

70. Biddle draws attention to בקשׁ in 2.24, 33 and 4.30 and אהב in the quotation in 2.25 and 2.33; *Redaction*, p. 71. Liwak points out that זרים in 2.25, which harkens back to 2.23b-24, "auch ethnisch-politische Bezüge enthalten kann," and identifies in 2.23-25 a "Konnex zwischen Politik und Religion;" *Geschichte*, pp. 175-176. Herrmann (p. 146) notes that 2.23-25 contain "abgesehen vom 'Weg im Tal' keinen eindeutigen Hinweis auf Fremdkult."

71. Bailey and Holladay: "The young camel is the perfect illustration for all that is 'skittery' and unreliable;" "Jer. II 23-25," p. 259.

72. "In der Anwendung solcher sexuellen Metaphorik auf die Stadt wird diese als 'Triebtäterin' entwürdigt;" Wischnowsky, *Zion*, p. 145. Athalya Brenner speaks here of "pornographic qualities;" "On 'Jeremiah' and the Poetics of Pornography', in A. Brenner and F. van Dijk-Hemmes, *On Gendering Texts: Female and Male Voices in the Hebrew Bible* (BIS 1; London, New York, and Cologne: Brill), p. 183.

YHWH's communicative and rhetorical strategy. Rather than pointing Jerusalem once more to his good deeds or confronting her directly, the account about the animal in heat paints the true extent of her debasement before her eyes and provokes a response. In correspondence to the rhetoric of 2.20-22 and the blatant denial of the quotation in 2.23aα, "the allusions to animal sexuality encourage associations of a strong, irrational instinct," thus posing an implicit challenge for Jerusalem to come to her senses.[73] Like an animal in heat, her thoughtless and turbulent "service" to nations and gods not only undermines once more her initial assertion in the quoted inset of 2.20,[74] but it also eradicates any possibility of re-establishing a domesticated relationship with YHWH (cf. מִי יְשִׁיבֶנָּה).[75]

Whereas the two imperatives in 2.23aβ were intended to draw the city's attention to the object lesson of the animals, the charge in 2.25a now calls her to act in light of it. Accordingly, YHWH speaks again directly to Jerusalem (מִנְעִי) and maintains his 2fs-address also in the speech quotation in 2.25b (וַתֹּאמְרִי).[76] Rather than as an "Act religiöser Kasteiung" or as an ironic aside to some other addressee, the appeal to Jerusalem to save herself from sore feet and thirst is more plausibly related to the running desert-animal.[77] In the development of the discourse of 2.20-25, the imperative in 2.25a is YHWH's final attempt to convince her that all her efforts of chasing after other partners are both tiresome and pointless. Having thus traced the argumentation and communication pattern of the unit up to this point, we have arrived at the third and final speech quotation in 2.20-25. As the structural counterpart to the quote in 2.23aα, it marks the closing line of the passage and is

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73. Moughtin-Mumby, *Sexual and Marital Metaphors*, p. 102.

74. "Das Volk, das Jahwe nicht 'dienen' will (V. 20), ist zum Sklaven seiner ungezügelten Sinnlichkeit geworden;" Weiser, p. 27.

75. Foreman: "This apostasy has run so deep that she is unable to come back into fellowship with her God;" *Animal*, p. 161.

76. While the LXX represents the imperative in 2.25a likewise in direct address (ἀπόστρεψον τὸν πόδα σου), the final speech quotation is rendered just as 2.23b-24 as a third-person account (ἡ δὲ εἶπεν). While Finsterbusch is correct that 2.23b-25 (LXX) presents "eine Reflexion *über* das Verhalten dieses Du mit Hilfe von Bildern einer untreuen Frau," she overlooks the direct appeal in 2.25a; "Kommunikationsebenen," p. 259.

77. Hitzig (p. 18) envisions ritual clamour ("unablässig mit lauter Stimme") which dries the throat. Without further comment on the 2fs-form of the imperative, Lundbom (p. 282) thinks of a prophetic discouragement "aimed at those who are in search of the 'valley trekkers'" with a desire to return them to the good way. But already Rashi links 2.25a to the "פרא האוהב לנוע" (p. 14), and Bailey and Holladay support this connection by correlating רגלך (v. 25a) with דרכך (v. 23aβ), דרכיה (v. 23b); cf. "Jer. II 23-25," p. 260. So also Cornill (p. 25), Giesebrecht (p. 11), McKane (p. 46). Fischer (p. 169) understands the divine appeal as a gracious protection from vain pursuits; for Carroll (p. 133), it is "a rhetorical way of indicating the people's deep inability to change." While Carmichael understands רגל as a euphemism for the genitals, Carroll has rightly stated that in view of the explicit language in 2.23b-24, "euphemistic terms would be out of place." Cf. Callum Carmichael, "A Ceremonial Crux: Removing a Man's Sandal as a Female Gesture of Contempt," *JBL* 96, no. 3 (1977): 329; Carroll, *From Chaos to Covenant*, p. 296 (see references in Stiebert, *Shame*, pp. 120-121).

fraught with the expectation of how Jerusalem will react to YHWH's rhetoric of imperatives and metaphor. In marked distinction to the sequence of two elements of לא + verb in 2.23aα, the inset of 2.25b opens with a compounded, double negation (לוא + נואשׁ) which is then expounded by a causal clause (כִּי־אָהַבְתִּי זָרִים וְאַחֲרֵיהֶם אֵלֵךְ). Alongside the substantival use in Job 6.26, the Niphal participle נואשׁ occurs only two other times in the Hebrew Bible, each time as an interjection which forms part of a quoted inset just as in 2.25b (cf. 18.12; Isa 57.10).[78] Drawing from the lust-driven animal metaphor, several exegetes have understood נואשׁ as an expression of resignation ("it is hopeless"), that is, as an admission by Jerusalem to be addicted to other lovers; she can do no other than chasing after them.[79] But in its conjunction with the emphatic לוא, the contours of Jerusalem's characterization throughout 2.20-25, and the explicit content of the close parallel in 18.12,[80] it seems more fitting to interpret נואשׁ here as a resistant and even hostile expression.[81] Jerusalem's response to YHWH's final appeal in 2.25a is an emphatic and forceful rejection to even consider (cf. דְּעִי in v. 23aβ) what he has to say, let alone follow his warnings. As in the previous quotation, the reason for her defiance is evident already in the quoted inset itself, namely, in the egocentric formulation of its perspective. Jerusalem's speech is centered solely around herself (/אָהַבְתִּי אֵלֵךְ) and contains no reference or address to YHWH at all; it is not his appeals or warnings but only ever her desires and decisions which inform her actions.

In comparison to the other quotations, however, the inset of 2.25b is much more explicit as regards Jerusalem's incentive to answer YHWH with denial: she says "no!" to his warning because she loves strangers. While there appears to be a general agreement among interpreters that זרים refers here to idols or other deities, the term is used in Jer only once in this way (cf. 3.13; with תַּחַת כָּל־עֵץ רַעֲנָן, cf. 2.20b);[82] all other occurrences refer to foreign

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78. The inset in Isa 57 is framed as an *irrealis* quotation (לֹא אָמַרְתְּ) which is parallel to לֹא חָלְיִת (cf. the construction in 2.8a). The verb יאשׁ appears in the Niphal only once more, namely, as a qatal in 1 Sam 27.1.

79. So already Duhm (p. 27): "Jer lässt das Weib nicht sagen, dass es nicht anders will, sondern dass es nicht anders kann." So also McKane ("She is addicted to idolatry;" p. 56), Craigie (p. 38), Fretheim (pp. 69-70), Fischer (p. 169). Overholt thinks that in this quotation "the people acknowledge the accuracy of the prophet's charge;" "Problem," p. 268 (so also Allen, p. 49, and Thompson, p. 179). It seems, though, that the opening phrase נואשׁ לוא identifies the inset not as an admission that YHWH's accusations have been right, but rather, as a blatant disregard for his charges in general (cf. Holladay, p. 102: "I don't care!;" see notes on translation above).

80. Cf. 18.12: נוֹאָשׁ כִּי־אַחֲרֵי מַחְשְׁבוֹתֵינוּ נֵלֵךְ וְאִישׁ שְׁרִרוּת לִבּוֹ־הָרָע נַעֲשֶׂה.

81. So also LXX (Ανδριοῦμαι) and Syr (cf. Holladay, p. 102, who also points to Rashi's discussion which renders נואשׁ as "an expression of contempt and indifference"). Calvin (p. 124) also thought that the "elliptical expression [לוא] is more forcible to set forth the ferocity of the people." Weiser (p. 27): "Das 'Nein' des Ungehorsams;" Hardmeier: "Mit unbändigem Trotz;" "Redekomposition," p. 26.

82. This passage is missing in Fischer's compilation (p. 169). Rudolph sees the זרים in 2.25b as local cults of Baals and numina (p. 17); so also Wolff (*Zitat*, p. 46), Duhm (p. 27), Lundbom (p. 284), Wanke (pp.

people (5.19; 30.8; 51.2, 51) or non-personal objects (מים in 18.14). Since we have detected the merging of national and religious dimensions already in 2.20 and in 2.23b-24 and since the twofold nuance of זרים is common across the Hebrew Bible, it is preferable not to regard this ambiguous term here exclusively as a referent for other deities.[83] What the inset articulates, then, is not that Jerusalem refuses YHWH because other gods have shown themselves to be superior. Rather, her outright declaration to prefer virtually everyone else over against him indicates a default dismissal for YHWH which, in view of the initial נואש לוא, appears to stem from her deep-seated defiance for him. As a manifestation and confirmation of her uncontrollable chase after her lovers, the emphatic opening and self-revelatory reasoning of 2.25b shows what truly lies beneath the surface.[84]

From these observations regarding the content and formulation of the quoted words, we will now turn to its role within the chiastic structure of 2.23-25. As argued above, the contradiction between the insets in 2.23aα and 2.25b defies any convenient resolution and the tension between לֹא הָלַכְתִּי and וְאַחֲרֵיהֶם אֵלֵךְ must be recognized as an integral and meaningful element of this unit. As the first and most obvious observation, the sequence of denial and assertion shows 2.23aα to have been a lie. What was already indicated by the contradictions between the inset and YHWH's accusations in 2.20-22 is thus affirmed by Jerusalem's own speech. Provoked by the offensive animal imagery and YHWH urgent appeals, Jerusalem no longer holds up the facade of 2.23aα but simply blurts out her true attitude towards YHWH.[85] Driven by her stern opposition to YHWH, she speaks her mind without regard to her previous words. The framing of the two insets against one another thus functions to characterize Jerusalem as an entirely incoherent and unreasonable conversation partner who not only dismisses YHWH's good word but also overrides her own statements. In this way, the contradictory quotations affirm the irrational and debased

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41-42), and Craigie (p. 38). The most thorough argument for this interpretation is found in Schulz-Rauch, *Hosea*, pp. 49-52.

83. For other gods, cf., e.g., Deut 32.16; Ps 44.21; Isa 43.12; for foreigners, cf., e.g., Deut 25.5; Job 15.19; Ps 54.5; Prov 5.10; Isa 1.7. As an attempt to resolve the contradiction between 2.23aα and 2.25b, Biddle argues that זרים refers not to the Baalim but exclusively to other nations (cf. *Redaction*, p. 53). Yet, alongside the references listed here, the double dimension of זרים in 2.25b is reflected already in the interpretation in Targum and affirmed, for instance, by Cornill (p. 25), Holladay (p. 102), and Liwak (cf. *Geschichte*, pp. 175-176); so also *NIDOTTE* 1:1142; *TLOT* 1:523-525. Note further the lemma אהב in 2.25b which is used within 2.1-3.5 and the rest of Jer in both religious and political contexts (cf. 2.2, 33; 8.2; 22.20-22; 30.14; 31.3).

84. *Pace* Brueggemann (p. 36) who thinks that in the quotes in 2.20-28 "everything Judah says is false."

85. The quotation in 2.25b thus fits well under Wolff's discussion of quotes of clarification: "Eine andere Art von Verdeutlichung der Rede ist es, wenn die *Worte der Herzen* vom Propheten als Worte der Lippen zititert werden. Das *Verborgene wird ans Licht gerückt*, die Gesinnung wird offenbar;" *Zitat*, p. 81 (emphasis original).

depiction of Jerusalem as illustrated in the animal metaphor. In the same way in which she runs in headless pursuit to and fro after nations and gods, her speech likewise is arbitrary, illogical, and in blatant opposition to YHWH's hopeful aspirations.

The conflict of Jerusalem's statements thus leaves no doubt that YHWH's object lesson and his appeals in 2.23aβ-25a have been utterly disappointed. While YHWH's speech in 2.23-25 aims at conviction, repentance, and reconciliation, Jerusalem's explosive rejection and her determination to go her own way has overthrown all hope for such a resolution. In its final position, the quoted speech of Jerusalem in 2.25b functions to show that the breakdown of the relationship between YHWH and the city is solely to be counted as her failure to come to her senses and to heed his well-meaning warnings. As her final and stern words make no reference to YHWH and leave no room for further engagement, they break off the conversation and thus deepen the fateful chasm within the relationship. While YHWH had already distanced himself after her denial of guilt in 2.23aα, Jerusalem's resolute "no!" brings a decisive end to this round of his communication with her.

4. Integration

On the basis of this detailed analysis of the speech quotations in 2.20-22 and 2.23-25, we will now draw some conclusions regarding their interrelationship and function in the unit of 2.20-25 as a whole.

As mentioned at the beginning of our analysis and as aptly demonstrated throughout the discussion, the unit of 2.20-25 is characterized by a quick and abrupt succession of images, questions, and imperatives. This particular literary surface and the conspicuous placement of the quotes at the opening of the first sub-unit (v. 20aβ) and at the boundaries of the second (vv. 23aα, 25b) suggests that they play a structuring role.[86] In light of our analysis, however, it appears that this conclusion ascribes too much autonomy and significance to the quotations. Ultimately, it is the frame that dictates the interpretation and input of the insets by its particular modes of integration. After all, the unit does not open with a quoted inset, but with the governing perspective of YHWH as deliverer which is subsequently reinforced and expanded by his depiction as life-giver (2.21). In view of 2.20-22 as a whole, Jerusalem's speech quotation is a brief and subordinate element which serves solely as a foundation for the exaltation of YHWH's good intentions and deeds and as a justification for his condemnation of the city who is so deeply tainted by her guilt. In 2.23-25, the organizing

86. Böhler, for instance, states that the quotes in 2.20-25 are "strukturtragend;" "Geschlechtsdifferenz," p. 97. Craigie (p. 36): "The structure of the passage as a whole is dominated by the quoted words of Israel;" similar also Lundbom (pp. 275-276) and Schulz-Rauch, *Hosea*, pp. 33-37.

principle are not the quotes, but the animal metaphor which is identified as such by its length, placement, and referential style. As argued here, the structural relationship and conceptual tension between the speech quotations does not organize this section but stands entirely in the service of YHWH's implicit comparison between Jerusalem and the uncontrollable and irrational animal. This supportive function of the quotations is evident also in Jerusalem's self-confessed devotion to the זרים in 2.25b which provides a conclusive confirmation of the rhetorical blending of the political and religious dimensions of her ways that was established before in the frame (cf. 2.20, 23b-24). Overall, the frame determines the structure, development, and rhetoric of this unit and the speech quotations function within it as subordinate elements which are employed to affirm and justify its assertions.

If one can speak of these three quotations in terms of structure then this needs to be restricted to the insets themselves and, more specifically, to the configuration of the discourse. As shown above, 2.20-25 is marked by a progressive development in YHWH's address and rhetoric. After the guilt-stain and Jerusalem's blatant denial of it, his verbal strategy changes from reiterating his gracious deeds and plans and the domestic images in 2.20-22 to the focus on Jerusalem, the imperatival mood, and the wild imagery in 2.23-25. In contrast to 2.20 and 2.23, the final quotation lacks his reply, thus indicating his frustrated withdrawal from his recalcitrant conversation partner. This progress is paralleled by the communicative trajectory which the three insets articulate across 2.20-25. As argued above, the sequence of quotations begins in 2.20 with a brief, negative statement (לֹא) which primarily expresses Jerusalem's determination of autonomy. YHWH's deliverance which lies at the root of her freedom is neither acknowledged nor received with thanksgiving. From this first statement, Jerusalem's position develops to an extended denial in 2.23 (לֹא x2) which is more forceful in its self-affirmation and articulates an active affront against YHWH's assessment. Finally, the trajectory of quotations culminates in the fronted rejection of 2.25 (נוֹאָשׁ לֹוא) in which Jerusalem blatantly dismisses YHWH and declares her total independence.[87] This movement and intensification of her words across the unit gives expression to the growing distance between Jerusalem and YHWH and shows that she alone is responsible for the broken and irreparable relationship. Articulated alongside the patterns and progression of YHWH's speech, the particular sequence of Jerusalem's quoted words explains the intensification of the divine address in 2.23-25 and justifies the termination of

87. In the context of 2.20-37, Schulz-Rauch draws attention to the formal uniqueness of the denial in 2.25b ("nur in V25b wird לא absolut gebraucht") and identifies it appropriately as "den Höhepunkt der Argumentation;" *Hosea*, p. 36. Schmidt (p. 90) sees in the quotes in 2.20-25 "eine zusammenhängende Folge mit der Tendenz zur Steigerung."

his address which, by implication, prefigures the termination of his relationship with the city.

Related to these matters of communication, the quotations exhibit another characteristic across 2.20-25 which is worth noting. Interpreters at times speak of this section in terms of a dialogue, that is, of YHWH and Jerusalem conversing with one another, if only as a rhetorical construction.[88] In our analysis, however, we noted at several points that the insets are not particularly well connected to their frames. None of them contains a pronoun or any such reference which would indicate a direct address of YHWH, let alone an appropriate response to his words. All through the unit, Jerusalem speaks only ever with reference to herself, her deeds, her ambitions, her preferences. Her mechanic לֹא-statements are an alien element within YHWH's speech and it almost appears as if she is talking to herself. It is this self-absorption which underlies her ignorance of YHWH's deliverance and life-giving power (2.20-21) and her determination to go in her own ways (2.23b). The sustained self-focus of the quotations thus provides a supportive affirmation of the independent and egocentric characterization which is articulated and criticized by the frame. Appropriately, the 1cs-verb אֵלֵךְ marks the end of the unit. Since Jerusalem is determined only to speak her mind and go her way, YHWH no longer sees any possibility for fruitful conversation and communion.

As was evident in this last point, the aspects of communication and characterization are closely intertwined in 2.20-25. In their subordinated position in the frame, the quoted statements present the city throughout in terms which serve to support its dominant themes of YHWH as redeemer and life-giver and of Jerusalem as headless animal. All across the ungrateful and illogical manoeuvering between gods and nations in 2.20, the resistant denial in 2.23, and the hostile rejection in 2.25, the city is characterized by her quoted words as an unreasonable and incoherent entity for whom all words and warnings come too late. What the frame asserts about her unexpected and wild growth (2.21) and her uncontrollable and headless behaviour (2.23b-24) is demonstrated verbally in her egocentric phrases and the self-contradiction between 2.23aα and 2.25b. As characterized by the three speech quotations in 2.20-25, Jerusalem has disappointed all hope of a reasonable reception of YHWH's engaged attempts to bring her to repentance and to bring about reconciliation.

In summary, the function of quoted speech in 2.20-25 is to be understood primarily along the lines of communication and characterization. The insets do not structure the material in this unit, rather, they are integrated into YHWH's speech to support its assertions about himself and the city. In parallel to his own verbal manoeuvers, the sequence and

88. So, e.g., Fretheim, pp. 74-75; Carroll, p. 132.

intensification of Jerusalem's quoted statements across the unit manifests her firm and ever-increasing detachment from YHWH. Substantiated by the self-focus and the deficient communicative integration of the quotations, this sequence seeks to corroborate the central argument of the unit, namely, that Jerusalem is to be identify as the partner who is ultimately to be blamed for the collapse of the relationship. YHWH gave her life and freedom and labours to wake her up to her degeneration and dangerous allegiances, yet Jerusalem refuses to hear him, to acknowledge her dependence on him, and to recognize her guilt. Her words demonstrate her self-affirmation and her firm determination to live, love, and speak with no reference to YHWH whatsoever.

4. Conclusion

As an affirmation of the opening formulation of our argument, the analysis of the three quoted speeches in 2.20-25 has aptly demonstrated the possibilities and control of the framing contexts. As a result of their placement at crucial points in the discourse, the scholarly attention has often been devoted to the quoted insets themselves and their presumed structuring and dialogical properties. Yet, as shown throughout our discussion, the role and interpretation of the quotations is ultimately determined by the particulars and purposes of their integration. For instance, the way in which the short statement "I will not serve" is framed in 2.20-22 goes far beyond a mere expression of denial. The leading assertion of YHWH as redeemer and the poetic and thematic formulation of the framing verse all effect the introduction of Jerusalem as an egocentric, irrational, and non-communicative character. As the frame progresses, this initial assertion is further affirmed and extended and becomes ultimately the starting point for YHWH's condemning declaration of guilt that cannot be washed away. The function of the insets in 2.23-25 is likewise determined entirely by their contextual parameters. After all, the exposure of the lie in 2.23 is only brought about by the framing juxtapositions with 2.20-22 and the inset of 2.25. Organized around the governing animal metaphor and set against one another as structural counterparts, the self-contradiction between 2.23 and 2.25 is itself created only by the frame which utilizes it to support its depiction of Jerusalem as an incoherent and arbitrary character. The quoted speeches of Jerusalem in 2.20-25 likewise are inseparably integrated into YHWH's speech and subsumed under the goals of its rhetoric.

The speech quotations in 2.20-25 also play an important role for the aspect of communication in this passage. Of foremost significance is the consistent self-focus of the quoted insets which characterizes Jerusalem as being entirely and exclusively concerned with herself. Her disregard for YHWH which is criticized in the frame is thus demonstrated

by every word that comes from her mouth. Alongside this perspective, the speech quotations also support the development of YHWH's speech, especially in the second half of the unit. Either as its trigger or as its subsequent confirmation, the quotations in 2.23-25 were seen to provide a substantial justification for YHWH's animated address in the later half of the unit. Across the passage, the three-part sequence of Jerusalem's denial and opposition functions to establish her communicative detachment which is reflective of her relational neglect. In view of the developments of YHWH's and Jerusalem's verbal behaviour across 2.20-25, the final exclamation ("Forget it! No!") is a vindication for YHWH's assessment and accusation throughout. In the beginning, he has set her free (2.20a), yet in the end, she choses to go her own way (אֵלֵךְ; v. 2.25b).

Cult Criticism in Hosea 4:12-14

Introductory Remarks

One of the main theological themes in the book of Hosea (hereafter, Hos) is the condemnation of the cult. There are many polemic references to cultic practices and functionaries, and among the explicitly mentioned things are, for example, "baal", or "baals", בעל, בעלים (2:10, 15, 18; 11:2; 13:1), "other gods", אלהים אחרים (3:1), "horrible things", שׁעיריה (6:10), "idols", עצבים (4:17; 8:4; 13:2; 14:9), "abominations", שׁקוצים (9:10), "molten images", מסכה (13:2), "man-made gods", אלהינו למעשׂה ידינו (14:4), "mountain and hill tops", ראשׁי ההרים, הגבעות (4:13), and the royal sanctuary at Bethel, "Beth-Aven" (4:15; 5:8; 10:5), to name but a few.[1] However, nearly all cultic practices that are condemned in Hos, represent ancient features of the cult of YHWH, characterized by religious pluralism and polytheistic tendencies. Traditionally, the cult criticism in Hos has been interpreted in the light of chapters 1-3, and the marriage imagery has been read against the background of sexually-oriented Baal cult, assumed to be common in the 8th century northern kingdom. Scholars, who ascribe most of the cult criticism to the historical prophetic figure, see the idolatrous and syncretistic cult practiced by the prophet's contemporaries as the target of the polemic.[2] To explain the prophet's attitude, he has been regarded as being closely associated with northern Levitical circles, the ancestors of the Deuteronomic movement, or the prophet has been seen as belonging to the so called "YHWH-alone" party.[3] Although these interpretations would conveniently explain the cult criticism, biographical reconstructions of the prophet's life remain beyond verification. They all are extrapolated from the present form of the text, and have led to various interpretations.[4] However, most scholars are inclined

[1] As M. Weinfeld in his extensive study *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972, has pointed out, the phraseology used to condemn the cult in Hos is similar to that in Deuteronomy, in which one of the basic theological views is the struggle against idolatry. Consequently, it has often been suggested that Deuteronomy and the subsequent Deuteronomistic movement have their origin in the tradition of the 8th century BCE northern prophetic circles. However, in the present scholarship there is no consensus on the direction of literary dependence between Hos and Deuteronomy.

[2] E. g. H. W. Wolff, *Dodekapropheton 1. Hosea*, Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 1961; A. A. Macintosh, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Hosea*, ICC; Edinburg: T&T Clark, 1997; D. Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, WBC, 31; Waco: Word Books, 1987.

[3] H. W. Wolff, "Hoseas Geistige Heimat", 232-250, in *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament*, Münich: C. Kaiser, 1964; B. Lang, *Monotheism and the Prophetic Minority. An Essay in Biblical History and Sociology*, Sheffield: Almond Press, 1983; S. L. Cook, "The Lineage Roots of Hosea's Yahwism", *Semeia* 87: 145-161, 1999. Based on his cross-cultural examination of cultic conflicts, Cook presents a sociological model explaining the prophet's somewhat contradictory attitude to the cult. According to him, Hosea came from priestly lineage that had been excluded from the cult as a result of Jeroboam I's cultic action. Lang, for his part, suggests that the book of Hosea is the oldest document of the "YHWH-alone" movement, although he admits that the book as a source of this group is "not above suspicion".

[4] For a convenient summary, see B. E. Kelle's two reviews, "Hosea 1-3 in Twentieth-Century Scholarship", *CBR* 7, 2009, 177-218, and "Hosea 4-14 in Twentieth-Century Scholarship", *CBR* 8, 2010, 314-375.

to think that the prophetic proclamation in Hos can be related to the 8th century BCE setting in the northern kingdom of Israel.

From the point of view of the history of Israelite religion, the cult criticism in Hos is a complicated issue. We certainly cannot reconstruct the 8th century BCE religious situation on the basis of biblical texts, some of which have been written much later, and which often have a long history of development. As for Hos, prevailing scholarly consensus is that it has undergone several phases of redaction, continuing until the book was compiled into the final edition of the Book of the Twelve in the 3rd century BCE. So, it is obvious that during this process prophetic sayings were reformulated, reinterpreted and rewritten by Judaean redactors. Even those scholars, who ascribe most of the text to the historical prophet, acknowledge that some parts of the text belong to Judaean reworking.[5] However, the question that we need to address is how the polemic against the northern cult can be related to the 8th century prophecy, and to what extent it reflects the concepts of the redactors, since the cult criticism may have been an on-going point of concern during an extensive period of time.

Concerning the cult critical sayings in Hos, scholars have ended up in various conclusions. Emmerson, who otherwise is confident that "the essence of the prophetic message has been faithfully preserved", concludes that the redactors during the reform of Josiah overlaid the prophet's theological concepts specially by introducing polemic against the northern sanctuaries.[6] Like Emmerson, also Yee emphasizes the role of a Josianic redactor. She regards this redactor as responsible for equating the term "whoredom" with idolatrous cult, thus changing the original meaning of the term, which in the prophetic tradition referred to foreign alliances.[7] Wöhrle, for his part, sees that Hos belongs to a Deuteronomistic editing of the Book of Four (Hosea, Amos, Micah and Zephaniah) in the late exilic period.[8] The contribution of this redaction to Hos is prominent especially in certain cult critical

[5] This view is represented in many commentaries. For example, F. I. Andersen and D. N. Freedman, AB, *Hosea*, New York: Doubleday, 1980, in which the authors conclude that the composition of the book is attributable to one author, the prophet himself; and the redactors are "faithful conservators of the tradition", 53, 70; also according to Macintosh, "there can be no doubt that Hosea himself was the author and composer", in Macintosh 1997, lxix.

[6] G. I. Emmerson, *Hosea. An Israelite Prophet in Judean Perspective*, JSOTSup 28, JSOT Press: Sheffield, 1984. According to Emmerson, Hosea's attitude towards the royal sanctuary at Bethel was originally positive, on page 126 she says, "the prophet is not concerned to condemn the existence of the sanctuaries at Gilgal and Bethel…he is concerned rather with an apostate nation whose practices defiled ancient and honorable sanctuaries hallowed in Israel's past history".

[7] G. A. Yee, *Composition and Tradition in the Book of Hosea. A Redaction Critical Investigation*, SBLDS, 102; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987, 308-309. See also G. A. Yee, "She is not My Wife and I am not Her Husband": A Materialist Analysis of Hosea 1-2", *Biblical Interpretation* 9, 2001, 345-383, in which Yee points to the "YHWH-alone" thought in Hosea, which can be understood as the prophet's response to an intertwining of cult, kingship, and priesthood with foreign policy, rendering the cult as an instrument of state oppression.

[8] J. Wöhrle, "No Future for the Proud Exultant Ones. The Exilic Book of the Four Prophets (Hos., Am., Mic., Zeph.) as a Concept Opposed to the Deuteronomistic History", *VT* 58, 2008, 608-627.

sayings, which, according to Wöhrle, function as an editorial commentary on the 2 Kings 17, aimed at explaining the downfall of Israel.[9] Scholars, who see Hos as a literary product from the late postmonarchic period in the Persian Yehud, see that the cult criticism reflects solely the religious milieu in this time.[10]

In addition to the complex redactional history of Hos, another issue that we need to take into consideration when interpreting the cult critical sayings in Hos is that many previously widely accepted views, as, for example, the existence of a widespread fertility cult and temple prostitution, have become questioned in the light of the data provided by studies on nearby cultures. The concept of the origin of the Israelites in Canaan has put also the widely used term "syncretism" in a new light.

However, the overall picture in Hos is compatible with what we know of the ancient Israelite religion. The religion in ancient Israel (and Judah) was heterogeneous and polytheistic, and together with YHWH, also other deities were worshipped. This is indicated by archaeological findings like Samaria ostraca and Kuntillet 'Ajrud and Khirbet el-Qōm inscriptions from the 9th-8th centuries BCE, which give evidence for the cult of Asherah and Baal beside Yahweh. Within YHWH worship, there was regional variability, as YHWH was worshipped in different sanctuaries in different ways, which represented ancient variants of YHWH worship, like for example the use of the bull iconography.[11]

In this paper, which is part of a more comprehensive chapter in my doctoral thesis, my focus is on Hos 4:12-14. The passage contains a possible reference to the cult of Asherah, and mentions the worship on high-places, both strictly condemned in biblical texts. In this paper, I will discuss these topics, and discuss the possibility that Hos has preserved old material that refers to ancient religious practices, and this material has been utilized by later redactors for contemporary theological and political purposes. It needs to be stressed, however, that a more comprehensive discussion on the cult criticism in Hos can be presented only in the final form of the chapter.

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[9] Wöhrle maintains that the additions to the Book of the Four show literary dependence on the Deuteronomistic History (2 Kings), but express a concept opposed to it when interpreting that not only cultic, but also social offences led to the divine wrath, and social criteria will determine the future of the people. In Hos, the additions in 3:1-5*; 8:4b-6 and 13:2-3 are connected with the reflections on the downfall of the northern kingdom mentioned in 2 Kings 17; for this see, Wöhrle 2008.

[10] E. Ben Zvi, in *Hosea.* FOTL, 21a; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005. As Ben Zvi says, in post monarchic Yehud there where some groups which were "prone to worship other gods or YHWH but not in the exclusive way in which YHWH's cult was understood by the Jerusalemite center and its elite". For the religious-social crisis in the Persian period, see also R. Albertz, *A History of Israelite Religion in the Old Testament Period. Vol. 1-2*, London: SCM Press, 1992, 493ff.

[11] The bull iconography was not an innovation made by Jeroboam I. The actual role of Jeroboam I concerning the religion in the northern kingdom of Israel was in restoration of political, social and religious conditions which had been prevalent in Israel before the establishment of a united kingdom under David; for a more detailed discussion on the actions taken by Jeroboam I, see, for instance, S. Talmon, "Divergences in Calendar-Reckoning in Ephraim and Judah", *VT* 8, 1958, 48-74.

A Piece of Wood and a Staff – Polemic against Asherah?

The major themes in chapter 4 are "whoredom" and "knowledge of God". The theme of whoredom continues from Hos 1-3, but in Hos 4 it is extended to the sphere of the cult, including the condemnation of priests. Hos 4 has raised many problems, since the text is characterized by many alterations from the singular to the plural person, and changes in the themes.[12] Scholars have often explained the linguistic peculiarities as resulting from the activity of the redactors, who have extensively reworked their source material during subsequent redactional processes.[13] Verses 1-3 are addressed to the people of Israel with an exhortation to hear YHWH's word. YHWH has a controversy with the inhabitants of the land, because there is no truth, אמת, no mercy, חסד, or knowledge of God, דעת אלהים in the land (4:1), which has led to swearing, lying, murdering, stealing and adultery (4:2).[14] All this has its severe implications in the nature (4:3). In verses 4-5, YHWH's words are addressed to the priest, who will fall with the prophet. In verse 6, the people are accused of lacking knowledge of God, or, they have forgot the law. Verses 7-11 describe the sins of the priests, but "like people, like priest". The accusations against the cult begin in Hos 4:12. Overall, it is noteworthy that there are stylistic correspondences between Hos 4 and the Neo-Assyrian treaties.[15]

In the MT, Hosea 4:12-14 reads,

עמי בעצו ישאל ומקלו יגיד כי רוח זנונים התעה ויזנו מתחת לו אלהיהם׃

(12) *My people consults his piece of wood, his staff tells him. For a spirit of whoredom has led astray, and they have whored from under their God.*

The assumption that Hos 4:12 contains polemic against אשׁרה is based on the reference to עץ and מקל, and the common association of אשׁרה with trees and/or wooden material. The word עץ denotes a single tree, or trees in plural, wood as a material, but also pieces of wood, like sticks, logs, and vessels of wood; the word מקל means shoot, twig, or staff of a foot-traveler or of a shepherd, or a staff used

[12] For a detailed analysis on Hos 4:4-10, see M. deRoche, "Structure, Rhetoric, and Meaning in Hosea IV 4-10", *VT* 23, 1983, 185-198.
[13] See, e.g. Yee 1987, 160, who regards most of the contents as redactorial, prophetic tradition is identifiable only in Hos 4:4, 5b, 12bA, 18b, and 19a.
[14] The terms in Hos 4:2 resemble the Decalogue in many aspects; this topic will be discussed elsewhere in my thesis.
[15] M. Nissinen, *Prophetie, Redaktion und Fortschreibung im Hoseabuch*, AOAT, 231; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991, 168ff; see also the discussion in G. Eidevall, *Grapes in the Desert. Metaphors, Models, and Themes in Hosea 4-14*, ConBOT 43; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1996, 62.

for oracles. The word אשׁרה in the Hebrew Bible is often used with verbs which imply that it is an object made of wood: it can, for example, be כרת, "cut down", (2 Kings 18:4), גדע, "hewn" (Deut 7:5), שׂרף, and "burned with fire (Deut 12:3). Furthermore, אשׁרה can even refer to a living tree: in Deut 16:21, אשׁרה equals to a tree, אשׁרה כל־עץ, "an asherah, or any tree", and also the use of the verb נטע, "plant" suggests that אשׁרה is a living tree.[16] Also the LXX's translation of אשׁרה as ἄλσος, a "grove", points to the association of אשׁרה with trees.

But what אשׁרה precisely was, is not clear. In the Hebrew Bible, the word אשׁרה is used in various forms. It appears in singular and in plural (אשׁרות/אשׁרים), with and without the definite article.[17] Most scholars read the word as denoting a cultic object, a wooden pole, which may have been a symbol of the goddess with the same name; alternatively, in some instances אשׁרה could stand for the goddess herself (1 Kings 15:13; 18:19, and 2 Kings 21:7). However, also other readings of אשׁרה have been proposed. On the grounds of Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions, Sass notes that אשׁרה can refer to "holy place, temple", and to various other "places" and "traces", but never to a deity, cult-object, symbol or tree.[18] Margalit, for his part, points out that אשׁרה was originally a common noun meaning "wife, consort", literally "she-who-follows-in-the-footsteps (of her husband)".[19] The metaphoric use of "follow in someone's footsteps" means the marital fidelity of a wife to her husband, and to show her fidelity and loyalty to YHWH, Israel should "walk behind" his husband YHWH - as his אשׁרה.[20] Apart from these, Binger has suggested that אשׁרה is not a name, but a title of the primary goddess of the pantheon, the female counterpart of the male high-god.[21] Overall, the way how the term אשׁרה is used in the biblical texts does not contribute to the understanding of its meaning. This may be related to what Hadley suggests that by the time of the Deuteronomists and certainly the Chronicler, the term

[16] For a detailed discussion and a complete classification of references indicating the association of Asherah with the trees, see S. A. Wiggins, "Of Asherahs and Trees: Some Methodological Questions", *JANER* 1, 2002, 158-187.

[17] Ex 34:13 (אשׁריו); Deut 7:5 (אשׁריהם), 12:3 (אשׁריהם), 16:21 (אשׁרה); Judg 3:7 (האשׁרות); 6:25 (האשׁרה), 26 (האשׁרה), 28 (האשׁרה), 30 (האשׁרה); 1 Kgs 14:15 (אשׁריהם), 23 (אשׁריהם), 15:13 (אשׁרה), 16:33 (האשׁרה), (אשׁרים), 18:19 (האשׁרה); 2 Kings 13:6 (האשׁרה); 17:10 (אשׁרים), 16 (אשׁרה); 18:4 (האשׁרה); 21:3 (אשׁרה), 7 (האשׁרה); 23:4 (אשׁרה), 6 (האשׁרה), 7 (אשׁרה), 14 (האשׁרים), 15 (אשׁרה); 2 Chron 14:3 (האשׁרים); 15:16 (אשׁרה), 17:6 (האשׁרים); 19:3 (האשׁרות); 24:18 (האשׁרים); 31:1 (האשׁרים); 33:3 (אשׁרות), 19 (האשׁרים); 34:3 (האשׁרים), 4 (האשׁרים), 7 (האשׁרים); Isa 17:8 (האשׁרים); 27:9 (אשׁרים); Jer 17:2 (אשׁריהם); Mic 5:13 (אשׁריך).

[18] B. Sass, "On epigraphic Hebrew *'ŠR* and **'ŠRH*, and on Biblical Asherah*", *Trans* 46, 2014, 47-66. According to Sass, the transformation of אשׁרה from "temple" into idolatrous objects, possibly also the goddess Asherah, could have stemmed from the Deuteronomists' opposition to 'YHWH's Asherah', the divinized temple of Jerusalem gaining so much in prestige as to compete with the supremacy of YHWH himself.

[19] B. Margalit, "The Meaning and Significance of Asherah", *VT* 40, 1990, 264-297.

[20] Margalit, 1990, 278-280.

[21] T. Binger, *Asherah. Goddesses in Ugarit, Israel and the Old Testament*, JSOTSupp 232; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997, 145ff. Binger points out that the understanding the word as a title, explains 1) the use of suffixes on her name, 2) the way how the word could have been used as a divine name and an ordinary noun, and 3) why the goddess can be called the same thing in cultures as chronologically and geographically separated from each other.

had ceased to be used with any knowledge of the goddess whom it had originally represented.[22] The translators of the LXX, who no more knew what אשׁרה had been, translated the word as "grove", which shows they still had some understanding that אשׁרה was associated with trees.[23] As Smith notes, the translation of the LXX was influenced by the phenomenon of sacred groves in Hellenistic religion.[24] Zevit refers to the Mishna and Tosefta: in these traditions, אשׁרה was a living tree, which differs from the biblical tradition according to which אשׁרה could also be a man-made object.[25] In sum, it is obvious that trees were connected to the cult of אשׁרה.

Despite all ambiguity concerning אשׁרה, it was somehow connected to the cult of YHWH.[26] This is indicated by the inscriptions on two pithoi from Kuntillet 'Ajrud, and in a tomb inscription from Khirbet el-Qom originating from the 9th-8th centuries BCE, in which אשׁרה is mentioned alongside YHWH.[27] Inscriptions have been reconstructed in various ways, but in the Kuntillet 'Ajrud inscriptions, most scholars read two blessings, "I bless you by the YHWH of Samaria and by his אשׁרה" (Inscription I), and "I bless you by the YHWH of Teman, and by his אשׁרה (Inscription II)."[28] Both inscriptions thus connect אשׁרה with YHWH, but opinions diverge whether the word אשׁרה in the inscriptions refers to a goddess or a cult object. Scholars who favor a cult object, base their argument on the possessive suffix, which usually is not taken by personal names in classical Hebrew.[29] On the other hand, Binger suggests that the final ה in the names is not necessarily a possessive suffix but a locative-accusative ending, and the inscriptions can refer to a connection of YHWH to a geographical location: "Samaria's/Teman's YHW", and "Samaria's/Teman's Asherah", a concept that would be compatible with the existence of several YHWH sanctuaries in Israel.[30] In the problematic Khirbet

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[22] J. Hadley, *The Cult of Asherah in Ancient Israel and Judah. Evidence for a Hebrew Goddess*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, 62-63.
[23] Binger 1997.
[24] M. S. Smith, *The Early History of God. Yahweh and the Other Deities in Ancient Israel*, San Francisco: Harper, 1990.
[25] Z. Zevit, *The Religions of Ancient Israel. A Synthesis of Parallactic Approaches*, London: Continuum, 2001, 264-265.
[26] See, e.g. S. M. Olyan, *Asherah and the Cult of YHWH in Israel*, SBLMS 34, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988; Smith, 1990; J. Hadley, *The Cult of Asherah in Ancient Israel and Judah. Evidence for a Hebrew Goddess*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000 ; Binger, 1997; W. G. Dever, *Did God Have a Wife? Archaeology and Folk Religion in Ancient Israel*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005; C. Frevel, *Aschera und der Ausschließlichkeitsanspruch YHWHs. Beiträge zu literarischen, religionsgeschichtlichen und ikonographischen Aspekten der Asherahdiskussion. Band 1-2*, Weinheim: Beltz Atheneum Verlag, 1995.
[27] Kuntillet 'Ajrud has been assumed to be a way station, where travelers rested and made votive offering before continuing on, but, according to Na'aman and Lissovsky, it may not have been merely a way station, but a place with some sanctity, due to a prominent sacred tree (or a sacred grove) in its vicinity, and thus the association of the goddess Asherah with sacred trees could explain the elements discovered there; in N. Na'aman and N. Lissovsky, "Kuntillet 'Ajrud, Sacred Trees and the Asherah", *Tel Aviv* 35, 2008, 186-208.
[28] Binger 1997, 102ff. For a complete list of all different translations, see Appendix 2, 164-175, in the book. See also Hadley 2000, 106ff.
[29] Binger 1997, 107, points out that even the most rigid grammatical rules may have exceptions, especially in religious language suffixes could be added to proper names; on the other hand, see Binger's suggestion that אשׁרה is a title, not a name.
[30] Binger 1997, 107-108.

el-Qom inscription, there also is a blessing by or from YHWH, and some scholars have read the word אשׁרה in it as well.[31] In sum, regardless whether a goddess or her cult object is indicated, the connection of YHWH to אשׁרה is condemned in the biblical texts. Deut 16:21 prohibits from planting אשׁרה beside the altar of YHWH, but this does not seem to be a general ban on making אשׁרה, but only on putting it beside the altar of YHWH. Hence, underlying Deut 16:21 there is an existing practice related to אשׁרה, which not until in the time of the Deuteronomist movement became condemned.[32] At the earliest, the prohibition can be dated to the time of Josiah's reform, and thus it is quite possible, as Frevel suggests, that Deut 16:21 represents the beginning of the fight against אשׁרה.[33]

But what was the role of אשׁרה in the cult of YHWH? Mainly on the basis of the Kuntillet 'Ajrud and Khirbet el-Qom inscriptions, some scholars have suggested that אשׁרה was worshipped as YHWH's consort. The apparent origin of the role of אשׁרה as YHWH's consort would naturally be in the Canaanite pantheon, and in the equation of YHWH with El, whose consort Asherah originally was. However, the Hebrew Bible does not personify אשׁרה as YHWH's consort, although Gen 49:25 has sometimes been interpreted as a reference to the goddess. This assumption has been based on the argued presence of a series of divine epithets, including "breasts and womb", the Ugaritic epithets of Asherah.[34] But, as Smith points out, Gen 49:25 may attest to Asherah as El's consort, not YHWH's.[35] On the other hand, אשׁרה's association with Baal, which is indicated by some biblical texts (e.g. Judg 3:7; 6:28, 30; 1 Kgs 18:19), is not supported by the Canaanite mythology.[36] As Abma mentions, the hypothesis that אשׁרה was perceived as YHWH's consort may have been extrapolated from the study of other Ancient Near Eastern religions, in which divine couples are present.[37] It is important to consider whether אשׁרה already in the pre-exilic era had lost her status as an independent divinity, and was bound to the cult of YHWH with no functions beyond it.[38] Against אשׁרה's role as an individual goddess speaks also the absence of her name in Hebrew names as a theophoric element.[39]

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[31] For the different readings, see Binger 1997, 98ff.
[32] Binger 1997, 123–124; cf. Olyan 1988, 9.
[33] Frevel 1995, 209.
[34] See Smith 1990, 16ff. and the references therein; for a more detailed analysis of Gen 49:25, see H. Lutzky, "Shadday as Goddess Epithet", *VT* 48, 1998, 15-36.
[35] Smith 1990, 93.
[36] So, e.g. Olyan 1988; Dever 2005.
[37] R. Abma, *Bonds of Love: Methodic Studies of Prophetic Texts with Marriage Imagery (Isaiah 50:1-3 and 54:1-10, Hosea 1-3, Jeremiah 2-3)*, Assen: Van Gorcum, 1999, 16.
[38] J. Pakkala, *Intolerant Monolatry in the Deuteronomistic History*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999, 229; Hadley 2000, 80.
[39] Hadley 2000, 79; R. Albertz and R. Schmitt, *Family and Household Religion in Ancient Israel and the Levant*, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012, 540ff. Albertz and Schmitt studied over 400 Hebrew theophoric names spanning the 9th-6th centuries BCE. YHWH-names covered nearly 60% of all theophoric elements in the names, suggesting a small extent of polytheism. They also noticed a striking underrepresentation of female deities used in the Hebrew names, whereas in the Phoenician names goddesses are mentioned in 13.4% of the names.[39]

As a cult object, we may ask if the role אשׁרה was similar to that of the standing stones, מצבות, which were normal cultic objects in open-air high places. According to Mettinger, מצבות are the most original aniconic cultic symbols in West Semitic cults, and part of the Yahwistic cult from the very beginning.[40] Many biblical texts, e.g. Ex 34:13; Deut 7:5; 12:3; 16:21-22; 1 Kings 14:23; 2 Kings 23:14; Mic 5:12-14, and 2 Chron 14:2, indicate that אשׁרה and מצבה could have been set up next to each other; this is evidenced also by archaeological findings at Lackish, where the source of the ashes found in front of מצבה is most likely אשׁרה.[41] Interestingly, even though Hos does not mention אשׁרה, מצבה is mentioned in Hos 3:4 as a legitimate cultic object. Also in some other biblical texts the standard role of מצבה is evident; for example, in Gen 28:18- 22; 35:14 it is told that Jacob set up מצבה in Bethel.[42] As Taylor remarks, in the sanctuary at Bethel there were both אשׁרה and מצבה, at least based on the account of Josiah's acts in 2 Kings 23:15.[43] It seems reasonable to assume that אשׁרה, a feminine cultic object, was linked with מצבה because of the need of a female element to supplement YHWH in order to secure the fertility of the land and the cattle as well as the people.[44]

As for Hos 4:12, the passage may throw some light on the issue of אשׁרה. Although אשׁרה is not mentioned, the use of the word עץ in the phrase עמי בעצו ישאל is noteworthy. We may interpret the use of the word עץ in two ways. It can be a reference to אשׁרה, a wooden cult object or even the goddess; but also, עץ may be related to tree oracles, a form of divination common in the ancient Near Eastern religions. For the possibility that עץ stands for אשׁרה, speaks the general concept of אשׁרה as a "tree-goddess", and that in many biblical texts עץ is construed as an idol.[45] The word עץ occurs often in the formulaic phrase "wood and stone", עץ and אבן, e.g., in Deut 4:28; 28:36, 64; 29:17; 2 Kings 19:17; Jer 2:27; 3:9; Ezek 20:32, which refer to idolatry. In the phrase, אבן is likely to denote מצבה.[46] In Jer 2:27, עץ and אבן are even addressed as "father" and "mother", although in a reversed manner: עץ is addressed as "father" and אבן as "mother", but yet referring to the female and male deity.[47]

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[40] T. Mettinger, *No Graven Image? Israelite Aniconism in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context*, ConBOT 42; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1995, 193, see also the discussion on page 174.
[41] Zevit 2001, 263.
[42] N. Na'aman, "Beth-aven, Bethel and Early Israelite Sanctuaries", *ZDPV* 103:13-21, 1987.On the basis of the tradition of Jacob, Na'aman suggets that the original name of Bethel was Bēt-'āben, "House of the Stone Pillar", which by a change in spelling was read as Bēt-'āwen, "House of Wickedness" or "House of Idolatry" in order to slander the place and its temple.
[43] J. E. Taylor, "The Asherah, the Menorah and the Sacred Tree", *JSOT* 66, 1995, 29-54, 59.
[44] Albertz 1992, 85.
[45] For אשׁרה as a "tree-goddess", see Wiggins 2002, 158-187.
[46] N. Wyatt, "Word of Tree and Whisper of Stone: El's Oracle to King Keret (Kirta), and the Problem of the Mechanics of Its Utterance", *VT* 57, 2007, 500.
[47] S. M. Olyan, "The Cultic Confessions of Jer 2,27a," *ZAW* 99, 1987, 254-259. According to Olyan, Jer 2,27a is the only example in Israelite literature (including the epigraphic sources) where it would seem that Asherah is described as mother goddess. He assumes that this may be the reason why some scholars believe that in Iron Age Israel, the asherah cult symbol had lost its primary associations with the goddess and had been wholly or almost wholly assimilated to YHWH,

Why no Asherah in Hos?

The fact that אשׁרה is not mentioned in Hos is peculiar, especially as Baal is openly mentioned. This makes one to ask whether there in the 8th century BCE religious setting was any reason to condemn אשׁרה. As already mentioned above, it is not clear if אשׁרה in the 8th century BCE was anymore understood as an individual goddess, but, as some scholars suggest, already then YHWH had absorbed the worship of אשׁרה into his cult. For example, according to Grabbe, in pre-exilic times a number of what were originally separate deities had become assimilated to YHWH; also אשׁרה could have coalesced into YHWH, and thus there was no polemic against her.[48] As Hadley points out, the wooden pole, אשׁרה, was recognized as "the hypostatization of YHWH's nurturing concern for his people."[49] If אשׁרה had such a function, there was no rivalry between אשׁרה and YHWH. It would be only later when אשׁרה became condemned as "Canaanite", something that was regarded as foreign to the cult of YHWH, as the demands for the exclusive worship of YHWH became stronger in the Deuteronomistic circles. But, on the other hand, we need to keep in mind that some kind of a mother-goddess worship was important in the sphere of family religion.[50] Whether this kind of cultic practice would have been a target for prophetic opposition is not clear; Yee, for instance, sees that family religion was not the main issue in Hos, but the official cult "primarily when it intersects with the political and economic interests of the monarchy and foreign affairs."[51]

It is also possible that Hos 4:12 has not anything to do with אשׁרה but with some form of divination. As Wyatt mentions, the polemical use of עץ and אבן in biblical texts may be related to the oracular function of trees and stones, which were an important part of religious practices in the ancient Near East as indicated also in the Ugaritic texts.[52] One allusion to this ancient practice appears in

perhaps functioning as his own symbol. Olyan concludes that Jer 2,27a suggest that this was not the case, but Jer 2,27a, Dtn 16,21-22, and the evidence from Kuntillet 'Ajrûd taken together suggest a consort relationship between YHWH and Asherah. According to Olyan, עץ in Jer 2:27 refers to Asherah, and אבן to YHWH, not Baal, as usually postulated, since no paternal language is attributed to Baal elsewhere.

[48] L. L. Grabbe, *Judaic religion in the Second Temple Period. Belief and Practice from the Exile to Yavneh*, London: Routledge, 2000, 215.

[49] Hadley 2000, 105.

[50] Dever 2005, 45-48, 53.

[51] Yee 2001, 366. According to Yee, Hosea censured neither the female Asherah nor her cult object, but rather the male "baals", because their cult had taken on a more a public role in the politics of the state. Also the bull-calf images of Samaria and Bethel became condemned because of their connections with the king, his royal court and foreign tribute. For an opposite view concerning the meaning of the family religion in Hos, see Dever 2005, 282.

[52] N. Wyatt, "Word of Tree and Whisper of Stone: El's Oracle to King Keret (Kirta), and the Problem of the Mechanics of Its Utterance", *VT* 57, 2007, 483-510. As Wyatt mentions, "two of the chief iconic forms used in Israelite religion, to judge from the reiterated attacks on them, the ʾašērāh and the maṣṣēbāh, were precisely in the media of wood (ʿēṣ) and stone (ʾeben) respectively.

Gen 12:6-8. Dever suggests that the expression "oak of Moreh, אלון מורה, contains a hint about a tree giving oracles, since the word מורה can be read as "one who teaches", or "teacher".[53]

Also the translation of בעצו ישאל in the LXX supports divination in Hos 4:12, since, deviating from the MT, the LXX says, ἐν συμβόλοις ἐπηρώτων, "they were inquiring by means of omens". Also the LXX's translation of ומקלו יגיד refers to divination: καὶ ἐν ῥάβδοις αὐτοῦ ἀπήγγελλον αὐτῷ, "interpreting by means of rods."[54] Divination is further indicated by the use of the technical term בשׁאל, which denotes seeking of oracles, cf. Judg 1:1, 2 Sam 2:1 and Ezek 21:16.[55] It is interesting that in Hos 3:4, the teraphim are mentioned as standard cultic objects. Although their role is not accurately determined, they probably they were ancestor figurines used in both private and public contexts for divination.[56] Thus it seems that in the prophetic tradition in Hos, divination was acceptable means of inquiring divine answers. Divination became later prohibited (Deut 18:10), presumably for providing an access to divine information that competed with prophetic inquiry, since according to the Deuteronomistic theological viewpoint only the prophet was regarded as legitimate intermediary.[57]

There may have been even an association between אשׁרה and the practice of divination. It is noteworthy that according to Smith, the cultic symbol of אשׁרה in fact developed from the ancient cultic use of an actual tree, which involved divination.[58]

Whoredom on High Places

In the MT, Hos 4:12b reads, רוח זנונים התעה ויזנו מתחת לו אלהיהם, "*the spirit of whoredom has led astray and they have whored from under their God*". The verb התעה is without object, and *BHS* proposes the suffix ־עָם; but in agreement with the MT, the LXX does not have an object. Being led astray leads to that "*they have whored from under their God*", ויזנו מתחת לו אלהיהם, which is an expression referring to idolatry.

In Hos 4.12b, the theme of "whoredom", which started in Hos 1-3, continues. Overall, the verb זנה and its derivatives occur 16 times in Hos, and scholars have discussed in which instances the verb זנה should be understood as a metaphorical or literal term. In the Hebrew Bible, it can have both

[53] Dever 2005, 265.
[54] W. E. Glenny, *Septuagint Commentary Series: Hosea: A Commentary Based on Hosea in Codex Vaticanus*, Leiden: Brill, 2013, 95.
[55] Macintosh 1997, 151.
[56] S. Dolansky, *Now You See It, Now You Don't: Biblical Perspectives on the Relationship between Magic and Religion*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008, 158.
[57] R. R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel*, Philadelphia: Fortress press, year 150; Andersen and Freedman 1980, 366.
[58] Smith 1990, 82-85.

meanings: metaphorically, זנה denotes to commit prostitution (whoredom, harlotry) in the sphere of trade and politics, i.e. having questionable intercourse with various nations, and to commit prostitution in the cultic sphere, i.e. having disputable intercourse with deities other than YHWH; the literal meaning of זנה is to commit prostitution by profession or to engage in extramarital sex.[59] In Hos 4:12b, the use of the verb is metaphorical.[60] The phrase "*they have whored from under their God*" has often interpreted as a reference to apostasy; the locational expression מתחת, "from under me", denotes to the relationship between YHWH and Israel, in which Israel, as a wife, is the subordinate.[61] Subsequently, Riegner sees זנה as a comprehensive term for the complex of non-Yahwist religious praxis, including ceremonies, deities, religious sites, beliefs, and participants; the negative assessment of זנה as a reference to non-Yahwist religious praxis was a by-product of a trend towards the exclusive worship of one deity.[62]

The term "whoredom" occurs also in Hos 4:13. The MT reads,

על־ראשי ההרים יזבחו ועל־הגבעות יקטרו תחת אלון ולבנה ואלה כי טוב צלה על־כן תזנינה בנותיכם וכלותיכם תנאפנה׃

On the tops of the mountains they sacrifice, and upon the hills they make sacrifices smoke under the oak and the poplar and the terebinth, because her shadow is good. Therefore your daughters whore, and your daughters-in-law commit adultery.

In my opinion, "whoredom" in Hos 4:13 refers to some kind of a cultic offense which is associated with hill-top rituals and sacred groves. The expressions "on the tops of the mountains", "upon the hills", and "under oak and poplar and terebinth" resemble the phrase "on every high hill and under every green tree", which with its variants occurs sixteen times in the Hebrew Bible. The phrase is a stereotype for idolatrous worship, referring to the location of postulated fertility cult practice. Holladay suggests that Hos 4:13, which he regards as an authentic prophetic saying, may be the origin of all the other biblical sayings relating to idolatrous worship on high places.[63]

In Hos, "high place" is mentioned also in Hos 10:8, but the word used is במה. The word במה occurs several times in the Hebrew Bible, and most often it is used specifically for a cult place. They

[59] For the use of the verb זנה see, e.g. Abma 1999; I. E. Riegner, *The Vanishing Hebrew Harlot: The Adventures of the Hebrew Stem znh*, New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 2009; Eidevall 1996, 58ff.
[60] So also Eidevall 1996, 62-63.
[61] See Riegner 2009, 105-106.
[62] Riegner 2009, 216.
[63] W. L. Holladay,"On Every High Hill and Under Every Green Tree", *VT* 11, 1961, 170-176.

may have been naturally occurring sites, "heights", or man-made sanctuary complexes inside the city walls.[64] In the Hebrew Bible, "high places" often belong to things that are condemned (e.g. 2 Kings 17:10-11; 18: 4; Ezek 6:3, 6; Jer 7:31; 19:5), but in some texts as 1 Sam 9:12-14; 10: 5; 1 Chron 16: 39, there is no polemic against them.[65] An important feature of במות certainly was that it was accessible to all and thus near to the ordinary people, and the whole of the local community could assemble there.[66] Albertz suggests that במות became condemned (by Hosea and the Deuteronomists) because of the religious symbolism; archaeological remains of במות within the cities of Iron Age II Judah and Samaria have shown that במות included altars for burning incense or for the sacrifice of animals, as well as מצבות and אשׁרים.[67] According to Albertz and Schmitt, family religion was influenced from local cult places, where cultic stones and trees seem to have symbolized the presence of gods and goddesses, and this may have led to the goddess Asherah (and later, Ishtar) gaining an important position.[68] Religious activities in families were integrated in within local communities, and included rites and sacrificial meals at local and even state sanctuaries.[69] These practices became certainly opposed during the reform of Josiah, but, as Laato suggests, that Josiah's program could have been influenced by older religious traditions.[70] In my opinion, Hos 4:12-14 is related to an ancient and legitimate practice to worship on high-places.

But is the question about whoredom as sexual activity associated with sacrificial worship on high places, as often postulated? Many scholars have raised doubts about the existence of any widespread fertility cult in the 8th century Israel, with especially women – daughters and daughters-in-law in Hos - as active participants in it.[71] The MT reads,

לא־אפקוד על־בנותיכם כי תזנינה ועל־כלותיכם כי תנאפנה כי־הם עם־הזנות יפרדו ועם־הקדשות יזבחו ועם לא־יבין ילבט׃

[64] L. S. Fried, "The High Places (Bāmôt) and the Reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah: an Archaeological Investigation", *JAOS* 122, 2002, 437-465; Dever 2005, 92.
[65] As Dever points out, in this context 1 Kings 3:2 is interesting, as it shows that the editors of the texts knew about this ancient practice, and indicted a reason for this; Dever 2005, 95. Sweeney, for his part, does not regard 1 Kings 3:2 as redactional, but proving a reason that the people are worshiping at the high places because the Jerusalem temple is not yet built; M. A. Sweeney, *I and II Kings*, Louisville: Presbyterian Publishing Corporation, 2007, 78ff.
[66] Albertz 1992, 84ff.
[67] Albertz 1992, 84ff; Fried 2002, 443.
[68] Albertz and Schmitt 2012, 55.
[69] Albertz and Schmitt 2012, 55.
[70] A. Laato, *History and Ideology in the Old Testament Prophetic Literature. A Semiotic Approach to the Reconstruction of the Proclamation of the Historical Prophets*, ConBOT 41; Stockholm: Almqvist &Wiksell, 1996, 229.
[71] E. g. B. E. Kelle, *Hosea 2. Metaphor and Rhetoric in Historical Perspective*, Atlanta: SBLAcBib, 20; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005, 122ff; K. van der Toorn, "Female Prostitution in Payment of Vows in Ancient Israel", *JBL* 108, 1989; K. Adams, "Metaphor and Dissonance: A Reinterpretation of Hosea 4:13–14", *JBL* 127, 2008; Ben Zvi 2005; 114-115; K. Nyberg, "Sacred Prostitution in the Biblical World?", in M. Nissinen, R. Uro (eds), *Sacred Marriages: The Divine: Human Sexual Metaphor from Sumer to Early Christianity*, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008, 305-320.

I will not punish your daughters because they whore, and your daughter-in-laws for that they commit adultery because they go aside with the prostitutes, and they sacrifice with the holy ones. People without understanding will be ruined.

Hos 4:14 points to the guilt of men who are said to יזבחו עם־הזנות יפרדו ועם־הקדשות. The piel form of the verb פרד means "to separate, to go aside"; the men go aside with הזנות, "those (female) who commit whoredom", or prostitutes. Additionally, the men sacrifice with הקדשות, most often translated as "cult prostitutes".

The meaning of the word קדשׁה is not clear. In biblical texts it has often been equated to a prostitute, and as a derivative from a word denoting "to be holy", the most common translation has been "sacred prostitute".[72] However, it is not obvious that קדשׁה functioned as a prostitute, since the translation as "prostitute" is likely influenced by the (intentional?) parallelism between זונה and קדשׁה; this occurs in Hos 4:14 as well as in Gen 38 and Deut 23:18-19, and as many scholars have pointed out, this parallelism has favored the idea of sexual activities associated with קדשׁה.[73] The translations of קדשׁה in the LXX is are various, in Hos 4:14 there is a participle form of the verb τελεω, "to finish, to bring to perfection, to initiate into the mysteries".[74]

The corresponding term to the word קדשׁה is the Ugarit term *qdšm*, which refers to all non-priestly temple personnel, dedicated to the deity but not to prostitution.[75] According van der Toorn, "sacred prostitution" as a magical rite in the context of fertility cults is a "myth of historiography"; he does not, however, deny the possibility that prostitution as a source of profit for the temple may have been possible.[76] Also Adams sees the role of קדשות as women who had a cultic role, which later became regarded as non-Yahwistic.[77] Similar view is also presented by Riegner and Westenholz.[78] But what

[72] Andersen and Freedman read the word as "sacred prostitutes", in Andersen and Freedman 1980, 343; Macintosh 1997, 156, translates the word as "cult-women".
[73] Van der Toorn, 1989, 203.
[74] For different translation in the LXX, see J. G. Westenholz: "Tamar, Qĕdēšā, Qadištu, and Sacred Prostitution in Mesopotamia", *HTR* 82, 1989, 245-265, 247.
[75] Van der Toorn 1989, 203.
[76] Van der Toorn 1989, 203. Toorn explains that women, who did not have any money of their own, had to get money included in the obligations of sacred vows they had taken, practiced prostitution. See also the comment in Eidevall 1996, 1996, 59 n46; van der Toorn's conclusion would in fact explain why only women are mentioned in Hosea; Binger refers to the original meaning of the word זנה, which indicates a women who is a foreigner, seen in relation to the man and his tribe: in Binger 1997, 119.
[77]Adams 2008, 304. According to Adams, the word indicates a cultic role of some kind, forbidden in Deut 23:18. Adams uses an "open" translation "female cult functionaries". Andersen and Freedman read the word as "sacred prostitutes", in Andersen and Freedman 1980, 343; Macintosh 1997, 156, translates the word as "cult-women".
[78] Riegner 2009, 216; Westenholz 1989, 245-65.

could have been "a non-Yahwistic role" of the women? A hint may be found in Jer 44:15ff, which refers to women, who burned incense to "other gods", including the Queen of Heaven, who may be Asherah.

Concluding remarks

In sum, in Hos 4:12-14 we find references to ancient, originally legitimate religious practices of divination and worship on high places, but with a critical overtone. Although אשׁרה is not mentioned, the possibility that Hos 4:12 refers to the worship of אשׁרה cannot be ruled out. As mentioned above, although in the official state cult of the northern kingdom, the cult of אשׁרה had no prominent role, אשׁרה could have been important in the role of a mother-goddess in the sphere of the family religion.

The editorial reworking of Hos has probably been extensive; especially in the cult critical sayings one would expect to see editorial revision. In general, much of the cult criticism seems to fit well with the aims of the reforms of Josiah. Especially the demand for the cult centralization can explain the polemic against local sanctuaries at Bethel and Dan, as well as against high place-type sanctuaries. Because of the polemical and biased attitude in biblical accounts, no details concerning ancient cultic practices have been preserved. However, in Hos 4:12-14, we may conclude that the worship of Asherah, in a physical shape of a wooden pole, divination, and worship on high places were standard cultic practices. But were the condemned by the prophet, in other words, can we assume that in the pre-exilic time there could have been tendencies, which were critical of these practices?

Many scholars regard Hos 4:12-14 as a later reworking of the prophetic tradition.[79] In my opinion, the redactors shared the same concern over the proper cult with the prophetic tradition, and therefore they actualized their source material in order to fit it into their own time. Despite the redactional acitivity, there are (incidental?) references to ancient practices. It is possible that in Hos we can find traditions, on which the later Deuteronomists built their theological views.

The polemic attitude towards אשׁרה, divination and high places in Hos 4:12-14, can be part of the process of development of the Israelite religion. As Smith has described, during the period of convergence, various deities and/or their positive features coalesced with YHWH.[80] This process of coalescence can be seen in Hos, in which, as many scholars have pointed out, the language often comes from the ancient Near Eastern mythology, from the sphere with which the prophet as well as

[79] So, e.g. I. Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese innerhalb des Alten Testaments – Untersuchung zum literarischen Werden der auf Amos, Hosea und Micah züruckgehenden Bucher im hebräischen Zwölffprophetenbuch*, Berlin: de Gruyter, 1971; Yee 1987; see also the introduction above.
[80] Smith 1990, xxiii.

his addressees were knew. Related to this, Ben Zvi's saying is interesting: there was a concept that YHWH can have a spouse, but, instead of Asherah, in Hos "Israel stands in the mythological slot of a goddess".[81]

If אשׁרה was no more identified as a separate deity, therefore her worship was not an issue in Hos, as the cult of אשׁרה was Yahwistic. The problem with Baal was more problematic; "baalism" was much more dangerous, as I will discuss later in my thesis, when I will study the cult criticism also in socio-political context. In this, I follow Yee and Kelle.[82] Yee refers to the "YHWH-alone" movement not simply as a theological one, but as joined in complex ways to a wider socio-political environment through interconnections with monarchy, cult, and foreign policy.[83] Thus, in Hos the term "whoredom" is used of political alliances as well as of illegitimate cult. As Kelle summarizes, in Hos, a theological interpretation is given to the contemporary political realities.[84]

But can we attribute the condemnation of high places to the prophetic tradition? Although it is not possible to verify, it seems plausible to me that already in the 8th century BCE there could have been voices demanding for exclusive worship of YHWH, which started the process towards differentiation of the Israelite religion.[85] This process was also connected to the political situation and it remained an on-going concern for centuries.

[81] Ben Zvi 2005, 75. Although I do not agree with Ben Zvi in that Hos has been written in the Persian period, I share his characterization of the metaphor, through which "the text conveys an ideological frame of mind that removes the place of the goddess as the spouse of the deity of heavens", 75.
[82] Yee 1987, Kelle 2005.
[83] Yee 1987, 361
[84] Kelle 2005, 164.
[85] This is the term used by Smith 1990, xxiv.



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Jer 1:4–10 and the Legitimisation of Prophecy

This paper is an extract from my second thesis chapter which focuses on Jer 1:4–19 and approaches the problem of prophetic conflict in the book of Jeremiah by examining the book's discourse concerning what makes a legitimate prophet. I examine the basic elements of 1:4–10, the tasks given to the prophet as a נביא לגוים, the messages of divine reassurance and support, and the anticipated response to the prophetic message, which are typical of the book's discourse concerning prophecy. Using synchronic analysis and a phenomenological method, I discuss the language, motifs and ideas of the pericope and their relation to the rest of the book. This paper demonstrates that Jer 1:4–10 should be understood as a primary contribution to the book's discourse concerning the legitimisation of prophecy and the rôle of a נביא, and therefore to the theme of prophetic conflict in the book.

Suggested focal points of discussion:

Positive and negative appraisals of prophecy in Jeremiah; the relation of Jer 1:4–10 to the book of Jeremiah's discourse concerning legitimate prophecy and the theme of prophetic conflict; the motif of 'being sent' in biblical and ancient Near Eastern prophecy; the phenomenological method in prophetic research.

2. Jer 1:4–10 and the Legitimisation of Prophecy

2.1 Introduction

In this section I shall discuss the ways in which Jer 1:4–10 contributes to the discourse concerning legitimate prophecy in the book of Jeremiah. Jer 1:4–10 offers some the most constructive language in Jeremiah regarding the function of prophecy and it provides some of the most important information regarding the conceptions of and attitudes toward prophecy in the book (cf. 23:18; 28:8). Some of the hallmarks of 1:4–10 are the key functions of the נביא as a spokesman and messenger for YHWH, along with the anticipated difficulties faced by a national prophet. The basic elements of 1:4–10 are the tasks given to the prophet as a נביא לגוים, the messages of divine reassurance and support, and the anticipated response to the prophetic message, which are typical of the book's discourse concerning prophecy. The present analysis demonstrates that Jer 1:4–10 should be understood as a primary contribution to the book's discourse concerning the legitimisation of prophecy and the rôle of a נביא, and therefore to the major theme of 'prophetic conflict' in the book (e.g. 14:11–16; 23:9–32; 28:1–17). In what follows we shall use synchronic analysis of the language of the pericope and its relation to the rest of the book.

2.2 Jer 1:4–10

(4) The word of YHWH came to me[1]:
(5) 'Before I fashioned you,[2] in the belly I knew you,
Before you went out, in the womb I consecrated you,

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1. 𝔊 reads πρὸς αὐτον for MT אֵלַי. The same phrase ויהי דבר־יהוה אלי occurs in 1:11, 13, where 𝔊 reads πρός με instead. Other instances of the cliché ויהי דבר־יהוה אלי are found in Jer 2:1; 13:8; 16:1; 18:5; 24:4, and they are not consistently translated in 𝔊 (LXX 2:2; 16:1; cf. καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρός με λέγων in 13:8; 18:5; 24:4). We have no firm textual evidence that MT should be emended.

2. The difficulty presented by אצורך is evident in the different conceptions of the underlying in K אֶצָּוּרְךָ and Q אֲצָרְךָ, though the two roots are closely related in meaning. G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik. II. Teil: Verbum* (Leipzig, 1929), 84q. K אֶצָּוּרְךָ is somewhat unclear, as it follows a *plene* spelling from Ex 32:4; 1 Kgs 7:15. W. McKane, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah. Volume I: Introduction and Commentary on Jeremiah I-XXV* (ICC, Edinburgh, 1986), 6. It appears to derive from from √צור III 'fashion, form, shape'; cf. *formavit* in Zorell, 687, and a root *ṣwr* I *qal* in Palmyrene with the sense 'to paint' (DNWSI, 965), KBL, 799. The Q אֲצָרְךָ understands the term as אֶצֶר, a form derived from √יצר *qal* ('form'), and this reading is followed in several of the versions; see 𝔊, 𝔙, 𝔗 and 𝔖, as well as יצר in Isa 44:2, 24; 49:5 (cf. Gen 2:7; Isa 42:6; 43:7; 45:9). Cf. Even-Shoshan 908, where the verb is understood as אֶצָּוּרְךָ. This provides a clear sense of 'form' or 'shape' for YHWH's activity on Jeremiah's behalf (cf. Gen 1:26; 2:7; Isa 49:8). See also HALOT, 428–29; DCH 3:269–70, 7:107; NIDOTTE 2:503–6. See W.L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah: Chapters 1-25* (Hermeneia, Minneapolis, MN, 1986), 20. McKane, *Jeremiah I–XXV*, 6.

a prophet to the nations[3] I made you.'
(6) But I said, 'Ah! But Lord YHWH, I do not know how to speak, for I am an attendant.' (7) YHWH said to me:
'Do not say[4] "I am only an attendant."
But go everywhere I send you,
And speak everything I command you.
(8) Do not fear them,
For I am with you and I will deliver you.'
— oracle of YHWH.
(9) Then YHWH stretched out[5] his hand[6] and touched my mouth; and YHWH said to me:
'Look, I have placed my words in your mouth.
(10) See, I have appointed you this day
over nations and over kingdoms
to uproot and to tear down,
and to destroy and to overthrow,[7]
to build and to plant.'

Jeremiah's commission in Jer 1:4–10 is a reported series of messages from YHWH. The primary purpose of the call is to establish Jeremiah as a נביא לגוים and to relay messages of support to him from YHWH. An alternating dialogic exchange in first person perspective (e.g. 1:6–7) and a frequent use of אמר to mark direct discourse (1:6, 7, 9) frame the text as a dialogue between YHWH and Jeremiah. The opening verse relates that a message from YHWH comes to Jeremiah (1:4) and sets the initial

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3. BHS notes a singular reading of גוי in some Greek manuscripts; according to Ziegler the variant εθνος for ἔθνη is found in 62-130′ and Catena manuscripts. This minor reading has little to no bearing on the Massoretic version. Stade proposed emending לגוים to לגויי ('to my nation'), but this should not be accepted. B. Stade, 'Emendationen', *ZAW* 22 (1902): 328. Bruston's emendation of גוים 'the nations' to גאים 'les grands' should also be rejected. C Bruston, 'Jérémie fut-il prophète pour les nations ?', *ZAW* 27 (1907): 75-78. Quite simply the discomfort some commentators have traditionally felt with גוים in 1:5 tends to have little to do with text-critical problems.

4. Some manuscripts insert כִּי after אל־תאמר; *pace* BHS, see Mἠ λέγε ὅτι Νεώτερος ἐγω εἰμι in 𝔊, ܠܐ ܬܐܡܪ ܕܛܠܝܐ ܐܢܐ in 𝔖. These may be attempts to harmonise 1:7aβ with כי־נער אנכי in 1:6b. It does not largely affect the translation of the phrase, since either כי or אמר can introduce indirect speech; the same is true for ὅτι in Greek and ܕ in Syriac.

5. Whilst MT has the *hiphil* imperfect וַיִּגַּע, 𝔊 ἥψατο and 𝔙 *tetigit* would suggest the *qal* imperfect וַיִּגַּע.

6. 𝔊 reads καὶ ἐξέτεινε κύριος τὴν κεῖρα αὐτοῦ πρός με.

7. Many have suggested emending Jer 1:10 on the basis of passages such as 18:7, 9; 24:6. There are two central problems with emending 1:10. First there is no text-critical evidence to support deleting ולהאביד ולהרוס; 𝔊, 𝔖, 𝔗 and 𝔙 all support MT. Second the emended bicolon of לנתוש ולנתוץ לבנות ולנטוע never appears in MT in this precise configuration. In some places several of these terms are found together in lists or poetic parallelism, and the full list of six verbs in 1:10 are also found in 31:28, which also includes √הרס (see 2.2.3 below). Whilst 18:7–10 omits √הרס it still includes √אבד, and 24:6 (cf. 42:10; 45:4) contrasts the pairs בנה/הרס and נטע/נטש. Additional configurations of these terms in 12:14–17; 42:10; 45:4 do not support an emendation in 1:10. Thus whilst 1:10 may be a redactional insertion, a more conservative text-critical judgment resists emending the text.

boundary of the text unit.[8] The message to Jeremiah is a commission to the rôle of נביא לגוים (1:5; cf. 1:10). Initially Jeremiah demurs, claiming he is inadequate for the task, but YHWH rebukes his reluctance and reassures him to the contrary (1:6–8). Jeremiah shall go where YHWH commands, speak what YHWH instructs, and have no fear of those who stand before him (1:7–8). Jeremiah then describes how YHWH used his hand to touch Jeremiah's lips and placed words in his mouth, and though the nature of this experience (vision?) is unclear, the effect essentially authorises him as a legitimate YHWH-messenger (1:9). Against or concerning nations and kingdoms Jeremiah is to speak with full authority, the extent of which is described in a list of infinitives, each one a metaphorical catch-word that describes his prophetic activity: לנתוש ('to uproot'), לנתוץ ('to tear down'), להאביד ('to destroy'), להרוס ('to overthrow'), לבנות ('to build'), and לנטוע ('to plant'). The function of 1:4–10 is simple *prima facie*: it presents a claim of robust support from YHWH for Jeremiah as a prophet and spokesman of positive and negative messages from YHWH against any opposition.

Somewhat less clear than the text's function is it's *Gattung*, and there have been many proposals regarding the genre of 1:4–10. The most influential form-critical suggestion is to regard 1:4–10 as a 'call narrative' which follows a conventional pattern evident in other texts where an individual is commissioned for a particular task or rôle (cf. Gen 18; Ex 3:1–12; Jdg 6:11b–17; 1 Sam 3; Isa 6:1–13; 40:1–11; Ezek 1:1–3:15; Am 7:10–15).[9]

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8. The textual unity of the passage, in the words of Sharp, 'remains an open question'. C. J. Sharp, *Prophecy and Ideology in Jeremiah: Struggles for Authority in the Deutero-Jeremianic Prose* (OTSt, Edinburgh, 2003), 86. One central problem is in 1:13 where the so-called *Wortereignisformel* reports that the דבר־יהוה came to Jeremiah שנית ('a second time'); since both 1:4 and 1:11 report a divine message, 1:13 is actually the third time a message appears in the text. B. Renaud, 'Jér 1 : structure et théologie de la rédaction', in P.-M. Bogaert (ed.), *Le livre de Jérémie. Le prophète et son milieu, les oracles et leur transmission* (BEThL 54, Leuven, 1981), 182; W.H. Schmidt, *Das Buch Jeremia. Kapitel 1–20* (ATD 20, Göttingen, 2008), 42–43; T.C. Römer, 'Du livre au prophète : stratégies rédactionnelles dans le rouleau prémassorétique de Jérémie,' in J.-D. Macchi, et al. (eds), *Les recuils prophétiques de la Bible. Origines, milieux, et contexte Proche-Oriental* (MoBi, Geneva, 2012), 260–70.

9. Most famously, see W. Zimmerli, 'Zur Form- und Traditionsgeschichte der prophetischen Berufungserzählungen,' in *Ezechiel. I. Teilband, Ezechiel 1-24* (BK.AT XIII/1, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1955), 16–21; E. Kutsch, 'Gideons Berufung und Altarbau, Jdc 6,11-24', *TLZ* 81 (1956): 75–84; N.C. Habel, 'The Form and Significance of the Call Narratives', *ZAW* 77 (1965): 297–323. Other significant works include G. Fohrer, 'Die Gattung der Berichte über symbolische Handlungen der Propheten', *ZAW* 44 (1952): 101–20; G. von Rad, *Theologie des Alten Testaments. Band II: Die Theologie der prophetischen Überlieferungen Israels* (EETh, Munich, 1960), 58–78; C. Westermann, *Grundformen prophetischer Rede* (EvTh.B, Munich, 1960); W. Richter, *Die sogennanten vorprophetischen Berufungsberichte. Eine literaturwissenschaftliche Studie zu 1 Sam 9,1-10, 16, Ex 3f. und Ri 6,11b-17* (FRLANT 101, Göttingen, 1970). Additionally, see R. Kilian, 'Die prophetischen Berufungsberichte', in *Theologie im Wandel. Festschrift zum 150-jährigen Bestehen der Katholisch-theologischen Fakultät in der Universität Tübingen 1817-1967* (Tübingen theologische Reihe 1, Munich/Freiburg i.Br., 1967), 356–76; K. Baltzer, 'Considerations Regarding the Office and Calling of the Prophet', *HTR* 61 (1968): 567–81; K. Gouders, 'Zu einer Theologie der prophetischen Berufung' (Ph.D. diss., Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, 1971); G. del Olmo Lete, 'Morfologia de los relatos biblicos de vocación', *Claretianum* 12 (1972): 177–224; D. Vieweger, *Die Spezifik der Berufungsberichte Jeremias und Ezechiels im Umfeld ähnlicher Einheiten des Alten Testaments* (BEAT 6, Frankfurt a.M., 1986); Kilian, 'Die prophetischen Berufungsberichte,' in W. Werner, J. Werlitz (eds), *Studien zu alttestamentlichen Texten und Situationen* (Stuttgart, 1999), 53–7; S. Grätz, ' "Einen propheten

While certain narrative elements are shared across these texts, they vary in their adherence to the supposed form. One could easily find as many differences as similarities in texts such as Isa 6 and 1 Sam 3, just as one might conclude that Jer 1:4–10 has more similarities with Isa 49:1–6 than with other 'call narratives'.[10] Rather than presuppose the existence of a *Gattung*, or argue that Jer 1:4–10 is evidence in support of one, it is preferable to treat the text in the most basic way possible. We can simply say that the text is a report of a message from YHWH, and the particular significance of this message is that it is concerned with the legitimisation of the messenger.

There is also little evidence of setting, and not much can be said for certain whether or not Jer 1:9 provides any clues. What does it mean when 1:9 relates that וישלח יהוה את־ידו ויגע על־פי ('YHWH stretched out his hand and touched my mouth')? Is this a vision? Is this a part of the psychological experience of the prophet?[11] Is it part of a ritual act? One is reminded of Isa 6:6–7 but there are many difficulties in this comparison; it is one of the שרפים who 'touches' Isaiah's mouth, and the concern of this action is purification from עון and הטא. Perhaps there are cultic overtones to the term הקדשתיך in Jer 1:5 which suggest a setting in the Jerusalem temple.[12] If the setting is the temple then it could be the case that the text describes an *Ordinationsritual*.[13] This of course would be exceptional since it would be unparalleled in the case of a prophet. There are other texts in Jeremiah which make similar claims (e.g. 5:14), so are these evidence of temple activity, or does the 'call narrative' require a good setting in order to be a good story? Without speculating on a particular *Sitz im Leben* for the text, one sees that הקדשתיך provides some subtle emphasises on Jeremiah's selection apart from the people while also being semantically equivalent to the other verbs in 1:5, ידעתיך and נתתיך. The claim in 1:9 is a metaphorical description of the main theme of the passage, namely, to legitimate Jeremiah as YHWH's prophet. To go much further than this is to wander farther afield than is necessary.

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wie mich wird dir der Herr, dein Gott erwecken." Der Berufungsbericht Jeremias und seine Rückbindung an das amt des Mose,' in A. Graupner, M. Wolter (eds), *Moses in Biblical and Extra-Biblical Tradition* (BZAW 372, Berlin, 2007), 61–77.

10. J.W. Miller, 'Prophetic Conflict in Second Isaiah: The Servant Songs in the Light of Their Context,' in H.J. Stoebe (ed.), *Wort–Gebot–Glaube. Beiträge zur Theologie des Alten Testaments: Walther Eichrodt zum 80. Geburtstag* (Zurich, 1970), 77–85; J. Vermeylen, 'La rédaction de Jérémie 1,4-19', *ETL* 58 (1982): 252–78.

11. N.B. Some helpful comments are found in P. M. Joyce, 'The Prophets and Psychological Interpretation,' in J. Day (ed.), *Prophecy and the Prophets in Ancient Israel: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar* (LHBOTS 531; London, 2010), 117–132. See the survey of secondary literature in B.E. Kelle, 'The Phenomenon of Israelite Prophecy in Contemporary Scholarship', *Currents in Biblical Research* 12 (2014): 275–320.

12. H.G. Reventlow, *Liturgie und prophetisches Ich bei Jeremia* (Guterslöh, 1963).

13. For the position that this text represents an *Ordinationsritual*, see Reventlow, 'Prophetenamt und Mittleramt', *ZThK* 58 (1961): 269–84; A.H.J. Gunneweg, 'Ordinationsformular oder Berufungsbericht in Jeremia 1', in *Glaube, Geist, Geschichte. Festschrift für Ernst Benz zum 60. Geburtstage am 17. November 1967*, ed. G. Müller and W. Zeller (Leiden, 1967) 91–98. Cf. S. Herrmann, *Jeremia* (BK.AT XII/1, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1986), 53.

2.2.1 Jeremiah's commission (Jer 1:4–5)

The opening phrase ויהי דבר־יהוה אלי לאמר in Jer 1:4 introduces a message received by Jeremiah from YHWH. The phrase is similar to other markers of divine speech (i.e. *die Wortereignisformel*)[14] and here in 1:4 the most basic function of the phrase is to report a divine message and to introduce the dialogue in 1:4–10.[15] There is very little variance in the function of the assorted phrases used to mark divine speech, even if there is a high level of variance in the use and distribution of these phrases in Jeremiah. Similarly we must resist overinterpreting the phrase דבר־יהוה, which has been the subject of numerous creative proposals.[16] The phrase is simply a part of a report of a divine message which marks that message as authoritative and as originating from YHWH.[17] One must not read past the fundamental presupposition in the phrase in 1:4, namely, that what follows is a part of the process of receiving and transmitting a divine

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14. See Zimmerli's comment on the term: 'Mit den Daten ist da, wo nicht eine Vision eingeleitet wird oder wie in 33,21 ein kurzer Geschehnisbericht folgt, in der Regel die Formel des Wortereignisses (וַיְהִי דְּבַר־יהוה אֵלַי) verbunden.' W. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel. I. Teilband, Ezechiel 1-24* (BK.AT XIII/1, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1969), 38*. On the form in Jeremiah, see P.K.D. Neumann, ' "Das Wort, das geschehen ist ...". Zum Problem der Wortempfangsterminologie in Jer. i-xxv', *VT* 23 (1973): 171–217; C. Levin, 'Das Wort Jahwes an Jeremia. Zur ältesten Redaktion der jeremianischen Sammlung', *ZThK* 101 (2004): 257–80.

15. 'The excessive ordinariness' of the Hebrew phrase היה דבר and its Akkadian cognate *awatu bašû* 'may be grasped by inquiring of the alternatives if one wished to be as minimally descriptive as possible when observing that communication had occurred: it is precisely this phrase that would be chosen: "there was a word".' S. A. Meier, *Speaking of Speaking: Marking Direct Discourse in the Hebrew Bible* (VT.S 46, Leiden, 1992), 318.

16. Various suggestive proposals consider the phrase דבר יהוה as a theological or metaphorical 'concept'; e.g. A. Neher, *L'essence du prophétisme* (Epiméthée, Paris, 1955), 105–15; M. Kessler, 'Jeremiah Chapters 26-45 Reconsidered', *JNES* 27 (1968): 81–88; M. J. Dahood, 'The Minor Prophets and Ebla,' in C.L. Meyers, M. O'Connor (eds), *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday* (ASOR.SVS 1; Winona Lake, IN, 1983), 51–52; Levin, 'Das Wort Jahwes an Jeremia', 278–80; E. K. Holt, 'Den ensomme profet – eller: Hvorfor skal man studere Jeremias' biografi?', in M. Müller, T.L. Thompson (eds), *Historie og konstruktion. Festskrift til Niels Peter Lemche i anledning af 60 års fødselsdagen den 6. september 2005* (Copenhagen, 2005), 197–98; Idem, 'Word of Jeremiah—Word of God: Structures of Authority in the Book of Jeremiah', in J. Goldingay (ed.), *Uprooting and Planting: Essays on Jeremiah for Leslie Allen* (LHBOTS 459, London, 2007) 172–89; A. G. Shead, *A Mouth Full of Fire: The Word of God in the Words of Jeremiah* (New Studies in Biblical Theology 29, Nottingham, 2012), 55–57. Meier, in a welcome contrast, cautions against 'expansive generalizations' and shows that the 'word of PN' pattern 'simply reflects the language of an authoritative individual'. Meier, *Speaking of Speaking*, 314–19.

17. Other texts in Jeremiah not only presuppose the existence of other deities but that these deities also speak to human recipients of their messages, as in the accusation הנביאים נבאו בבעל in Jer 2:8; 23:13. Other deities are mentioned in Jeremiah, though not in relation to prophetic activity. The reference to sacrificing children to מלך ('Molech') in 32:35 may refer to a form of divinatory sacrifice in times of extreme crisis. Though she disagrees somewhat with this older view, the most thorough recent discussion is found in F. Stavrakopolou, *King Manasseh and Child Sacrifice: Biblical Distortions and Historical Realities* (BZAW 338, Berlin, 2004), 283–99. Further references to deities in Jeremiah include Milcom (49:1, 3), Bel, i.e. Marduk (50:2; 51:44), Amon of No (אמון מנא) and Egypt's gods (46:25), and Chemosh (48:7, 13, 46; cf. KAI 181 13, 32).

message (cf. 1:7). Whatever private experience lies behind 1:4–10 is irrecoverable, but the דבר־יהוה which came to Jeremiah has been reported to a public audience.

After Jer 1:4 introduces the דבר־יהוה, 1:5 begins to explain its content. In the most crucial part of the text YHWH declares that Jeremiah has been selected and commissioned as a נביא לגוים. Even before his birth Jeremiah was ordained to this task (1:5a), and the three perfect tense verbs with 2ms suffixes in 1:5 all emphasise the divine origin of the summons (see also 1:7, 9–10, 17–19).[18] The effect is clearly to show that YHWH establishes the prophetic call prior to any activity on Jeremiah's part. We shall explore the two core elements of the verse in turn, turning first to the motif of divine selection prior to birth, then to the title נביא לגוים and its significance for the pericope and the book.

2.2.1.1 A נביא before birth (Jer 1:5a)

In Jeremiah's commission as a נביא YHWH emphasises that Jeremiah has been selected prior to his birth in the phrases בטרם אצורך בבטן ידעתיך ('before I fashioned you, in the belly I knew you') and בטרם תצא מרחם הקדשתיך ('before you went out, in the womb I consecrated you') in Jer 1:5a. YHWH's decisive rôle in commissioning Jeremiah is communicated in the image of a prenatal call to Jeremiah with the poetic word pair בטן/רחם.[19] Jeremiah's selection for this rôle was apart from his own initiative or decision, as the source and impulse for the call is YHWH alone.[20] This notion of a summons prior to birth in the commission of a נביא is exceptional and not reflected in any other prophetic call. Jeremiah's commission seems to conflate a basic principle of Hebrew prophetic tradition: 'Zum propheten wird man berufen, nicht geboren.'[21] However this motif of divine selection prior to birth only reinforces that Jeremiah is called as a prophet, not that he is born as one, as in a line of succession. These oracles of support and encouragement assert that the efficacy and authority for Jeremiah's prophetic activity originates in a divine process of selection and commissioning apart from the his own volition.[22]

Jeremiah's selection and appointment as a נביא uses the *Stichwort* נתן; though it is an extremely common term, the precise form נתתיך is repeated several times in contexts regarding the nature of Jeremiah's prophetic task. YHWH declares that he has 'made' (נתתיך) Jeremiah a נביא in 1:5. In another oracle of encouragement in 1:18,

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18. On the virtual synonymity of the three verbs in Jer 1:5, see G.J. Botterweck, *'Gott Erkennen' im Sprachgebrauch Des Alten Testaments* (BBB 2, Bonn, 1951), 19–20.

19. See Y. Avishur, *Stylistic Studies of Word-Pairs in Biblical and Ancient Semitic Literatures* (AOAT 210, Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1984), 70. The word-pair בתן/רחם appears together in Isa 46:3; Jer 1:5; Ps 22:11; 58:4; Job 3:11; 10:18–19; 31:15.

20. Note the initiative of YHWH in other commissions outside of the typical 'call narrative' corpus, e.g. Num 23:12, 26; 24:13; Am 7:15.

21. Herrmann, *Jeremia*, 57. See also M. Noth, *Amt und Berufung im Alten Testament. Rektoratsrede an der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn 1958* (Bonner akademische Reden 19, Bonn, 1958).

22. Cf. A. Aeschimann, *Le prophéte Jérémie : commentaire* (Neuchâtel, 1959), 44–45; H. Mottu, 'Aux sources de notre vocation : Jérémie 1,4-19', *RThPh* 114 (1982): 105–19.

YHWH confirms his support of Jeremiah with a threefold set of images; YHWH makes (נתתיך) Jeremiah into עיר מבצר ('a fortified city'), עמוד ברזל ('an iron pillar') and חמות נחשת ('a bronze wall') in 1:18,[23] and the appointment in 1:18 is closely connected to the description of Jeremiah's commission in 1:4–10 (cf. 15:20–21). The verb נתתיך is also found in 6:27, where YHWH declares to Jeremiah בחון נתתיך בעמי ('I have made you an assayer of my people') a text which also describes Jeremiah's task as a prophet but in relation to Israel and Judah. Here the commission shares the catchword נתתיך and both texts are positive oracles expresssing divine support.

Some explanation of the phrases in Jer 1:5 can be found in appealing to similar texts in the Hebrew Bible. Poetic texts will often describe YHWH's care and concern for the unborn, or that YHWH is at work in the formation of a child in the womb (e.g. Job 31:15; Ps 139:13; Qoh 11:5). There are also examples of the idea that YHWH has particular purposes in mind for great figures in Israel's history before they are born (Judg 13:5; Ex 2; 1 Sam 1:1–2:10).[24] However these texts lack the force of expression in the threefold declaration 'I knew you' (ידעתיך), 'I consecrated you' (הקדשתיך) and 'I made you' (נתתיך) in Jer 1:5. The closest examples in the Hebrew Bible are found in phrases often used in supportive oracles to Israel, as is the case in Deutero-Isaiah (Isa 43:1).[25] The so-called 'servant songs' in Deutero-Isaiah share several thematic similarities with Jeremiah's commission in Jer 1:5. In the first song in Isa 44:1–2 YHWH's chosen servant Jacob is reassured that 'since birth' (מבטן) YHWH has helped him and he is encouraged with the same phrase (אל־תירא) given to Jeremiah in Jer 1:8. In the second song in Isa 49:1–6 there are further literary and thematic resemblance with Jer 1:5.[26] The phrase יהוה מבטן קראני ממעי אמי הזכיר שמי in Isa 49:1b (cf. 49:5b) shares several elements with Jer 1:5, as the motif of childbirth is present in the hendiadys of מבטן and ממעי, two terms for 'belly' in Isa 49:1. The two verbs, קראני ('he called me') and הזכיר ('he named me'), in Isa 49:1 mirror the expressions ידעתיך ('I knew you') and חקדשתיך ('I

23. Jer 1:18–19 forms a doublet with 15:20, where the images of a עיר מבצר and חמות נחשת in 1:18 are combined in the phrase חומת נחשת בצורה ('fortified wall of bronze'). On this doublet, see H.-W. Jüngling, 'Ich mache dich zu einer ehernen Mauer. Literarkritische überlegungen zum Verhältnis von Jer 1,18-19 zu Jer 15,20-21', *Bib.* 54 (1973): 1–24; S. Herrmann, 'Die Herkunft der "ehernen Mauer". Eine Miszelle zu Jeremia 1,18 und 15,20', in M. Oeming, A. Graupner (eds), *Altes Testament und christliche Verkündigung. Festschrift für Antonius H. J. Gunneweg zum 65. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart, 1987) 344–52; G. H. Parke-Taylor, *The Formation of the Book of Jeremiah: Doublets and Recurring Phrases* (SBLMS 51, Atlanta, 2000), 35–40; P. Riede, *Ich mache dich zur festen Stadt. Zum Prophetenbild von Jeremia 1,18f und 15,20* (FzB 121, Würzburg, 2009). Most recently, see C. M. Maier, 'Jeremiah as YHWH's Stronghold (Jer 1:18)', *VT* 64 (2014): 640–53.

24. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1–25*, 28.

25. NIDOTTE 1:651.

26. This connection has been noticed by many. See for example C.R. Seitz, 'How Is the Prophet Isaiah Present in the Latter Half of the Book? The Logic of Chapters 40-66 Within the Book of Isaiah', *JBL* 115 (1996); 219–40; B.S. Childs, *Isaiah* (OTL, Louisville, KY, 2001), 383; K.J. Dell, 'The Suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah: Jeremiah Revisited,' in Y.V. Koh, G.I. Davies, K.J. Dell (eds), *Genesis, Isaiah and Psalms: A Festschrift to Honour Professor John Emerton for His Eightieth Birthday* (VT.S 135, Leiden, 2010), 119–34; U. Berges, 'Servant and Suffering in Isaiah and Jeremiah: Who Borrowed From Whom?', *OTE* 25 (2012): 247–59.

consecrated you') in Jer 1:5.[27] So not only is the motif of childbirth and the 'belly' (בטן) present in both texts, but there is also a notion of commission present. The resemblance of the commissions given to the servant and to Jeremiah — one is told נתתיך לאיר גוים (Isa 49:5) and the other נתתיך נביא לגוים — has only reinforced the potential literary connection between these two texts in the eyes of many commentators.[28] Here we note the similarities only to highlight the use of the motif in similar oracles of encouragement and support.

It is well-known that these motifs of divine selection before birth in Jer 1:5 and Isa 49:1–2 correspond to royal self-descriptions in the ancient Near East.[29] Kings in Egypt, Mesopotamia and the Levant all would make claims that they were divinely ordained and chosen by the gods to rule—so much so that the kings themselves were often regarded as divine.[30] These descriptions are related to the idea that a king's claim to rule was legitimated and upheld by the gods. As Jeremiah is told that he was known 'in the belly' and consecrated 'in the womb' so also are Egyptian kings in from the XII to XXV dynasties. Many have noted the similarity of Jer 1:5 to 'parallels' in Egyptian royal texts. While examples are found in texts describing the reigns of Sesostris I,[31] Hatshepsut,[32] and Rameses II,[33] the most celebrated parallel is found in the Gebel

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27. Cf. the phrase כי בטרם ידע הנער קרא אבי ואמי ('for before the child learns to call "father" and "mother"') in Isa 8:4.

28. E.g. Vermeylen, 'La rédaction de Jérémie 1,4-19', 266.

29. S.M. Paul, 'Deutero-Isaiah and Cuneiform Royal Inscriptions', *JAOS* 88 (1968): 180–86; R.P. Carroll, *The Book of Jeremiah: A Commentary* (OTL, Philadelphia, 1986), 97–98; Holladay, *Jeremiah 1–25*, 27–28; E. Ruprecht, 'Ist die Berufung Jeremias "im Jünglingsalter" und seine "Frühverkündigung" eine theologische Konstruktion der deuteronomistischen Redaktion des Jeremiabuches?', in R. Albertz, F.W. Golka, J. Kegler (eds), *Schöpfung und Befreiung. Für Claus Westermann zum 80. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart, 1989), 79–91; J.R. Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AncB 21A, New York, 1999), 231. See for example the election motif and its connection to divine conceptions of kingship in I. Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East* (Uppsala, 1943), 4, 16–17, 57–58, 76–78; H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature* (OIE, Chicago, 1948), 238–40.

30. The extent to which this mythic element was present in ancient Israelite and Judaean conceptions of kingship is debated. As examples, Engnell refers to Ps 22:10; 71:6; 132:11; Isa 44:2, 24; 49:1, 5. Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East*, 77. Comparative studies abound on the topic; e.g. J. P. Brown, 'From Divine Kingship to Dispersal of Power in the Mediterranean City-State', *ZAW* 105 (1993): 62–86; N. Wyatt, *Myths of Power: A Study of Royal Myth and Ideology in Ugaritic and Biblical Tradition* (UBL 13, Münster, 1996), 232–91; M.S. Smith, *The Origins of Biblical Monotheism: Israel's Polytheistic Background and the Ugaritic Texts* (Oxford, 2001), 157–63.

31. Sesostris I (XII Dynasty) claims to have been 'mighty in the egg' and appointed king 'before the swaddling-clothes were loosed for me'. ARE i 243 §502. This and several other of the following examples are found in Wyatt, *Myths of Power*, 292. See also the 'Praise of Sesostris I' from *Sinuhe*, B 46-73 in PAE §15; COS 1:78.

32. Khnum tells Hatshepsut 'I have formed thee of these limbs of Amun, Presider over Karnak. I have come to thee to fashion thee better than all gods.' ARE ii 82 §203.

33. Rameses II claims that 'I came from the womb, (already) armed with valour and victory, being alert, firm and renowned in conflict, coming as the child of the God, established on his throne'. 'Rhetorical Stelae of Rameses II, Abu Simbel' (C.20, C.22), PAE §30.

Barkal Stele of Piye, where Piye is assured that he was selected to be king even while he was still in the womb:

> 'I said concerning you (while you were) in the body of your mother, that you would be the ruler of Egypt. I recognized you in the semen when you were in the egg, that you would be lord of what I have made.' (Gebel Barkal Stele no. 26 of year 3, ll. 2–6).[34]

It is difficult to say that there is evidence of direct literary influence between the Egyptian texts and Jer 1:5. The case might be strengthened by other Egyptian motifs used in 1:18; the architectural image of the חמות נחשת ('bronze wall') may be related to Egyptian royal self-descriptions. The image of a fortified bronze wall which resists the onslaught of enemies is an aspect of Egyptian rhetoric intended to express divine support and protection of a royal figure.[35] Both the Egyptian texts and Jer 1:18 are concerned with declaring divine support in the face of resistance. At most we can say that Jer 1:5, 18 have some similarity with these Egyptian royal inscriptions in their use of the motif of divine selection before birth.

Similar claims of election are found in Mesopotamian texts as well, which seems to indicate that Jer 1:5 shows evidence of an ancient Near Eastern *Einheitskultur* rather than direct literary borrowing. Examples of the motif of selection while still in the womb or before birth are found in Assyrian and Babylonian royal texts spanning a wide chronological range. Šulgi (2094–2047 BCE) proclaims that he 'was born for a prosperous reign, (Enlil) determined (even) from birth, a great <destiny>'.[36] In a similar fashion Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 BCE) hymns Ishtar because 'Thou didst single me out with the glance of thine eyes; thou didst desire to see me rule'.[37] In his royal annals Assurbanipal (668–627 BCE) proclaims that that he is commissioned before birth, the one 'dessen Namen Assur und Sin, der Herr der Tiara, seit fernen Tagen zur Königsherrschaft berufen haben, und den sie im Liebe seiner Mutter erschaffen haben zum Hirtentum über Assyrien', and Nabonidus (555–540 BCE) claims that 'Sin and

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34. Cited from the transliteration and translation in R. K. Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions From Egypt's Third Intermediate Period* (SBLWAW 21, Atlanta, 2009), 461–64. Other translations in COS 2:46. An influential article in the interpretation of this passage is M. Gilula, 'An Egyptian Parallel to Jeremia i 4-5', *VT* 17 (1967): 114. See also Wyatt, *Myths of Power*, 292–93. See also Holladay, *Jeremiah 1–25*, 27–28; Herrmann, *Jeremia*, 57–58.

35. These similarities were first noted by A. Alt, 'Hic murus aheneus esto', *ZDMG* 86 (1933): 33–48. See also Herrmann, 'Die Herkunft der "ehernen Mauer"', 344–52; M. Görg, 'Die "ehernen Säulen" (I Reg 7,15) und "eiserne Säule" (Jer 1,18). Ein Beitrag zur Säulenmetaphorik im Alten Testament,' in R. Liwak, S. Wagner (eds), *Prophetie und geschichtliche Wirklichkeit im Alten Israel. Festschrift für Siegfried Herrmann Zum 65. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart, 1991), 134–54; Riede, *Ich mache dich zur festen Stadt*, 35–38; Maier, 'Jeremiah As YHWH's Stronghold (Jer 1:18)'.

36. See E3/2.1.2.54 l. 10. Transliteration and translation are found in D. R. Frayne, *Ur III Period* (*2112-2004 BC*) (RIM III/2, Toronto, 1997), 157.

37. Cited in Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, 239. Cf. E. Dhorme, *La religion assyro-babylonienne : conférences données a l'Institut catholique de Paris* (Paris, 1910), 156.

Nergal determined that he should rule when he was still in his mother's womb'.[38] It may be only generally relevant to cite the birth legend of Sargon of Akkad, who was placed in a reed basket into the river, insofar as it demonstrates divine guidance only just after, rather than prior to, his birth (cf. Ex 2:1–10).[39] One could also mention other examples from the royal inscriptions of Aššur-rēša-iši I (1132–1115 BCE)[40] and Tukulti-ninurta II (890–884 BCE).[41] In sum we can observe that the motif of divine selection prior to birth is a widespread phenomenon in royal self-descriptions aimed at legitimising the rule of the king.

While many commentators point out these similarities, few venture to explain how these texts might inform our understanding of Jer 1:4–10. Taken in isolation, each of these examples from Egypt and Mesopotamia have little — or nothing — to do with the Hebrew texts, including Jer 1:4–10 and are only of general importance for understanding Jeremiah's commission. The mere fact that 'parallels' exist does not do much to explain a text. What significance does the royal motif have for Jeremiah? If there is any, it likely has to do with the general purpose of the 'royal inscription' genre. Though there is great variation between Egyptian, Babylonian and Assyrian royal inscriptions, we can say that the function of these deeply ideological documents, buried in the foundations of temples or inscribed on the walls of palaces, was not unlike 'propaganda'. That is, in the non-pejorative sense of the term, they are texts which were intended 'to disseminate or promote particular ideas'.[42] The accounts of temple building, military victories and divine selection are all elements of an ideology constructed to support the king's claim to power, reassure his élite and non-élite supporters, and dissuade enemies or rivals from opposing him. Thus as the kings were representatives of the gods' rule, or YHWH's rule in Judah, and were supported and endorsed for their kingship in the divine realm, so also is Jeremiah in Jer 1:5.[43] This

38. For the Assurbanipal text, see Rassam Cylinder I 1–7 in R. Borger, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals. Die Prismenklassen A, B, C = K, D, E, F, G, H, J und T sowie andere Inschriften* (Wiesbaden, 1996), 14–15, 208. See also Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, 238. For the Nabonidus text, see S.H. Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften* (VAB 4, Leipzig, 1912), 281; P.-R. Berger, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften. Königsinschriften des ausgehenden babylonischen Reiches (626-539 a.Chr.)* (AOAT 4/1, Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1973), 371–75. Translation taken from COS 2:310.

39. For the text, see B. Lewis, *The Sargon Legend: A Study of the Akkadian Text and the Tale of the Hero Who Was Exposed at Birth* (ASOR.DS 4, Cambridge, MA, 1980), 11–86. Translation also found in COS 1:461; B.R. Foster, *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature* (Bethesda, MD, 1996), 803–4.

40. A.0.86.1 ll. 1–7. Transliteration and translation found in A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (to 1115 BC)* (RIMA 1; Toronto, 1987), 310.

41. A.0.100.1 ll. 14–25. Transliteration and translation found in A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I (1114–859 BC)* (RIMA 2; Toronto, 1991), 165.

42. H. Tadmor, 'Propaganda, Literature, Historiography: Cracking the Code of the Assyrian Royal Inscriptions,' in S. Parpola, R.M. Whiting (eds), *Assyria 1995: Proceedings of the 10th Anniversary Symposium of the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, Helsinki, September 7-11, 1995* (Helsinki, 1997), 332. See also Grayson, 'Politics and Propaganda in Ancient Mesopotamia: The Earliest Historical Records', *BCSMS* 18 (1989): 25–33; B.N. Porter, ' "For the Astonishment of All Enemies": Assyrian Propaganda and Its Audiences in the Reigns of Ashurnasirpal II and Esarhaddon', *BCSMS* 35 (2000): 7–18.

43. See Ruprecht, 'Ist die Berufung Jeremias "im Jünglingsalter"?', 87; A. Stiglmair, ' "Prophet" und

support is expressed both to Jeremiah and to those who would either support or oppose him as well. The divine reassurance in these traditions, the Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian and Levantine, are all public declarations intended to win support and deter opposition.[44] We might also consider in passing that these motifs of divine selection and support could be related to the problem of mendacity in prophetic speech. The trustworthiness of prophetic speech, and its potential for politically destabilising effects, was a serious concern in the ancient Near East,[45] and it may be the case that the royal motifs used in Jeremiah's commission in 1:5 anticipate this threat. For a prophet accused of treason (37:13), and in bitter conflict with rival נביאים (23:16–22), the strongest possible assurances he could make would be that his appointment bears the same level of divine *imprimatur* as that of the monarchs—several of whom he himself would resist.[46]

2.2.1.2 The title נביא לגוים (Jer 1:5b)

Among the 95 occurrences of the term נביא in the book the construct נביא לגוים in 1:5 is a unique;[47] it is a prophetic title without parallel and it is one of the few positive statements concerning rôle and function of a נביא in the book of Jeremiah (see 23:18; 28:8). It is an extremely valuable phrase for enriching our understanding of prophecy in the book of Jeremiah. Perhaps due to the peculiarity of the phrase נביא לגוים there is a vast amount of literature which tries to explain 1:5. Most interpretations of the phrase grapple with one of two main questions prompted by Jeremiah's title. Since there is a great diversity of opinions, these categories are artificial and we shall not

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Gottesherrschaft,' in R. Brandscheidt, T. Mende (eds), *Schöpfungsplan und Heilsgeschichte. Festschrift für Ernst Haag zum 70. Geburtstag* (Trier, 2002), 324–26; G. Fischer, *Jeremia 1–25* (HThK.AT, Freiburg, 2005), 144.

44. Though we have not followed his form-critical approach to the passage, Habel rightly asserts that 'call narratives' were public documents 'designed to be preached or read'. Habel, 'Form and Significance of the Call Narratives', 306.

45. B. Pongratz-Leisten, *Herrschaftswissen in Mesopotamien. Formen der Kommunikation zwischen Gott und König im 2. und 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr* (SAA.S 10, Helsinki, 1999), 94–95; M. Nissinen, 'Falsche Prophetie in neuassyrischer und deuteronomistischer Darstellung', in T. Veijola (ed.), *Das Deuteronomium und seine Querbeziehungen* (SESJ 62, Göttingen, 1996), 172–95; J.J.M. Roberts, 'Blindfolding the Prophets: Political Resistance to First Isaiah's Oracles in the Light of Ancient Near Eastern Attitudes Toward Oracles', in J.-G. Heintz (ed.), *Oracles et prophéties dans l'antiquité : actes du colloque de Strasbourg 15–17 juin 1995* (Paris, 1997), 135–46; J.-M. Durand, *Archives épistolaires de Mari I/1* (ARM 26/1, Paris, 1988), 411.

46. A. Malamat, 'The Kingdom of Judah Between Egypt and Babylon', *StTh* 44 (1990): 65–77.

47. Jer 1:5; 2:8, 26, 30; 4:9; 5:13, 31; 6:13; 7:25; 8:1, 10; 13:13; 14:13, 14, 15(x2), 18; 18:18; 20:2; 23:9, 11, 13, 14, 15(x2), 16, 21, 25, 26(x2), 28, 30, 31, 33, 34, 37; 25:2, 4; 26:5, 7, 8, 11, 16; 27:9, 14, 15, 16, 18; 28:1, 5(x2), 6, 8, 9(x3), 10(x2), 11, 12(x2), 15(x2), 17; 29:1(x2), 8, 15, 19, 29; 32:2, 32; 34:6; 35:15; 36:8, 26; 37:2, 3, 6, 13, 19; 38:9, 10, 14; 42:2, 4; 43:6; 44:4; 45:1; 46:1, 13; 47:1; 49:34; 50:1; 51:59. Nearly half of all these occurrences of נביא in the book are in titles, as in 'PN, the prophet', including 31 times for Jeremiah in 20:2; 25:2; 28:5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 15; 29:1, 29; 32:2; 34:6; 36:8, 26; 37:2, 3, 6, 13; 38:9, 10, 14; 42:2, 4; 43:6; 45:1; 46:1, 13; 47:1; 49:34; 50:1; 51:59.

place much emphasis on them. Instead our discussion of the possible interpretation of the phrase נביא לגוים in 1:5 will use them as a heuristic guide.

I. If Jeremiah is commissioned as a נביא לגוים then why is so much of his prophetic activity directed toward Judah and Jerusalem (e.g. 2:1–4:4; 7:1–8:3; 14:1–15:4)? A fundamental part of the Jeremiah tradition is concerned with the fate of Judah at the hands of the Babylonians. Is Judah included among the גוים or does the phrase refer to 'foreign nations' exclusively? In regards to (I.) the crux of the problem rests on the term גוי. While it is unproblematic to accept that Jeremiah was considered a נביא,[48] things become a bit more complicated when he is introduced as a נביא לגוים. It is a premise in the study of Israelite and Judean prophecy that a prophet's basic purpose is to communicate YHWH's will to Israel and Judah accordingly.[49] Some will therefore argue that Jeremiah is appointed a נביא לגוים because the fate of Judah is linked with the fate of the nations.[50] This is generally true, if it does lack some interpretive punch; certain nations seem more important than others when considering the fate of Judah and Jerusalem (i.e. Babylon). Another option is to suggest that the 'nations' may be a reference to the communities of Judeans dispersed outside of Palestine, and therefore among the nations.[51] This does accord well with other passages in the book which are clearly concerned with displaced Judeans (24:1–10; 29:3–14; 43:8–13), however it seems to read over the basic thrust of the phrase. Does this reading now exclude the 'foreign' nations from Jeremiah's prophetic purview? Inversely one can contend that the phrase indicates that Jeremiah is a נביא לגוים insofar as his proclamations against Judah, the people's recalcitrance, and their subsequent judgment are lessons for Judah's neighbours; they are to learn from Judah's fate.[52] This interpretation also seems to miss the main point of the phrase; why is this Jeremiah's task and no other Judean prophet's?

48. H.M. Barstad, 'No Prophets? Recent Developments in Biblical Prophetic Research and Ancient Near Eastern Prophecy', *JSOT* 57 (1993): 39–60.

49. Sharp notes the pithy summary of this unease in Giesebrecht's statement that 'kein wahrer Proph. zu den Heiden gesendet war'. F. Giesebrecht, *Das Buch Jeremia* (HK III/2, Göttingen, 1907), 2; C.J. Sharp, 'The Call of Jeremiah and Diaspora Politics', *JBL* 119 (2000): 421–38; Idem, *Prophecy and Ideology in Jeremiah*, 83. See also Herrmann, *Jeremia. Der Prophet und das Buch* (EdF 271, Darmstadt, 1990), 199.

50. The foreign nations 'spielen überdies in vielen anderen Texten eine wichtige Rolle, insofern sie das Schicksal Jerusalems und Judas beeinflussen'. Fischer, *Jeremia 1–25*, 134.

51. Herrmann, 'Die Bewältigung der Krise Israels. Bemerkungen zur Interpretation des Buches Jeremia', in H. Donner, R. Hanhart, R. Smend (eds), *Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Theologie. Festschrift für Walther Zimmerli zum 70. Geburtstag* (Göttingen, 1977), 167–69; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 96.

52. Herrmann, *Jeremia*, 60–61. Similarly, see Vermeylen, 'La rédaction de Jérémie 1,4-19', 273–76; G. del Olmo Lete, 'La vocación personal en el A.T. Los relatos y su teologia', *Claretianum* 11 (1971): 9–96; Idem, *La vocacion del lider en el antiguo Israel. Morfologia de los relatos biblicos de vocacion* (Bibliotheca Salmanticensis III/2, Salamanca, 1973), 278–79.

II. Since the book of Jeremiah contains major sections devoted to oracles against foreign nations (i.e. Jer 25:15–38; 46–51), does the title נביא לגוים refer to some of the contents of the book instead than the prophet? One prevailing tendency in recent scholarship is to regard 1:4–10 as a late *Ouvertüre* to the book.[53] Is the title a redactional comment which, together with 1:10, a kind of summary statement? Others regard the symmetry created by the book beginning (1:5, 10) and ending (51:59–64) with texts relating to foreign nations as another indicator of redactional interest in the phrase נביא לגוים.[54] This is, of course, one proposal among many concerning the complicated literary development of the Jeremiah tradition; it also creates another problem, since the redactors who added 1:1–3 and 52 seemed to have read right past the supposed symmetry. It may very well be the case that 1:4–10 is a very young text compared to the rest of the Jeremiah tradition. This still does not answer the question, 'Why Jeremiah?' If Jeremiah's commission to be a נביא לגוים is a reference to some of the contents of the book (i.e. 25:15–38; 46–51), then one might also ask why Jeremiah is singled out for the distinction among the other prophetical book in the Hebrew Bible, all of which except Hosea contain oracles against foreign nations.[55] Is Jeremiah so unique in this regard?

Such a short discussion cannot possibly do justice to the multiplicity of scholarly positions associated with Jeremiah's commission as a נביא לגוים in Jer 1:5. It is an understatement to say that the phrase implies that Jeremiah is meant only to proclaim words which pertain to peoples and kingdoms outside of Judah. Rather it is better to suppose that the title נביא לגוים should be considered in connection with some of the central messages of the book, particularly Jeremiah's 'submit and live' political position, which is most emphasised during the series of Babylonian sieges of

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53. Römer represents this view and asserts that '1,5b et 10 présupposent toutes les grandes parties du livre et tentent d'en souligner la cohérence en faisant en même temps de Jérémie un personnage aussi incontournable que le Moïse de Dt 34,10-12.' Römer, 'Du livre au prophète : stratégies rédactionnelles dans le rouleau prémassorétique de Jérémie', 277. Fischer stresses this point when he asserts that 'ist Jer 1 nicht als biographische Schilderung einer Berufung mißzuverstehen' but the text rather 'hat vielmehr rahmende und orientierende Funktion für die Leser und is wie andere solche Berichte von Beauftragungen eine *theologische reflektierte Zusammenfassung*'. Fischer, *Jeremia 1–25*, 143. For arguments concerning Jeremiah as a 'prophet like Moses', see 2.2.2.3 below. See also Herrmann, *Jeremia*, 91; McKane, *Jeremiah I–XXV*, 25; R. Albertz, *Die Exilszeit. 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr* (Biblische Enzyklopädie 7, Stuttgart, 2001), 242; K. Schmid, *Buchgestalten des Jeremiabuches. Untersuchungen zur Redaktions und Rezeptionsgeschichte von Jer 30-33* (WMANT 72, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1996), 219.

54. Though he suggests this reading Carroll admits that this symmetry is 'spoiled to some extent by the additions of 1:1–3; 52' Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 96. Herrmann suggests that there could be a redactional link in the 'first part' of the book between Jer 1 and 25:1–14. Herrmann, *Jeremia*, 199.

55. Carroll, *From Chaos to Covenant: Uses of Prophecy in the Book of Jeremiah* (London, 1981), 53–54. This point is missed by Fischer as he describes how 'niemand vor ihm erhält Jeremia eine universale Sendung'. True, but many others performed a similar function. 'Ausklang' in Fischer, *Der Prophet wie Mose. Studien zum Jeremiabuch* (BZABR 15, Wiesbaden, 2011), 400.

Jerusalem (27:1–11; 37:1–10). The point of the phrase is to establish the rôle of the נביא in times of extreme crisis as a counselor and consultant of the royal court (cf. 1:18).

The central issue in these approaches is the meaning of the term גוי ('nation'), which is closely related semantically to the term עם ('people'). This relationship has been widely discussed, and some disagreement remains as to how distinct these terms are from one another.[56] עם is widely attested in Semitic, whilst גוי occurs only in Hebrew and in the Akkadian cognate *gāyum/gā'um* at Mari.[57] In the most general terms עם tends to refer to a unity of people marked by blood relations or ethnicity, whilst גוי describes a political reality governed by a king and in possession of land.[58] We could generalise and say that a group of people described as a גוי are bound together by politics and people described as an עם are typically bound by kinship; one of the key distinctions between גוי and עם therefore is that '[t]he one, in sum, is discrete, the other collective'.[59]

There are different uses of גוי and עם in Jeremiah. The term גוי ('nation') has 87 occurrences in the book,[60] 28 of which are singular (2:11; 5:9, 15[x4], 29; 6:22; 7:28; 9:8; 12:17; 18:7–9; 25:12, 32[x2]; 27:8[x2], 11, 13; 31:36; 33:24; 48:2; 49:31, 36; 50:3, 41) and the remaining 59 are plural; the term עם ('people') has 162 occurrences in Jeremiah, only

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56. E. A. Speiser, ' "People" and "Nation" of Israel', *JBL* 79 (1960): 157–163; A. Cody, 'When Is the Chosen People Called a *gôy?*', *VT* 14 (1964): 1–6; L. Rost, 'Die Bezeichnungen für Land und Volk im Alten Testament', in A. Alt (ed.), *Festschrift Otto Procksch. Zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 9. August 1934* (Leipzig, 1934), 141.

57. CAD G, 59; AHw 248. See Malamat, 'Mari and the Bible: Some Patterns of Tribal Organization and Institutions', *JAOS* 82 (1962): 143–50; Idem, 'Aspects of Tribal Societies in Mari and Israel', in J.-R. Kupper (ed.), *XVe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale organisée par le groupe François Thureau-Dangin (Liège, 4-8 juillet 1966). La civilisation de Mari* (BFPUL 182, Paris, 1967), 129–38; Idem, *Mari and the Early Israelite Experience* (Schweich Lectures 1984, Oxford, 1989), 38–39.

58. Cody, 'When Is the Chosen People Called a *gôy?*', 3.

59. Speiser, ' "People" and "Nation" of Israel', 160. See also A. R. Hulst's summary of the distinction between עם and גוי: 'Als Begriff aus den verwandschaftlichen Bereich ist bei *'am* die Zusammengehörigkeit von innen her gegeben und keineswegs erst durch äußere Umstände bedingt, während bei *gōj* eine naturgemäße Einheit, wenn schon vorhanden, nicht entscheidend zu sein scheint, weil gerade andere Faktoren mit im Spiele sind (entweder territoriale oder vor allem politische?).' THAT 2:294. Cody understands the domain of גוי to be 'territory and government and what we would call today foreign relations.' Cody, 'When Is the Chosen People Called a *gôy?*', 5. See also NIDOTTE 5:966–67.

60. Jer 1:5, 10; 2:11; 3:17, 19; 4:2, 7, 16; 5:9, 15(x4), 29(x2); 6:18, 22; 7:28; 9:9, 16, 26; 10:2(x2), 7(x2), 10, 25; 12:17; 14:22; 16:19; 18:7, 8, 9, 13; 22:8; 25:9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 31, 32(x2); 26:6; 27:7(x2), 8, 11, 13; 28:11, 14; 29:14, 18; 30:11; 31:7, 10, 36; 33:9, 24; 36:2; 43:5; 44:8; 46:1, 12, 28; 48:2; 49:14, 15, 31, 36; 50:2, 3, 9, 12, 23, 41, 46; 51:7(x2), 20, 27(x2), 28, 41, 44. It is used in the following collocations; גויי ארץ ('nations of [the] earth') in 26:6; 33:9; 44:8 (cf. Gen 18:18; 22:18; Deut 28:1; Zech 12:3); הבלי הגוים ('vanities of the nations') in 14:22; מלך הגוים ('king of the nations') and חכמי הגוים ('wise ones of the nations') in 10:7 (cf. Isa 14:9, 18); ראש הגוים ('head of the nations') in 31:7 (cf. 2 Sam 22:44 = Ps 18:44); צואר כל־הגוים ('necks of all the nations') in 28:11, 14; קהל גוים ('assembly of nations') in 50:9 (cf. Gen 35:11); דרך הגוים ('way of the nations') in 10:2; צבאות גוים ('beauties of nations') in 3:19; אחרית גוים ('last of nations') in 50:12; כל־הגוים ('all the nations') in 3:17; 9:25; 25:9, 13, 17; 27:7; 29:7–8, 14, 18; 28:11, 14; 30:11; 36:2; 43:5; 46:28; cf. כל־גויי ('all the nations') in 26:6; 33:9; 44:8 (cf. Gen 18:18; 22:18; 26:4; Deut 28:1; Zech 12:3); גדול ('a great nation') in 6:22; 50:9, 41; רב ('many nations') in 22:8; 25:14; איתן ('continuous nation') in 5:15; ההוא ('that nation') in 12:17; 18:8; 25:12; 27:8; האלה ('these nations') in 25:9, 11.

three are plural (10:3; 34:1; 51;58).[61] There is no use of the plural גוים to describe Israel or Judah in Jeremiah, but the singular גוי is used to describe one or the other (5:9, 29; 7:28; 9:8). The use of the first singular suffix in עמי ('my people') is frequently used to refer to Judah, whilst גוי never appears with a suffix in Jeremiah.[62] Thus the book shows a preference for עם when referring to Judah, but Judah's status as an עם does not preclude it from also being a גוי. This means that there is not a strict semantic distinction between the two terms in the book. The terms עם and גוי do appear in parallel (6:22; 50:41), and Judah's status as YHWH's עם does not disqualify it from being considered among the גוים. To cite a few significant examples, 18:1–12 relates a judgment oracle where YHWH likens the house of Israel to clay in a potter's hand. YHWH's judgment against גוים and ממלכות applies equally well to Judah and Jerusalem (18:7, 9).[63] In several judgment oracles, which are possibly related, YHWH asks rhetorically whether judgment should be brought בגוי אשר־כזה (5:9, 29; 9:8). Jeremiah refers to Judah as הגוי which would not listen to the voice of its god (7:28). In 31:36 the status of Israel as a גוי before YHWH is promised to endure as long as the natural order itself.[64] In one of the most important texts for understanding 1:5, the 'cup of wrath' passage in 25:15–38, Judah and Jerusalem are included in the list of the גוים commanded to drink from YHWH's cup (cf. 25:13).[65]

When Jeremiah is made a נביא לגוים many commentators implicitly understand the phrase as a 'prophet to the *foreign* nations'. It is more accurate, however, to view the title in Jer 1:5 as an indication of the political character of Jeremiah's commission. The title stresses that Jeremiah is to be a נביא at the level of international relations. In Jeremiah's commission as a נביא לגוים the connection between גוים and ממלכה ('kingdom') is particularly stressed in 1:10. The political character of a גוי is neatly described in 27:12–13, where Jeremiah warns king Zedekiah

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61. This distribution follows the general pattern of use across the Hebrew Bible; cf. THAT 2:294.

62. For גוי with a possessive suffix, cf. Gen 10:5, 20, 31, 32; Ezek 36:13; Zeph 2:9; Ps 106:5.

63. Duhm's view of Jer 18:1–12 is not kind, calling it '[e]ine sehr kindliche Haggada'. B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia erklärt* (KHC 11, Tübingen, 1901), 153.

64. Rudolph understands this as a promised political future; see W. Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 3rd ed. (HAT 12, Tübingen, 1968), 204. In contrast, see A. Weiser, *Das Buch des Propheten Jeremia. Kapitel 25:15 - 52:34*, 7th ed. (ATD 21, Göttingen, 1982), 297.

65. There are a number of lists of nations in Jeremiah, though none completely match the others. The longest list is in Jer 25:17–26, which includes Jerusalem and Judah, Egypt, Uz, Philistia (Ashkelon, Gaza, Ekron and Ashdod), Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, Sidon, the האי אשר בעבר הים ('coastlands of the sea'), Dedan, Tema, Buz, the kings of כל־קצוצי פאה ('all who have their hair clipped'), Arabia, כל־מלכי הערב השכנים במדבר ('all the kings of the mixed tribes of the desert'), Zimri, Elam, Media, כל־מלכי הצפון ('all the kings of the north'), כל־הממלכות הארץ אשר על־פני האדמה ('all the royal lands on the earth'), and Babylon. Listed in 9:25 are Egypt, Judah, Edom, the Ammonites, Moab, כל־קצוצי פאה הישבים במדבר ('all the desert dwellers who have the hair of their temples clipped'), and the house if Israel. The corpus of oracles against the nations in 46–51 includes the nations of Egypt (46:2–28), Philistia (47:1–7), Moab (48:1–47), Ammon (49:1–6), Edom (49:7–22), Damascus (49:23–27), Kedar and Hazor (49:28–33), Elam (49:34–39), and Babylon (50:1–51:58). Egypt and Assyria are mentioned together in 2:18, and 27:3 lists together the מלך אדום ('king of Edom'), מלך מואב ('king of Moab'), מלך בני עמון ('king of the sons of Ammon'), מלך צר ('king of Tyre'), and the מלך צידון ('king of Sidon').

of the dangers of resisting Babylon. If the מלך and עם willingly put their necks under the yoke of Babylon, they will live; otherwise they will be destroyed just as YHWH has warned any גוי which does not serve Babylon. The גוי according to this passage is the combination of king and people, a basic distillation of the common ancient Near Eastern body politic (cf. 1:18).[66] This is not dissimilar to 51:27–28 where the גוים appointed for war against Babylon are the ממלכות of Ararat, Minni and Ashkenaz, as well as the מלכים of Media (cf. 25:17). In sum, whilst there is a distinction between עם and גוי, Judah's position as the 'people of YHWH' does not preclude it from inclusion among the גוים.[67]

2.2.2 Jeremiah's reassurance (Jer 1:6–9)

Jeremiah's dialogue with YHWH in Jer 1:6–9 is a conventional exchange where YHWH confirms and reassures Jeremiah in his commission and selection. Jeremiah responds to YHWH's commission with a twofold protest, introduced by the phrase אהה אדני יהוה in 1:6a. This phrase appears elsewhere in the book as a part of complaints against YHWH's judgment (4:10; 14:13; 32:17).[68] He then describes his insufficiency for the rôle of a נביא לגוים by saying לא־ידעתי דבר ('I do not know how to speak') in 1:6a. This objection is best explained as a conventional expression of prayer, where the supplicant admits his or her weakness in an appeal for divine aid.[69] The implication of the objection is that Jeremiah considers speaking to be a necessary function of a נביא, and Jeremiah objects on the basis that he is a נער. What does being a נער have to do with being unable to speak?

נער (fem. נערה) and its cognates are broadly attested in Semitic, and generally the term refers to a person of a young age or a person whose social rank is similar to a servant.[70] Thus there are two primary explanations of how being a נער might disqualify

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66. Hulst emphasises that the close combination of the terms עם, גוי and ממלכה 'bedeutet freilich nicht, es sei, um ein *gōj* zu bilden , für jedes »Volk« und bedingt notwendig, eine selbständige Regierung zu haben, geschweige denn eine Monarchie zu sein.' THAT 2:316.

67. This follows the positions of H. Michaud, 'La vocation du "prophète des nations"', in *Maqqél shâqédh. La branche d'amandier : Hommage à Wilhelm Vischer* (Montpellier, 1960), 160–62; Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 6.

68. Vermeylen, 'La rédaction de Jérémie 1,4-19', 268.

69. Gen 32:10–11; Num 11:14; 1 Kgs 3:7, 9; cf. Amos 7:2. P.D. Miller Jr., 'Prayer as Persuasion', *WW* 13 (1993): 356–62.

70. DCH 5:708; HALAT 668; DNWSI 739–40; HAH[18] 827–28; DBHE, 501; BDB, 654–55; NIDOTTE, 3:124–27. See H.P. Stähli, *Knabe–Jüngling–Knecht. Untersuchung zum Begriff* נער *im Alten Testament* (BET 7, Frankfurt a.M., 1978), 66–70. The related term נעורים ('youth') is attested in poetic judgments in Jeremiah (cf. 2:2; 3:4; 3:24–25; 22:21; 31:19; 32:30; 48:11), but נער only is found in 1:6–7 and in 51:22, where it is in a merismatic construction with its antonym זקן (cf. Gen 19:4; Ex 10:9; Josh 6:21; Isa 20:4; Lam 2:21; Esth 3:13). A similar range of meaning is evident for Ugaritic *n'r* (I) 'boy' and (II) 'lad, assistant, serving lad', where *n'r* (II) could be an occupational idicator. It appears in lists of professions such as KTU 9.436:2; cf. KTU 4.68:60; 4.126:12; 4.745:10; 4.367:7; 4.179:3. On translating נער as 'squire', see J. MacDonald, 'The Status and Role of the Na'ar in Israelite Society', *JNES* 35 (1976): 147–70; B. Cutler, J. MacDonald, 'Identification of the *Na'ar* in the Ugaritic Texts', *UF* 8 (1976): 27–35. On the military associations of *n'r* at Ugarit, see B.

Jeremiah from being a נביא and from knowing how to speak. First נער can refer to a person of young age. In this case the thrust of Jeremiah's claim is that his 'youth' is the cause of his inability to speak. When נער is used as an indicator of age it usually pertains to the status of an individual within a family structure as a dependent.[71] Second נער as 'servant, attendant' could primarily indicates a lack of experience or status.[72] Whilst it is a quite generic label נער usually describes a person who functions as an attendant or servant for someone of higher social rank, often royalty.[73] For example a נער is involved in transmitting messages in 1 Sam 25:5–7.[74] In sum, whilst נער can simply refer to a person of young age, it is used here as a conventional expression of inadequacy for a divinely appointed task. Therefore the term נער in Jer 1:6 should be understood as an indicator of social rank and not necessarily an indicator of Jeremiah's age (cf. 1 Kgs 3:7).[75]

2.2.2.1 YHWH's instructions (Jer 1:7)

In Jer 1:7 YHWH counters Jeremiah's protest by reassuring him that he is not to suppose that he cannot speak on YHWH's behalf. Jeremiah's words are repeated back to him as he is told אל־תאמר נער אנכי ('do not say "I am only an attendant"'), and his protest is rebuffed as YHWH gives him a pair of instructions in 1:7b. The objection Jeremiah gives to YHWH is merely conventional, and it only momentarily interrupts

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Cutler, J. Macdonald, 'The Unique Ugaritic Text UT 113 and the Question of "Guilds"', *UF* 9 (1977): 13–30; W. Mayer, R. Mayer-Opificius, 'Die Schlacht bei Qadeš. Der Versuch einer neuen Rekonstruktion', *UF* 26 (1994): 321–68. Roshwalb confuses the presence of war language in Jer 1:4–19 as evidence for translating נער as 'warrior'; many functionaries are involved in war, not just soldiers, and this translation should not be accepted. E.H. Roshwalb, 'Jeremiah 1:4-10: "Lost and Found" in Translation and a New Interpretation', *JSOT* 34 (2010): 351–76.

71. נער refers to unweaned or very recently weaned children in Ex 2:6; Judg 13:5, 7, 8, 12; 1 Sam 1:22–24; 4:21. Youths are also called נער before reaching adulthood in Gen 21:12; 37:2; 2 Chr 34:3. Both Isaac and Abraham's attendants are referred to with נער in Gen 22:3, 5, 12, 19. Stähli, *Knabe–Jüngling–Knecht*, 96–100. However Fox notes that נער is sometimes a marker 'of a person's inexperience in a certain role rather than a mark of age or status.' An example is when Solomon refers to himself as a נער קטן when praying to YHWH for guidance in 1 Kgs 3:7. N.S. Fox, *In the Service of the King: Officialdom in Ancient Israel and Judah* (Cincinnati, 2000), 183–84; Stähli, *Knabe–Jüngling–Knecht*, 113–17.

72. Stähli, *Knabe–Jüngling–Knecht*, 183.

73. In texts such as Ex 2:5; 2 Sam 13:17, 28–29; 2 Kgs 19:6; Esth 2:2; 4:4, 6; 6:3, Fox determines that 'these נערים/נערות should be classified as royal functionaries.' Stähli, *Knabe–Jüngling–Knecht*, 183. Other non-royal persons are served by נערים/נערות in similar rôles as attendants; see Gen 22:3; 24:61; Ex 24:5; 33:11; Num 22:22; 1 Sam 9:27; 25:5, 42. Joseph is called a נער whilst imprisoned before being summoned to interpret the Pharaoh's troubling dreams (Gen 41:12; cf. 41:46). Three examples may be particularly significant for Jer 1:6b; a נער works in the service of a כהן in 1 Sam 2:13, 15 (cf. Jeremiah's lineage of כהנים in Jer 1:1); Samuel's service to Eli as a נער in 1 Sam 3:1, 8; and Gehazi, the servant of Elisha, is called a נער in 2 Kgs 4:12 (cf. Jeremiah's rôle as נביא in 1:5b).

74. S.A. Meier, *The Messenger in the Ancient Semitic World* (HSM 45, Atlanta, 1988), 39.

75. See C.S. Leeb, *Away From the Father's House: The Social Location of Na'ar and Na'arah in Ancient Israel* (JSOT.S 301, Sheffield, 2000). Contra B.A. Strawn, 'Jeremiah's In/effective Plea: Another Look at נער in Jeremiah i 6', *VT* 55 (2005): 366–77.

YHWH's commission. The two instructions that YHWH gives Jeremiah pertain to the transmission of divine messages as a נביא לגוים and follow similar general patterns in texts which record the commissioning of a messenger.[76] Jeremiah is told by YHWH that he shall go where he is sent and he shall speak what he is instructed.

The two operative verbs in Jer 1:7 are צוה and שלח, terms which are typical of prophetic commissioning.[77] We shall turn to the first instruction in a moment; in the second YHWH tells Jeremiah את כל־אשר אצוך תדבר ('speak whatever I tell you'), a phrase repeated again in 1:17 (cf. Ex 7:2; 1 Kgs 11:38). The verb צוה, with 39 occurrences in Jeremiah,[78] is used in some important contexts related to prophetic activity. In 14:14 a negative oracle criticises prophets who were not commanded (צוה) to speak, yet they did anyway, and in 26:8 a positive appraisal of Jeremiah's actions in the temple claims that he spoke as he was commanded (צוה) by YHWH. In the majority of cases YHWH is the subject of the verb (1:7, 17; 7:22, 23, 31; 11:4, 8; 13:5, 6; 14:14; 17:22; 19:5; 23:32; 26:2, 8; 29:23; 32:35; 34:22; 47:7; 50:21), though Jeremiah also issues commands to other individuals as well (27:4; 32:13; 36:5, 8; 51:59).

The general pattern of use in Jeremiah accords with the typical instructions given to messengers in the ancient world (2 Sam 11:19–21).[79] The second command issued by YHWH in 1:7, על־כל־אשר אשלחך תלך, employs the verb שלח, a key term for the nature and understanding of prophecy in the book of Jeremiah as well as the rest of the *corpus propheticum*. There are 89 occurrences of √שלח in the book of Jeremiah in various contexts.[80] YHWH is the most frequent subject of the verb (Jer 1:7; 7:25; 14:14, 15; 16:16; 19:14; 23:21, 32, 38; 25:4, 9, 15, 17; 26:5, 12, 15; 27:15; 28:9, 15; 29:9, 19, 31; 35:15; 42:5, 21; 43:1, 2, 10; 44:4), and often שלח is used in negative oracles to describe YHWH issuing judgment either against Judah or against foreign nations. YHWH declares his intention to send the sword, a metonym for destruction, against Judah (9:15; 24:10; 25:16, 27; 29:17), the list of גוים who will drink from the 'cup of wrath', which includes Judah

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76. Meier best summarises the instructions given to messengers in the ancient Semitic world: 'Direct address to the messenger often featured imperatives such as go (2 Sam 18; 2 Kgs 1; *CTA* 2,5; *STT* 28; *EE*; *IE*; *Lú-dingir-ra*), run, set your face (*CTA* 2; 3.6; 4; 14; *STT* 28), speak (*CTA* 2; 3.6; 3.3; 4; 5; 6; 14; *Atr.*; *ELA*; *CTH* 7), say, tell, repeat, bring word, bow (*CTA* 2; 3.3; 3.6; 4; *STT* 28), rise, stand, and others, some of which attained a formulaic status. "Thus says PN" is characteristic of West Semitic literature (Gen 32; 1 Kgs 20; *CTA* 2; 3.3; 3.6; 4; 5; 14). Characteristic of Akkadian was the phrase "I will send you" (*STT* 28; *EE*; Harem laws; cf. *Sud*).' Meier, *The Messenger in the Ancient Semitic World*, 36–57, esp. 57.

77. Other terms which are used in reference to the commissioning of a נביא are קרא ('call') or קום *hiphil* ('raise up') as in 29:15; cf. 28:6.

78. Jer 1:7, 17; 7:22, 23(x2), 31; 11:4(x2), 8; 13:5, 6; 14:14; 17:22; 19:5; 23:32; 26:2, 8; 29:23; 32:13, 23, 35; 34:22; 35:6, 8, 10, 14, 16, 18, 27; 36:5, 8, 26; 37:21; 38:10; 39:11; 47:7; 50:21; 51:59.

79. Meier, *The Messenger in the Ancient Semitic World*, 38.

80. Jer 1:7, 9; 2:10; 3:1, 8; 7:25(x2); 8:17; 9:15, 16; 14:3, 14, 15; 15:1; 16:16; 17:8; 19:14; 21:1; 23:21, 32, 38; 24:5, 10; 25:4, 9, 15, 16, 17, 27; 26:5, 12, 15, 22; 27:3, 15; 28:9, 15, 16; 29:1, 3, 9, 17, 19, 20, 25, 28, 31; 34:9, 10, 11, 14, 16; 35:15; 36:14, 21; 37:3, 7, 17; 38:6, 11, 14; 39:13, 14; 40:1, 5, 14; 42:5, 6, 9, 20, 21; 43:1, 2, 10; 44:4; 48:12; 49:14, 37; 50:33; 51:2. Of this total, 53 occurrences are *qal* form: Jer 1:7, 9; 2:10; 7:25; 9:16; 14:3, 14, 15; 16:16(x2) 19:14; 21:1; 23:21, 32; 25:4, 15, 16, 17, 27; 26:5, 12, 15, 22; 27:15; 28:9, 15; 29:1, 3, 9, 19, 25, 31; 35:15; 36:14, 21; 37:3, 7, 17; 38:14; 39:13, 14; 40:14; 42:5, 6, 9, 20, 21; 43:1, 2, 10; 44:4, 20; 49:14. The remaining 36 are Piel form: Jer 3:1, 8; 8:17; 9:15; 15:1; 17:8; 24:5, 10; 27:3; 28:16; 29:17, 20; 34:9, 10(x2), 11, 14(x2), 16; 38:6, 11; 40:1, 5; 48:12; 49:37; 50:33; 51:2.

(25:15–26), and against Elam (49:37). The enigmatic reference to YHWH sending the דוג ('fisherman') and ציד ('hunter') are likely judgment metaphors in reference to Judah (16:16); a judgment oracle against Judah threatens serpents and venemous snakes (8:17); YHWH describes how he will send for Nebuchadnezzar and for the people of the north to destroy Judah and her inhabitants (25:9; cf. 43:10). Still further references signal YHWH's judgment against Moab, where men will be sent to 'tip him over' (48:12), and Babylon, where זרים ('strangers') will winnow and strip the land (51:2). There are also more general references to individuals who are 'sent' for various reasons, usually as a form of communication or to perform a particular task.[81] Some examples include Zedekiah sending Pashhur ben Malchiah and Zephaniah ben Maaseiah to Jeremiah in order to inquire of YHWH (21:1), or when the שרים in the king's palace (36:12) send Jehudi ben Nethaniah to Baruch in order to hear the contents of the scroll which he read aloud in the temple (36:14; cf. 36:1–10). From this variety of texts we can distill six uses of שלח which are particularly relevant for the book's discourse concerning prophecy:

I. The term שלח is used in multiple texts to indicate whether or not a נביא has 'been sent' (Jer 1:7; 14:14–15; 23:21, 32; 27:15; 28:9, 15; 29:9; 43:2). Postitive examples of the motif of 'being sent' are found in several places (1:7; 19:14; 25:15; 26:12, 15; 28:9; 42:5, 21; 43:1; see also II. below). Jeremiah claims to have been sent by YHWH in the Jerusalem temple (19:14; 26:12, 15), as well as in the account of his commission to be a נביא לגוים (1:7).[82] In five negative oracles YHWH claims that נביאים were not sent (14:14–15; 23:21, 32; 27:15; 29:9). In a fourth text Jeremiah rejects Hananiah by claiming לא־שלחך יהוה (28:15). The 'sending' motif is also connected to קסמים; YHWH warns the Judeans in Babylon not to listen to נביאיכם and קסמיכם since they have not been sent (29:8–9; cf. קסם in 14:14b). This is a claim also levelled against Jeremiah by Azariah ben Hoshaiah and Johanan ben Kareah in their flight to Egypt (43:2).

II. Six passages in Jeremiah employ the theme of YHWH sending נביאים to encourage the people to repent (Jer 7:25; 25:4; 26:5; 29:19; 35:15; 44:4).[83] Five of these texts repeat the same phrase with only some variation: אשלח אליכם את־כל־עבדי הנביאים יום האשכם ושלח (7:25). Only in 25:4 is the phrase used in third person, where Jeremiah declares שלח יהוה אליכם את־כל־עבדיו הנביאים.

81. Individuals who are described as 'sent' in the book are Elasah (29:3), Elnathan (26:22), Gemariah (29:3), Hananiah (28:15), Ishmael (40:14), Jehucal (37:3), Jehudi (36:14, 21), Jeremiah (1:7; 19:14; 25:15, 17; 26:12, 15; 37:7; 42:5, 6, 9, 20, 21; 43:1, 2), Nebuchadnezzar (25:9; 43:10), Pashhur (21:1), Shemaiah (29:31), and Zephaniah (21:1; 37:3). Other people who are sent include עבדי הנביאים 'my servants the prophets' (7:25; 25:4; 26:5; 29:19; 35:15; 44:4), צעיר (Jer 14:3), ציר 'envoy' (*qal* pass.) (49:14), חכמות 'dirge-singers' (9:16).

82. N.B. Only twice does the sending motif use שלח with the preposition על. Jeremiah is told to go על־כל־אשר עשלחך in 1:7 and he tells the שרים and the people in the temple that שלחני יהוה עליכם in 26:15.

83. See the discussion in Sharp, *Prophecy and Ideology in Jeremiah*, 41–80.

All six texts emphasise the continuous nature of YHWH's 'sending' (i.e. השכם ושלח) in contrast with the obstinate unwillingness of the people to repent.[84]

III. Three texts relate the sending motif to the message rather than the messenger, so to speak. In the משא יהוה passage in Jer 23:33–40 YHWH rejects those who ask about the משא יהוה since אשלח אליכם לאמר לא תאמרו משא יהוה (23:38). When Johanan ben Kareah and Jezaniah ben Hoshaiah ask Jeremiah to pray on their behalf, they promise to do ככל־הדבר אשר ישלחך יהוה אלהיך אלינו (42:5). After Jeremiah warns Azariah and Johanan against going to Egypt, the narrative describes the message as all the words אשר שלחו (43:1). In these instances the reference to 'being sent' is related to the message relayed through a נביא. There are also references to Jeremiah 'sending' messages to his audiences, such as yoke bars to royal envoys (27:3) or letters and messages to Judeans in Babylon (29:1, 3, 28, 31; cf. 29:25).

IV. Some of Jeremiah's activity is couched in language related to 'being sent' to perform a task by YHWH. Twice this is related to Jeremiah proclaiming oracles in the Jerusalem temple (Jer 19:14; 25:15, 17; 26:15) and twice in the 'cup of wrath' passage in YHWH's instructions for Jeremiah to take the cup את־כל־הגוים אשר אנכי שלח (25:15, 17).

V. A more oblique instance of 'being sent' is found in texts where Jeremiah is 'sent for' by king Zedekiah. Twice Zedekiah sends priests to Jeremiah to ask him to pray to (√פלל) or inquire of (√דרש) YHWH on their behalf (Jer 21:1–2; 37:3). In another text he sends for Jeremiah in order to ask (√שאל) Jeremiah about the Babylonian threat (37:14).[85] In these instances the 'sending' does not correspond to YHWH but to the monarch requesting an oracle from the נביא.

VI. A few texts invert the motif of YHWH sending a נביא and instead describe a נביא being sent to YHWH. Jeremiah is 'sent' to YHWH to intercede on behalf of another (Jer 37:7; 42:6, 9, 20).[86] In Zedekiah's inquiry through priests YHWH responds to the king השלח אתכם אלי לדרשני (37:7). The first person voice should be understood as YHWH. In another instance Johanan ben Kareah and 'all the people' send Jeremiah to YHWH to intercede on their behalf (42:6, 9, 20).

This synchronic survey of שלח demonstrates a multifaceted set of uses for the term in relation to prophecy. It is a well integrated and integral aspect of the discourse regarding prophecy in the book of Jeremiah.

One of the ongoing points of discussion in current definitions of prophecy in contemporary scholarship is the notion of a *Sendungsbewusstsein* among ancient prophetic figures.[87] There is still debate regarding whether or not this is a part of the

84. See also 2 Kgs 17:13–14; cf. 17:23; 21:10; 24:2.

85. On the technical dimensions of these terms, see R.I. Thelle, *Ask God: Divine Consultation in the Literature of the Hebrew Bible* (BET 30, Frankfurt a.M., 2002).

86. Cf. Zech 7:2.

87. See J. Stökl, *Prophecy in the Ancient Near East: A Philological and Sociological Comparison* (CHANE

biblical construct of prophecy or an historical aspect of ancient Near Eastern prophetic activity. Many texts in the Hebrew Bible use the motif of 'being sent' (שלח) by YHWH in relation to prophets or נביאים.[88] An additional six texts from Mari share the motif of a prophetic figure being 'sent' by a deity (AEM 1/1 212; AEM 1/1 220; 221; AEM 1/1 210; 233; 240).[89] This has led some to conclude that the motif is operative in a very similar fashion in both the Hebrew Bible and the Mari texts, and therefore more likely to be an historical aspect of the ancient Near Eastern conception of prophecy.[90] It is important to stress that we simply cannot know whether or not a prophetic figure, whether in Jerusalem or Mari, regarded *himself* or *herself* as 'sent' by a deity; this is not an open possibility due to the nature of the sources. What we can know is whether or not this is a recorded part of the process by which prophetic messages were transmitted. Are prophetic figures regarded by others as 'being sent'? In this respect there appears to be a strong correlation between the texts from Mari and Jeremiah. A prophetic oracle in AEM 1/1 210 begins with the statement 'Dagan m'a envoyée', thus identifying the divine origin of the message being transmitted.[91]In AEM 1/1 212 the claim made in the text is that the message was sent by the deity, not that the *assinnu* was sent. This pattern is similar to those noted in III. above, where the 'sending' motif is used in relation to the message as well (cf. Jer 23:38; 42:5; 43:1). Two of the claims of

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56, Leiden, 2012), 221–24. The closest 'consensus' definition of prophecy includes this notion: '(a) in einem kognitiven Erlebnis (Vision, Audition, audiovisuelle Erscheinung, Traum o.ä.) der Offenbarung einer Gottheit oder mehrerer Gottheiten teilhaftig wird, und ferner (b) sich durch die betreffende(n) Gottheit(en) beauftragt weiß, das ihr Geoffenbarte in sprachlicher Fassung (als "P.", "Prophetenspruch") oder in averbalen Kommunikationsakten ("symbolischen" oder "Zeichenhandlungen") an einen Dritten (oder Dritte), den (die) eigentlichen Adressaten, weiterzuleiten.' M. Weippert, 'Prophetie im Alten Orient,' in *NBL* 11 (Zürich/Düsseldorf, 1997), 197. See also Idem, 'Aspekte israelitischer Prophetie im Lichte verwandter Erscheinungen des Alten Orients', in G. Mauer, U. Magen (eds), *Ad bene et fideliter seminandum: Festgabe für Karlheinz Deller zum 21 Februar 1987* (AOAT 220, Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1988), 289–90.

88. Ex 3:14, 15; 4:13, 28; 5:22; 7:16; Num 16:28, 29; Deut 34:11; Josh 24:5; Jdg 6:8; 1 Sam 12:8; 15:1; 16:1; 2 Sam 12:1; 24:13; 2 Kgs 2:2, 4, 6; Isa 42:19; 48:16; 61:1; Jer 1:7; 7:25; 14:14, 15; 19:14; 23:21, 32, 38; 25:4, 15, 17; 26:5, 12, 15; 27:15; 28:9, 15; 29:9, 19, 31; 35:15; 42:5, 21; 43:1, 2; 44:4; Ezek 2:3, 4; 3:6; 13:6; Mic 6:4; Hag 1:12; Zech 2:12, 13, 15; 4:9; 6:15; Mal 3:1, 23; Ps 105:26; Neh 6:12; 2 Chr 24:19; 25:15; 36:15.

Richter, *Die sogennanten vorprophetischen Berufungsberichte,* 156–58. See also THAT 2:913–14.

89. H.B. Huffmon, 'A Company of Prophets: Mari, Assyria, Israel,' in M. Nissinen (ed.), *Prophecy in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context: Mesopotamian, Biblical, and Arabian Perspectives* (SBL.SS 13, Atlanta, 2000), 56.

90. Durand, *Archives épistolaires de Mari I/1*, 380; Idem, 'La religión en Siria durante la época de los reinos Amorreos según la documentación de Mari', in P. Mander, G. del Olmo Lete (eds), *Mitología y religión del Oriente Antiguo II/1. Semitas occidentales* (*Ebla, Mari*) (Barcelona, 1995), 317. See the reference in Stökl, *Prophecy in the Ancient Near East*, 92.

91. Transliteration and translation of all the following texts from Mari are found in Durand, *Archives épistolaires de Mari I/1*, 377–452. English translations are found in J.J.M. Roberts, 'The Mari Prophetic Texts in Transliteration and English Translation,' in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Collected Essays* (Winona Lake, IN, 2002), 157–253; W. Heimpel, *Letters to the King of Mari: A New Translation, with Historical Introduction, Notes, and Commentary* (Mesopotamian Civilizations 12, Winona Lake, IN, 2003); M. Nissinen, *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East* (SBLWAW 12, Atlanta, 2003), 32–77.

'being sent' are made by the same figure, which could be understood as 'the idiosyncrasy of one *muḫḫum*' (AEM 1/1 220; 221), though the presence of the motif is clearly attested in both texts.[92] The 'sending' motif also appears in the dream texts AEM 1/1 233 and AEM 1/1 240; the connection between prophets and dreams is also evident in the polemics directed על־נבאי חלמות שקר ('against those who prophesy dreams of deceit') in Jer 23:25–32. In sum this brief survey indicates that the 'sending' motif in Jeremiah, including 1:7b, is rooted in ancient patterns of transmitting prophetic messages (see 2.2.2.3).

2.2.2.2 YHWH's support (Jer 1:8)

After instructing Jeremiah to go where he is sent and relate what he is told, YHWH gives him a word of reassurance. Two formulaic expressions are directed toward Jeremiah as encouragement for his prophetic task. In Jer 1:8 the formulaic expression אל־תירא ('fear not') appears as a part of YHWH's expression of support for Jeremiah (see also 30:10; 42:11; cf. Isa 43:1, 2; 43:5).[93] The phrase אל־תירא should also be understood in connection to the phrase תאזר מתניך ('gird up your loins') in 1:17, which is an idiomatic expression for preparation for conflict, war or strife (cf. 11:21–23; 20:1–3; 37–38). These reassurances given to Jeremiah seem to presume the antagonism he is described as encountering in the book (e.g. 17:15; 18:18). Direct opposition to Jeremiah also appears to be present in the phrase נלחמו אליך ולא־יוכלו לך ('they will attack you but they will not overcome you') in 1:19a, and divine backing and support are expressed by the phrase כי־אתך אני נאם־יהוה להצילך ('for I am with you—oracle of YHWH—to save you') in 19b.[94] The instructions אל־תירא and תאזר מתניך also fit the context of war-related themes and images in 1:4–19. The visions in 1:11–12 and especially 1:13–16 relate to divine oracles and warnings concerning the looming military threats against Jerusalem. Both 1:8 and 1:17 are typical words of encouragement during times of conflict.

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92. Stökl, *Prophecy in the Ancient Near East*, 222.

93. Cf. Gen 15:1; 21:17; 26:24; 35:17; 43:23; 46:3; 50:19; 50:21; Exod 14:13; 20:17; Num 14:9; 21:34; Deut 1:21; 3:2; 20:3; 31:6; Josh 8:1; 10:8; 10:25; 11:6; Judg 4:18; 6:23; 1 Sam 4:20; 12:20; 22:23; 23:17; 28:13; 2 Sam 9:7; 13:28; 1 Kgs 17:13; 2 Kgs 1:15; 6:16; 19:6; 25:24; Isa 7:4; 10:24; 35:4; 37:6; 40:9; 41:10, 13–14; 43:1, 5; 44:2; 51:7; 54:4; Jer 1:8; 10:5; 30:10; 40:9; 42:11; 46:27–28; Eek 2:6; Joel 2:21–22; Zeph 3:16; Hag 2:5; Zech 8:13, 15; Ps 49:17; Job 5:22; Prov 3:25; Ruth 3:11; Lam 3:57; Dan 10:12, 19; Neh 4:8; 1 Chr 22:13; 28:20; 2 Chr 20:15, 17; 32:7. See Nissinen, 'Fear Not: A Study on An Ancient Near Eastern Phrase', in M.A. Sweeney, E. Ben Zvi (eds), *The Changing Face of Form Criticism for the Twenty-First Century* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2003), 122–61. Cf. J. Atkinson, 'Prophecy in K1285? Re-evaluating the Divine Speech Episodes of Nabû', in H.M Barstad, R.P. Gordon (eds), *"Thus Speaks Ishtar of Arbela": Prophecy in Israel, Assyria and Egypt in the Neo-Assyrian Period* (Winona Lake, IN, 2013), 65–67.

94. On the phrase כי אתך אני see W.H. Schmidt, *Exodus. 1. Teilband: Exodus 1-6* (BKAT II/1, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1988), 126–27; M. Görg, ' "Ich bin mit dir". Gewicht und Anspruch einer Redeform im Alten Testament', *ThGl* 70 (1980): 214–40.

2.2.2.3 The 'prophet like Moses' (Jer 1:7b, 9b, 17a; Deut 18:18)

One prevalent explanation of Jer 1:7b, 9b, 17a is that these texts display a strong deuteronomic influence and are a part of late deuteronomistic redactions of the book. Many commentators have noted the close linguistic similarity between Jer 1:7b, 9b, 17a and Deut 18:18, a similarity often considered 'too much of a coincidence' to preclude some literary connection between the two texts.[95] There is a near *communio opinionis* which holds that Jer 1:7b, 9 are dependent on Deut 18:18 and that Jeremiah is being presented in 1:4–19 as a 'prophet like Moses' in a late redaction of the book.[96] In many respects, the 'prophet like Moses' motif cannot be evaluated adequately without addressing many other texts and themes in the book (e.g. 7:16; 11:14; 14:11; 15:1). For the present context we can only address the similarities of Deut 18:18 and Jer 1. When viewed side-by-side the similarities, and differences, between the two texts show why they are often discussed together:

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95. R. Achenbach, ' "A Prophet Like Moses" (Deuteronomy 18:15) — "No Prophet Like Moses" (Deuteronomy 34:10): Some Observations on the Relation Between the Pentateuch and the Latter Prophets,' in T. Dozeman, K. Schmid, B.J. Schwartz (eds), *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research* (FAT 78, Tübingen, 2011), 446; Römer, 'Comment distinguer le vrai du faux prophète ?', in J.-M. Durand, T. Römer, M. Bürki, *Comment devient-on prophète ? Actes du colloque organisé par le Collège de France, Paris, les 4-5 avril 2011* (OBO 265, Fribourg/Göttingen, 2014), 117.

96. P.E. Broughton, 'The Call of Jeremiah: The Relation of Deut. 18:9–22 to the Call and Life of Jeremiah', *ABR* 6 (1958): 39–46; Vermeylen, 'La rédaction de Jérémie 1,4-19', 268; C.R. Seitz, 'The Prophet Moses and the Canonical Shape of Jeremiah', *ZAW* 101 (1989): 3–27; E. Otto, 'Jeremia und die Tora. Ein nachexilischer Diskurs', in *Die Tora. Studien zum Pentateuch: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (BZABR 9, Wiesbaden, 2009), 518–26; W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25* (WMANT 41, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1973), 62–72; M. Köckert, 'Zum literargeschichtlichen Ort des Prophetengesetzes Dtn 18 zwischen dem Jeremiabuch und Dtn 13', in R.G. Kratz, H. Spieckermann (eds), *Liebe Und Gebot. Studien Zum Deuteronomium; Festschrift Zum 70. Geburtstag Von Lothar Perlitt* (FRLANT 190, Göttingen, 2000), 80–100; Grätz, ' "Einen Propheten wie mich wird dir der Herr, dein Gott erwecken"', 61–77. One of the foremost exponents of the view that Jeremiah is being cast as a 'prophet like Moses' is Römer, who has articulated his views on the relationship between Jer 1 and Deut 18 in numerous publications. For example, see Römer, 'Von maulwürfen und verhinderten Propheten. Einige Anmerkungen zum prophetischen Buch', *CV* 51 (2009): 173–83; Idem, 'The Formation of the Book of Jeremiah as a Supplement to the so-called Deuteronomistic History', in D.V. Edelman, E. Ben Zvi (eds), *The Production of Prophecy: Constructing Prophecy and Prophets in Yehud* (London, 2003), 166–83; Idem, 'Moses, Israel's First Prophet, and the Formation of the Deuteronomistic and Prophetic Libraries', in M.R. Jacobs, R.F. Person (eds), *Israelite Prophecy and the Deuteronomistic History: Portrait, Reality, and the Formation of a History* (SBLAIL 14, Atlanta, 2013), 129–45. The most notable recent objectors are Schmidt, *Jeremia 1–20*, 47–48; E.W. Nicholson, 'Deuteronomy 18:9-22, the Prophets and Scripture', in J. Day (ed.), *Prophecy and Prophets in Ancient Israel: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar* (LHBOTS 531, London, 2010). Fischer views Jer 1 as a polemic against the uniqueness of Moses as an intercessor described in Deut 34:10. Fischer, *Jeremia 1–25*, 136. On the 'prophet like Moses' motif in other prophetic 'biographies', see M. Dijkstra, ' "I Am Neither a Prophet nor a Prophet's Pupil": Amos 7:9-17 as the Presentation of a Prophet like Moses', in J.C. de Moor (ed.), *The Elusive Prophet: The Prophet As a Historical Person, Literary Character and Anonymous Artist* (OuSt 45, Leiden, 2001), 119–28.

Jer 1:7b	ואת כל־אשר אצוך תדבר
Jer 1:17a	קמת ודברת אליהם את כל־אשר אנכי אצוך
Deut 18:18	ודבר אליהם את כל־אשר אצונו
cf. Ex 7:2	אתה תדבר את כל־אשר אצוך

While the phrase נביא אקים להם מקרב אהיהם in Deut 18:18 is absent from Jer 1:7b, 17a, there is clearly similar language in these texts.[97] Both Jer 1:7b and 1:17a share the language of speaking all that YHWH commands with Deut 18:18. The 2ms suffixes in Jer 1:7b, 17a are the result of a different literary context from Deut 18:18; in Jer 1 YHWH is speaking to Jeremiah in a prophetic oracle, while in Deut 18 Moses is relating YHWH's instructions to the Israelites. The relationship between Jer 1:7b, 17a and Deut 18:18 phrases is complicated by the presence of the phrase אתה תדבר את כל־אשר אצוך in Ex 7:2, a text we cannot fully discuss here, we only must note that it is possible that other textual influences are at work in either Deut 18:18 or Jer 1:7b, 17a.[98] Of the two operative verbs in 1:7 only צוה is found in Deut 18; the key verb שלח is replaced instead with קום, a term with minimal attestation in Jeremiah texts concerned with prophetic commissioning (29:15; cf. 28:6). Interestingly in Jer 26:8 the narrative states that Jeremiah finished speaking את כל־אשר־צוה יהוה and then conflates the language of 1:7 in 26:12, 15, where Jeremiah says he was sent להנבא ('to prophesy') and לדבר ('to speak'). As was noted in 2.2.2.1 above, the instructions YHWH gives to Jeremiah to speak everything he is instructed is the basic pattern found in instructions given to messengers in the ancient world (cf. 2 Sam 11:19–21).[99] It is strange that if Jer 1:7b, 17a intend to portray Jeremiah as a 'prophet like Moses' they use possibly banal language and do not use the same key verbs of commissioning (√קום in Deut 18:18; √שלח in Jer 1:7b).

Another shared element of these texts is the motif of YHWH placing his words in the prophet's mouth. Jer 1:9 describes a sign (?) given to Jeremiah where YHWH stretches forth his hand and touches Jeremiah's mouth, and Deut 18:18 describes the 'prophet like Moses' in similar fashion:

Jer 1:9b	הנה נתתי דברי בפיך
Deut 18:18b	ונתתי דברי בפיו
cf. Jer 5:14	הנני נתן דברי בפיך לאש

While these are not the only texts where YHWH is described as placing words in someone's mouth, these are the only instances in the Hebrew Bible where the phrase 'I

97. Achenbach is not too bothered with this difference. Achenbach, ' "A Prophet Like Moses" (Deuteronomy 18:15) — "No Prophet Like Moses" (Deuteronomy 34:10)', 447.

98. W.H. Schmidt, 'Jeremias Berufung. Aspekte der Erzählung Jer 1,4-9 und offene Fragen der Auslegung', in W. Zwickel (ed.), *Biblische Welten. Festschrift für Martin Metzger zu Seinem 65. Geburtstag* (OBO 123, Freiburg/Göttingen, 1993), 185.

99. Meier, *The Messenger in the Ancient Semitic World*, 38.

place my words in his/your mouth' is constructed with √נתן. Other occurrences of the phrase use √שים (Num 22:38; 23:5, 12; Isa 51:16; 59:21).[100] Another possible 'prototype' for the motif in Jer 1:7b appears in the context of 5:12–14, a passage which is critical of נביאים in conflict with Jeremiah (cf. 2:8; 4:9–10; 5:31).[101] Both Deut 18:18 and Jer 5:14 differ in some details from 1:9b. The *qal* perfect verb נתתי in 1:9b is a *qal* participle נתן in 5:14 but both texts use 2ms suffixes (בפיך). נתן in Deut 18:18 shares the same verb tense as in Jer 1:9b, though there is a 3ms suffix (בפיו) in Deut 18:18. לאש is not present in Jer 1:9b, though the 'word like fire' image in 5:14 is also found in 20:9; 23:29, and the image of YHWH placing words in Jeremiah's mouth is anchored in similar images found in some of the 'confessions' (15:16; 17:15; 20:8–9).[102] Thus the language and images of 5:14 have deep roots in the Jeremiah tradition. Since Jer 5:14 also is typically regarded as earlier than 1:9b it at least leaves open the possibility that 5:14 triggered 1:9b, and not Deut 18:18.[103] There is of course the possibility that the phrase נתתי דברי בפיך might derive from Isa 6:7 instead, though this connection cannot be explored in depth here.[104] In sum it is not clear *prima facie* that Jer 1:9b depends on Deut 18:18 and that Jeremiah is being cast as a 'prophet like Moses'.

2.2.3 Jeremiah's task (1:10)

Echoing Jer 1:5, Jeremiah's commission is reprised in 1:10.[105] Here YHWH tells Jeremiah קפקדתיך ('I appoint you') though Jeremiah is not attributed the title נביא.[106] A slight narrative shift in 1:4–10 is indicated by היום הזה in 1:10, yet the phrase offers little additional clarity on the setting of the passage. The scope of Jeremiah's appointment is expanded in 1:10 as he is appointed על־הגוים ('over nations') and על־הממלכות ('over

100. Otto, 'Jeremia und die Tora', 519. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25*, 67–68.

101. Thiel notes the similarity between Jer 1:9b and 5:14, but prefers Deut 18:18 as the source for Jer 1:9b. The reason is that the focus of 5:14 is 'die Wirksamkeit des durch den Propheten verkündeten Jahwewortes' while in Deut 18:18 and Jer 1:9 'der Prophet selbst das Objekt des Handelns Jahwes'; thus 5:14 'nicht die jer. Herkunft von 9bβ sicherstellen kann'. If this is the primary reason for excluding 5:14 as the source for 1:7b then Thiel's argument is somewhat shaky. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistischen Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25*, 68.

102. Nicholson, 'Deuteronomy 18:9-22, the Prophets and Scripture', 155.

103. McKane, *Jeremiah I–XXV*, 13; Schmidt, 'Das Prophetengesetz Dtn 18,9–22 im Kontext erzählender Literatur', in M. Vervenne, J. Lust (eds), *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomic Literature: Festschrift C. H. W. Brekelmans* (BEThL 133, Leuven, 1997), 61–62. Nicholson goes one step further by positing that Deut 18:18 'is more probably derived from the narrative of Jeremiah's call rather than being the source of it'. Nicholson, 'Deuteronomy 18:9-22, the Prophets and Scripture', 155.

104. Köckert, 'Zum literargeschichtlichen Ort des Prophetengesetzes Dtn 18 zwischen dem Jeremiabuch und Dtn 13', 86–87.

105. Many take the verse to be secondary. Herrmann, *Die prophetischen Heilserwartungen im Alten Testament. Ursprung und Gestaltwandel* (BWANT 85, Stuttgart, 1965), 165–69.

106. Conrad translates הפקדתיך in 1:10 as 'made you governor' in view of the same word being used in relation to Gedaliah's appointment as governor by Nebuchadnezzar (Jer 40:5, 7, 11; 41:2, 10, 18). E.W. Conrad, *Fear Not Warrior: A Study of 'al tîrā' Pericopes in the Hebrew Scriptures* (BJSt 75, Chico, CA, 1985), 50. This might be a bit of an overinterpretation of the term in 1:10. See DCH 6:743–44.

kingdoms'). It is possible to understand ממלכות in this context as 'kings' rather than 'kingdoms', following the Phoenician term ממלכה 'king' (cf. 1:18).[107] The distinctly political nature of Jeremiah's call is emphasised in 1:10.

After general indications of his prophetic rôle in Jer 1:4–9 Jeremiah is presented with a more full description the prophetic task. The list of six infinitives in 1:10, לנתוש ('to uproot'), לנתוץ ('to tear down'), להאביד ('to destroy'), להרוס ('to overthrow'), לבנות ('to build') and לנטוע ('to plant'), are terms with broad thematic significance in Jeremiah.[108] Using the semantic categories of architecture and agriculture, the list in 1:10 presents a vast and weighty task before the prophet. As noted in the above translation, there is near universal agreement that the terms להאביד ('to destroy'), להרוס ('to overthrow') interrupt the original bicolon in 1:10, and this is the only instance where the four key terms לנתוש ('to uproot'), לנתוץ ('to tear down'), לבנות ('to build') and לנטוע ('to plant') have a human subject.[109] The thrust of 1:10 is that no domain or sphere is beyond the authoritative reach of the prophet; it is a ringing endorsement.

Various lists and combinations of the terms in Jer 1:10 are scattered throughout the book and rarely are they combined in the same way (12:14–17; 18:7, 9; 24:6; 31:28, 38, 40; 42:10; 45:4). In what follows we shall examine briefly each text. The terms from 1:10 will be listed in short extracts from the relevant passages in order to aid their comparison. The longest list of terms from 1:10 is found in 31:28, a text which seems to recount the disasters which befell Judah from a later perspective.

Jer 31:28	לנתוש ולנתוץ ולהרס ולהאביד ולהרע ... לבנות ולנטוע

With the addition of רעע we have a list of seven verbs in 31:28. Just as YHWH was watchful (cf. 1:11–12) to enact judgment, so also will YHWH be watchful to enact restoration. The text anticipates a period restoration in the future and so uses the motif of 'building and planting' as a hopeful word of salvation to the houses of Israel

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107. See *mmlk* in DNWSI 648–49. Bruston notes 1 Sam 10:18 as an instance where הממלכות 'qu'il pouvait désigner des individus, des princes, et non des royaumes'. Bruston, 'Jérémie fut-il prophète pour les nations ?' 77. Albright suggested a similar interpretation for 1:15, noting the Phoenician term ממלכה. W.F. Albright, 'The Oracles of Balaam', *JBL* 63 (1944): 207–33; Idem, 'A Catalogue of Early Hebrew Lyric Poems (Psalm lxviii)', *HUCA* 28 (1950): 1–39. Cf. H. Cazelles, *'Mamleket* et ses compléments en hébreu', *GLECS* 8 (1959): 57; McKane, *Jeremiah I–XXV*, 18.

108. See R. Bach, 'Bauen und Pflanzen', in R. Rendtorff, K. Koch (eds), *Studien Zur Theologie Der Alttestamentlichen Überlieferungen. Feschrift Für Gerhard Von Rad* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1961), 7–32. The list of infinitives in Jer 1:10 are *Leitwörter* repeated in multiple places in the book in varying contexts: נתש in Jer 1:10; 2:21; 11:17; 12:2; 18:9; 24:6; 29:5, 28; 31:5, 28; 32:41; 35:7; 42:10; 45:4; נתץ in 1:10; 4:26; 18:7; 31:28; 33:4; 39:8; 52:14; אבד in 1:10; 4;9; 6:21; 7:28; 9:11; 10:11, 15; 12:17; 15:7; 18:7, 18; 23:1; 25:10, 35; 27:10, 15; 31:28; 40:15; 46:8; 48:8, 36, 46; 49:7, 38; 50:6; 51:18, 55; הרס in 1:10; 24:6; 31:28, 40; 42:10; 45:4; 50:15; בנה in Jer 1:10; 7:31 12:16; 18:9; 19:5; 22:13–14; 24:6; 29:5, 28; 30:18; 31:4, 28, 38; 32:31, 35; 33:7; 35:7; 35:9; 42:10; 45:4; 52:4; נטע in Jer 1:10; 2:21; 11:17; 12:2; 18:9; 24:6; 29:5, 28; 31:5, 28; 32:41; 35:7; 42:10; 45:4. See also H.-J. Stipp, *Deuterojeremianische Konkordanz* (ATSAT 63, St. Ottilien, 1998), 96–97.

109. Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 95; Fischer, *Jeremia 1–25*, 137.

and Judah.[110] The text unit of 18:7–10 contains five of the verbs from 1:10 together in a cautionary message from YHWH:

Jer 18:7, 9	לנתוש ולנתוץ ולהאביד ... לבנת ולנטע

These verses are a part of the divine warning 18:7–10. The basic thrust of the text is that just as quickly as YHWH will announce salvation or judgment על־גוי ועל־מלכמה their behaviour may change the situation. Act rightly in the face of doom, and YHWH will relent; act wrongly in the reassurance of peace, and YHWH will judge. Rather than signal divine capriciousness, the passage emphasises a conditional aspect to YHWH's *Heils-* and *Unheilsverkündigung*, depending on whether or not the prophet's words are heeded.[111] While the narrative of the potter's wheel in 18:1–6 concerns the house of Israel, and the paranaesis in 18:11–12 is directed toward Jerusalem, the outlook of 18:7–10 is international. Three additional texts make use of four of the verbs from 1:10, two of which are decidedly positive:

Jer 24:6	ובניתים ולא אהרס ונטעתים ולא אתוש
Jer 42:10	ובניתי אתכם ולא אהרס ונטעתי אתכם ולא אתוש

Both 24:6 and 42:10 announce salvation, the former unconditionally, the latter conditionally. In the 'good and bad figs' text (24:1–10), the allocations of judgment and salvation have already been doled out. The exiles in Babylon will be brought back to Judah where they will be built and planted (24:6), while only judgment awaits Zedekiah and the remnant in Palestine. In the message delivered to Johanan ben Kareah and the Judeans fleeing to Egypt, YHWH expresses regret for the disasters brought upon Judah and promises good tidings if they will remain in the land (42:9–12). Notably these quartets from 1:10 do not use the verbs of the 'original' bicolon; where 1:10 uses the appositional pairs of נתש/נטע and נתץ/בנה one finds בנה/הרס and נטע/נתש in 24:6; 42:10; 45:4. While the same verbs are found in 45:4, the context is almost entirely bleak:

Jer 45:4	הנה אשר־בניתי אני הרס ואת אשר־נטעתי אני נתש

In the context of the Baruch colophon in 45:1–5 this oracle responds to Baruch's complaint of 'Woe is me!' in 45:3. The message is strictly oriented toward doom; what YHWH has built and planted shall be overthrown and uprooted.[112] The MT plus ואת־כל־הארץ היא is very problematic, as it is not clear if the text should be understood as a specific reference to Judah; it redactionally narrows and redirects the threat of

110. Sharp, *Prophecy and Ideology in Jeremiah*, 90.

111. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1–25*, 516; Sharp, *Prophecy and Ideology in Jeremiah*, 87–88.

112. On the grammatical difficulty of the phrase, see W.L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah: Chapters 26-52* (Hermeneia, Philadelphia, 1989), 308.

disaster levelled על־כל־בשר in 45:5 to Judah only.[113] Still it is very clear that the 'building and planting' motif is negatively inverted for an oracle of judgment. Two final texts make use of the terms listed in 1:10, both in somewhat positive ways:

Jer 12:14–17	הנני נתשם ... אתוש... נתשי ... ונבנו ... ונתשתי ... נתוש ואבד
Jer 31:38, 40	ונבנתה ... לא־ינתש ולא־יהרס עוד לעולם

A strongly 'universal' message of conditional hope is extended על־כל־שכני הרעים ('to all my wicked neighbours') by YHWH in 12:14–17. The use of the 'building and planting' motif is reminiscent of 18:7–10 where a conditional offer of salvation is offered to גוים and ממלכות. Here non-Israelites are offered the chance to be נבנו בתוך עמי ('built up in the midst of my people') in 12:16. But just as with 18:7 the tables will turn should they not obey the word of YHWH (12:17). Finally, in a very late text, a promise is extended to Jerusalem that it shall be rebuilt (נבנתה) in 31:38–40. YHWH declares his support for the city by assuring that the city will never again be destroyed or overthrown (31:40). The full list of 1:10 is only present in a fragmented way; 'uprooting' (נתש) is set opposed to 'overthrowing' (הרס) and none of the original poetic parallelisms are present. These positive declarations use some of the same langauge but without the conditional offer of hope seen in 12:14–17 or 18:7–10.

2.2.4 Conclusion

Jer 1:4–10 is an important text which contributes much to the discourse regarding prophecy in Jeremiah. The commission to Jeremiah in 1:5, which establishes the prophetic call prior to any activity on Jeremiah's part, legitimises the prophet by extending to him royal images of divine election. It communicates the full support of YHWH for the rôle of נביא לגוים, a title which sets a strongly political task before its holder (1:5, 10). Messages of support and encouragement, אל־תירא in 1:8 and תאזר מתניך in 1:17, mollify Jeremiah's protest in 1:6. The instructions given to Jeremiah are strongly connected to core themes of prophecy in the book. The motif of 'being sent' is a critical description of a legitimate prophet; armed with YHWH's words in his mouth (1:9) Jeremiah can withstand opposition. And as the thematic motifs of 'building and planting' and 'uprooting and tearing down' in 1:10 show, the role of the נביא is to go as commanded by YHWH (cf. 23:21, 32; 28:15; 43:2) and declare the divine message אם־טוב ואם־רע ('whether favourable or unfavourable'; 42:6, 9, 20).

113. Sharp, *Prophecy and Ideology in Jeremiah*, 89. See also B. Gosse, 'Jérémie xlv et la place du recueil d'oracles contre les nations dans le livre de Jérémie', *VT* 40 (1990): 145–51; Fischer, 'Jer 25 und die Fremdvölkersprüche. Unterschiede zwischen hebräischem und griechischem Text', *Bib.* 72 (1991): 145–51.

"For Three Transgressions of Ghana and for Four…" – Poverty and Gender Based Social Injustice in Contemporary Ghana in the Light of Amos 2:6-7

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Introduction

In the book of Amos, the prophet attacks various acts of social injustice in Israel of his time. Many scholars have acknowledged this fact but do not go further to delineate the various texts in which Amos protests against injustice and the specific acts of social injustice he protests against. They also do little to relate such passages and social justice themes to specific context of contemporary social injustice. A discussion on how the text of Amos protests against social injustice in 8th century Israel and the 21st century world is thus a useful contribution to scholarship. In this paper, I discuss the issues of social injustice that Amos 2:6-7 protests against and how they speak to the 21st century Ghanaian situation. I identify that Amos 2:6-7 protests against social injustice manifest in how the rich and powerful treat the poor and vulnerable without dignity. I then continue to identify issues of social injustice in Ghana that reflect what Amos condemned.

Amos' Protest against Unjust Treatment of the Poor and Vulnerable in Israel

Amos 2:6-8 contains the transgressions of Israel which attract YHWH's judgement (v. 14-16). Here Amos stipulates seven wrongdoings against Israel, as if he seeks to make good the introductory statement 'For three transgressions of Israel and for four' (v. 6b). Amos enumerates the seven crimes of Israel in a series of terrible acts against the defenceless:

6dα they sell the righteous for silver
6dβ and [they sell] the needy for a pair of sandals
7aα they trample upon the head of the poor
7aβ and they push the afflicted out of the way
7bα a man and his father go into the girl
8aα they sleep on garments [they have] seized as pledge
8bα and [they] drink wine [extorted] from those they have fined

Table 1 Amos 2:6-8

Hebrew (BHS)	ENGLISH (NRSV)
כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה עַל־שְׁלֹשָׁה פִּשְׁעֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְעַל־אַרְבָּעָה לֹא אֲשִׁיבֶנּוּ	6 Thus says the LORD: For three transgressions of Israel,
עַל־מִכְרָם בַּכֶּסֶף צַדִּיק וְאֶבְיוֹן בַּעֲבוּר נַעֲלָיִם:	and for four, I will not revoke the punishment; because they sell the righteous for silver,
7הַשֹּׁאֲפִים עַל־עֲפַר־אֶרֶץ בְּרֹאשׁ דַּלִּים וְדֶרֶךְ עֲנָוִים יַטּוּ	and the needy for a pair of sandals— 7 they who trample the head of the poor into the dust of the earth,
וְאִישׁ וְאָבִיו יֵלְכוּ אֶל־הַנַּעֲרָה לְמַעַן חַלֵּל אֶת־שֵׁם קָדְשִׁי:	and push the afflicted out of the way; father and son go in to the same girl,
8וְעַל־בְּגָדִים חֲבֻלִים יַטּוּ אֵצֶל כָּל־מִזְבֵּחַ	so that my holy name is profaned; 8 they lay themselves down beside every altar
וְיֵין עֲנוּשִׁים יִשְׁתּוּ בֵּית אֱלֹהֵיהֶם:	on garments taken in pledge; and in the house of their God they drink wine bought with fines they imposed.

The two forms of injustice that are distinct in this stanza are: lack of human dignity in how the upper class abuse and oppress the vulnerable (vv. 6dβ-7bα); and extortion of the poor (v. 8aα, 8bα). The discussions here focuses on the former, which is manifested in: selling the righteous and the needy (6dα and 6dβ), violence against the poor and the afflicted (7aα and 7aβ) and sexually abusing a vulnerable girl (7bα)

To begin with, there is indignity in selling the righteous and needy for silver and a pair of sandals (v. 6dα and 6dβ). By such actions, the perpetrators reduce human beings to commercial commodities, when they are exchanged for monetary value, as cheap as the price of a pair of sandals. The innocent needy[1] are the victims of social injustice here. They are the ones who are being looked down upon because they do not have means to afford basic needs of life. Their rich creditors have the means to support them in whatever form possible. YHWH, expects the upper class to be kind and generous to the needy debtors. Unfortunately, they have collaborated with their political allies to sell them into debt bondage. This in effect

[1] I translate **צדיק ואביון** as 'innocent needy', a hendiadys which implies that the victim of the injustice being condemned is both innocent and needy, who is sold for as little as the price of sandals.

has broken the protection around the vulnerable and thus exposed them to more acts of injustice. Miscarriage of justice (Andersen and Freedman, 1989:311-13; Cripps, 1955:140; Domeris, 2007:112; Gordis, 1950:44-47; Hammershaimb, 1970:46-47) and debt slavery (see Garrett, 2008:57; Hayes, 1988:108; Houston, 2008:66; Mays, 1969:45; Rudolph, 1971:141; Wollf, 1977:165-66) have been offered to explain the circumstances which make it possible for a person to be sold. However, I propose that lack of human dignity is a better interpretation. This interpretation is consistent with Domeris' model of poverty that emphasises the shame, dishonour and lack of dignity that poverty brought to the peasants of Israel (Domeris, 2007:170-78) and consistent also with the other suggestion that assumes debt bondage. The emphasis is on the fact that the victims are sold either cheaply, or for an insignificant amount they owe. Given that debt-slavery or slavery in general was not frowned upon in biblical tradition (Exod. 21:2-11; Lev. 25:39-54; Deut. 15:12-18, see Chirichigno, 1993), Amos might have protested against abuse of the system to the disadvantage of the poor and needy, rather than slavery itself.

מכרם (they sell), sharply and aptly describes the indignity inherent in reducing a person to mere merchandise. **מכרם** is the qal infinitive construct of **מכר** ('to sell', see Lipiński in TDOT VIII:291) with 3mp suffix, meaning 'they sell', condemning an on-going action with futuristic consequences. In the many instances where **מכר** refers to the sale of human beings Hebrew Bible, the derogatory tone is evident because in most cases human beings are sold as slaves (Gen. 37:27-28, 36; 45:4-5; Exod. 21:7-8; Deut. 21:14; 24:7; Zech 11:5; Neh. 5:8). Joel pronounces YHWH's judgment upon the nations because, among other ordeals they put Israel through, they sold (**ימכרו**) a girl for wine and drunk it (Joel 4:3). Even when **מכר** is used to mean giving in marriage, it still carries a non-complimentary tone. For instance, Leah and Rachel complained that their father had sold them into marriage and consumed their bride price. These examples of the use of **מכר** in the Hebrew Bible and the context within which Amos uses it establish that the act is derogatory. When linked with **בעבור נעלים**...**בכסף**, representing the meagre value, it affirms that the person involved had been treated with indignity. Amos' use of '**בכסף**' and '**נעלים**' strikingly reveal that the innocent needy are sold cheaply and therefore suffer injustice. **בכסף** is a prepositional phrase which in Amos 2:6 means 'for silver/money' or 'because of silver/money', meaning the innocent person has been reduced to a commercial commodity. This is even stronger in the phrase **בעבור נעלים**, which

means 'for (the sake of/the price of) a pair of sandals' or 'on account of a pair of sandals',[2] considering the fact that sandals did not have high value (Sir. 46:19). This amplifies the indignity that the vulnerable in society suffer.

Amos' description of the victim of the sale indicates that these victims suffer humiliation because of their low economic and social status. The victims are described as **צדיק ואביון** (innocent needy) and this strengthens Amos' protest. Whom Amos calls **צדיק** defies definition. However, 'just,' 'righteous,' 'correct,' and 'lawful' (see Reimer in NIDOTTE 3:744) and 'innocent' may be probable glosses in the context of Amos 2:6; 5:12. Ezekiel brings to light its multi-faceted meaning when he describes the **צדיק** in religious, moral, ceremonial and social terms. He does what is lawful and right (**עשה משפט וצדקה**). In addition to observing all the religious, ceremonial and moral rules, he chooses not to oppress. He has debtors to whom he kindly returns their pledges and from whom he does not take interest. He has enough food and clothing to share with the hungry and naked (Ezek. 18:5-9; see also 15-17). This powerful individual in the community is righteous partly because he chooses to use his economic power and possibly, political influence, to help the vulnerable, instead of oppressing them. The resources and power he possesses, the dignity he commands in society, his innocence and his kindness to the vulnerable, indicate that this **צדיק** is not vulnerable. He therefore does not suffer injustice and indignity. Thus it is the availability of resources and status in society that determines the vulnerability or power of the **צדיק**. Due to lack of material resources and political power, the **צדיק** Amos talks about is vulnerable. If he had the power and the resources that the **צדיק** in Ezekiel 18 had, he would not be sold. It can thus be deduced from Amos 2:6-8 that the absence of the **צדיק** among the powerful upper class in the Israelite society has led to the undignified and inhuman treatment that the vulnerable Amos refers to suffer. Adding to the vulnerability of the victims of injustice is Amos' use of **אביון** (needy, in want, poor), who is materially and/or economically poor (BDB:2; DCH I:104; HALOT:5; Botterweck in TDOT I:28). According to Domeris, **אביון** '…is used for people who are virtually destitute…completely dependent on others for their daily survival (Domeris in NIDOTTE 1:228). His abject poverty, suffering, vulnerability and helplessness, due to lack of economic and political power, makes him a means for others to enrich themselves (see Finley, 1985:414). I have interpreted the phrase **צדיק ואביון** in Amos 2:6d as a hendiadys: innocent needy. The implication is that while **צדיק** emphasises the victim's innocence, **אביון** stresses his poverty (see Garrett, 2008:56-57). This means then that Amos is accusing the rich creditors of

[2] **נעלים** (sandals/shoes/foot wear) appears twice in Amos (2:6; 8:6) and nowhere else in the Hebrew Bible. Other forms of **נעל** appear elsewhere (see Gen. 14:23; Josh. 5:15; 9:5, 13).

selling the innocent needy into slavery for money as little as the price of a pair of sandals. At the heart of Amos' condemnation thus lies the fact that the innocent needy in the Israelite community are treated with utter inhumanity and indignity. This is a manifestation of social injustice.

Amos' protest against the lack of human dignity continues, targeting the aggressive scramble for the vulnerable. The plight of the poor victims as the perpetrators violently trample upon their heads heightens the protest against indignity. The perpetrators are the subjects of **שאף** (DCH III:217) and being powerful enough to harass their victims, suggest that they may be among the elites of Israel, probably with economic or political power or both. **השאפים** could be interpreted as the qal participle of the first root of **שאף** with 3mp suffix (Garrett, 2008:58). **שאף** here means 'pant, pant after, gasp, long for, or sniff' (BDB:983; DCH VIII:217; Garrett, 2008:58; HALOT:1375; Fredericks in NIDOTTE 4:11; Maiberger in TDOT XIV:268-69). Additionally, the first root **שאף** means 'to swallow',[3] 'to be a nuisance' or 'to pester' (HALOT:1375). If this is how **השאפים** is intended in the text, then it stresses the greed of the perpetrators manifested in their inordinate desire for even the dust upon the head of the poor.[4] However, Wolff has successfully argued that 'dust of the earth' is a later addition (Wolff, 1977:133), making this interpretation not plausible. Thus the implication of **השאפים** for Amos' protest against social injustice manifested in lack of human dignity, could be sought by interpreting it as the qal participle of the second root of **שאף**, which is a by-form of **שוף** meaning 'to crush' or 'to trample' (BDB:1003; DCH III:218; Paul, 1991:79). This agrees with the Septuagint's translation of **השאפים** as τὰ πατοῦντα, translated 'they that trample'. This indicates total lack of dignity for the victims, which is the injustice Amos protests against. The parallel appearance of poor and afflicted in the text reinforces the protest against human indignity. **ענוים** is the masculine plural of **ענו**, meaning 'poor', 'afflicted,' 'humble' or 'meek' (see BDB:776; DCH VI:502; Dumbrell in NIDOTTE 3:454). **דלים** and **ענוים** appear as a parallel in Isaiah 10:2, which has identical form and theme with Amos 2:7 (Wolff, 1977:166). The afflicted are vulnerable because they are helpless victims of violence and indignity. They are harassed and blocked from receiving justice, as evident in: **דרך ענוים יטו** (push the afflicted out of the way).

[3] See JPS of Ezekiel 36:3; Ps 56:2-3.

[4] Garrett may be right in interpreting **שאף** (to sniff) as a metaphor of a hunting dog sniffing the dust to locate its prey. This leads him to suggest that the perpetrators 'hunted for the poor with the same relish that they hunted for animals' (Garrett, 2008:59). This hunting sport which Garrett agrees is an eighteenth-century English sport is only relevant in biblical and ANE texts as dogs, lions and bears and other predatory animals are used to metaphorically depict the adversary as 'regally powerful and demonically unscrupulous' (Keel, 1997:87-95).

Again, the disregard of the upper class for their victims is evident in the man and his father who have sex with the girl. The key to identifying Amos' concern here lies in the interpretation of **נערה** and how the action of the man and his father affects her. I argue that the text portrays Amos disapproval of the sexual abuse and indignity that **נערה** suffers at the hands of the man and his father. The traditional interpretation of **ואיש ואביו ילכו אל־הנערה** (a man and his father go into the girl) focuses on the meaning of **הנערה** as 'the girl.' This interpretation has wide scholarly support (see Andersen and Freedman, 1989:318; Carroll, 2003:692; Dines, 2001:583; Mays, 1969:46; Stuart, 1987:317; Wolff, 1977:166-67). To interpret the action of the man and his father that Amos condemns, these scholars posit that **ילכו אל-** in the text should be seen as a euphemism for 'to have sexual intercourse with someone'.[5] Paul relies on the Akkadian '*ana alāku*', which has the idiomatic meaning; 'to have sexual intercourse' (CAD:321) to support this interpretation (Paul 1982:492-94, 1991:82).[6] Furthermore, Amos is not only condemning immorality of man and father who share the same sexual partner. The relevant sexual prohibitions in the moral teachings of the Pentateuch are not against a man and his father sharing a sexual partner, especially if she is not the spouse of either of them. Wolff therefore, believes that what Amos is condemning is close to Deuteronomy 22:23-29. As the man has sexual intercourse with the young woman, he commits to marry her. For this reason, his father cannot have any sexual intercourse with her because she is now his daughter-in-law. Explicitly, Exodus 21:8 and Deuteronomy 22:30 suggest that sexual access to such a person was the right of either the male head of the household or his son, but not both. The sexual 'use' of the woman has, therefore, given way to 'abuse'. 'Instead of being taken as a second wife or concubine, with at least some security of status, she is being used by both father and son… she is being abused because of her vulnerability' (Domeris, 2007:114-15). To Wolff therefore, what Amos does here is 'a

[5] **ילכו** is the qal imperfect 3mp of **הלך** meaning 'they go'.

[6] Scholars such as Andersen and Freedman, Garrett and Fisher contend that 'the girl' is a cultic prostitute and that Amos is condemning cultic prostitutes patronised by a son and his father (Andersen and Freedman, 1989:257; Bentley, 2006:30; Fisher, 1980:1389-90; Garrett, 2008:61; Hammershaimb, 1970:48-49; Marsh, 1962:39; Rosenbaum, 1990:56, 65; Thorogood, 1971:23; Zevit, 1975:48). The prominence of cultic expressions: 'to profane my holy name' (vs. 7d), 'beside every altar', and 'in the house of their god' (8aβ & 8bβ) seem to support this argument. However, as Wolff argues, these expressions reflect the priestly theology of Ezekiel and the Holiness Code and could also be a later interpretation of the action of the man and his father, in the light of Hosea 4:14 (Wolff, 1977:133-34; 167 n. 194). Houston agrees with Wolff on the basis that these statements do not fit Amos' ideas and that of prophetic judgement regarding oppression (Houston, 2008:68). There is thus no textual support that 'the girl' is a cultic prostitute (see Gordis, 1980:201-64; Johnston, 2009:65; Paul, 1991:81). Julia Assante's successful demonstration that most claims about cultic prostitution in the ANE and the Hebrew Bible are forced (Assante, 2007:117-32; Assante, 2009:23-54) and the fact that there is no clear evidence of the practice of temple prostitution in ancient Israel (see Barstad, 1984:21-23; Goodfriend and Van der Toon, 1992; Grabbe, 1995:196, Mays, 1969:46), make the cultic prostitution argument redundant.[6]

radicalisation of the apodictic stipulation in Lev. 18:15…' (Wolff, 1977:166-67). I agree with Wolff that Amos is interpreting 'moral teachings' (see Houston, 2008:70; Houston, 2013:59-60) such as the above, more radically. To this end Amos is condemning the indecency in the act of a father and his son having sex with a girl, the exploitation of the girl, like the innocent and the poor, and also the jeopardy that is inflicted on the girl's dignity and possibility of a future marriage (see Coggins, 2000:103). This emphasises Amos protest against inhuman treatment and lack of dignity that people like the girl suffer in such societies (see McKeating, 1971:22).

I have argued that in Amos 2:6-7, the prophet protest against acts of injustice which manifest in indignity suffered by the innocent needy, the poor, the afflicted and the girl. These are all vulnerable people whose lack of material resources to acquire their basic human needs have put them in a situation where they rely on the elite in society for survival. Instead of the political and economic elites obeying YHWH's command to show kindness and generosity to them, they rather take undue advantage of their vulnerability. They are sold into debt bondage for insignificant amount of debt, they are violently trampled upon and harassed and abused. Amos is concerned about these series of oppressions and violations of the poor and vulnerable in society and he pronounces YHWH's judgement upon Israel's elites.

Perception of Social Justice in Ghana

Out of the numerous issues of social injustice in contemporary Ghana, those related to poverty and gender are the most relevant for the issues Amos raise in 2:6-7. The data here is the outcome of interviewing 77 Ghanaians from different walks of life and news reports in the Ghanaian electronic and print media which shed light on issues of contemporary social injustice in Ghana. From the responses in the interview I identified three main perspectives from which Ghanaians approached social justice. These are: traditio-cultural, religious and socioeconomic. The traditio-cultural approach to social justice in Ghana is anchored on the communal life of traditional Ghanaian society, which has effectively outlived the modern globalised world centred on the individual. Thus social justice is seen as 'a condition for the possibility of community living'[7], which is achieved, when 'people in the society feel that

[7] Interview: The Most Rev'd Prof. Emmanuel Kwaku Asante 14th August 2014.

there is a sense of belonging'. [8] A Ghanaian proverb which means 'when the eye cries the nose is also affected', aptly emphasises the interconnectivity in traditional communal living. By implication, social justice for the community was expressed in shared responsibility for the survival of all members and in ensuring that everybody's needs or problems were everyone else's. This is akin to the Dangme[9] traditional vision of *kplɔkɔtɔ* (well-being). Among other things, *kplɔkɔtɔ* is achieved '…where there is contentment and harmony, peace and progress; where no man is an island to himself, but each is part of the other, what affects one, affects all' (Kudadjie, 1995:1). Again, Ghanaians perceive social justice in terms of a religious responsibility towards members of the larger community, the Bible being the yardstick for social justice for Christians and the belief in an all-powerful supreme being who orders social justice, being the motivation for traditional religious practitioners. An Akan proverb, which means 'when God makes a judgement on a dispute, no human being can change it' affirms the notion that social justice is based on the supreme justice of God. Furthermore, most contemporary Ghanaians view social justice from the socioeconomic point of view, considering a modern globalised society where issues of equitable distribution of resources, human rights and equality are at play and where political leadership, the judiciary and other state institutions are held accountable for how socially just or unjust the country is. The three perspectives of social justice in Ghana, discussed above are never mutually exclusive. Due to the fact that most Ghanaian traditions have survived the age of globalisation and that many Ghanaians have one religion or another, there is a possibility to look at social justice holistically as a situation where the traditions of Ghanaians, their religious beliefs and their encounter with globalisation can merge. Social justice in contemporary Ghana can therefore be achieved when people in state governance and wealthy individuals in Ghanaian communities recognise that they have a divine mandate to empower communities to live harmoniously, to ensure the wellbeing and fair treatment of all Ghanaians and to protect ordinary Ghanaians who have fewer resources at their disposal. Unfortunately, issues such as poverty and gender based injustice make this ideal almost unachievable in Ghana today.

[8] Interview: Apostle Abraham Ofori-Koragu 8th August 2013.
[9] The Dangme people are part of a bigger ethnic group called Ga-Adagme in the Greater Accra and Eastern Regions of Ghana.

Poverty and Gender-Based Inequality in Contemporary Ghana

From their traditio-cultural view of social justice, Ghanaians do not see poverty as injustice in itself. It is natural in every community to have people who due to no faults of theirs do not have enough resources to meet their basic needs. This would normally not be a problem in a communal society where those who have more than they need are willing to share with those who have less. However, negative socioeconomic factors have made it difficult for most of the ordinary citizens to have enough resources to provide their basic needs. Thus poverty is a major issue of social justice in Ghana. A report produced by the International Labour Organisation in 2004 indicated that four out of every ten Ghanaians live in poverty, with women forming the bulk of this group (ILO, 2004:2). The Ghana Statistical Service has also produced a report based on the 2010 population census which analyses non-monetary poverty in Ghana based on the Multi-dimensional Poverty Index (MPI). This report puts the overall MPI national incidence of poverty at 42.7%, compared to the national income poverty measurement of 28.5% in 2006. The general picture in the report is that poverty in Ghana, both monetary and non-monetary, is on the ascendency (Owusu and Mensah, 2013:iv-vi). Recent studies and surveys of poverty in Ghana all indicate that more than a quarter of Ghanaians are poor. An August 2014 report on poverty by the Ghana Statistical Service put the poverty level in Ghana at 25% based on the UN definition of poverty.[10] The report from the Ghana Statistical Service put the very poor in Ghana at the level of those who lived on less than GH¢2.17 a day. In reality, however, the percentage of people living in poverty in Ghana is about 60%. Going round Ghana in person, in August 2013 and January 2014, I saw the personification of poverty. More people are living on the street than there used to be ten years ago. Slums in Accra and Kumasi alone have more than tripled within the past decade. More children are out of school and most households cannot eat three square meals a day without having to sacrifice other life necessities such as clothing and shelter. Ghana started producing offshore crude oil in 2010. With more than a decade of stable government, good weather, vast arable land and abundant depository of mineral wealth, an additional wealth from oil should have made Ghana able to reduce poverty drastically. Unfortunately, even though Ghana has reached a lower middle income status and has churned out various statistics to show that poverty levels have reduced,[11] the reality is that most Ghanaians are

[10] http://www.myjoyonline.com/news/2014/August-29th/67-million-ghanaians-considered-poor-ghana-statistical-service.php, 29th August 2014, accessed on 18th October 2014.
[11] http://borgenproject.org/poverty-in-ghana/, July 2013; http://www.myjoyonline.com/news/2014/june-13th/poverty-levels-reducing-ministry-of-finance.php, 13th June 2014, accessed on 18th October 2014.

still living on less than US$1.25 a day, that there is alarmingly rising income and welfare inequality in Ghana[12] and that poverty is still soaring in both rural and urban Ghana.[13] The poor in Ghana are normally accused of being lazy, less forceful or incompetent. Contrary, most poor Ghanaians are hardworking farmers, fishers, weavers, artisans, potters and sometimes people struggling in urban centres doing all kinds of menial jobs in the homes and offices of the rich elite and government officials. What make them poor is that they do not get a fair reward for their effort and their surpluses are taken away so that the rich urban population can live cheaply. Potters and other urban workers do not earn living wages. Their employers would rather feel important when they become the patrons of these poor people than give them what is due them to enable them to be independent.

Again, in contemporary Ghana, there is gender based social injustice because people are being denied their basic needs, rights and freedoms on the basis of their gender through widowhood rites, Female Genital Mutilation and Shrine Slavery (Trokosi). It is common to all Ghanaian communities that when a woman loses her husband, she is made to undergo humiliating, oppressive and inhuman cultural practices and in most cases is left to fend for herself and her children without being allowed to inherit any of her late husband's estate. Generally, a widow is made to wear black clothes for the one year period of mourning. She can be forced to bathe in a stream (see Odoyoye, 1995:15) or, in coastal areas, in the sea at dawn (Tei-Ahontu, 2008:42), a practice that may negatively affect her health in colder months. Also, some families heckle the widow, particularly at the cemetery, after the burial of her deceased husband (Tei-Ahontu, 2008:45). In one such heckling incident, the concoction sprayed into the widow's eyes resulted in total blindness (see Tei-Ahontu 2008:45). Sometimes, the widow is physically beaten and stripped naked in public, forced to sleep in the same room with the corpse or forced to bathe with the water used to wash the corpse (Tei-Ahontu, 2008:44-45). In 2010, it was reported that 'widowhood rites and other negative cultural practices are still matters of great concern, especially, in the Upper East Region'.[14] In September 2014, ActionAid Ghana (AAG), in collaboration with Women and Orphans Movement and Belim Wusa Development Agency organised a workshop to educate the communities in and around Bolgatanga in the Upper East Regional of Ghana. At the

[12] http://www.myjoyonline.com/news/2014/April-24th/report-ghanas-rich-getting-richer-poor-getting-poorer.php, 24th April 2014, accessed on 24th October 2014.
[13] Poverty still high in Ghana – Survey: http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/business/artikel.php?ID=323226&comment=0#com, 28th August 2014, accessed on 24th October 2014.
[14] http://www.modernghana.com/news/298544/1/widowhood-rites-still-rife-in-northern-regions.html, 30th September 2010, accessed on 24th October 2014.

forum, a widow narrated the ordeal she went through at the hands of the family of her deceased husband. Her story confirmed that widows in such communities go through very gruesome inhumane treatments, including those mentioned above.

Female genital mutilation (FGM),[15] is another unjust means by which women and girls are put through ordeals in Ghana. Research by the Navrongo Research Institute in 1998 and Dr. K. Odoi Agyekum of Rural Help Integration, indicate an FGM prevalence rate of 77% and 85% respectively, in the Kassena-Nankana East District. Also, statistics from the Social Welfare, Ghana Health Service and the Ghana Education Service indicate that 30% of girls between the ages of one to seventeen years are either mutilated in their own communities or smuggled into neighbouring Burkina Faso, Togo or Niger to be mutilated. UNICEF reported in 2011 that FGM prevalence in Ghana had declined to a record low of 4% compared to other countries, but acknowledged that the low percentage 'still translates to several hundred thousand women and girls and that there are areas of Ghana, for example, the Upper West region, where FGM is much more prevalent with 16% of all girls aged fifteen to nineteen years having been cut'.[16] Traditionalists who practice and promote FGM justify it on the grounds of ancestral beliefs and rites,[17] designed to preserve the woman's virginity by diminishing her sex drive and the consequent temptation to have sex before marriage.[18] The injustice of FGM however, lies in the fact that its purpose and result oppress and dehumanise women while promoting male dominance and superiority.[19] Furthermore, FGM often has negative health implications for its victims, resulting in medical complications. This includes infections such as tetanus, HIV and hepatitis B. Other victims experience difficulty in passing urine, pain during sexual intercourse, difficulty in child birth and barrenness. Some women even die either during or immediately after suffering the heinous ordeal of FGM or die later

[15]A typology developed by the World Health Organisation (WHO), describes four types of FGM (WHO, 2008:4). The first involves the partial or total removal of the clitoris and/or the prepuce. The second also involves the partial removal of the clitoris in addition to the labia minora, leaving the labia majora intact and the vagina left unclosed. The third involves the complete removal of the clitoris and labia minora as well as the inner surface of the labia majora. The two sides of the vulva are then stitched together with thorns or by silk of catgut sutures so that when the remaining skin of the labia majora heals, it forms a bridge of gaps of scar tissues over the vagina. The fourth involves 'pricking, piecing or incision of the clitoris and or labia, burning of the clitoris and surrounding tissues and scrapping or cutting of the vagina or surrounding tissues (WHO, 2008:4).

[16] http://ghana.gov.gh/index.php/2012-02-08-08-32-47/general-news/2108-female-genital-mutilation-declines-in-ghana-unicef-report, 24th July 2013, accessed on 24th October 2014.

[17] http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/fgm-in-ghana-what-local-african-organisations-are-doing-to-eliminate-female-genital-mutilation-8537898.html, 18th March 2013, accessed on 24th October 2014.

[18] http://www.irinnews.org/report/48381/ghana-women-call-for-stiffer-female-circumcision-laws, 2nd February 2004, accessed on 24th October 2014.

[19]For example, male circumcision protects men against filth and germs, helps the passage of urine and enhances their sexual pleasure. However, in FGM, the parts of the female genital that are cut off are very important to the woman's sexual and reproductive activities.

as a result of complications and psychological trauma. In some cases, the girls who suffer the inhuman and undignified act become school dropouts. Indeed, FGM negatively affects the dignity of women and violates their fundamental human rights. FGM is a cultural means of justifying discrimination against girls and women and promoting gender inequality.

Another unjust practice in Ghana that oppresses women is Trokosi,[20] a traditional shrine slavery that deprives victims of all their human rights and dignity. Trokosi simply means 'slave or wife of the gods'. It is a traditional religious practice among the Ewes in parts of Ghana, Benin and Togo. In the event of a crime, the priest consults the gods, who will supposedly reveal the family and the person responsible for it. In other cases, families suffering afflictions may enquire from a shrine to know its source. The priest may reveal that the cause of the calamity is a curse placed on a family member who committed a crime. As a means of atonement, the family of the criminal must provide a virgin girl to serve the gods at the shrine, failing which, it is believed that the family and the community will suffer an untold misfortunes. Trokosi is characterised by confinement of victims, rape, child labour, and denial of education, all of which amount to abuse of the rights of children. The girl slave is confined to the shrine and cannot leave until the priest decides to release her. Children born to her also become slaves to the gods. Because the trokosi is seen as the wife of the gods, the priest rapes and defiles her at will without the responsibility to provide for the trokosi or the children born out of his sexual intercourse with her. Victims of this practice are also deprived of their education and healthcare. One liberated former slave who spent twenty-one years at a shrine and has a fifteen year old child with the priest said that throughout her pregnancy, the priest did not allow her to go to the hospital for antenatal care. She also had to fend for herself. As a result of the trauma the trokosi victims suffer, they lose their self-esteem, self-worth, dreams and aspirations. Trokosi is injustice perpetrated in the name of culture, which condemns innocent young girls to a life of indignity, suffering and oppression.

All these atrocious acts happen to women in Ghana despite the many human rights laws, constitutional provisions and other human rights activities which attempt to stop them. For instance the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana clearly states that: 'All cultural practices which dehumanise or are injurious to the physical and mental wellbeing of a person are prohibited'.[21] Part of Ghana's directive principle of state policy allows the government to take steps to ensure that '...traditional practices which are injurious to the health and well-

[20] Trokosi describes the system/the practice and its victim.
[21] Article 26 subsection 2 of the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana.

being of the person are abolished'.[22] In 1994, Ghana's Criminal Code (Act 29, 1960) was amended to include FGM as a second-degree felony punishable upon conviction by three or more years' imprisonment.[23] This was further amended in 2007 making FGM a criminal offence punishable on conviction by five to ten years prison sentence.[24] In November, 2003, a Court in the Upper West Region of Ghana jailed a forty-five year old woman for five years as punishment for carrying out FGM on three girls, including a three-week old baby. In February 2004, another court in the Upper East Region of Ghana sentenced a seventy year old woman to five years imprisonment when she was convicted of performing FGM on seven girls. In the case of trokosi, the 1992 constitution again spells out clearly that: 'No child shall be deprived by any other person of medical treatment, education or any other social or economic benefit by reason only of religious or other beliefs'.[25] The constitution also prohibits slavery and forced labour respectively.[26] To further strengthen the battle against trokosi, the Criminal Code was amended in 1998 to outlaw all forms of ritualized forced labour, making it a criminal offence punishable by a minimum of three years in jail. Again, Ghana's assent to some International Laws and Conventions that seek to protect the rights of all, especially girls and women are great efforts to ending all forms of violence, injustice and inequality against women.[27] Unfortunately, despite outlawing trokosi, irrespective of the legal instruments that stand against the practice and in spite of the many advocacy groups and organisations working to liberate the slaves and end trokosi, it is still entrenched and practiced in some communities in the Volta region of Ghana. Again, notwithstanding all these efforts, it is disheartening that FGM is still perpetrated in hideouts in some communities in Ghana.

[22] Section 39 subsection 2 of the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana.
[23] Section 69A subsection 1 of Ghana's Criminal Code as amended in 1994.
[24] Section 69A subsection 1 and 2 of Ghana's Criminal Code as amended in 2007.
[25] Article 28 subsection 4 of the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana.
[26] Article 16 subsection 1 and 2 of the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana.
[27] These include the Convention of the Rights of the Child, African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979). Others are the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948); the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights; the International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), the Declaration on Violence against Women (1993) and the Platform for Action of the Fourth World Conference on Women (1995). Furthermore, Ghana has also set up constitutional and statutory institutions to, among other things, deal with these injustices against women. They include CHRAJ, the Domestic Violence and Victim Support Unit (DOVVSU) and the National Commission for Civic Education. Also, there are many social justice and human right campaign organisations which educate communities and raise awareness about the dangers and abuses of FGM, widowhood rites, witches camps and trokosi. These include the Ghanaian Association for Women's Welfare and the Ghana chapter of the International Federation of Women Lawyers.

Reflections

Amos does not discuss poverty in detail neither does he talk about the causes of poverty. However, the plight of the suffering poor and needy is the major subject of his condemnation. Among other groups of vulnerable people in Israel, Amos refers to the poor and needy, eleven times with various terminologies. The poor and needy are trampled upon, abused and treated with indignity (Amos 2:6-7), they are oppressed and crushed (Amos 4:1) and they suffer the consequences of unjust trade and its attendant ill treatment of labour (Amos 8:4-6). The situation of the poor described in the text is daily enacted in the lives of many poor Ghanaians who struggle to feed themselves and their families, whose labour is not adequately rewarded, who lack shelter and clothing and who are at the receiving end of trade manipulations that deny them enjoyment of the fruit of their labour. When poor Ghanaians read the prophecy of Amos, they identify with the poor, needy and the meek whose cause Amos champions. They suffer indignity and inhuman treatment just as the poor in Israel are trampled upon and crushed. They are victims of oppression and extortion, in helpless and hopeless situation just as their counterparts in Amos' days were. They thus see the voice of Amos as a voice in their favour. It is obvious that Amos presents the poor and needy in Israel of his days in a passive light. He makes himself the champion of the poor, the needy and other victims of injustice, advocating for them without giving them their own voice. The text records no direct word from any poor or needy person and we are not led to any particular scene where the poor and needy are engaged in any dialogue with their oppressors or with the prophet and the likes of him who champion their cause. Their story is told by Amos only as far as he condemns the injustice and oppression they suffer and only as far as Amos denounces the elite for perpetuating such a dehumanising state of life. It is possible that the situation they found themselves in could have silenced the poor and needy of Amos' days. They could even be afraid that protesting or challenging their oppressors could lead to further destitution. And yet in twenty-first century poverty studies and advocacy, the poor and needy are still voiceless. The victims of injustice are seen as those at the receiving end always having no voice of their own. In Ghana, there are many individuals, groups and agencies that work as advocates of poor and vulnerable. Very rarely are the people on whose behalf these groups and agencies are working given the frontline role in the quest for their own liberation. If they are seen at all, it is only to narrate the stories of their horrible experiences hoping to receive help. Time has come that the poor and other victims of social injustice take their

destiny into their own hands. If they continue to be passive, they will continue to be victimised.

Reflecting on injustice that African women suffer in the name of religion and tradition and the emotional, psychological and economic trauma that come with such injustice, Mercy Amba Oduyoye writes:

> When I look at the model in which religion has cast women, the psychological binds of socioeconomic realities that hold us in place, our political powerlessness, and the daily diminution of our domestic influence by Western-type patriarchal norms, I call what I see injustice. No other word fits…(Oduyoye 1995a:157).

Oduyoye's reflection on women's plight in Africa casts its shadow on realities in Ghana. She aptly comments that '…socio-cultural norms generally demands submissive and subordinate behaviour of women; this in turn, makes them easy victims of violence and predisposes them to accept the violence done to them' (Oduyoye 1995a:164). Women and girls in Ghana are always at the receiving end of oppression, suppression and abuse. Issues of widowhood rites, FGM, trokosi and other cultural practices that affect the dignity of women have been thorny issues in Ghana for many years. Various efforts to legislate against such practices or ban them have failed and many girls and women in Ghana continue to suffer such inhuman and humiliating abuse. Oduyoye comments that FGM excludes dignity from women who fall victim to it due to cultural demands. In her opinion, the fight against FGM defies all conventional methods such that '….attitude count more than knowledge and legislation is but an impotent tool…' (Oduyoye, 1995a:165). Widowhood rites and FGM are not only dehumanizing but impinges the fundamental human rights of victims. When Amos pronounces YHWH's judgement on the Ammonites for ripping open pregnant women of Gilead in order to expand their territory (Am. 1:13), he condemns atrocities and inhuman treatment of women in the context of expansionist war. His message however should speaks to the Ghanaian situation today. Women victims of FGM and widowhood rites hear the voice of Amos calling for justice to roll so that they can be emancipated from such destructive cultures. Reflecting on 2 Kings 4:1-7 in relation to women and children's rights in Africa, Dorothy Akoto-Abutiate writes that the plight of the widow projects a real existential situation for African women, exemplifying the harshness of such traditional cultural practices. She laments the ordeal and hardship which widowhood brings upon womanhood in African and the fact that it 'threatens the emotional health of both women and their children'

(Akoto-Abutiate 2014:64). Amos' solidarity with women serves as an inspiration for Ghanaian women to liberate themselves from such abusive and oppressive religious and cultural practices. Akoto-Abutiate calls on women in Africa, particularly Ghanaian women to '…unite and fight against such oppressive cultural and religious practices that worsen the plight of women' (Akoto-Abutiate 2014:65).

If Amos condemns a man and his father for having sexual intercourse with a girl (Amos 2:7), his message denounces men and women who force innocent virgins to go into shrine slavery for crimes they did not commit and thus become the sexual prey of old men, so called priests of the shrine who sexually abuse these girls. The situation of the Trokosi in Ghana is as dehumanising as that of the girl in Amos 2:7. The Trokosi is away from her father's house serving as a shrine slave because a relative, possibly a powerful male ancestor committed a crime that has brought a curse on the family. She is sexually abused since, as the wife of the gods, she must give in to the sexual advances of the priest. Her vulnerability is heightened because in most cases, she is irredeemable and condemned to live in that abusive servitude and loveless sexual relationship for life. Asamoah-Gyadu compares 'the virtually irredeemable tabooed status of the Trokosi' to the situation 'capture by the proverb "the fathers eat sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge", which was denounced by Prophet Ezekiel', (Asamoah-Gyadu 2004:347-48). He acknowledges 'the inter-generational transfer of merit or guilt, and…the matter of personal responsibility in repentance and change' that Ezekiel 18:1-4 deals with, without disputing the difficulty in explaining the underlying philosophy of collective justice in the Bible (Asamoah-Gyadu 2004:347-48). Paul Joyce is convinced that among others, Ezekiel's calls for repentance 'anticipate a time when YHWH will grant a new beginning (Joyce 2013a:65). It is thus only fair that this religious and cultural institution should give these young women the chance to have their own new beginnings without being compelled to suffer abuse and oppression for crimes whose perpetrators they never knew or have met. Just as the man and his father immorally and illegally had sex with the girl, so are the priests in the shrine conniving with the community to sexually abuse and economically exploit these young innocent virgins in the name of religion and culture. Similarly, just as Amos condemned the actions of the man and his father, so must the church in Ghana and Ghanaian society as a whole stand up against such religious and cultural practices that dehumanise young women. If there is any inspiration that Ghanaians can take from Amos' words against those who abused women in his days, that inspiration must move the society to fight against all forms of cultural and religious practices that are inimical to the health and wellbeing of women.

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YHWH as King and the Wicked in the Psalms

Focal points of discussion:

- *The relationship between YHWH as king and the wicked, especially his specifically royal interest in opposing them.*
- *The wicked as a manifestation of the threat of the world order and as chaotic powers.*

As O. Keel has worked out in his study "Feinde und Gottesleugner [Enemies and Deniers of God]" (1969), there are two types of enemies in the psalms of the individual: on the one hand, there are personal enemies of the supplicant who revile, beset, or chase the individual. On the other hand, the psalms deal with enemies who bear a deeper wickedness in themselves, behave maliciously, and are characterized as hostile to God.[1] They threaten not only the individual supplicant through their wickedness, but they are in opposition to the righteous or the poor in general. The term which is most frequently used to designate this group is רשׁע (guilty, wicked, criminal).[2] Already Ps 1 opens the Psalter by presenting the wicked as persons who are not to be imitated. With 82 occurrences, the רשׁע is one of the main characters in the Psalter.

In most cases, YHWH is the opponent of the wicked, or he is requested to oppose them. One of the central theological ideas in the Psalter is the presentation of YHWH as king, either explicitly by the stem מלך or implicitly by using royal metaphors like the throne, by presenting his majesty, power, and superiority, or by alluding to his judicial office. However, the connection between YHWH as king and the wicked has scarcely been examined. This is perhaps due to the fact that the wicked are not prominent in the YHWH-King-Psalms (Ps 47; 93; 95-99), where they only appear once (Ps 97:10). I would like show that there are nevertheless several psalms in which YHWH encounters the wicked definitely in a royal function.

In the first part, I will analyse seven psalms in which there is a connection between the kingship of YHWH and his behaviour towards the wicked. I will begin with Ps 97, where YHWH acts only indirectly against them (1.1), then I will move on to psalms where he

1 KEEL, Feinde, 107-9.
2 See the list of terms used for this type of enemies in the Psalms in KEEL, Feinde, 108.

directly opposes the wicked (1.2), and after that, I will examine those statements where the wicked threaten the stability of the world order (1.3). In the second part, I will evaluate the results of the exegesis and explain why there is a relation between YHWH as king and the wicked.

1. Exegesis

1.1 Psalm 97: YHWH delivers the righteous from the wicked

At first I will discuss the issue that YHWH characterised as king delivers (potential) victims of the wicked from their attack, namely righteous and pious people:

אהבי יהוה שִׂנאו רע	10	You who love YHWH, hate evil!
שֹׁמר נפשׁות חסידיו		He preserves the lives of his faithful ones;
מיד רשׁעים יצילם		From the hand of the wicked he delivers them.
אור זרע לצדיק	11	Light ‘has dawned’[3] for the righteous,
ולישׁרי־לב שׂמחה		And joy for the upright in heart.
שׂמחו צדיקים ביהוה	12	Rejoice, you righteous, in YHWH,
והודו לזכר קדשׁו		And give thanks to his holy name!

These three verses are the third and last part of Ps 97, a YHWH-King-Psalm programmatically proclaiming the kingship of YHWH in the opening line (יהוה מלך “YHWH is/has become king”). However, there are conceptual and lexical differences between vv. 1-9 and vv. 10-12: the last three verses contain wisdom language and deal with a group of pious (אהבי יהוה, חסידיו, צדיקים, ישׁרי־לב) being no concern in the first two parts of the psalm (vv. 1-6, 7-9). Besides, v. 9 is suited for a good conclusion for the psalm (cf. v. 9b with 47:10b). Thus, it seems reasonable to suppose that vv. 10-12 are a secondary addition to the rest of the psalm.[4]

3 This translation is based on the emendation from זָרֵעַ (“is sown”) to זָרַח, which is supported by one Hebrew manuscript, the Septuagint (ἀνέτειλεν) and the Targum (דנח) (and furthermore by the Vulgate and the Peshitta). The idea of “sown light” is odd and would be unique in the Hebrew Bible, whereas the idea of “dawned light” is common: This reading has a close parallel in Ps 112:4 (זרח בחשׁך אור לישׁרים חנון ורחום וצדיק), which has four keywords in common with the emendated Ps 97:11 (see also Isa 58:10). The variant זרע is explicable through the confusability of ח and ע because of their similar pronunciation in antiquity (see the list of examples in LIPIŃSKI, Royauté, 183).

4 See HOSSFELD/ZENGER, Psalmen 51-100, 676-7; LEUENBERGER, Konzeptionen, 155-61; MÜLLER, Jahwe, 87-9. LEUENBERGER supposes that Ps 97:10-12 is on the same redactional layer as Ps 94 because of several lexical and theological commonalities.

Nevertheless, vv. 10-12 are lexically connected to the previous verses: The verb שׂמח (v. 12) occurs also in vv. 1 and 8; צדיק (vv. 11, 12) has the same stem as צדק in vv. 2 and 6, and אור (v. 11) occurs as a hiphʿil verb in v. 4. Therefore, vv. 10-12 are not to be read as an isolated unit but as the final part of the whole Ps 97.

In the course of Ps 97, there is firstly a movement from the periphery of the cosmos to its centre and secondly a change from a universal to a more particularistic perspective. The subjects of the joy about the kingship of YHWH are "the many isles" (v. 1), i.e. the borders of the world, then Zion (v. 8) as the centre and finally the righteous (v. 12) as the people who will receive the benefits of the kingship of YHWH. Whereas vv. 1-9 speak of a universal extent of his kingship (6 x כל, e.g. "the whole earth", "all the peoples", "all the gods", 4 x הארץ, 1 x תבל), vv. 10-12 set limits: Only the pious are those who break out in joy. The last part demands a specific religious and ethical qualification of the beneficiaries of the kingship of YHWH, e.g. the hate of evil[5] or the uprightness in heart. This involves at the same time an individualization:[6] it is the part of the individual to fulfil these requirements in his everyday life.

Of special interest here is v. 10c, because the wicked (רשׁעים) are mentioned there: YHWH is the one who delivers his faithful ones (חסידיו) "from the hand of the wicked" (מיד רשׁעים יצילם). The wicked are seen as the current threat for the pious, and from this threat the latter need to be saved and delivered by YHWH. This phrase has its closest parallel in Ps 82:4, where the gods are asked to deliver the poor "from the hand of the wicked" (מיד רשׁעים הצילו; cf. also Ps 71:4). The term מיד points in both cases to a relation of dominion, bondage, and oppression, and also the verb נצל implies the liberation and the wresting of someone from a situation of oppression.[7] There seems to be a power gap between the wicked and the pious (respectively the poor in 82:4). Besides, the opposition of the pious and the wicked implies that the latter have an antithetic religious and ethical attitude in comparison to the former.

If vv. 10-12 are not interpreted as an isolated unit, but are understood in the context of the whole psalm, then they are to be viewed against the background of the kingship of YHWH: according to Ps 97, it is the task of YHWH *as divine king* to deliver the pious from the wicked. This is a feature of YHWHs צדק (cf. vv. 2, 6) and משׁפט (cf. vv. 2, 8). That means that the wicked are opponents of YHWH's kingship, which has to prevail against them. Ps 97:10 does indeed not speak of a direct impact of YHWH on the wicked; by rescuing the righteous from their hand and by making an end to oppression, he only acts indirectly against them. But

5 Cf. Prov 8:13; Am 5:15; see also Mic 3:2.
6 See HOSSFELD/ZENGER, Psalmen 51-100, 686.
7 See BERGMANN/VON SODEN/ACKROYD, Art. יד, 437, 449-50; BERGMANN, Art. נצל, 96-7.

implicitly, Ps 97 goes beyond that: the emphasis on the salvation received by the pious means conversely that the wicked are excluded from salvation, i.e. the light, the joy and the praise of God, which YHWH is about to bring. The present is still characterised by the oppression of the righteous by the wicked, but also by YHWH's help for the righteous. V. 11 proclaims, however, that light and joy have already dawned, and this has happened only in favour of the righteous and the upright in heart. The dawn of light can be interpreted as the beginning of the complete deliverance of the righteous from all threats of the wicked and the ongoing loss of power of the latter, until the righteous' joy reaches its full extent.[8]

If the wicked in v. 10 are read against the background of v. 3, then Ps 97 includes an active impact of YHWH on the wicked as well, and the wicked appear as his enemies: "Fire goes before him and burns up his adversaries all around" (אֵשׁ לְפָנָיו תֵּלֵךְ וּתְלַהֵט סָבִיב צָרָיו). The context suggests to identify the wicked of v. 10 with these adversaries in v. 3. This verse is part of a theophany (vv. 2-6), in which YHWH appears dressed with clouds and darkness accompanied by lightning. God appearing like a weather god in a theophany encounters enemies affiliated to chaotic powers that threaten the stability of the world and are therefore defeated and destroyed by YHWH.[9] This "vision of the glorious defeat of his enemies (v. 3) is applied in the promise of the deliverance of the righteous from the wicked (v. 10)".[10] As a result, the wicked in v. 10 can be seen not only as immediate adversaries of YHWH, but also as a concrete manifestation of the chaotic powers, which will be defeated by YHWH's prevailing kingship. The steering concept, namely YHWH as king fighting directly against the wicked and the wicked as a chaotic power, becomes even clearer in other psalms.

1.2 YHWH directly fighting against the wicked

The first statement which has to be discussed here is Ps 145:20:

קָרוֹב יְהוָה לְכֹל־קֹרְאָיו	18	YHWH is near to all who call on him,
לְכֹל אֲשֶׁר יִקְרָאֻהוּ בֶאֱמֶת		To all who call on him in truth.
רְצוֹן־יְרֵאָיו יַעֲשֶׂה	19	He fulfils the desire of those who fear him;
וְאֶת־שַׁוְעָתָם יִשְׁמַע וְיוֹשִׁיעֵם		He also hears their cry, and saves them.
שׁוֹמֵר יְהוָה אֶת־כָּל־אֹהֲבָיו	20	YHWH preserves all who love him;

8 With the reading זָרַע, the meaning would not be totally different, but the coming salvation would be more hidden: light and joy are present in form of a sown seed, which still has to grow until it bears fruit (see HOSSFELD/ZENGER, Psalmen 51-100, 684).

9 See MÜLLER, Jahwe, 96; ORTLUND, Reading, 277. Regarding the connection of theophany and *Chaoskampf*, see also JEREMIAS, Theophanie, 90-7.

10 ORTLUND, Reading, 279.

ואת כל־רשׁעים ישׁמיד But all the wicked he will destroy.

The artfully constructed acrostic[11] Ps 145 concludes the last group of psalms of David (Pss 138-145) and serves as a bridge to the final praise of YHWH in Pss 146-150, the "final Hallel" (cf. the unique superscription of Ps 145: תהלה לדוד).[12] For this reason, Ps 145 is full of hymnal doxologies. In this hymn, the idea of YHWH as king has central meaning: right at the beginning, YHWH is addressed as "the king" (המלך, v. 1), and in the centre of the psalm, the kingship (מלכות [4 x]) of YHWH is praised (vv. 11-13).[13] This shows that the kingship of YHWH is the main idea of Ps 145 and that all statements about YHWH must be read as explications and concretizations of his kingship.[14] The fact that this psalm is an acrostic underlines that it claims to present the theme of the kingship of YHWH in completeness and totality.[15]

Concerning the relation of YHWH to humans, Ps 145 contains two different tendencies: on the one hand, it emphasizes the universal benevolence of YHWH to all creatures. The term כל is used 17 times,[16] e.g.: "Good is YHWH to all (לכל), and his mercy is over all his works (על־כל־מעשׂיו)" (v. 9; cf. vv. 15-16). On the other hand, it highlights firstly the week and suffering (v. 14) and secondly the pious as objects of special sympathy and appreciation of YHWH. This is the case especially in vv. 18-20, where groups of pious people are mentioned:[17] those who call on YHWH (v. 18), those who fear him (v. 19) and those who love him (v. 20).[18] Among these names, one can observe an increase in the degree of devotion. The latter group stands in opposition to a further group, namely the wicked. V. 20b is the only statement in the whole psalm which mentions a group of adversaries and in which YHWH does not behave friendly, but hostilely towards humans.

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11 Regarding the structure of Ps 145, see KIMELMAN, Psalm 145, *passim*. Other scholars propose different structures, e.g. BUYSCH, Davidpsalter, 308-12; BALLHORN, Telos, 285-88.

12 See BOOIJ, Psalm cxlv, 636-7; BALLHORN, Telos, 298; KRATZ, Schema', 329.

13 WATSON (Rootplay, 101-2) has observed that the letters כ, ל, and מ forming the beginnings of vv. 11-13 make in the reversed order the word מלך, which is a further indication for the centrality of the kingship of YHWH in Ps 145: according to WATSON, the content of vv. 11-13 "embodies the basic theme in the poem: God's eternal and universal kingship" (102).

14 See BUYSCH, Davidpsalter, 311-3; KRATZ, Schema', 328-9; WEBER, Werkbuch II, 367.

15 See KRATZ, Schema', 325; BALLHORN, Telos, 290.

16 If the reconstructed, but controversial Nun-verse is added, there are even 18 occurences.

17 This must not necessarily be a contradiction: vv. 18-20 differentiate the universalism of the preceding verses insofar as they distinguish between different forms of sympathy of YHWH: "Zwar gilt seine Grundversorgung der ganzen Schöpfung, aber seine Nähe schenkt er nur denen, die sich ihm gegenüber loyal zeigen [His basic supply is for the whole creation, but his closeness he only gives to those who show themselves loyal towards him]" (BUYSCH, Davidpsalter, 318).

18 Especially "those who fear YHWH" (יראי יהוה) is a group which is often mentioned in the Psalter (cf. Ps 22:24, 26; 34:8, 10; 103:11, 13, 17; 115:11, 13; 147:11 et al.)

V. 20 resembles Ps 97:10 (cf. the terms שׁומר, אהביו, and רשׁעים), but with the difference that it speaks explicitly of a direct impact of YHWH on the wicked. The verb שׁמד, which is rarely used in the Psalter,[19] can be explained especially by the wordplay with the verb שׁמר, which emphasizes the contrast between the wicked and those who love YHWH,[20] and it points not just to a deprivation of power but to the full elimination of the wicked. However, this elimination of the wicked is no end in itself, but it happens primarily in favour of the pious: vv. 18-20 suggest an emergency of the pious who are calling on and crying to YHWH and who must be saved and preserved by him. Thus, the help for pressed pious and the destruction of the wicked belong together; the latter is just the other side of the coin.[21]

Not only some, but "all" wicked shall be eliminated. Ps 145 imagines a world without wicked and adversaries. This cannot just be based on experience, but it is a future expectation. When v. 21 invites "all flesh" to bless the name of YHWH – in contrast to vv. 1-2, where an individual praises God –, the wicked are after v. 20 no longer part of it. The universal praise of YHWH presupposes the liberation from the wicked. Therefore, Ps 145 is not merely theocratic, even though the main focus of the psalm is on the work of YHWH in the present, but it concludes with an eschatological perspective.[22] Theocratic ideas and future expectations are not necessarily a contrast, as Ps 145 shows.[23]

Also the subsequent Ps 146 deals with both the kingship of YHWH and his behaviour towards the wicked, as the following section shows:

יהוה אהב צדיקים	8c	YHWH loves the righteous.
יהוה שׁמר את־גרים	9	YHWH protects the strangers.
יתום ואלמנה יעודד		He upholds the orphan and the widow,
ודרך רשׁעים יעות		But the way of the wicked he crooks.
ימלך יהוה לעולם	10	YHWH shall reign forever,
אלהיך ציון לדר ודר		Your God, O Zion, for all generations.

19 In the Nifʿal with the wicked as subject it is used in Ps 37:38; 92:8.

20 See KIMELMAN, Psalm 145, 52; BUYSCH, Davidpsalter, 318-9.

21 See BUYSCH, Davidpsalter, 318.

22 I use the term "eschatological" in a wider sense, i.e. not in the sense of the end of history but of a definitive inner-worldly time of salvation.

23 Against LEUENBERGER, Theokratische Theologie, 42-3. Leuenberger postulates a contrast between theocracy, in which the present is seen as the time of salvation and the kingship of God as already established, and eschatology, which has a negative view on the present and expects a salvific turning point in history, and he describes Ps 145 as theocratic.

There is no need for the assumption that either both vv. 8c and 9c[24] or only v. 9c[25] are a secondary addition to the psalm. Vv. 8c-9 are symmetrically structured: as regards content, they form a chiasmus (a-b-b'-a'), so that the righteous (a) and the wicked (a') are opposed, but syntactically, rhythmically, and grammatically, they make two straight parallelisms (a-a'-b-b').[26]

Vv. 7-9 present YHWH especially as the helper of the *personae miserae*: the oppressed, the hungry, the prisoners, the blind, the bowed down, the strangers, and the orphans and widows. Thereby, it details the statement of Ps 145:14 (cf. 145:14b with 146:8b[27]). Within this list of oppressed and suffering, also the righteous are mentioned. This indicates either that the righteous claim the same closeness to God as the *personae miserae*[28] or that the righteous belong to the suffering because they are oppressed as well. At least, according to several psalms, there is a close connection between the righteous and the poor (e.g. in Ps 34; 37), so that it comes to no surprise that the righteous are listed among the needy. However, the quantitative relation between the designations of the pious and those of the needy is reversed in comparison to Ps 145.

The reference to the wicked in v. 9c after the list of needy and oppressed persons suggests that they are the oppressors of the latter. Therefore, mentioning them is as consequent as it is in Ps 145:20:[29] YHWH not only helps the needy, but also fights the oppressors in order to make an end to the oppression. As in Ps 145:20, the fighting of the wicked happens primarily in favour of their victims. But in contrast to Ps 145:20, Ps 146:9 does not speak of an elimination of the wicked: instead, YHWH "makes the way of the wicked crooked (יעות)". This means that he misleads their way and makes their plans fail.[30] The main aim is thus not the destruction of the wicked[31] but the averting of their threat. Unlike Ps 1:6, to which is probably alluded here, the way of the wicked does not fail by itself, but YHWH is he who is responsible for its failing.

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24 Thus LEVIN, Gebetbuch, 363.

25 Thus NÕMMIK, Gerechtigkeitsbearbeitungen, 460-70.

26 See HOSSFELD/ZENGER, Psalmen 101-150, 816; KSELMAN, Psalm 146, 595; see also BALLHORN, Telos, 306f.

27 Both the verb זקף ("to raise up") and the participle כפופים ("the bowed down") each have their only two occurrences in the Hebrew Bible in these two verses.

28 Thus BALLHORN, Telos, 307, who assumes that the righteous accept the theological inheritance of the *personae miserae*.

29 Against NÕMMIK, Gerechtigkeitsbearbeitungen, 468-70, who argues that v. 9c is secondary (see above) because it is the only negative statement about God in the psalm. But this is the case already in Ps 145:20.

30 See HOSSFELD/ZENGER, Psalmen 101-150, 821. Regarding the „way of the wicked" see Ps 1:6; Prov 4:19; 12:26; 15:9; Jer 12:1.

31 Against BALLHORN, Telos, 307, who speaks of the destruction of the wicked.

Directly thereafter, the psalm concludes with an outlook for the kingship of YHWH as God of Zion (v. 10). Unlike Ps 47:9; 93:1; 96:10; 97:1; 99:1, the verb מלך is used as an imperfect.[32] According to E. ZENGER and E. BALLHORN, this is a jussive, and therefore, v. 10 is not a proclamation of the kingship of YHWH, but a wish concerning its revelation for the entire world to see, which gives the psalm an eschatological perspective.[33] As a result, the psalm expresses the hope and the wish that the divine kingship may prevail against the wicked. If the wicked in v. 9 are to be identified with the "princes" (נדיבים) of vv. 3-4, it would mean that Ps 146 is a harsh rejection of all forms of human kingship and that the divine kingship will replace human kingship in the future (ביום ההוא, v. 4), and therefore, YHWH, the "king of the poor"[34], alone will rule.[35]

Ps 9/10 is also relevant in this context.[36] The רשׁעים (or the רשׁע) are mentioned throughout the whole psalm (eight times, thereof seven times in the singular), and 10:3-11 is one of the most detailed descriptions of the work and the mind-set of the wicked in the whole Psalter. Besides, also the idea of the kingship of YHWH plays a prominent role in Ps 9/10: in 10:16, YHWH is explicitly called "king" (מלך), but already 9:5-9 presents YHWH as sitting (ישׁב, vv. 5, 8) on his throne (כסא, vv. 5, 8) as a judge (שׁופט, v. 5, cf. v. 9 with Ps 96:10, 13; 98:9) forever (לעולם, v. 8). Furthermore, he is called עליון ("the Most High"), a name which is used several times in the context of his kingship (cf. e.g. Ps 47:3; 97:9).

There are two main problems concerning the interpretation of the psalm. Firstly, there are a lot of textual and text-critical difficulties, which cannot be discussed here in detail.[37] The other problem, which is quite relevant four our topic, is the parallelism between the wicked and the "gentiles" (גוים). The latter occur six times in Ps 9/10, thereof twice in a *parallelismus membrorum* with the wicked (9:6, 18) pointing to a close connection between the two groups. It is underlined by the fact that the work they are doing is the same: both oppress the poor, both set up traps and snares, and both have a similar attitude towards God.[38] Additionally, the psalm also speaks of personal enemies of the supplicant (9:4, 14).

The problem of the parallelism of wicked and gentiles is controversially discussed. Three solutions are possible: either, the wicked are understood as "inner enemies", whereas the

32 Cf. Ex 15:18, but there with a different word order (subject – verb).
33 ZENGER, Weisheitstheologie, 143, 152; HOSSFELD/ZENGER, Psalmen 101-150, 812, 821; BALLHORN, Telos, 307-8.
34 ZENGER, Weisheitstheologie, 142 ("König der Armen").
35 Thus ZENGER, Weisheitstheologie, 151-2;
36 Regarding the unity of Ps 9/10 see SCHMUTTERMAYR, Psalm 9-10, 17-29; SAGER, Polyphonie, 23-4.
37 See SCHMUTTERMAYR, Psalm 9-10, 42-237.
38 See FÜGLISTER, Hoffnung, 111-2.

gentiles have to be seen as "outer enemies", but these two types of enemies are no longer differentiated in the psalm, but they merge to a uniform front of opponents.[39] Or the psalm only deals with foreign enemies, who are called both "gentiles" and "wicked". The רשׁע is the foreign as individual.[40] The question is, however, if it can be said about gentiles that they "forget God" (9:18). A third possibility is that the רשׁעים are apostate Israelites who are considered as gentiles by the psalmist and are therefore also called גוים.[41] This problem is difficult to solve, because the psalm does – beyond the mere terminology – not differentiate between two types of enemies. The רשׁע in the singular is – like the עני ("the poor/miserable") in the singular – the exemplar for the whole group (especially in 10:2-11). It remains to be said that the contrast between Israel and the nations is not crucial to this psalm because the whole topic of Israel as the people of YHWH is missing completely.[42] In any case the psalm understands both the גוים and the רשׁעים as people being hostile to God and performing morally reprehensible deeds by oppressing, exploiting, and killing the poor[43], and namely not from the outside, but in the "land" (cf. 10:16, 18) of Israel.[44]

The first statement about YHWH's behaviour towards the wicked is found in 9:6:

גערת גוים אבדת רשׁע	You have rebuked the nations/gentiles, you have destroyed the wicked;
שׁמם מחית לעולם ועד	You have blotted out their name forever and ever.

By using perfect tense, v. 6 looks back to YHWH's acting in the past which is brought to mind here. The lemma גער "to rebuke" is often used in the context of the *Chaoskampf* (cf. Ps 18:16; 68:31; 76:7; 104:7; 106:9; Isa 17:13; 50:2; 66:15; Nah 1:4). The גוים take over here the role of the sea in the 'classical' pattern of the *Chaoskampf*. Concerning the wicked, v. 6 speaks more abstractly of their destruction (אבד pi.), but the parallelism suggests that the same is true for the wicked as for the gentiles. It is not obvious which events of the past the psalm has in mind. However, it is evident that the review of the past shall strengthen the hope that the wicked will be destroyed in the future as well.

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39 Thus HOSSFELD/ZENGER, Selig, 47-8; HOSSFELD/ZENGER, Psalmen I, 82, 86.

40 Thus FÜGLISTER, Hoffnung, 110-8; SAGER, Polyphonie, 94-102.

41 This interpretation I did not come across yet, but that this is not completely far-fetched shows Ezr 9-10; Neh 10 where those who did not separate themselves from the "peoples of the land" are considered as half gentiles (see FÜGLISTER, Hoffnung, 117).

42 Against SAGER, Polyphonie, 106-11, who argues with the reference to Isa 49:13 that the poor/miserable as a collective is Israel. But unlike Isa 49:13, in Ps 9/10 does not occur the word "people of YHWH" or the like.

43 According to HOSSFELD/ZENGER (Selig, 47), Ps 9/10 is a "psalm of the poor [Armenpsalm]" par excellence because of the frequent and differentiated use of terms for poor.

44 See FÜGLISTER, Hoffnung, 115-8.

In the characterisation of the (singular) wicked in 10:2-11 describing him as arrogant and by means of the imagery of hunting and animals (v. 9: "like a lion in his den"), his dangerousness and malice towards the innocent and the poor and helpless is pointed out.[45] This dangerousness is portrayed so extensively in order to motivate the intervention of YHWH,[46] which is asked for in 10:12-15:

קומה יהוה אל נשׂא ידך	12	Rise up, O YHWH, O God, lift up your hand;
אל־תשׁכח ענוים [...]		Do not forget the miserable. […]
שׁבר זרוע רשׁע ורע	15	Break the arm of the wicked and the evil one,
תדרושׁ־רשׁעו בל־תמצא		Seek out his wickedness until you find none.

The rising up of YHWH either points to a war context as the beginning of a military attack of YHWH (see Num 10:35)[47] or to a judicial background, where it means the rising up of the judge to the verdict (cf. Ps 82:8).[48] This imperative is already used in 9:20, where it is found in a judicial context (v. 20b). But the judgement can also be made by war, so that these two possibilities do not necessarily exclude each other here. The term נשׂא יד ("to lift up the hand") mostly designates the gesture accompanying an oath, but that does not make sense here. Probably, it indicates here the revelation of the (royal) power of YHWH.[49] The care for the poor (v. 12b), however, is again a judicial affair. Thus, in v. 12 judicial and war imagery overlap: YHWH is asked to judge the wicked by waging war against them.

The breaking of the arm of the wicked means literally that the wicked are made harmless and that the threat is thus banished: whose arm is broken is no longer an effective hunter.[50] Moreover, the arm (זרוע) is a metaphor for strength, power, and superiority (cf. e.g. Ps 89:11; Job 38:15). As a result, a broken arm means the deprivation of power (cf. Ps 37:17; Job 38:15). By breaking the arms of the wicked, YHWH shall banish their chaotic potential.

It does not surprise that after this plea for the defanging of chaotic powers, the kingship of YHWH is proclaimed (v. 16; see Ps 146:9-10). This proclamation underlines that the vanishing of the gentiles from the land and the jurisdiction in favour of the poor is seen and hoped already in its implementation (cf. vv. 16b-18).[51] The kingship of YHWH has in Ps 9/10

45 Regarding the imagery of vv. 8-11 see RIEDE, Netz, 173-9.
46 See RIEDE, Netz, 179.
47 See RIEDE, Netz, 120.
48 See LORETZ, Götter, 60-1, 65-70.
49 See BERGMANN/VON SODEN/ACKROYD, Art. יד, 439.
50 Cf. Ps 3:8, which says about YHWH that he has broken the teeth of the wicked. Whose teeth are broken can no longer bite and loses thus his dangerousness.
51 See SAGER, Polyphonie, 64.

primarily a judicial focus: As king, YHWH is he who delivers the poor from the oppression by the wicked, provides justice to the individual, and judges the whole earth (9:9) as שׁופט צדק (9:5).[52] This kingship is an eternal kingship which was established in the past (9:5) and is secured in the present (9:8), but the total enforcement is still expected for the future after the full removal of the complex situation of threat.[53]

1.3 The wicked threatening the stability of the world order

As shown above, both Ps 97 and Ps 9/10 contain allusions to the *Chaoskampf* motif. But there are also a few explicit statements in the Psalter which relate the acting of the wicked to the threat for the stability of the world order, and thus to chaos.

לא ידעו ולא יבינו	Ps 82:5	They [viz. the gods] do not know nor do they understand;
בחשׁכה יתהלכו		They walk around in darkness;
ימוטו כל־מוסדי ארץ		All the foundations of the earth are shaken.

According to Ps 93:2 (cf. 96:10; 104:5), YHWH has established the world, so that it is not be shaken (בל־תמוט). The stability of the world is threatened by the "rivers" (נהרים), but they do not make the world totter because YHWH is stronger than the rivers and the threat of the world (93:3-4). Ps 82:5c claims, however, that the foundations of the earth do totter. But this is not caused by the rivers but by the oppression of the poor by the wicked (רשׁעים, v. 4) and by the unjust judgment of the gods, who favour the wicked in judgment (v. 2). Thus, the wicked, not being restrained by the gods, take over the role of the rivers in Ps 93. As a result, the incapacity respectively the unwillingness of the gods to remove the conditions of social injustice threatens the stability of the whole earth and thus questions the divinity of the gods. Ps 82:5a is a quotation from Isa 44:18, but there it refers to the producers of idols, whereas in Ps 82:5, it relates to the gods themselves. The light, which is closely connected to justice in the Old Testament and Ancient Near East, is missing to them, so that they are walking around in darkness (v. 5b).[54] These conditions force YHWH/Elohim to intervene: he declares the death of the gods (vv. 6-7),[55] which shall be compensated by YHWH himself taking over the role as universal judge of the whole earth (v. 8) in order to save the world order.[56] As such, he exercises a royal task.

52 See SAGER, Polyphonie, 62-4, 125-7.
53 Regarding the understanding of time in Ps 9/10 see SAGER, Polyphonie, 46-53.
54 See HOSSFELD/ZENGER, Psalmen 51-100, 488.
55 Regarding vv. 6-7 as a court verdict see HOSSFELD/ZENGER, Psalmen 51-100, 480, 484, 489.
56 See HOSSFELD/ZENGER, Psalmen 51-100, 490; JEREMIAS, Erde, 173-4.

A similar idea of the tottering of the world caused by wicked is found in Ps 75:4:

נמגים ארץ וכל־יֹשביה	The earth and all its inhabitants totter.
אנכי תכנתי עמודיה	It is I who have firmly set its pillars.

The verb מוג designating the wavering of the whole earth is still used in Ps 46:7; Am 9:5; Nah 1:5, though as a result of a theophany. Here, however, it is not YHWH who makes the earth waver, but, on the contrary, he is the one who has steadied its pillars and thus guarantees its stability (v. 4b). By the wavering of the earth, the kingship of YHWH as the guarantor of the world order is challenged.[57] The context makes clear what the reason for the wavering of the earth is: the boastful (הוללים) boast and the wicked (רשׁעים) lift up their horn and speak arrogantly (vv. 5-6). This indicates that they have honour and might, whereas the righteous are dishonoured (cf. v. 11).[58] The reaction of YHWH is his appearance as judge (vv. 3, 8). As such, he will reverse the social order by lifting up some and by degrading others (v. 8b; cf. I Sam 2:7-8). Furthermore, he will give "all the wicked of the earth" (כל רשׁעי־ארץ) a cup of wine – a metaphor for wrath and judgment (cf. Isa 51:17; Jer 25:15) – to drink (v. 9) and cut off "all the horns of the wicked" (v. 11),[59] which means the removal of might and honour. The present experience, however, is the imbalance of the moral and social order, whereas the judgment of YHWH rebalancing the moral and social order – and thus the world order – is expected for the future (v. 3).[60] It is the tribulation concerning social imbalance which arouses the expectation that YHWH will appear as a judge.

A further occurrence of this idea is in Ps 11:3:

כי השׁתות יהרסון	If the foundations are demolished,
צדיק מה־פעל	What can the righteous do?

Vv. 1-2 introduce the situation of the prayer: he is threatened by the wicked (הרשׁעים) who are about to shoot with bow and arrow at the "upright in heart" (v. 2). The shooting "in darkness" does not seem to be appropriate, but it underlines the dangerousness and insidiousness of the

57 See HOSSFELD/ZENGER, Psalmen 51-100, 378.
58 See BOTHA, Psalm 75, 326-7.
59 It is, however, disputed who the speaker in v. 11a is. If YHWH is the speaker, one must assume a change of the speaker between v. 10 and v. 11. Nevertheless, HOSSFELD/ZENGER (Psalmen 51-100, 367, 380) and Botha (Psalm 75, 325) interpret v. 11 as a saying of YHWH because this fits better with the context.
60 See JEREMIAS, Erde, 171-2.

adversaries (cf. Ps 10:8-9).[61] By this behaviour, they demolish the pillars of the earth and thus make like chaos monsters the world quake (v. 3):[62] the verb הרס ("to demolish") normally designates the destruction of buildings, but here it is used for the destruction of the "foundations" (שׁת I) of the world and thus the world order.[63] With this threatening of the world, YHWH as king and judge is contrasted: he is presented as sitting on his heavenly throne (v. 4), from where he examines the humans (v. 4-5). V. 6 expresses the wish that he may let rain fire and brimstone upon the wicked as upon Sodom (cf. Gen 19:24; cf. also Ez 38:22) in order to destroy them.

2. Evaluation

The examination of seven psalms proved two aspects to be crucial: firstly, YHWH fights the wicked in a judicial function, especially for the benefit of the victims of the oppressors. Secondly, the social and the cosmic sphere are closely intertwined, so that the wicked appear as chaotic powers which threaten through moral turpitude the whole cosmos. These two aspects deserve further examination, not least their relation to the kingship of YHWH. Why is YHWH *as king* interested in rendering the wicked harmless? Or put differently, why do the supplicants expect YHWH *as king* to intervene against the wicked?

In the psalms analysed above it was observed that the intervention of YHWH against the wicked is no end in itself, but just the reverse side of the preservation and the deliverance of the righteous, the poor, and the oppressed. YHWH is presented as a judge not permitting oppression but helping those who would otherwise be helpless menaced by more powerful people. It corresponds to the royal ideology of the entire Ancient Near East, where kingship has strongly judicial features and where it belongs to the most prominent tasks of a king to assist the weak and the poor. This is also shared by the Old Testament concerning the earthly king (cf. Ps 72:2, 4, 12-14; Prov 29:14; 31:1-9; Isa 11:4; Jer 22:2-3, 15-6). In this context, the king also has to fight the wicked and the oppressors as the opposite side of the coin (cf. Ps 72:4; Isa 11:4; see also Ps 45:8; 101:8; Prov 25:5). The help for the oppressed and the fight against the oppressors are related to each other. If the king acts accordingly, he reigns according to צדק.

61 See KEEL, Feinde, 195; RIEDE, Netz, 371-2.
62 See KEEL, Feinde, 215.
63 See RIEDE, Netz, 372; HOSSFELD/ZENGER, Psalmen I, 91; HOSSFELD/ZENGER, Selig, 42.

In Ancient Egypt, the king was expected to enforce *Ma'at* as social justice and to eliminate *Isfet*, which is the antonym to Ma'at and means injustice and violence. The former task cannot be realised apart from the latter. Isfet consists in the inequality of humans and more concretely in the oppression of the weak by the strong. The enforcement of Ma'at means to enforce justice and to protect the weak and the poor from the powerful. For that purpose, the king is deployed by the deity.[64]

In Mesopotamia, there is a similar pattern: it was seen as a central task of the king to maintain and to restore justice and order and to fight evil. He had to establish *kittu* and *mīšaru*, mostly translated as "right" and "justice", and thus, he was responsible for the functioning of the social fabric and the establishment of a just society.[65] The task is assigned to him by the gods, especially by Shamash, the sun god and god of justice; the Neo-Assyrian king was even considered as the image of Shamash.[66] Therefore, the king had a prominent role concerning the proclamation, preservation, and enforcement of measures in terms of legal policy.[67] In this legal and judicial context, he had to care for the weak and to intervene against their oppressors. In the prologue of the Code of Hammurapi, King Hammurapi prides himself on his task "to make justice to appear in the land, to destroy the evil and the wicked that the strong might not oppress the weak, to rise indeed like Shamash over the dark-haired folk to give light to the land".[68] Also here it is valid that the judicial role of the king, the protection of the weak and the destruction of the oppressors belong closely together.[69]

The psalms which have been discussed here transfer this task to YHWH as divine king. The reference to ancient Near Eastern royal ideologies illustrates that YHWH exercises a common and expected royal activity in rescuing the victims of oppression and in proceeding against the wicked as a judge. The main aim is yet not the destruction of the wicked, but the restoration of social equity and justice.

It is also common in the entire Ancient Near East that the idea of kingship is closely connected to the idea of the preservation of the world order against chaos. In the Ugaritic Baal Cycle, which contains the most extensive depiction of a *Chaoskampf*, the kingship and the enthronement of Baal is the result of his defeat of Yamm, the god of the sea and of chaos. The

64 See ASSMANN, Maat, 213-7.
65 See CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM, König, *passim*; WEINFELD, Social Justice, 45-56; MAUL, König, 202-3.
66 See MAUL, König, 206-7.
67 See NEUMANN, Recht, 62-3.
68 Translation from DRIVER/MILES, Babylonian Laws, 7.
69 See WEINFELD, Social Justice, 49-50.

"one underlying theme of royal power […] is the unifying principle of the material".[70] This royal context is dominated by the motif of the preservation of creation.[71] In the Assyrian worldview, it was the responsibility of the Assyrian king to preserve not only the social order (see above), but the whole world order: especially in his warfare, he was expected to fight against the powers of chaos and thus to restore the threatened world order. He exercised this work on behalf of the gods and vicariously for them.[72]

The fact that cosmic, political, and social entities can represent chaotic powers is due to the ancient Near Eastern worldview implying the idea of a comprehensive world order and the interdependence of the social, political, and cosmic order, which has to be preserved by the earthly king.[73] Thus, if the social order is disturbed, it threatens the stability of the cosmic order, and disturbances in nature (e.g. drought or earthquakes) can have been caused, according to this worldview, by disordered social conditions.[74] Therefore, the social and the political life had to be in accordance with nature and cosmos. In Ancient Egypt, this worldview is even expressed by a term, namely the already above mentioned Ma'at. Besides the social and ethical dimension, the term also has a cosmic implication. It designates, according to H.H. SCHMID, the one world order which comprises cosmic, social, and ethical aspects[75] and for whose conservation the king is responsible. Here too, both the realization and the neglect of Ma'at have impacts on nature and fertility.[76] The cosmos is reliant on state and rule, i.e. on a king who realizes Ma'at.[77]

A similar worldview is attested in the psalms, which clearly comes to the fore in Ps 72. The result of the above mentioned social policy and the enforcement of justice in favour of the poor and oppressed by the king (vv. 2, 4, 12-14) is firstly fertility in nature (vv. 6, 16) and secondly a universal reign of the king over all peoples and the entire cosmos (vv. 8-11). Fertility is the opposite of a cosmos which totters and is reigned by chaos. The social, political, "natural", and cosmic sphere are closely intertwined, and the crucial role to maintain all spheres in balance in conferred to the king.

Consequently, the results of the psalms analysed above are in full accordance with the worldview just outlined. The wicked disturb the social balance and thus threaten also the

70 WYATT, Arms, 168.
71 See BAUKS, Chaos, 441-4.
72 See MAUL, König, 207-13.
73 See SCHMID, Gerechtigkeit, 23-66, who points out the togetherness of justice, wisdom, nature, warfare, cult and kingship. The king is responsible for the other five fields so that the kingship functions as the bracket between the different spheres of the world order. This is demonstrated by Schmid with examples from Sumer, Ugarit and Asia Minor.
74 See examples in SCHMID, Gerechtigkeit, 30; MAUL, König, 203-6.
75 SCHMID, Gerechtigkeit, 46. Regarding Ma'at see pp. 46-61.
76 See SCHMID, Gerechtigkeit, 54-57.
77 See ASSMANN, Maat, 218-22.

stability of the cosmos, which means that they are a representation and a manifestation of chaos. The threat calls the divine king YHWH into action, who is as such also the preserver of the world order, in order to restrain chaos, to intervene against the wicked, to deprive them of power, and thus to maintain and to restore the social and the cosmic balance. In conclusion, it can be said that YHWH's kingship, his judicial action against the wicked, and his reservation of the cosmos are related to each other; they go hand in hand and cannot be viewed in isolation from each other.

In comparison with the Ancient Near Eastern references, two specifications have yet to be made regarding the seven psalms analysed here. Firstly, it is striking that in these psalms, an earthly king as the representative of YHWH is mentioned nowhere. Instead, YHWH alone is expected to enforce justice and to restore the social and cosmic order. To some extent, it may be explained by the fact that in post-exilic times, Israel had no more an earthly king, so that YHWH himself alone was in charge to preserve the cosmic order. However, several texts of the Old Testament, among them some psalms, show that the hope expressed in these seven psalms may go along with messianic expectations. At least in Ps 146, however, the idea of human reign is rejected, and the hope is implied that YHWH's kingship will replace human reign. At any rate, the absence of references to an earthly king in the majority of psalms raising the topic of YHWH's kingship calls for explanation and deserves further examination.

Secondly, it was already mentioned that the victims of the wicked are not just the classical *personae miserae* (poor, widows, orphans, strangers etc.), but also – and in some psalms even primarily – righteous and pious people (צדיקים, חסידים, ישרי־לב etc.). As a consequence, the wicked appear not only in a social light, but also in a religious light: by attacking the pious and the worshippers of YHWH, they appear not only as asocial oppressors but also as impious despisers of God. This becomes especially clear in Ps 10:2-11, where the arrogant and blasphemous attitude of the wicked is illustrated by quotations.

To conclude: the expectation of YHWH fighting against the wicked is aroused by the tribulation caused by present experiences of oppression and dishonour. By asking and hoping for the destruction of the wicked by YHWH, the divine king, the psalms do not primarily express personal phantasies of vengeance, but they imagine and yearn for a just social and cosmic order and, to put it in the words of Paul, "the glorious liberty of the children of God", for which the whole creation waits with groaning (Rom 8:19-22). Above all, the psalms wait for the revelation of the power and the glory of the heavenly king, against whom no threatening power of the present can persist.

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New Testament by Desire, Old Testament by Demand: The Early Foundations of Gunkel's Later Work

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With an ad hoc title, this paper constitutes *two sections* (Gunkel's transition to Old Testament & the foundations already present in his licentiate qualifications) from *one chapter* (the place of his work on ancient Israel in his larger academic career) from *one part* (Gunkel's historiography of ancient Israel) of my *dissertation* (the historiography of ancient Israel in Wilhelmine Germany). Though truncated here, the second section continues to analyze Gunkel's work on 2 Esdras and his volume *Schöpfung und Chaos* to demonstrate, even further, how the intellectual architecture that would eventually win him fame in Old Testament studies was already present in his early work on the New.

As for discussion, I would have particular interest in feedback on the organization, clarity, and smoothness of the argument—especially how well the brief tour through his handling of Judaism fits into the study of his priority on experience—as well as the second section's overall cogency, more concretely, how convincing it is that the source of his future fame was evident even at the beginning.

Old Testament by Demand

Hermann Gunkel was a biblical theologian. A deceptively mundane statement, this sentence actually encapsulates his entire intellectual oeuvre. Gunkel may have hoped to incorporate unconventional texts along with innovative methods—from literary studies through comparative religion to cultural parallels and the like—but he trained his focus all the while upon the Christian Bible, its abiding import for a troubled modern age always on the horizon. He, like most of his Göttingen cohort, dropped heavy anchor in New Testament research. Yet more than merely prologue, Gunkel's earliest convictions—exposed, in part, through his licentiate proceedings—revealed much already latent that would come to define him with time. He may have studied New Testament by desire, Old Testament by demand, but means and ends remained the same. A certain exigency compelled him at worst and steered him at best along this rocky road.

In an episode of import well-known to his biographers but less so to the novice, Gunkel's academic train was derailed, for a time, in Göttingen.[1] In October of 1887, Gunkel sought permission to pursue a licentiate and then-attendant habilitation in the field of biblical studies, for which he submitted a 34-sided treatise grounded in the New Testament canon, titled "The Effects of the Holy Sprit According to Popular Conception of the Apostolic Period and According to the Teaching of the Apostle

1. See Hammann, *Hermann Gunkel*, esp. 30–40; cf. also Klatt, *Hermann Gunkel*, 15–17; Konrad von Rabenau, "Hermann Gunkel auf rauhen Pfaden nach Halle," *Evangelische Theologie* 30 (1970): 433–44; Reventlow, *History of Biblical Interpretation*, 338–39.

Paul. Part I."[2] June of 1888 saw his oral examination, or colloquium, before all of Göttingen's theology professors, who granted him *magna cum laude*. Scheduled for July but postponed until October, his public disputation then focused on theses he submitted to the faculty and debated with the eventual New Testament expert Johannes Weiß (1863–1914) and ultimate church historian Carl Mirbt (1860–1929): ten of the twelve concerned the Bible, and seven of those ten focused on New Testament, only three on the Old.[3] This dissertation, examination, and disputation earned Gunkel his licentiate. For habilitation qualification, undertaken the following day, Gunkel delivered a lecture on the "Eschatology of Jewish Apocalypses."[4] In accordance with convention, the faculty requested the requisite *venia legendi* for "biblical theology and exegesis." The university trustee (*Universitätskurator*), Ernst von Meier (1832–1911), then granted Gunkel a biennial permission to teach, i.e., from October of 1888 to that of 1890.[5]

An unfunny thing happened on the way to the forum, however. In the same window in time, between Octobers of 1887 and 1888, Karl Gunkel had adjured the Prussian Ministry of Culture to grant a scholarship to Hermann, maintaining he himself had not the resources to support both sons at once, Hermann as docent and Karl (Jr.) in legal studies. Accordingly, the Ministry wrote von Meier, in November of 1887, and requested inquiries from the faculty as well as de Lagarde. This evaluation, delivered in April, 1888, found "that his academic talent, with all due recognition of his ambition, [is] no excellent one, his personality, with all due recognition of his character traits, is no sympathetic one, and that his habilitation is hence undesired."[6] Still, the report commended he complete his licentiate process and seek ecclesial office. Already in November of 1887, de Lagarde had send word to the concerned ministerial director, Friedrich Althoff (1839–1908), stating Gunkel would almost surely succeed in his licentiate but advising against habilitation, at least in Göttingen—a maneuver meant to favor his own preferred Alfred Rahlfs (1865–1935). De Lagarde's duplicity emerges in the impulse: Gunkel had requested he support his application by writing an expert opinion.[7] Despite such opposition by a supposed supporter, Gunkel triumphed twice—albeit fleetingly. He obtained not only permission to teach but also his scholar-

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2. "Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes, nach der populären Anschauung der apostolischen Zeit und nach der Lehre des Apostels Paulus. Erster Teil." Published the same year, the work appeared under the slightly-altered title *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes nach der populären Anschauung der apostolischen Zeit und nach der Lehre des Apostels Paulus. Eine biblisch-theologische Studie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1888), though the second printing of 1899 dropped the second *nach*— and added a preface and index as well [ET: *The Influence of the Holy Spirit: The Popular View of the Apostolic Age and the Teaching of the Apostle Paul* (transl. Roy A. Harrisville and Philip .A. Quanbeck II; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979).] For faculty's appraisal, see Hammann, *Hermann Gunkel*, 32–35.

3. On the grade assigned, see Hammann, *Hermann Gunkel*, 34n.90. For the specific theses, see below.

4. On these procedures, see XX–XX above.

5. However, von Meier had assumed the post only in 1888 and resigned in 1894 on account of Althoff's politics and person: see *Theodor Mommsen und Friedrich Althoff. Briefwechsel, 1882–1903* (ed. Stefan Rebenich and Gisa Franke; Munich: Oldenbourg, 2012), 279n.758.

6. Report of von Meier to the Ministry of Culture, April 26, 1888, in Hammann, *Hermann Gunkel*, 32; Klatt, *Hermann Gunkel*, 17.

7. Hammann, *Hermann Gunkel*, 33n.89; cf. also 34n.92. Hammann suggests that von Meier may have mostly followed de Lagarde's appraisal; Ritschl may have shown similar skepticism (cf. ibid., 35).

ship, to begin April 1, 1889, to last two years at first, and to be renewed pending adequate research and teaching. In fall semester of 1888/89, Gunkel taught two courses corresponding to his *venia*, in "biblical theology and exegesis." But this first semester would also be his last.

As a sequel to the story, Gunkel went to Halle.[8] In January, 1889, Althoff encouraged the faculty to consider Gunkel a potential successor to Friedrich Baethgen (1849–1905)—as associate professor of Old Testament—since the latter was slated for a full position in Greifswald, after only a year in *Hala Saxonum*.[9] Positive appraisal by Old Testament *ordinarius* Emil Kautzsch (1841–1910) notwithstanding, Halle decided against him. Yet Althoff stayed the course. During the month of March, he proposed to him, in private, habilitation as private docent in Halle—"counsel that was a command," as Hans Schmidt (1877–1953) would later recount.[10] The following month, Gunkel received a replenishable stipend from the Ministry of Culture. Opposing less the person Gunkel and more the process of Althoff, Halle protested that such procedure must proceed according to its prescriptions, which demanded a second published treatise from the candidate within the field of Old Testament. The Ministry did free him from the publication obligation but not the inaugural lecture, despite his own request. In May, he thus delivered a speech entitled "The Eschatological Hope of Judaism in its Connection to Old and New Testament Expectations"—a presentation that won him few friends in the faculty.[11] Gunkel's own hopes and expectations would have to change in Halle.

Under the tutelage of Kautzsch and the requirements of teaching, he gradually transitioned to Old Testament research. Adumbrated in his final year of studies and orations for habilitation (Göttingen, 1888) and then inauguration (Halle, 1889), the subject of Jewish apocalyptic rose again, beginning in 1891, through discussion with Adolf Harnack and reviews arranged for Harnack's *Theologische Literaturzeitung*.[12] Kautzsch also commissioned Gunkel, in 1893, for a commentary on and translation of the pseudepigraphic 4 Esdras (sc., part of 2 Esdras in most English versions, aka Jewish Apocalypse of Ezra) as part of his own *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, though the tome only appeared at the century's turn.[13] In 1889, the publisher Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht—who had printed his licentiate disquisition the previous year—had suggested to Gunkel he compose a commentary on the book of Genesis for its series titled "Handkommentar zum Alten Testament," against initial opposition of the editor, Strasbourg Old Testament *ordinarius* Wilhelm Nowack (1850–1928).[14]

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8. Literature at hammannn, gunkel, 49n.2
9. Hammann misprints the year as 1888 (ibid., 50).
10. Hans Schmidt, "In Memoriam Hermann Gunkel," *Theologische Blätter* 11 (1932): 97–103, at 98.
11. "Die eschatologische Hoffnung des Judentums in ihrem Verhältnis zu alt- und neutestamentlichen Erwartungen": see Hammann, *Hermann Gunkel*, 52–53.
12. Hammann, *Hermann Gunkel*, 105–13; Klatt, *Hermann Gunkel*, 36–40; "Eine neue Flutewell" The reviews comprised Hammann 106n.59 and 107n.62.
13. Gunkel, "Das vierte Buch Esra" in *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, ed. Emil Kautzsch (2 vols.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1898–1900), II:331–401; for editions, see Klatt, *Hermann Gunkel*, 37n.9; Hammann, 105; for the courses he taught, see ibid., 54–55.
14. Cf. Klatt, *Hermann Gunkel*, 51; Hammann, *Hermann Gunkel*, 113–114; cf. Wilhelm Ruprecht, *Väter und Söhne: Zwei Jahrhunderte Buchhändler in einer deutschen Universitätsstadt* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck &

Gunkel promptly rejected the idea but accepted a triennium later, in 1892; since two other projects had pecedence, the volume did not come until the year 1901. In 1894, Gunkel published his now legendary volume *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit: Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen 1 und Ap Joh 12*.[15] This inquiry spanned the entire range of his ultimate oeuvre, from Babylonian through Israelite to Jewish and early Christian texts. Old Testament *extraordinarius* for only a year at Halle, Gunkel then went to Berlin at the start of the following session, 1895–1896, to occupy a comparable position—after a short stay in a psychiatric hospital, that is.[16] Beginning there in Berlin, Gunkel's center of gravity would rest in Old Testament research for the rest of his career, albeit not to the exclusion of other orbits of inquiry.

The Finish at the Start

Like the labors of Julius Wellhausen, many a Bible expert has extolled the work of Gunkel, though their celebrants often differ. In their own respective chronicles of biblical research, Lutheran Old Testament specialist Henning Graf Reventlow lauds, "One could say that Gunkel blazed new paths in every field in which he worked, and in many cases methodologically broke new ground," while the Reformed theologian Hans-Joachim Kraus has eulogized—with words like "epoch-making"—"There is no single aspect of the Old Testament in which Gunkel did not break new paths for proper investigation."[17] Even across the pond, American biblical scholar—and Gunkel-devotee—James Muilenburg once addressed the Society of Biblical Literature and declared with little reluctance, as president, no less, "Gunkel has never been excelled in

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Ruprecht, 1935), 211, though Nowack's first choice goes unmentioned.

15. Dated to 1895, the work began to appear already in 1894, a common practice only emphasized here to stress its association with Gunkel's time in Halle, rather than that in Berlin.

16. For Gunkel's stay, see Klatt, *HermannGunkel*, 81, cf. 84; see also Buss in Kim, *Handbook of Biblical Interpretation*

17. Henning Graf Reventlow, *History of Biblical Interpretation*, Vol. 4 *From the Enlightenment to the Twentieth Century* (trans. Leo G. Perdue; Society of Biblical Literature Resources for Biblical Study 63; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 340 [GO: *Epochen der Bibelauslegung, Band IV: Von der Aufklärung bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Beck, 2001)]; cf. XX–XX above. Reventlow continues, "One must, however, confess that his methodological approach has been almost completely forgotten in the present and overshadowed by a sort of return to Wellhausen in the form of the redaction history school" (ibid.) Göttingen alone, his twice institutional home, reflects the same return. Its present professors of Old Testament Studies, Hermann Spieckermann and Reinhard Kratz, as well as their predecessors, Lothar Perlitt and Rudolf Smend, have all written—at time extensively—on Wellhausen's method and/or biography, whatever their own preferences and practices as scholars of Hebrew Bible. As yet another resurrection of the nineteenth-century world, biblical studies has recently reincarnated a centenarian debate on the Pentateuch's literary composition, an uncanny element to add to Bernard Dionysius Geoghegan's reference to "an age of new media start-ups, corporate consolidation, waning government regulation, incessant textual messaging, and destabilized gender identities—that is to say...the latter half of the nineteenth century" (idem, "The Infrastructural Uncanny: On Spiritualism and the Actuation of Absence," *Critical Inquiry*, forthcoming). Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Geschichte der historisch-kritischen Erforschung des Alten Testaments* (2nd ed.; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969), 341, 342.

his ability to portray the spirit which animated the biblical writers."[18] Yet no matter the topical field, descriptive way, or methodical path, a lodestar guided Gunkel across his academic ventures: namely, "biblical" religion. Any number of inner histories, states of that art, and specialist handbooks have summarized his corpus and synopsized his methods, ofttimes with vital attention to and subtle description of their genesis and growth, which thus need no retelling here.[19] Despite assured evolution and possible disjuncture, a larger continuity underlay such alteration—his transitions hardly so thematically dramatic, temporally distinct, or institutionally marked as those of Wellhausen and yet surely as methodically consistent and conceptually uniform. What distinguished him in the end was already there at the beginning. Elementary forms of mental life remained, no matter the change in subject or scene.

Gunkel's earliest efforts exhibit an intellectual architecture that would manifest itself in the course of his career. Apart from any attempt to espy especial antecedents and insinuate some kind of ineluctability—or hint towards some ascendancy—the same methodological and presuppositional mechanics were operative even before his move to Old Testament professionally and Berlin geographically, regardless of any refinement or adaptation that doubtless did occur. Investigation of his Göttingen requirements, early work on 2 Esdras, and landmark *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* thus demonstrate certain fundamentals in place prior to his academic shift—fundamentals that would foster his fame in the end. Indeed, his foundational assumptions and incipient methodological procedures were not specific to his data. The same objectives, the same methods, and the same priorities emerged when Gunkel was still a would-be New Testament scholar.

I. The Spirit of God, Then & Now

Said conceptual structure first appeared amid his Göttingen qualifications. Gunkel's quaternary thesis, submitted and defended for licentiate proceedings, made a simple declaration: "Introduction to the N[ew] T[estament] is the scholarship of the sources of the apostolic era."[20] With such a proclamation, Gunkel gainsaid a rather

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18. James Muilenburg, "Form Criticism and Beyond" *Journal of Biblical Literature* 88/1 (1969): 1–18 at 2 [repr in Presidential Voices; also in Beyond form Criticism ed. P. House]; cf. also Robert A. Oden, Jr., *The Bible Without Theology: The Theological Tradition and Alternatives to It* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987), 30, 46–47. Gunkel also features as the hero in Ronald E. Clements, *One Hundred Years of Old Testament Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976), esp. 12–16; similar panegyric narratives appear, at least occasionally, in such works as, inter alia, Ernst-Joachim Waschke, ed., *Hermann Gunkel (1862–1932)* (Biblisch-Theologische Studien 141; Neukirchener Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlagsgesellschaft, 2013); Ute E. Eisen and Erhard S. Gerstenberger, eds., *Hermann Gunkel revisited: Literar- und religionsgeschichtliche Studien* (Exegese in unserer Zeit 20; Berlin: LIT, 2010); Douglas A. Knight, *Rediscovering the Traditions of Israel* (3rd ed.; Society of Biblical Literature Studies in Biblical Literature 16; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), esp. 58–59.

19. See n. XXX supra for a sampling of such literature.

20. Klatt has published the theses, translated here (*Hermann Gunkel*, 16n.3):

    1. No psalm from David

long tradition of New Testament research, one almost exclusively devoted to canon with great stress on composition and distinction. He thus pronounced contemporary, non-canonical (though still Christian) materials not only important but even integral. By no mere stroke of happenstance, a cognate declaration rose in Halle two years prior, through the pen of Albert Eichhorn (1856–1926)—an acclaimed if perhaps overvalued figure in the common narrative told both by and about the Göttingen *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*.[21] In his own licentiate theses, Eichhorn had maintained, "Introduction to the New Testament must be the literary history of earliest Christianity [*urchristliche Literaturgeschichte*]."[22] As imprecise as "primitive" or "earliest" may be in this specific instance, a different set of data seems to rest on the horizon.[23] If theolosopher Ernst Troeltsch (1865–1923) would later postulate William Wrede (1859–1906)—eventual questor of the historical Jesus—had brokered Eichhorn's influence upon the Göttingen fellowship, his impact upon Gunkel was certainly more direct. Indeed, Gunkel belonged to a more senior if less self-conscious class of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*—in company with Weiß (defender against and opponent of Gunkel for licentiate proceedings) and in contact with Eichhorn himself—a section not as overt in its break from Ritschl than the subsequent ranks to come.[24]

Stating he went to Halle "still a Wellhausian on the whole," a retrospective Gunkel voiced his gratitude to Eichhorn for aiding in his separation from Wellhausen

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2. Joel is post-exilic

3. A true history underlies Hosea 1–3

4. Introduction to the N[ew] T[estament] is the scholarship of the sources of the apostolic era

5. "Matt 29:19 is no dominical saying" (Harnack)

6. The Synoptic and the Johannine portrait of John the Baptist contradict one another

7. Ἐλισαβετ (Luke 1:2) is a scribal error

8. The doctrine of predestination has its most pronounced form in Paul

9. The Epistle of James is post-Pauline

10. The difference between Paul and James in the doctrine of justification must be understood from their doctrine of law

11. Baptism in extremis is a Catholic institution

12. The CF's [i.e., Formula of Concord's] doctrine of predestination must be understood from the authors' intention to give practical instruction for the Christian homily. This intention is to be understood as thoroughly achieved.

21. On the frequently myopic emphasis on Eichhorn's influence, especially in Greßmann's telling, cf. Friedrich Wilhelm Graf, "Der 'Systematiker' der 'Kleinen Göttinger Fakultät'. Ernst Troeltschs Promotionsthesen und ihr Göttinger Kontext" in *Untersuchungen zur Biographie und Werkgeschichte*, ed. idem and Horst Renz (Troeltsch-Studien 1; 2nd ed.; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1985), 242, 247n.42, 279–80; cf. Klatt, *Hermann Gunkel*, 22–24.

22. Hugo Greßmann, *Albrecht Eichhorn und Die Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1914), 8; E. Barnikol, "Albert Eichhorn (1856–1926): Sein 'Lebenslauf', seine Thesen 1886, seine Abendmahlsthese 1898 und seine Leidensbriefe an seinen Schüler Erich Franz (1913/1919) nebst seinen bekenntnissen über Heilige Geschichte und Evangelium, über Orthodoxie und Liberalismus" *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Unviersität Halle-Wittenberg* 9 (1960): 141–52.

23. Cf. Hammann, *Hermann Gunkel*, 28, 36–37.

24. For exploration of such subdivisions, see Graf, "Der 'Systematiker der 'kleinen Göttinger Fakultät'," 241–42, 279–83; cf. n. 68 above (with Özen).

and Ritschl.[25] Before Gunkel submitted his theses, in 1888, Eichhorn had tendered his own, earned his degree, and, having habilitated, served as private docent in the field of church history—all at the university of Halle.[26] He secured an association post the fall of that same year, in 1888. Though Gunkel would later join him—on account of habilitation transfer—the two were also acquainted in Göttingen. There, Eichhorn had studied before and returned during Gunkel's time at Georgia Augusta. From spring of 1884 till fall of 1885, as Eichhorn prepared the requirements for his Hallensian degree, both men, alongside Wrede, attended lectures by the newly-installed Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1848–1931) on the history of Greek literature and then found further intercourse through the "Academic Theology Association."[27] No extant attestation indicates any direct dependence—literarily—of Gunkel's fourth assertion upon the third of Eichhorn's, yet conceptual affinity in concert with the circumstantiality of chronological priority, geographical location, and certain interchange does suggest Gunkel would have likely known, in the very least, the content of Eichhorn's statements as the latter prepared them in Göttingen. Wrede, too, averred, in his theses advanced in Göttingen, of 1891, "A lexicon for the N[ew] T[estament] only suffices the needs of science when it encompasses, retrogressively, the literature of late Judaism and, progressively, the apostolic fathers."[28] Kindred claims diffused across the cohort.[29] Apart from his *plaidoyer* for an increase in authorized data, Gunkel unveiled other lifelong efforts in his licentiate qualifications.

Above and beyond the theses, his thesis manifested a conceptual machinery already well at work. An expanded version of the treatise, published that same year, in 1888, *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes nach der populären Anschauung der apostolischen Zeit und nach der Lehre des Apostels Paulus: Eine biblisch-theologische Studie* gave prominence to historicality, personality, and experience—accentuated elements across his ultimate oeuvre.[30] Said attention to history first meant derivation. "The task of biblical theology," he proclaimed with little hesitation and with reference to his subtitle, "is to reach a decision, in each and every case, concerning the ancestry (*Herkunft*) of a New Testament idea."[31] Such a premise warranted an open data set. Declaring Judaism the "true womb of the gospel" (*den eigentlichen Mutterschoss des Evangeliums*), Gunkel severed Testaments Old and

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25. Werner Klatt, "Ein Brief von Hermann Gunkel über Albrecht Eichhorn an Hugo Greßmann" *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 66/1 (1969): 1–6, at 5; cf. Greßmann, *Albert Eichhorn und die Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, 5.

26. Gerd Lüdemann and Martin Schröder, *Die Religionsgeschichtliche Schule in Göttingen. Eine Dokumentation* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987), 63, 66; Friedrich Volbehr and Richard Weyl, *Professoren und Dozenten der Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, 1665–1915* (Kiel: Schmidt & Klaunig, 1916), 17–18; Greßmann, *Albert Eichhorn und die Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, 5–7.

27. Lüdemann and Schröder, *Die Religionsgeschichtliche Schule in Göttingen*, 33, 35; Hammann, *Hermann Gunkel*, 23, 25–27

28. Horst Renz, "Thesen zur Erlangung der theologischen Lizentiatenwürde an der Georg-August-Universität zu Göttingen 1888–1893" in *Untersuchungen zur Biographie und Werkgeschichte*, 291–305, at 301.

29. See Graf, "Der 'Systematiker der 'kleinen Göttinger Fakultät.'"

30. Cf. n. 2 above. For the sake of convenience, I use the English translation, unless otherwise noted.

31. Gunkel, *Influences of the Spirit*, 13 [my translation from Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes*, 4], cf. also ibid., 75n.1.

New.[32] More pointedly, he pronounced, "It is a grave error in method, which must result in a mass of misconceptions, to attempt to derive Paul's sphere of ideas or even his usage directly from the Old Testament and consequently to ignore the apostle's origin in Judaism."[33] For New Testament assessment, he went backwards and forwards alike. Whereas apocryphal literature underwent ample analysis, early Christian writings dating through the second century submitted to analysis, too, which created a a span of several centuries.[34] Good historian that he was, Gunkel also discerned initial incident and subsequent narration.[35] The pursuit of genealogy enjoyed the pride of place.

Beyond the diachronic dimension, with its stress on line of descent, Gunkel's historical inquiry encompassed synchronic appraisal as well, an assessment of more immediate context.[36] On the monograph's very first page, the author plainly stated, "For it cannot be disputed that even Paul's position at this point in his teaching can be properly understood and evaluated only when we first consider the ideas available to the apostle within Christian circles."[37] The title said it all: "according to the popular conception of the apostolic era and according to the teaching of the apostle Paul." The thrust of the work placed the man amid his contemporaries, Gunkel's ultimate aim to demonstrate Paul's distinction. Already here in his earliest opus emerges an accent on extended genealogy and specific, local setting—a dyad adumbrating Gunkel's subsequent insistence, apparent in polemics from a programmatic essay of his, "Our cardinal conviction of history is that we are not in the position to understand a person, a time, or a concept apart from their prehistory but that we can only speak of a true, living understanding once we know history in its formation. Historical understanding is understanding from historical context."[38] In addition to the mode, the aim was clear as well.

As for his ambition, Gunkel sought experience. The study of contextual and genealogical history—or synchronic and diachronic, respectively—essayed a fuller comprehension of the world behind ideas. One phenomenon in particular then occupied his interest: encounters with the spirit. Gunkel strove to contrast "the dogmatic concept of 'Spirit'" with "a livelier picture of the πνεῦμα," a distinction he hoped to draw through meticulous analysis of which precise phenomena the earliest of Christians had deemed to be pneumatic and how such occurrences then connected to the spirit. With this specific operation, he hoped "to define the concept of an activity of the Spirit and thus that of the Spirit himself," which should "show the relation between the Spirit

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32. Ibid., 13 [my translation from Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes*, 4; cf. ET "the real matrix of the gospel"]

33. Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 76 [GO: *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes*, 63].

34. Gunkel mentions Ignatius and the Didache: *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes*, 28–29; cf. the passage index as well, which first appeared in the second edition, of 1899.

35. Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 22, cf. 26; see also his introduction to the second release, 5, 8.

36. So also Klatt, *Hermann Gunkel*, 31.

37. Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 9 [GO: *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes*, 1].

38. Gunkel, *Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments,* 10–11. For discussion of this conflict, see Paul Michael Kurtz, "Waiting at Nemi: Wellhausen, Gunkel, and the World Behind Their Work," *Harvard Theological Review*, forthcoming 2016.

and similar concepts."[39] Introducing the second release, the man himself would summarize, "The real task of my little work was to ascertain the symptoms by which an 'effect' of the Spirit was recognized.... It was thus my concern not to describe individual pneumatic phenomena but to set forth what was common to them all and thus the typically pneumatic."[40] Hence, Werner Klatt surmises "Dogma, teaching, definition is secondary, experience is primary."[41] The search for lived experience, contra dogma or teaching, may have launched his exploration, yet an *a priori* object helped him organize his data—after it had governed which data to vet from the start.

Overt historical inquiry notwithstanding, Gunkel did not fully free himself from systematics. *Prima facie*, he diverged from more dogmatic ventures insofar as his exploration yielded greater sensitivity to context and diversity in similar yet separable phenomena, which then disrupted any one-to-one equivalence of conceptions past and present.[42] *Secunda facie*, however, he still traced a single idea—*scilicet*, "the spirit"—and deployed this ostensibly non-etic, non-typological category to encompass variable phenomena on the assumption of (genetic) affinity. "[I]n the matter of the Spirit's activities," he wrote at the very outset, "we have to do with an ancient Hebrew or perhaps primitive Semitic conception that had undergone only slight changes in the apostolic age"; furthermore, "[t]his primitive Christian view of the Spirit was also held in the post-apostolic period, and it persisted in many circles far into the second century."[43] If Gunkel relied on language to link the spirit and glossolalia (πνεῦμα in New Testament, התנבא in the Old, and μάντις in Chrysostom), he deployed glossolalia's "symptoms" to connect the spirit with prophecy, revelation, and ecstasy.[44] "But we are clearly in the right when we use just this gift [i.e., glossolalia] to establish the symptoms of the Spirit's activity," he maintained, "since it must have been widely regarded as the spiritual gift par excellence."[45] A equaled B, his transitive logic went, so any overlap between B and C suggested C evinced A as well. Any number of "workings" could correspond to his rather simple definition of spirit: "the supernatural power of God which works miracles in and through the person."[46] To couple events with the spirit, Gunkel thus used different ties. This method was a pierless bridge, however.

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39. Ibid., 9.

40. Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 2; cf. 91n.29, also n.2 supra. He continued, "I had also realized that the task first of all is not to produce a New Testament doctrine of the Spirit but rather to describe the specific experience of the pneumatic" (ibid.).

41. Klatt, *Hermann Gunkel*, 31; cf. also Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 75n.1. Gunkel offered a similar appraisal of Paul: "to Paul's mind the practical question was primary and the theory throwing light on it was secondary" (ibid., 86).

42. In fact, the second printing's prologue included direct opposition to "the modernizings of exegetes who, without historical reflection and influenced by rationalism, know nothing of the 'effects' of the πνεῦμα and render 'Spirit' a pure abstraction" (ibid., 2).

43. Ibid., 13, 38, cf. also, e.g., 44, 59 , 64, 92. He later qualified however, "something related to Old Testament ideas appears in pre-Christian, Hellenistic Judaism, whether or not it is to be traced to ethnic influence. And here again it is clear that this view of the Spirit could also be understood by the Hellenes of that period" (ibid., 48, cf. also 31, 44). For Gunkel, the distinction between Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism proved essential: cf., e.g., 76, 63, 123–24, see also n. 94 below.

44. Ibid, 30–38.

45. Ibid., 31.

46. Ibid, 35, cf. 58–59, 64, 79.

In consequence, Gunkel wrote the history of a (rather Christian) idea. Akin to some Lovejoyan "unit-theme" or Hegelian "philosopheme," his analysis of the spirit ultimately produced what Quentin Skinner might call a "reification of doctrines," doctrine here not being theological dogma but an essentialized, reified idea.[47] Without employing the language of morphology, Gunkel tried to trace the transmutation of a concept—assessed through its effects—even as he sought to differentiate that concept from standard systematic inquiries and, further, defamiliarize it for a modern "rationalized" age.[48] Gunkel's search for symptoms in the apostolic age both represented and wrote small a cardinal belief of his: multiple manifestations of a single entity, the phenomena of a noumena. All the more apparent across his later labors, absolutized, neoplatonic forms transcended borders geographic and temporal.[49] He hence stopped short of full historicization. Even further still, Gunkel may have launched a strict empirical project to establish understanding in the early Christian collective, but he actually confirmed an understanding all his own: the apostolic age entailed the apostolic view. A seemingly open program showed a marked exclusiveness. Indeed, his account of Judaism betrayed such disregard.

In Gunkel's search for experience, not everyone's counted the same.[50] For all his inclusion of Jewish sources, he was no Judeophile. If he resisted the Ritschlian impulse to exclude Jews from Christian history, he shared a Wellhausian bias, to some degree, in the assessment of Jewish lit.[51] Gunkel was dismissive of the rabbis, averse to Flavius Josephus, tepid toward the apocrypha, gullible with the gospels, and servile to other Christian writings. He mistrusted rabbinic sources (Talmud, Midrash, and Targum) on grounds of chronology, even as he implemented talmudic lamentation to affirm a lack of prophets in the Second Temple period.[52] Though a "deceiver" and "charlatan" "who saved his miserable life with trumped-up prophecies," the "Romanophile" Josephus helped Gunkel back his claims on Jewish history once in a while as well.[53] Christian founts he may have found refreshing, but Jewish sources were often al too brackish for his taste. Inconsistent criteria emerged at two important points: John the Baptist and Revelation.

As the historeologian argued, or, better yet, averred, "Since the end of the Persian era, Judaism no longer possessed gifts of the Spirit," John the Baptist being "the first since the Persian era to appear in Judea as a prophet and therefore in possession

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47. Quentin Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas," *History and Theory* 8/1 (1969): 3–53, at 11; cf. also, e.g., Donald R. Kelley, "What is Happening to the History of Ideas?" *Journal of the History of Ideas* 51/1 (1990): 3–25; idem, "Horizons of Intellectual History: Retrospect, Circumspect, Prospect," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 48/1 (1987): 143–69.

48. Cf. Gunkel's critique of Wendt on the distinction between "spirt" and "power" (*The Influence of the Spirit*, 92).

49. See Paul Michael Kurtz, "Axes of Inquiry: The Problem of Form and Time in Wellhausen and Gunkel," *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* (2015):

50. NOTE ON SECOND EDITION AND HIS DESIRE TO INCORPORATE MORE RELGIONSGESCHICHTE

51. Cf. Susannah Heschel, *Abraham Geiger and the Jewish Jesus*, 123, 210–13.

52. Gunkel, *The Influence of the Spirit*, 17, 67, 70, 123–24.

53. Ibid., 47, 53, 63, 67n.109, 69–70.

of the Spirit"—at least "to the extent that our sources allow us to judge."[54] Said gifts did not disappear completely, but in the world of Judaism, such "appearances of the Spirit" were long "in full retreat."[55] Gunkel may have deemed it "completely absurd...to deny Judaism any vital religiosity," yet he starkly differentiated the spirit's manifestation in Israel's olden days from its subsequent privation among the later Jews, who had an ersatz "zeal" instead.[56] "[W]e must conceive the time of Christ as most highly aroused in a religious sense," he conceded," but it still did not have the Spirit!"[57] In fact, he believed its re-emergence left "a powerful impression" on "a Judaism bereft of the spirit."[58] The modest number of Jewish converts among the earliest of Christians then confirmed, in his account, "how strong the antiprophetic and thus antievangelical tendency in Jesus' time was, a tendency later culminating in the Talmud."[59] With John the Baptist, though, the spirit then returned.

Considering he proffered no pretenstions of his own, Gunkel needed to avail himself of other attestations to prove the man a prophet, twice removed thereby. Based on the Baptist's conception narrative and statements by the crowd as well as Jesus "the Lord himself"—all reported in the gospels—he declared with rather firm conviction that John "surely claimed to possess the Spirit."[60] "That he has the Spirit lies in the nature of the case," so contended Gunkel, "he appears as προφήτης. He could only do so if the word of God had come to him..., only if he were convinced he spoke through the Spirit."[61] In other words, John received the word of God, so he must have been a prophet, and since he was a prophet, then he must have had the spirit. Although Gunkel did trust certain sources advancing claims about a man who reportedly made none of them himself, he then mistrusted others although they did entail some similar assertions promoted by the figures in question.

Jewish prophetic pretensions stumbled on a different standard. When even the gospel of John reports, the high priest "prophesied," Gunkel undercut the claim as "popular Jewish belief."[62] Strictly Jewish sources fared hardly any better. Josephus did attribute augury to high priest Hyrcanus, but Gunkel reported the case with a shade of

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54. Ibid., 67, 69, cf. 70–71. For a brief overview of this contention's long legacy in biblical scholarship, see John R. Levison, "Philo's Personal Experience and the Persistence of Prophecy," in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism*, ed. Michael H. Floyd and Robert D. Haak (LHB/OTS 427; London: T&T Clark International, 2006), 194–209, at 194–95.

55. Ibid., 67.

56. Ibid., 69.

57. Ibid., 69.

58. Ibid., 70, cf. also 46–48.

59. Ibid., 71.

60. Ibid., 69.

61. Ibid., 69. At this point, Gunkel provides a footnote to qualify a statement from Bernhard Weiß: "But the historical judgment can only be that he [John the Baptist] claimed to be a prophet. Whether or not he really was cannot be decided by the historian. This judgment is correct only to the extent that John is the only one among the later Jewish prophets to be recognized by Christians after the pattern of their Master" (ibid.)

62. Ibid., 70. Gunkel stresses the Targum Jonathan equating the "Holy Spirit" the "Spirit of Prophecy" (ibid., 46).

skepticism, by way of indirect speech.[63] The same mistrust then sullied Josephus' description of prediction among Essenes, a mark both self-proclaimed and putative.[64] True, Gunkel admitted the presence of prophets at the time of Jewish revolts and the siege of Jerusalem—"however ruinous for their people the appearance of these prophets might have been"—but he emphasized Roman authority as the impetus and stressed the sequence as important: "So far as we know," he concluded, "during Jesus' time and in the first two decades of the apostolic age, activities of the Spirit in Judaism could only be identified in highly scattered instances."[65] They were scattered all the more once he rejected other data.

Gunkel aired no nuance in his treatment of the Talmud. Evidently, he read none of the texts himself but had them brokered by a bizarrely dogmatized theology of early Jewish thought, entitled *System der altsynagogalen palästinischen Theologie aus Targum, Midrasch und Talmud* and composed by devoted missionary to the Jews Ferdinand Wilhelm Weber (1836–1879).[66] According to Gunkel, via Weber, "Jewish opinion" held the sages (חכמים) received the spirit—a belief he declared "widespread among Pharisees at the time of Christ" yet "most unlikely" still.[67] Adducing Christian scriptures, the Christorian in Gunkel considered this conviction "a lamentable presumption" since "a pneumatic preaches very differently from the scribes," and pronounced, even further, "truly, miracles of the Spirit do not arise out of sober study of the Law."[68] The talmudic text itself actually indicates Hillel, Samuel the Little, and Judah ben Bava were all worthy of the *shekhinah* but their respective generations then precluded its descent (BT Sanhedrin 11a). Conceptually distinct yet functionally similar, the *shekhinah* and *ru'aḥ ha-kodesh* both represent the presence of the divine—the former manifestation, the latter inspiration.[69] His own attraction to prophecy and dependence on Weber's anthology led him, first, to neglect any number of other statements asserting the

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63. Ibid., 69–70. For a study of Josephus' conception of prophecy, see Louis H. Feldman, "Prophets and Prophecy in Josephus" in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism*, ed. Michael H. Floyd and Robert D. Haak (LHB/OTS 427; London: T&T Clark International, 2006), 210–39.

64. Ibid.

65. Gunkel, *The Influence of the Spirit*, 70.

66. Ferdinand Weber, *System der altsynagogalen palästinischen Theologie aus Targum, Midrasch und Talmud* (1st ed.; Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke, 1880), posthumously edited by Franz Delitzsch and Georg Schnedermann; he also availed himself of the Christian Franco-German Guilleaume Baldensperger's *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu im Lichte der messianischen Hoffnungen seiner Zeit* (Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1888) (Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 67). Hermann Lichtenberger has described the tome by Weber as "a sort of Rabbinic theology presented according to the agenda of a Lutheran handbook of dogmatics" ("Response to 'Why Study the Extra-Canonical Literature? A Historical and Theological Essay'" in *George W.E. Nickelsburg in Perspective: An Ongoing Dialogue of Learning*, Vol 2 (ed. Jacob Neusner & Alan J. Avery-Peck; Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 8; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 714–20, at 717. On Weber, see „Weber, Ferdinand Wilhelm" von Carl Gustav Adolf Siegfried in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, herausgegeben von der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Band 41 (1896), S. 290–29.

67. Gunkel, *The Influence of the Spirit*, 70.

68. Ibid., 70.

69. See "Shekhinah" in *Jewish Encyclopedia* 14: 1350–52; "Ru'aḥ ha-Kodesh" in *Jewish Encyclopedia* 14:364–64; "Bat Kol" in *Jewish Encyclopedia* 4:324–25.

shekhinah's abidance among the general population as well as on especial figures and, second, to stress the Talmud's claim of a deficiency in prophets—"When the last of the prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, died, the Holy Spirit ceased" (BT Yoma 9b)—while ignoring other demonstrations of the *ru'aḥ ha-kodesh* apart from prophetic inspiration. In short, Gunkel overlooked manifold divine appearances (*shekhinah*) as well as other charismatic, though non-prophetic, figures (*ru'aḥ ha-kodesh*)—if he even looked a tall.

Certainly, Gunkel's reliance on a Christian dogmatization of early Jewish sources was not specific to him. The pedigreed Jewish philologist Felix Perles (1874–1933) would criticize Weber's volume as "the main armory of rabbinic knowledge for those critics and condemners of Late Judaism who do not know the sources."[70] Later on, Harvard historian of religion (and Presbyterian minister) George Foot Moore (1851–1931) would challenge, "The fundamental criticism to be made of Weber's 'System' is precisely that it is a system of theology, not an ancient Jewish system but a modern German system." Still, Gunkel would have scorned the use of one lone Christian dogmatic theology—be it Catholic or even Lutheran—as the definitive sourcebook for early Christian enclaves, especially one assembled by a proselytizing Jew. When he chastised Hans Hinrich Wendt (1853–1928)—the Ritschlian systematician who served as primary interlocutor and proxy to strike the master—for not consulting Judaism, the critique lost some effect.[71] Further force then vanished as the charge succeeded his own straightforward declaration, "No proof is needed that in such matters the New Testament authors simply follow Jewish views." Moreover, the philological failure to handle such material in its original language and with regard to its textual history would have passed muster not at all, either, were the object Christian history.

Such conflation of conceptions and nescience of material allowed Gunkel to dethrone Judaism and enthrone Christian distinction. "In the New Testament age all Christians are generally regarded as filled with the Spirit," he argued, "This is the characteristic difference between the New Testament and ancient Israel as well as Judaism, which recognize possession of the Spirit only on the part of individuals, and hope for a general outpouring."[72] In the same way, he insisted, "Judaism distinguished itself from ancient Israel and from the Christian community by the fact that it produced no or, stated more cautiously, only very few pneumatic phenomena. In essence, then, we are compelled to construct analogies to New Testament ideas from the Old Testament."[73] Sometimes, he encountered troublesome tensions between Old and New Testaments, which he resolved through Judaism; other times, he confronted difficulties between Judaism and the New Testament, which he reconciled through the

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70. Perles, *Bousset's Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (Berlin: Peiser, 1903), 5. Perles also pronounced it "far away from offering a critical portrayal of the religious conceptions of the talmudic period" and found it "suffers most of all from the fundamental error of wanting to find a system precisely where no such system exists or was ever even intended" (ibid.). On this critique of Christian writers, see 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), 161–63.

71. Gunkel, *Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 61n.96, cf. 13 as well.

72. Gunkel, *The Influence of the Spirit*, 42, see also 46, 48, 69; cf. Klatt, *Hermann Gunkel*, 32n.19.

73. Ibid., 21.

Old. The goal was continuity—but only insofar as Christianity could be special. Inconsistent standards came with another John as well, the supposed author of Revelation.[74]

Gunkel ascribed a Christian character to the Apocalypse. In his early discussion of sources, he ratified the book of Revelation "even in the event it should be a 'Christian revision of a Jewish exemplar,'" positing a clear "Christian orientation and supplementation" in parts at the very least.[75] Quoted though uncited, Harnack made this claim.[76] In doing so, however, he invoked son of Basel historian and Giessen theology student Eberhard Vischer's (1865–1946) essay *Die Offenbarung Johannis: Eine jüdische Apokalypse in christlicher Bearbeitung,* a treatise published in Harnack's series, issued with an afterword by Harnack himself, and inspired, at least in part, by Harnack's own work on Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.[77] The noted church historian saw apocalyptic literature as Jewish lit *au fond*, even if the ancient Christians could—and did—adapt these works for purposes of their own.[78] "Impregnated with new elements borrowed from an ethico-religious philosophy, as well as with Babylonian and Persian myths," this genre ultimately threatened to obscure the gospel truth with phantasmagoria as the Christian community received this tradition, among others.[79] In direct though passing opposition, Gunkel denied disunity in Revelation based on the dual bestowal of spirit, Vischer having argued for a Christian introduction, inter alia, affixed to a Jewish apocalypse.[80] The Apocalypse, for Gunkel, was a markedly Christian one. Still, he ranked apocalyptic as the lesser in a pair.

In matters of the spirit, he juxtaposed Old Testament prophecy with Jewish apocalyptic—a contrast that created a revelation all its own, i.e., inconsistent criteria. For all his many efforts to fracture Ritschlian cementation of the Testaments Old and New with the wedge of Jewish sources, Gunkel himself employed the prophetic fixative to bond the Old Testament to the New. He viewed the Christian Apocalypse far less Jewish apocalyptic than Old Testament prophetic. Gunkel faulted the former for its pseudepigraphic nature. In apocalyptic literature, authors "must borrow the authority needed by a prophetic writing from an ancient man of God, clearly because they did not dare to claim the possession of the Spirit and demand faith in it"—a deferment

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74. George Foot Moore, "Christian Writers on Judaism," *Harvard Theological Review* 14/3 (1921): 197–254, at 229.

75. Gunkel, *Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 12.

76. Adolf Harnack, *History of Dogma*, trans. Neil Buchanan (from 3rd ed.), 7 vols. (Theological Translation Library; Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1896–1905), I:100n.2.. [GO: *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (3 vols.; Sammlung Theologischer Lehrbücher 1; Freiburg: Mohr [Siebeck], 1886–90), I:87n.2].

77. Ibid. (Harnack miscites the issue as 4, rather than 3, however); Eberhard Vischer, *Die Offenbarung Johannis: Eine jüdische Apokalypse in christlicher Bearbeitung* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 2/3; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1886). Vischer cites the work of Harnack at ibid., 6n.2.

78. Ibid., I:100n.2.

79. Ibid., 100–01, cf. also 102, 105.

80. Gunkel, *The Influence of the Spirit*., 43. Gunkel quoted Vischer without providing the page (i.e., *Die Offenbarung Johannis,* 77); see Vischer's summarizing appendix, his reconstruction of Revelation in its Jewish and Christian portions.

that all but admitted "they have lost the Spirit" and confirmed coeval assertions of absent prophets and revelations.[81] Pseudepigraphic ascription thus clashed with the prophets of old, "who were absolutely certain of their inspiration!"[82] Even more, in *apocalyptica*, not the spirit but intermediaries delivered divine revelation.[83] To fortify this position of spiritual want among the Jews, he accentuated Ezekiel had already received revelation by mediation: an angel interposed. Yet the criteria of immediacy and authorship did not pertain to each apocalypse: the New Testament's was special.

The book of Revelation was not *seconde et secondaire*. "How different again the Apocalypse of John (or its Christian editor)!" assured the Christian Gunkel. "Here the author is expressly named, because he may assume his book will be believed for the sake of his person."[84] *Pace* noted New Testament scholar and successor to Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792–1860) Karl Heinrich Weizsäcker (1822–1899), Gunkel footnotedly rejected Revelation as even possibly pseudepigraphic, insisting the figure of John was either author or editor, as held church tradition.[85] "In such form the New Testament Apocalypse conforms to the Old Testament prophets," he raved.[86] "Jewish apocalyptic, on the other hand, conforms to the later pseudo-apostolic prophets," he rued—"a marked example of the change in the times."[87] As with the problem of authors, the problem of mediation was really none at all. Revelation's opening line may claim Christ disclosed the vision through an angel he had sent, yet this twofold intercession engendered little trouble for Gunkel. In fact, he mustered the assertion to affirm, for the "New Testament age," "Activities of the Spirit occur only through Christ to Christians."[88] Be it in spite or because of either author or intervener, the book of Revelation never did come into doubt. As apocalyptic sample, it was most exceptional.

Far more than two distinct genres—or phenomena, perhaps—apocalyptic and prophecy bore genetic correlation. Yet genealogy came with judgment. In a hinge point of a passage, he found a common need in early Christianity and ancient Judaism "to grasp the object of religious faith with the understanding but at the same time to conceive them vividly with the imagination."[89] Here the road forked, however. Though "originally nothing but the natural expression of religious thought," these vivid conceptions could become an end in themselves, proliferating into "the object of pseudo-theological reflection."[90] "Prophecy thus becomes apocalyptic," he submitted,

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81. Ibid., 68.

82. Ibid., 68.

83. Ibid., 68.

84. Ibid., 68.

85. Ibid., 68, cf. also, e.g., 24–25. Gunkel could diverge from other respected authorities, Adolf Harnack, for example (ibid., 35n.40).

86. Ibid., 68.

87. Ibid., 68.

88. Ibid., 40–41, cf. also 42, 48, 57.

89. Ibid., 65.

90. Ibid.

"in which the traditional ornamentation overshadows the simple, uncluttered truths it was originally supposed to illustrate."[91] In a sense, apocalyptic was corruption.

At this point, Gunkel cited Harnack. The page, precisely noted, appraised apocalyptic fancy and arrived at the conclusion, "It was an evil inheritance which the Christians took over from the Jews, an inheritance which makes it impossible to reproduce with certainty the eschatological sayings of Jesus."[92] In fact, Harnack judged such influence ambiguous at best. Christian communities "naturalised and legitimised" "a wealth of mythologies and poetic ideas" in their reception of apocalyptic literature alongside "artificial exegesis and Haggada."[93] An eventual committee member for the Prussian Academy of Science's edition of church fathers, along with Wilamowitz, Harnack—who would exert considerable academic effort to sterilize Christian history and doctrine—opined even further, "The Jewish speculations about Angels and Mediators, which at the time of Christ grew very luxuriantly among the Scribes [earlier he wrote "Rabbis"] and Apocalyptists, and endangered the purity and vitality of the Old Testament idea of God, were also very important for the development of Christian doctrines."[94] Gunkel found strains of Judaism quite dangerous as well.

An overactive imagination, one potential product of a "naive realism" shared by Christianity and Judaism, could dissolve historical consciousness altogether. In the words of the man himself, "life viewed in the sensuous-supersensual terms can stifle the sense for factuality given in the past and present and render it useless for practical activity in the world. The Judaism of the Christian period was often subject to these dangers, which were frequently wont to threaten the Christian communities."[95] True to his lifelong Christian narrative, Gunkel drew a contrast in the course of these religions. "But an imaginative view as such is not fantastic," he reassured before rejoicing, "Prophecy is not the same as apocalyptic. And this realism in early Christian views is glorious not only because it often contains a wonderful poetry but also and especially because it reveals the unshaken certainty of religious faith during the youth of Chris-

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91. Ibid.

92. Adolf Harnack, *History of Dogma*, trans. Neil Buchanan (from 3rd ed.), 7 vols. (Theological Translation Library; Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1896–1905), I:101. [GO: *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (3 vols.; Sammlung Theologischer Lehrbücher 1; Freiburg: Mohr [Siebeck], 1886–90), II:88]. In the third edition of the volume (1894), he would qualify, "These ideas, however, encircled the earliest Christendom as with a wall of fire, and preserved it from a too early contact with the world" (ibid., 101n.3; cf. the German third edition, 97n.3). The version Gunkel used did not have this footnote, however.

93. Ibid., 102.

94. Ibid., 103n.2. Alongside such mediators, Harnack held conceptions of "heavenly Archetypes" and "pre-existence" primarily "exhibit the Oriental stamp" rather than "Hellenistic influence" (ibid.); cf. n. 43 above. On Harnack's involvement in the church fathers edition, see Stefan Rebenich, *Theodor Mommsen und Adolf Harnack: Wissenschaft und Politik im Berlin des ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997); Martin Hose, "'...und Pflicht geht vor Neigung'. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff und das Leiden am Großbetrieb der Wissenschaft," in ed. Annette M. Baertschi and Colin G. King, *Die modernen Väter der Antike: Die Entwicklung der Altertumswissenschaften an Akademie und Universität im Berlin des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 445–80, atXXX–XXX.

95. Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 65, cf. also 55, 74, 85–90.

tianity—and in a fashion that may put many of us to shame."[96] If Gunkel disrupted literatures apocalyptic and prophetic, he aligned the latter with a specific eschatology.

Gunkel split and spliced Jewish and Christian history. He disjointed continuity between the Jews and Israelites and realigned the prophets with the earliest of Christians. As Klatt concludes, again, "From the very beginning, Gunkel believed apocalyptic—and not rabbinic—Judaism represented the link between the O[ld] T[estament] and N[ew] T[estament]."[97] Yet the link was far from neutral. The inclusion of (but one strand of) Judaism was no mere classless affair. Gunkel embraced apocalyptic out of historical necessity: he hoped to bridge the Testaments. At the volume's very beginning, even as he stylized Judaism "the true womb of the gospel," Gunkel patently stated, "The gospel possessed by the earliest community is a fresh sprout from the old, all-but-withered root of Old Testament prophecy."[98] Prophets and spirit alike were lacking among the Jews. Furthermore, Judaism in general (both Hellenistic and Palestinian) and apocalyptic in particular proved rather pessimistic.[99] In Gunkel's estimation, spiritual gifts gave the early Christians an eschatological hope, which provided them assurance of their faith and in their mission to the Jews. "The horizon of the earliest community was in essence eschatological," he wrote, "A new aeon is approaching in which God reigns, an aeon promised by the prophets."[100] He saw apocalyptic less as vase than vessel. In this sense, Jewish apocalyptic had an historical, or genealogical, significance, but it wanted for spiritual import or authority. Jews may have been inheritors, but they were certainly no successors.

Crucially, the allure of experience spirited Gunkel to a most specific kind: the the sensual and irrational. "[I]n a naiveté not yet troubled by reflection," when fancy could still run free, and "[un]able to conceive the Spirit in total abstraction as a power without a material substrate," Israelites saw the spirit as material in nature.[101] This conceptualization, however, constituted not only reality but also facility: they simply had no faculty for higher cogitation. Like the ancient Israelites, so also the Jews thought in terms of substance, as did those who became Christian.[102] Hence, the Pentecost narrative, too, betrayed "a quite naive and sensuous view of the Spirit."[103] In the early Christian era, the spirit "was more than a concept, an abstraction," for "[o]nly where the Spirit is nothing more than the object of a dogmatic or religious-philosophical theory...does the vivid notion yield to the abstract concept."[104] Only "Hellenic culture" would create the possibility for an immaterial understanding of the spirit.[105] He thus divided East and West as well as past and present, i.e., Palestinian and Hellenistic

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96. Ibid., cf. also 103.

97. Klatt, *Hermann Gunkel*, 36.

98. Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 11–12.

99. Ibid., 124.

100. Ibid., 71; see also 63n.101, 81, 84.

101. Ibid., 61. Gunkel still stressed the supernaturality as the most important quality, however (ibid., 64).

102. Ibid., 63–64; cf. also 47–48.

103. Ibid., 64.

104. Ibid., 66, 61.

105. Ibid., 63, cf. 45–48, 101.

Judaisms and ancient and modern thought: "Paul was no child of the Enlightenment," he stressed.[106] For Gunkel, the spirit's principal property was its supernaturality.[107]

In fact, he even indulged in the spirit's irrationality. Gunkel eschewed association with any kind of consciousness, purposiveness, or ethics ("moralo-religiosity"). Apparent insufficiency or even inconsistency in "rational reflection" on the nature of the spirit posed rather little problem in the early Christian era, for "a person did not so much reflect upon as live in the Spirit."[108] Instead of conscious meditation,

> the apostolic age recognizes certain phenomena that manifest a power which "fills" a person, that is, which so completely possesses a person that he often becomes its all but unwilling instrument. They are occurrences that seem to defy every explanation by natural powers inherent in man; and precisely because they cannot be derived from the world or from human nature, they are regarded as being of divine origin, as activities of the Spirit.[109]

The spirit grasped the human, not the other way around. Being "enigmatic and mighty," its effects engendered "fear mixed with astonishment and hence horror."[110] In his accounting, then, such encounters with the spirit were less reverie than revelry.[111] The spirit explained the inexplicable. A matter of "cause and effect" instead of "means and ends," "[b]elief in the Spirit is not for the purpose of grasping God's plan for the world but for the purpose of explaining the presence of certain, above all explicable, phenomena by means of the transcendent."[112] Any subsequent, Schleiermachian interpretation notwithstanding, these supernatural encounters had no apparent purpose: "the consciousness of a special divine purpose did not belong to the symptoms of an activity of the Spirit," Gunkel plainly stated.[113] Nor did the spirit have much to do with morality. As he further defamiliarized, "how little of piety and morality must have inhered in the pervasive manifestations of the Spirit," pressing, even further, "Righteous conduct has nothing to do with the Spirit."[114] Ancient Israel and early Judaism did have a moral dimension, but it did not come from the spirit, at least primarily.[115] Gunkel deprived the spirit of ethics and doctrine alike.[116]

With his indecorous restoration of the sensual, supernatural, and irrational, Gunkel brazenly defied liberal theology's grand tradition of deterging biblical texts

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106. Ibid., 125; see further esp. 59–66, cf. also 14, 29, 35, 92n.31, 115n.82.

107. See esp. ibid., 64.

108. Ibid., 34–35.

109. Ibid., 32; cf. also 31, 33–34, 93–94. Following Weizsäcker, however, Gunkel differentiated the pneumatic from the ecstatic: whereas the spirit operated unintelligibly to consciousness in the first, in the second the spirit penetrated consciousness completely (ibid., 35n40, cf. 93–94).

110. Ibid., 39, cf. 89. Gunkel contended not only the production but also interpretation of scripture constituted a mysterious, pneumatic affair (cf. esp. ibid., 37).

111. Accordingly, in Corinth, "such wild confusion prevailed in the gatherings that Paul had to emphasize the need for proper order" (ibid., 86).

112. Ibid., 32–33, see 31–35 more broadly, cf. also 23.

113. Ibid., 25–26, see 21–30 more generally, cf. also 22, 29, 86, 87.

114. Ibid., 19, 21, cf. 99.

115. See ibid., 16–21, cf. also 50, 97–98, 102, 108.

116. Cf. also ibid., 13–15.

and cleansing Christian history—these dimensions rather disreputable for a modern bourgeois Christianity.[117] To state "the concept of the Spirit originally has nothing to do with that of the community," to cast the kingdom of God as "an act of God's supernatural power," and to find in holy scripture "absolutely no doctrinal statements regarding the Spirit" was to contravene an entire generation of theologians devoted to sanitation and modernization.[118] Yet he did converge on another important front.

Alongside history and experience, Gunkel's disquisition showed another fascination: the pursuit of inspired persons. He first affirmed coherence between popular views and Paul. Accordingly, Gunkel saw quite clearly "that Paul had a most vivid view of the πνεῦμα, which he daily felt at work within him, that he assigned to the Spirit the same activities as did the communities near him, and that he thus perceived the Spirit by the same symptoms and evaluated them just as they did."[119] Said cohesion comprised the belief in a supernatural (divine) power along with the (human) heart as the locus of that power's working. From a common conceptual stone he cast Paul in stark relief. In fact, Gunkel organized the tome to heighten Paul's originality. Structure underlined argument. Although the English version ranks "Related Concepts" as a third and separate section, the German original only marshals two—"The Popular Views" and "The Teaching of Paul"—with the third a nondescript appendage.[120] Such arrangement drew attention to what was common to early Christians and then peculiar to Paul. The apostle's particular genius, at least in the telling of Gunkel, emerged in his ethical concept of spiritual gifts and a democratized view of the Christian life.

Gunkel credited Paul with a distinct assessment of the spirit. Not only did Paul consider the spirit as proof of the truth of the gospel—a conviction he shared with other early Christians—but he even tied it to eschatology. "It is only Paul," he praised, "who infers from a present possession of the Spirit that the Spirit will bring about eternal life."[121] Next, the apostle had a spiritual lion to tame. Given the outbreak of gifts, "such wild confusion prevailed in the gatherings that Paul had to emphasize the need for proper order."[122] This disorder in worship matched another one as well, a lack of order in values.[123] These unrestrained Christians in Corinth disputed the relative worth of gifts, for "the community lacked consciousness of the purpose, and therefore a proper criterion for evaluating the charismata."[124] To right the wrong, Paul the apostle posited community as benchmark, assigning divine intent to edification and ascribing ethics to such action.[125] Gunkel therefore closed his argument, "It was Paul's service, alongside his lofty and inspiring view of the 'community as the body of Christ,' to have furnished solid criterion by which gifts of the Spirit could be judged and evalu-

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117. Cf., e.g., ibid., 92n.31.

118. Ibid., 41, 72, 14, cf. 81–85, see also 113–14.

119. Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 79, cf. also 81, 88, 91, 95–96, 116n.84.

120. Cf. the tables of contents for *The Influence of the Holy Spirit* and *Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes*.

121. Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 83–84.

122. Ibid., 86.

123. Ibid., 85

124. Ibid., 86.

125. Ibid., esp. 87, 89.

ated by that moment on."[126] In Gunkel's own assessment, if such departure raised "him to a dizzying height above common opinion, this is even more the case at still another point."[127] The greatness of Paul continued.

The apostle expanded the scope of the spirit as well. In consequence, Paul appraised the putative gifts of the spirit yet reckoned more among more. He saw it working in a flood of ("Christian") functions otherwise deemed quite natural—that is, unsupernatural.[128] In fact, Paul saw the Christian life in its entirety as contingent on the spirit—a diffusion Gunkel deemed "a totally different, infinitely higher evaluation of Christian conduct."[129] If the apostle deemed the Christian life and thus the Christian pneumatic, the historian deemed this transfer "one of Paul's most ingenious and truly pneumatic conceptions."[130] Rather than operate from without, however, this supernatural power actually possessed the individual, "taking hold of the person himself and altering his entire way of life."[131] Gunkel' description of Paul's description bordered on the brutal: "The power that rules the Christian is absolutely superhuman; it is originally foreign to the ego and thus not at all a universal capacity, and it rules over him so absolutely that it does not allow him to carry out his will at all."[132] The spirit distended into every possible domain. Furthermore, Gunkel emphasized more than once the spirit came only post faith—but come it did indeed, causing rupture with the past, whether Jewish or nullifidian.[133] "Between the Christian's life now and his Jewish or heathen past," concluded the young licentiate," there is no psychological means of building a span or of explaining the later from the earlier. Christian existence comes into being through a break, through the intervention of something supernatural, something new, that is, through the intervention of the Spirit of God."[134] As a result, the Christian life proved "absolutely inconceivable" to anyone outside.[135] For Gunkel, as for Harnack, it was therefore "a miracle of God."[136]

He hence promoted Paul above the early Christians—and, of course, the Jews. Surely, he did call attention to the apostle's place in Judaism. Recalling Karl Holsten

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126. Ibid., 90, cf. also 112.

127. Ibid., 91.

128. Ibid., cf. also 108, 110, 111. Shortly thereafter, he summarized, "Spirit is the divine, supernatural power, and when Paul asserts that the entire conduct of the Christian is an activity of God's Spirit, he is saying that there is a power manifest in the Christian life which is divine, that is, absolutely supernatural, and which can never be explained by human powers or by this aeon" (ibid., 93).

129. Ibid., 96. Juxtaposing the two, Gunkel wrote, "The community thus regards pneumatic what is extraordinary in Christian existence, but Paul what is usual; the community what is individual and unique, but Paul what is common to all; the community what is isolated in Christian existence, but Paul the Christian life as such" (ibid.)

130. Ibid.

131. Ibid., 93.

132. Ibid., 93–94. On the question of possession—and who possesses whom—cf. esp. 31, 42, 44, 51–52, 68–69, 82.

133. Ibid., 91, 94.

134. Ibid., 95.

135. Ibid., 94.

136. Ibid., 96.

(1825–1897), New Testament professor and Tübingen School accomplice, Gunkel argued the only question concerning Paul's own worldview was "whether it is dependent on Palestinian or Hellenistic Judaism."[137] The former Saul of Tarsus was not too Jewish, though. Established commonality helped lift him all the higher. One by one, Gunkel freed him of his intellectual debts to both Old Testament and Judaism, Hellenistic and Palestinian alike. Writing again against Wrendt, he famously declared, "The theology of the great apostle is the expression of his experience, not of his reading [of the Old Testament]."[138] This great promoter of prophets could even rhapsodize, "Paul stands incomparably higher."[139] Though the Berliner heavyweight and anti-Ritschlian Otto Pfleiderer (1839–1908) saw experience as the source of Paul's conceptual current, he also found a wellspring in Hellenistic Judaism. For Gunkel, however, the half was more than the whole. "Paul believes in the divine spirit because he has experienced it," he challenged. "The apocryphal book speculates concerning wisdom and combines it with the totally faded concept of the Spirit of God as taken from the tradition"—which ultimately meant "all the statements of The Wisdom of Solomon and of Paul, as similar as they may appear, have an entirely different meaning."[140] Judaism of the Palestinian variety proved equally petty in impact. After rapid evaluation of the literature, he judged the apostle's teaching on the spirit to be "totally independent even of such certainly widespread Jewish opinion."[141] A now forgotten New Testament scholar, Johannes Gloël (1857–1891), may have affirmed Paul's "inner independence" and even ascribed it to experience, but he also proposed Jesus and other apostles accredited ethics to the spirit's effects.[142] Gunkel would have none of this "attack," either. Originality was essential—as was its place of origin.

Indeed, he belabored Paul's encounters as the impetus of thought. "Pneumatic to an exceptionally high degree," the apostle certainly had the capacity for "rational reflection," but he also submitted himself to "revelations and impulses from the Spir-

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137. *Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes*, 63 (my rendering); cf. also nn. 43, 94 above. The English translation seems to add a third alternative, "The question can only be, Is Paul dependent on Palestinian or Hellenistic Judaism or is he not?" (*The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 76). On Holsten's place in—or rather at the periphery of—the Tübingen School, see Ulrich Köpf, "Die theologischen Tübinger Schulen" in ed. idem, *Historisch-kritische Geschichtsbetrachtung: Ferdinand Christian Baur und seine Schüler, 8. Blaubeurer Symposium* (Contubernium 40; Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1994), 9–52, at 31–33; see also Johannes Wischmeyer, "Universalismus als Tendenz und Entwicklungsmoment. Die Frage nach Markus und Paulus in der historisch-kritischen Geschichtsschreibung des Urchristentums von 1850 bis 1910" in ed. idem, David C. Sim, and Ian J. Elmer, *Paul and Mark: Comparative Essays, Part I: Two Authors at the Beginnings of Christianity* (BZNW 198; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 19–42, at 33–35.

138. Ibid., 100.

139. Ibid., 98.

140. Ibid., 100. "If it were true that we could find no explanation for Paul's doctrine of the Spirit," he conceded, "we might still assume that he took up the concept of wisdom as developed by Jewish-Hellenistic speculation and gave it such an altogether different stamp.... But since we can adequately explain his view of the Spirit from that of early Christianity, nothing compels us to this assumption" (ibid., 101).

141. Ibid., 103.

142. On Gloël, see the entry in *Die Professoren und Dozenten der Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen, 1743–1960, Teil 1: Theologische Fakultät, Juristische Fakultät*, ed. Renate Wittern (Erlanger Forschungen, Sonderreihe 5; Erlangen: Universitätsverbund, 1993), 25.

it."[143] According to Gunkel's study, the apostle formed his own conception of charismata and only then formulated guiding principles for the community in Corinth: "to Paul's mind the practical question was primary and the theory throwing light on it secondary."[144] Yet the historian had to move in the opposite direction, from textualized thought to lived perspective. In programmatic terms, he specified, "it is not merely the task of New Testament theology to transmit correctly and in topical sequence the available utterances of the New Testament authors. The theologian's far more difficult and attractive duty is to understand these [New Testament] authors from out of their own views and experiences."[145] Gunkel judged this operation all the more vital for Paul, "whose primary concern is not at all theoretical and dialectic but rather practical and religious."[146] Analysis alone could not yield understanding. Concepts entailed "very concrete views and deep inner experiences in which we must imitate (*nachempfinden*) the apostle in order to understand his dogmatic statements."[147] As Gunkel would only come to emphasize even more in his career, proper interpretation demanded identity with object: in this case, inspired personage.

If he kept the ancients ancient, even primitive, he then turned Paul into a perfectly modern Protestant. The apostle therefore bridged the cleavage between ancient and modern that Gunkel himself had hewn. Accordingly, Paul affirmed the import of experience, the precedence of faith before spirit, the primacy of practice over doctrine, and the priority of ethics for the Christian community. Exploring his later labors, Klatt queries innovation, whether Gunkel's "discovery" of experience or ecstasy actually led to a new conception of prophecy or remained within a romantic, rationalistic, and liberal line of interpretation:

> romantic because it introduces the category of the mysterious into the conception of revelation by way of ecstasy; rational because it then still seeks to understand this mystery psychologically; finally liberal because its primary interest is unidirectionally set on the religiosity and morality of prophetic persons and their proclamation, despite an exegetical recognition of the important function of prophetic augury.[148]

Gunkel the Göttingen licentiate may have insisted on genealogy and context, included Jewish sources, and even delved into the sensual and irrational, but for better or worse, he was not nearly so radical or maverick as some might like to suggest—at least at this early stage. If he bent or broke the mold in some respects, he largely stayed within it nonetheless. Gunkel did not entirely escape the preferences and priorities of his forbears, nor did he abandon the theoretical and methodological apparatus present at the

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143. Gunkel, *Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 77, 78, cf. also 95.

144. Ibid., 86.

145. Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, 75.

146. Ibid., 76.

147. Ibid., 75

148. Klatt, *Hermann Gunkel*, 207, cf. 34–35; cf. Karsten Lehmkühler, *Kultus und Theologie: Dogmatik und Exegese in der religionsgeschichtlichen Schule* (Forschungen zur systematischen und ökumenischen Theologie 76; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 190n. 51. In an 1892 review, Gunkel conceded, "It is nevertheless indubitable that we moderns search for psychological explanations where our fathers uncritically believed in miracles" (review of bender 157)

start. His stress on history and sources, experience and personality would endure his entire life. His toils in 2 Esdras revealed much of the same machinery.

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The focal points of discussion: What could be the possible reasons to the Genesis translator's lexical choice of κατανοέω ('beautiful to contemplate') in rendering שׂכל *('desirable to make one wise')? Is it possible to trace the LXX translator's Tendenz, if so how?*

The LXX's use of κατανοῆσαι in Gen. 3.6: Eve's gaze at the fruit that was 'beautiful to contemplate'

Although the translator of the Greek Genesis made great effort in his translation to produce the precise representations of his Hebrew *Vorlage*, evidence suggests that the Greek translation of Genesis is not a straightforward rendering of the Hebrew text. The translator, at times, seeks to make the best choice of what would be the closest to the original meaning and context, rather than operating under a strict and mechanical set of rules. The translator deviates from his source text, using translation devices for clarification of the text such as harmonization of parallel passages and further, in a few instances, the translator takes external exegetical traditions into account in order to explain his source text.[1] Yet, despite number of stylistic and interpretive changes in the Greek Genesis, the general consensus remains, that there exists a close relation between the original Hebrew *Vorlage* and the Greek translation.[2]

Likewise, although Genesis 3 is also marked by a close lexical and syntactical relationship to the Hebrew, it has translational features where the translator of the Greek Genesis seems to deviate from the apparent straightforward rendering of the Hebrew, one of which is Gen. 3.6.[3] Gen. 3.6 describes Adam and Eve partaking from the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, and it reveals what motivated Eve to eat of the fruit. There are three parts to the motivation. The Masoretic Text (MT) and the Septuagint (LXX) agree on the first two aspects that it was 'good for food' (כִּי טוֹב הָעֵץ לְמַאֲכָל/καλὸν τὸ ξύλο εἰς βρῶσιν) and 'pleasing

[1] For the discussion of harmonization tendencies in the Greek Genesis, see Ronald S. Hendel, *The text of Genesis 1-11: textual studies and critical edition* (New York ; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 81-92, Johann Cook, "The Exegesis of the Greek Genesis," in *VI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Jerusalem 1986* (ed. Cox; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 91-125. See also, Robert J. V. Hiebert, "The Hermeneutics of Translation in the Septuagint of Genesis," in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures* (eds. Kraus and Wooden; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 85-103, for his study on possible influence of Jewish halakah on the Greek translator.

[2] Johann Cook's study on the translation technique of the Greek Genesis shows that there was one translator for the book and that the translator is consistent and literal throughout in rendering his Hebrew *Vorlage.* Cook, "The Exegesis of the Greek Genesis," 120. Hiebert also notes that Greek Genesis, lexically and syntactically, is a strict translation that represents its source text. Benjamin G. Wright and Albert Pietersma, *A new English translation of the Septuagint : and the other Greek translations traditionally included under that title* (Oxford Oxford University Press, 2007), 1. Hendel also, maintains that the inconsistencies in the Greek are, the result of literal translations of a different Hebrew *Vorlage*, rather than deliberate interpretations. Wevers argues that the translators were likely influenced by the fact that they were working on a canonical text. John William Wevers, *Notes on the Greek text of Genesis* (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1993), xii. Marguerite Harl also regards Greek Genesis as a literal translation of the Hebrew text that was given to the translator. Marguerite Harl, *La Bible d'Alexandrie. 1, 1* (Paris: Éd. du Cerf, 2010), 107.

[3] Wevers, Wevers, *Notes on the Greek text of Genesis*, 36-50.

to the eye' (כִּי תַאֲוָה־הוּא לָעֵינַיִם/ἀρεστὸν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς),[4] but the third aspect is open to discussion. The third description of the tree in the MT reads וְנֶחְמָד הָעֵץ לְהַשְׂכִּיל ('desirable to make one wise'), while the LXX renders it as ὡραῖόν ἐστιν τοῦ κατανοῆσαι. Prominent Septuagint scholars and lexica differ in understanding the meaning of the Greek verb κατανοέω used in Gen. 3.6.[5]

This paper focuses on this lexical choice of the Greek verb κατανοέω in Gen. 3.6 and attempts to analyze the usage and meaning of the verb in the LXX, and make a preliminary step to answering the question why the translator chose to use the word κατανοέω to render the Hebrew verb שׂכל. The findings of the paper will suggest that the likely meaning of the verb κατανοέω in Gen. 3.6 is 'beautiful to look at/contemplate,' for which the following cases will be presented throughout the paper: 1) the translators have used the verb κατανοέω in association with the verbs that have primary meaning related to sight (ὁράω and βλέπω), and 2) the sensory organ 'eye' (ὀφθαλμός) that performs the act of seeing is frequently linked together with the verb κατανοέω. This associative pattern occurs in the form of hendiadys, synonyms and often with an additional word (not evident in other ancient witnesses) that puts emphasis on the visual sense and meaning of the main verb. Examining the entire usage of the word in Genesis, Pentateuch and the subsequent books of the LXX would be a first step towards the understanding the translator and the problematic word he used in Gen. 3.6.

The question of *Vorlage* must be asked before any decision about a translator's lexical choice is made. It is possible that the translator may have had a *Vorlage* that was different from the MT. If the source text was different for the translator of Genesis, נחמד לראות ('desirable to look at')[6] could be considered as a plausible substitute for reconstruction of the *Vorlage*, perhaps without the subject הָעֵץ ('tree') as it is missing in the LXX and Vulg. However, we do not have enough textual evidence to conjecture a different Hebrew variant for the Greek verb κατανοῆσαι in Gen. 3.6. Unfortunately, there is no DSS witness for this verse. Vulg.'s *aspectu* ('look/gaze on/at') and Syr.'s ܠܡܚܙܐ ('to look/behold/gaze') for the Hebrew verb השׂכיל ('to make one wise') do not represent independent textual witnesses. These translations have close affinities with the LXX and the scholarly consensus is that their agreement with the LXX against the MT is not to be understood as two separate witnesses.

Different interpretations have been proposed for the translation of the verb κατανοῆσαι in Gen. 3.6. Marguerite Harl argues that it is better to see κατανοῆσαι to have the meaning related to intellectual knowledge/perception based on Philo's interpretation of the passage:

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[4] The LXX has ἰδεῖν ('to look') at the end of the second phrase which is lacking in the MT.

[5] LEH glosses to κατανοέω for its primary meaning as 'to understand, to comprehend.' However, besides Gen. 3.6 the possible witness to this meaning in the LXX is only attested in Jdt. 8.14 which can also be argued that its usage could also denote an action related to 'seeing,' see pp.10-11 below. The primary meaning of κατανοέω in LSJ is listed as 'observe well, understand, apprehend.' Takamitsu Muraoka takes κατανοέω in all cases to mean 'to observe closely, to find out about' except in the case of Jdt. 8.14 which he takes as 'to comprehend.' T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain; Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2009), 378. Hatch-Redpath relates κατανοέω with בין (hitpolel 'to examine/look closely' - 4 times), חזה ('to see'- once), נבט ('to see' – 8 times), ראה ('to see' – 8 times), these are all verbs of 'sight' yet only once it is used to render the verb שׂכל (to make wise/be wise) in Gen 3:6.

[6] The third element for the description of the tree in Gen. 3.6 that is, 'desirable to make one wise' (וְנֶחְמָד הָעֵץ לְהַשְׂכִּיל)/ 'beautiful to look at' (ὡραῖόν ἐστιν τοῦ κατανοῆσαι) is reminiscent of the description of all the trees that God made in general 'every tree that is desirable to the sight' (כָּל־עֵץ נֶחְמָד לְמַרְאֶה)/ 'beautiful to the sight' (ὡραῖόν ἐστιν τοῦ κατανοῆσαι) and the rest of the creation that he created: 'And God saw (εἶδεν)…that it was good (καλόν).'

> It is said that in olden time the venomous earthborn crawling thing could send forth a man's voice, and that one day it approached the wife of the first man and upbraided her for her irresoluteness and excessive scrupulosity in delaying and hesitating to pluck a fruit most beauteous to behold and most luscious to taste, and most useful into the bargain, since by its means she would have power to recognize things good and evil.[7]

Hence she translates the third phrase in Gen. 3.6 as 'favorable pour comprendre.'[8] Similarly, Susan Brayford affirms Harl's position concerning Gen. 3.6 and writes: 'the woman associates "ripeness" (ὡραῖόν) with "understanding" (κατανοῆσαι)… what the woman sees attractive about the tree is not its ability to make her like gods, but its readiness to give her understanding or comprehension.'[9]

But Harl and Brayford's interpretation does not provide adequate explanations to two apparent questions: 1) why did the LXX translator choose κατανοέω in translating שׂכל, whose translational equivalent is either συνίημι or νοέω?[10] And 2) why in all the other occurrences of κατανοέω in the LXX and NT is its meaning generally attributed to the sight. In fact, Harl herself and other authors of the volumes of *La Bible D'Alexandrie*, Alain Le Boulluec, Pierre Sandevoir and Gilles Dorival, translate all other occurrences of κατανοέω in the Pentateuch as 'to observe' (observer, Gen. 42.9; Num. 32.8,9), 'to look' (regarder, Exod. 19.21; 33.8) or 'to observe/notice' (constater, Exod. 2.11). I suppose that both Harl and Brayford, as well as the major LXX lexicons, rely much on the presumed meaning of the corresponding Hebrew word שׂכל rather than considering the range of meanings contexts of the word within the LXX.[11] Although Philo does say that the woman wanted the fruit of the Tree with the desire to be able to distinguish between good and evil (*Opif.* 156), there is no evidence that he derived this information from the word κατανοέω. Rather it is more likely that he is repeating the general description of the Tree made at the beginning of the story as 'the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil.' Moreover, Harl's interpretation is not supported neither by Philo's use of κατανοέω nor his understanding of Eve and women in general. In fact, Philo himself does not use κατανοέω in the sense of intellectual perception. κατανοέω appears twice in Philo's works. In *Mos.* 1.158, Philo uses κατανοέω to clearly denote the perception by sight: τὰ ἀθέατα φύσει θνητῇ κατανοῶν ('he beheld what is hidden from the sight of mortal nature').[12] It is apparent

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[7] Philo, *OPIF*. 156: λέγεται τὸ παλαιὸν τὸ ἰοβόλον καὶ γηγενὲς ἑρπετὸν [ὄφις] ἀνθρώπου φωνὴν προΐεσθαι, καί ποτε προσελθὸν τῇ τοῦ πρώτου φύντος ἀνδρὸς γυναικὶ τῆς βραδυτῆτος καὶ τῆς ἄγαν εὐλαβείας ὀνειδίσαι, διότι μέλλει καὶ ὑπερτίθεται πάγκαλον ὀφθῆναι καὶ ἥδιστον ἀπολαυσθῆναι καρπὸν δρέπεσθαι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὠφελιμώτατον, ᾧ δυνήσεται γνωρίζειν ἀγαθά τε αὖ καὶ κακά.

[8] '*Et la femme vit que l'arbre était bon comme nourriture, plaisant à voir au regard et favorable pour comprendre*' ('And the woman saw that theww tree was good for food, pleasing for eyes to look and desirable to be wise/understand'). Harl, *La Bible d'Alexandrie. 1, 1*, 107.

[9] Susan A. Brayford, *Genesis* (Leiden, The Netherlands; Boston: Brill, 2007), 238.

[10] The Hebrew verb שׂכל is found three times in the Pentateuch (Gen. 3.6; Deut. 29.8; 32.29) all in hiphil form with the meaning and context related to 'intelligence/wisdom.' Two out of the three times, in Deut. 29.8 and 32.29, שׂכל is rendered by συνίημι which in both cases is used to denote the meaning related to 'intelligence/wisdom.'

[11] See Emmanuel Tov, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible*,, for his discussion on the limitations of the available LXX lexical tools. He asserts that the lexicons, in many places, have derived the meaning of LXX word from the meaning of its Hebrew *Vorlage*. Emanuel Tov, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999), 97–98.

[12] Cf. 1 Sam 16.7.

that he uses the verb κατανοέω interchangeably with the other sight-related verb ἐπιτρέπω ('to look upon') to express the identical phrase in *Ebr. 136:* τούτῳ γὰρ ἐπιτέτραπται δι᾽ ἔτους ἅπαξ εἰσιόντι ἐπισκοπεῖν τὰ ἀθέατα ἄλλοις ('To him it is permitted to enter…and behold the sights which are forbidden to others'). The other occurrence of κατανοέω is in *Ebr.* 137: κατανοῶν καὶ καταπληττόμενος αὐτῆς τὸ θεοειδέστατον κάλλος ('beholding with ecstasy its most divine loveliness,' lit. perceive and be astonished at the God-like beauty'). J. Behm sees that the meaning of κατανοέω in this particular case falls under the category of 'to consider,' 'to ponder,' 'to come to know,' 'to grasp,' and 'to understand.'[13] However, one cannot draw a clear distinction between visual and intellectual perception from its context. This is evident in Charles D. Yonge's translation of the phrase. Yonge elaborates the meaning of κατανοέω by adding an additional element, translating it as 'perceiving and comprehending.'[14] Thus, the meaning of κατανοέω in this particular case could also be equally understood in the context that the 'perceiving' (κατανοέω) yields the astonishment or admiration for 'the God-like beauty.' In fact, the verb ὁράω ('to see') is frequently paired with the verbs καταπλήσσω and φοβέω ('to fear') in the LXX.[15] Other examples of similar usage of κατανοέω with slightly different phrasing are found in a number of passages. Job responds to his friends: 'I could not see (ὄψομαι) God' (Job 23.8)…'I will be dismayed at his 'presence' (lit. face), and when I will observe (κατανοήσω), I will be terrified (πτοηθήσομαι) of him' (Job 23.15). The writer's act of observing results in the fear of God. Similarly, the prophet Habakkuk reports: 'I *observed* (κατενόησα) your works and was *astonished* (ἐξέστην)' (3.2). Here the writer's act of observing God's work results in astonishment. Similarly, in Acts 7.31-32 of the NT, the author uses both ὁράω and κατανοέω to express the same concept referring back to an incident in the OT: 'when Moses saw (ἰδὼν) it, he marveled at the sight; and as he approached to look (κατανοῆσαι) more closely'…'Moses shook with fear and would not venture to look (κατανοῆσαι).' These instances show that the Philo's use of κατανοέω in *Ebr*. 137 may also denote 'seeing' in the context of sight rather than 'to understand.' Furthermore, a broad examination of Philo's works reveals his strong bias towards women concerning their lack of ability to perceive or desire anything higher than what is physical. He says, 'For in human beings the mind occupies the rank of the man, and the sensations that of the woman.'[16]

John W. Wevers, proposes an alternate meaning of κατανοῆσαι in Gen 3.6 as 'to

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[13] J. Behm, "κατανοέω," *TDNT* 4: 974.

[14] Philo and Charles Duke Yonge, *The works of Philo: complete and unabridged* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Pub., 1993), 219.

[15] The alliteration of the Hebrew ראה ('to see') and ירא ('to fear') is lost in the Greek. Cf. Gen .42.35; Exod. 14.13; Deut. 28.10; 1 Kgdms. 3.15; 3 Kgdms. 3.28; Is. 8.12; Ps. 52.8; Dan. 1.10.

[16] Philo, *OPIF*. 165. Charles Duke Yonge and Philo, *The works of Philo: complete and unabridged* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Pub., 1993), 23. Similarly, he says in (*QG* 1.46): 'woman is accustomed rather to be deceived than to devise anything of importance out of her own head.' *ibid*., 798, 800. Annewies van den Hoek summarizes Philo's view of women verses men as, "Women are the hallmark for Philo of everything undesirable: pleasure, wickedness, defilement, corruption, unsteadiness, multiplicity, irrationality, lack of understanding and good sense, inferiority, passivity, weakness, and mortality. Not surprisingly, the male side consists of more laudable components: virtue, fairness, purity, incorruptibility, firmness, unity, reason, understanding, superiority, activity, strength, and immortality." Hoek, "Endowed with Reason or Glued to the Senses" in Gerard P. Luttikhuizen, *The creation of man and woman : interpretations of the biblical narratives in Jewish and Christian traditions* (3; Leiden ; Boston, MA: Brill, 2000), 73-74. See Dorothy I. Sly, *Philo's perception of women* (no 209; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1990), 73-74.; also Genevieve Lloyd, *The man of reason : 'male' and 'female' in Western philosophy* (London: Routledge, 1993), 25.

consider, contemplate.'[17] Wevers' translation of κατανοέω is more consistent and corresponds more closely with the translator(s)' use of κατανοέω in the rest of the Pentateuch. Wevers translates all the occurrences of κατανοέω in the Pentateuch as 'to look at something intently': κατανοῆσαι in Gen. 42.9 as 'to examine carefully, take a close look at,'[18] κατανοήσας in Exod. 2.11 as 'to observe,'[19] κατανοῆσαι of Exod. 19.21 as 'to take a good look,'[20] κατενοοῦν of Exod. 33.8 as 'to pay attention,' and κατενόησαν in Num. 32.8 and 32.9 as 'to examine closely.'[21] Yet, he does not conduct an in-depth study of the word κατανοέω, which may provide helpful evidence to answering the question that naturally arises in reading the text – Why does the translator of Greek Genesis render שׂכל as κατανοέω?

FROM שׂכל TO κατανοέω

There is no difficulty in understanding the meaning of the verb השׂכיל in Gen. 3.6 as 'to make one wise' or 'to become wise.'[22] Its forty-four out of the seventy-four occurrences in the MT carries a meaning related to 'intelligence/ wisdom' all occurring in the hiphil stem, such as 'to understand,' 'to act wisely' and 'to instruct.'[23] The DSS also attest the verb in hiphil with the meaning 'to instruct, teach.'[24] In the case of Pentateuch, the two other occurrences[25] of שׂכל in Deut. 29.8 and 32.29 are rendered by its standard equivalent συνίημι ('to understand').

The Greek word κατανοέω ('to look/observe') is etymologically related to the root of

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[17] Wevers, *Notes on the Greek text of Genesis*, 39.

[18] *Ibid*., 707.

[19] John William Wevers, *Notes on the Greek text of Exodus* (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1990), 17.

[20] *Ibid*., 305.

[21] John William Wevers, *Notes on the Greek text of Numbers* (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1998), 531.

[22] Wilhelm Gesenius, in contrast to others, lists 'to look, to behold' as one of the meanings of שׂכל in hiphil. He gives Gen. 3.6 as a biblical reference for this meaning. The verb שָׂכַל may have a possible connection with Arab. شَكْلٌ (*šaklun) meaning* 'figure, likeness' and Chaldaic סְכַל ('to look/observe'). Wilhelm Gesenius and Samuel Prideaux Tregelles, *Gesenius' Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament Scriptures* (Bellingham, WA: Logos Bible Software, 2003), 790. E. A Speiser, taking השׂכיל as intransitive, suggests that the causative sense of the hiphil form need not be applied here. Either way, there is no effect on meaning. E. A. Speiser, *Genesis: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (vol. 1; Anchor Yale Bible; New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2008), 23–24.

[23] The context of Genesis 3.6 also calls for such meaning. There are three observations made by Eve concerning the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge. First two observations of the fruit – 'good for food' and 'pleasing to the eye' - are discernable by herself, in fact it is written in 2.9 that all the trees that God made were 'pleasing to the eye and good for food.' But the last observation, 'desirable to make one wise,' is based on the external information provided to Eve. Eve had two sources of information concerning the Tree – one by God (2.17) and the other by the serpent (3.4-5). God called the tree as 'Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil' and warned that if they eat the fruit they would die; while the serpent claimed that they will not die, but the eyes will be opened and be like God. By seeing the meaning of השׂכיל in the context of 'understanding,' the link between Gen. 3.5 and 3.6 becomes intensified. The serpent promises Eve in 3.5 that the fruit would make her like God knowing good and evil, Eve then supposes that such knowledge is that of intellectual nature, and concludes that the tree's fruit would be desirable to make her wise reflecting the promise in v.5. Even if השׂכיל was to be understood as the alternate meaning of 'to be successful/prosper,' when looking at the context of the story, it would be understood in the sense that success is made possible by distinguishing between good and evil. But 'to make one wise' is the most plausible meaning of השׂכיל in 3.6.

[24] 1QH 9.16 and 1QS 4.22.

[25] Gen. 3.6, Deut. 29.8 and 32.29. (Seventy-seven occurrences in the entire Hebrew Bible).

another cognate, Greek word, νοέω, which means 'to direct one's mind to a subject.'[26] Whereas the basic sense of the substantive form νοῦς '(inner) sense directed on an object, 'capacity for intellectual apprehension'[27] is generally restricted to the intellectual perception,[28] the verb νοέω had a broader meaning in older Greek, namely, 'to perceive,' 'to notice' in the sense of both visual and intellectual perception.[29] However, its meaning in Greek philosophy became restricted to 'to think,' 'to have understanding' only in the sense of intellectual perception and lost its sense of visual perception. Thus, νοέω in the LXX is generally used to render בין, (along with συνίημι and γινώσκω) or שׂכל (with συνίημι).[30] However, the earlier meaning of νοέω ('to perceive/see' with the senses), as I am going to argue, has been emphasized and retained in every usage of the word κατανοέω within the LXX. This argument is further supported by the word's usage in the NT. In its fourteen occurrences, the NT authors use the word to denote a perception in the visual sense.[31]

In the following section, all the twenty-seven occurrences of the Greek verb κατανοέω in the LXX will be discussed. It would be helpful to look first to its usage within the first five books, the Pentateuch. The verb κατανοέω appears seven times in the Pentateuch and two in Genesis.[32] The verb κατανοέω is used in all cases to translate the Hebrew verb ראה ('to see') and once נבט ('to look'). Only in the case of Gen. 3.6, 'to make one wise' (שׂכל) is rendered by κατανοέω.[33] It is noteworthy that the two same and consecutive Hebrew verbs 'to see' (ראה) in Exod. 2.11 are rendered by κατανοέω and ὁράω, as if the translator treated the verbs as synonyms:[34] 'Moses went out to his brothers, the sons of Israel, and he

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[26] J. Behm, "κατανοέω," *TDNT* 4:948-949.

[27] See R. S. P. Beekes and Lucien van Beek, *Etymological dictionary of Greek* (2vols.; vol. 1; Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2010), 1023, Hjalmar Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (3vols.; vol. 2; Heidelberg,: C. Winter, 1960-1972), 322.

[28] In the LXX, it is used six times to render לב (Exod. 7.23; Jos. 14.7; Job 7.17; Is. 10.7, 12; 41.22 - as opposed to its normal equivalent καρδία), and once for רוח (Is. 40.13).

[29] See Homer, *Iliad* 15, 422: ἐνόησεν ἀνεψιὸν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ('when his eyes *saw* his cousin'); Hesiodus, *Theogonia* 838: ὀξὺ νόησε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε ('the father of men and gods been quick to *perceive* it').

[30] Cf. Prov. 8.5; 16.23; Je. 10.21; 20.21 and others. In Prov. 28.5, νοέω and συνίημι are treated as synonyms as the translator uses both verbs to translate the same Hebrew verb בין: 'Evil men will not understand (νοήσουσιν) judgment: but they that seek the Lord will understand (συνήσουσιν) everything.'

[31] Matt 7.3, Luke 6.41: 'why do you look (βλέπεις) at the speck that is in your brother's eye but do not notice (κατανοεῖς) the log in your own eye'; Luke 12.24: 'look at/consider (Κατανοήσατε) the ravens'; 12.27: 'look at/consider (Κατανοήσατε) the lilies'; 20.23: 'he saw through (Κατανοήσας) their trickery; Acts 7.31: when Moses saw (ἰδὼν) it, he marveled at the sight; and as he approached to look (κατανοῆσαι) more closely'; 7.32: 'Moses shook with fear and would not venture to look (κατανοῆσαι)'; Acts 11.6: 'I looked (ἀτενίσας) into it and saw (κατενόουν) four-footed animals'; Acts 27.39: 'they saw (κατενόουν) a bay with a beach'; Rom 4.19: without becoming weak in faith he considered/contemplated(κατενόησεν) his own body'; Heb. 3.1: 'consider/look at (κατανοήσατε) Jesus'; 10.24: 'let us consider/observe (κατανοῶμεν) one another to stimulate love and good deeds' Jas. 1.23,24: 'he is like a man who looks (κατανοοῦντι) at his face in a mirror; for once he has looked at (κατενόησεν) himself.'

[32] Notably, a physical object of the 'seeing' is always present with the verb. Although the presence of a physical object does not necessarily restrict the meaning of the word to sense perception only, it nevertheless does not exclude the process of 'seeing' through sight. Visual perception precedes intellectual perception it in the mental level. See Appendix.

[33] The Hebrew verbs ראה meaning 'to see' occurs three hundread-ninty-six times in the Pentateuch and one hundred-forty-one times in the Genesis. The standard equivalent in the LXX of ראה is either ὁράω or βλέπω. Out of the three hundread-ninty-six occurences of the word ראה in the Pentateuch, the translators have chosen κατανοέω translate ראה six times and נבט once.

[34] Note that six times out of the fourteen occurrences of κατανοέω in the NT, κατανοέω is used as a

looked (κατανοήσας) on their toil, and he *saw* (ὁρᾷ) an Egyptian beating some Hebrew.' The description of Moses' looking at his surroundings continues with two more occurrences of ὁράω and one περιβλέπω ('to gaze around') in vv. 12-13: 'Now when he [Moses] *looked around* (περιβλεψάμενος)…he *saw* (ὁρᾷ) no one…he *saw* (ὁρᾷ) two Hebrew men fighting.' The subtle differences in meaning between these synonyms (ὁράω, κατανοέω and βλέπω), occurring in successive verses, become even more blurred. Note also, in Deut. 26.7, the translator uses the verb ὁράω ('to see') instead of κατανοέω in referring back to the suffering of the Israelites in Egypt: 'The Lord listened to our voice and *saw* (εἶδεν) our humiliation and our toil and our oppression' (Deut. 26.7).

In a similar manner, the translator of Exodus choses κατανοέω and ὁράω to translate people's watching (נבט and ראה) over 'Moses' and 'the pillar of cloud' as they stand by the tabernacle (Exod. 33:8, 10). Note that the additional verb in Exod. 33.8, σκοπεύοντες ('to watch closely') which is lacking in the MT, is used as a synonym of κατανοέω, describing people's observation of Moses: 'all the people stood watching (σκοπεύοντες)… and gazed (κατενοοῦν) after Moses.'

A common contextual pattern is also noticeable among the usage of the verb κατανοέω in the Pentateuch. The meaning of the infinitive κατανοῆσαι intended by the translator in Gen. 42.9 is undoubtedly 'to look' in the manner of visual perception. But more precisely, it appears in the context of 'seeing' or 'observing' an object closely and critically. When Joseph, the grand vizier of Egypt accuses his brothers of spying, he says: 'You are spies! you have come to *look* (κατανοῆσαι) at the undefended parts (lit. tracks) of our land.' Such an act of scrutinizing the undefended parts of the land requires a careful and critical observation. The Greek word 'tracks' (τὰ ἴχνη) is a rendering of the Hebrew word 'nakedness' (עֶרְוָה). In Hebrew, עֶרְוָה is something that should be hidden from seeing (ὁράω), not understanding.[35] Three verses later, in Gen. 42.12, the translator uses the verb ἰδεῖν ('to look') instead of κατανοέω for the identical phrase: 'You have come to *look* (ἰδεῖν) at the undefended parts of our land.' This further suggests, that κατανοέω was used interchangeably with ὁράω by the translator of the Genesis. The meaning of κατανοέω in the sense of critical observation of an object, has been shared by or perhaps influenced the translators of the Greek Numbers and 3 Kgdms. In the same manner, the translator uses the verb κατανοέω in Num. 32.8 and 9 to describe Israelite's act of 'seeing' (ראה) the land of Canaan. Again, the same translator uses two different verbs with concrete meaning 'to watch/see,' κατασκέπτομαι ('to view closely') and ὁράω ('to see') in the similar phrases describing the Israelite's spying the land of Canaan: 'These are the names of the men whom Moses sent to *look* (κατασκέψασθαι) at the land…You will *see* (ὄψεσθε) the land' (Num. 13.16-18). Another example can be seen in 3 Kgdms. 3.21, the true mother pleading with the King Solomon, reports 'when I *looked* at him *closely* (κατενόησα) in the morning, and behold, it was not my son whom I had born.' Other examples of 'seeing' that requires careful examination are also found in Sir. 30.26 and 2 Macc. 9:25.[36] Similarly, in Exod. 33.8, σκοπεύοντες ('to watch closely') adds the sense of critical 'seeing' to the main verb κατανοέω, which puts an emphasis on the people's observation of Moses. More examples are found in Job 30.20 and Dan. 7.21: 'But I have cried to you, and you do not listen to me. They *stood and observed* me' (κέκραγα δὲ πρὸς σὲ καὶ οὐκ εἰσακούεις μου, ἔστησαν καὶ κατενόησάν με), 'I

synonym of other verbs meaning 'to see.'

[35] Cf. Lev. 20.17.

[36] In Sir. 30.26 there is a call to 'observe' (κατανοήσατε) the writer's actions in order to reach to the realization that he did not labor for himself only. In 2 Macc. 9.25, the writer makes a careful observation (κατανοῶν), which is needed to understand the situation of the kingdom.

kept watching, and that horn made war with the holy ones and prevailed over them' (καὶ κατενόουν τὸ κέρας ἐκεῖνο πόλεμον συνιστάμενον πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους καὶ τροπούμενον αὐτοὺς).[37]

The verb κατανοέω in the Pentateuch is also used in the negative context of 'seeing.' An act of 'spying out the land' does not carry the negative meaning in itself, yet κατανοέω is used by Joseph (Gen. 42.9) in the context of reproaching his brothers and by Moses (Num. 32.8,9) to reproach those who showed the disregard and distrust of God's promise of conquering the land. In Exod. 19.21 also, Yahweh tells Moses to warn the people not to draw near to Him to 'gaze' (κατανοῆσαι) otherwise they would die. Note the similar usage in Ps. 36.32: 'The sinner *spies on* (κατανοεῖ) the righteous and seeks to put him to death.' Such principle can be found also in Gen. 3.6 where one may easily expect a consequence of continuous watching (with desire) of the forbidden fruit.[38] Regardless of the contextual sense, the verb κατανοέω is used in all these instances to translate Hebrew counterparts with a clear sense of visual perception.

Following the Pentateuch, the visual sense of the verb κατανοέω is carried on in the subsequent books of the LXX and is further intensified as the verb is more often associated with other sight-related verbs such as ὁράω and βλέπω. For instance, in Ps. 21.8, κατενόησαν is followed by ἐπεῖδόν forming a construction of verbal hendaidys, expressing one concept with two words. So one may translate it as 'they continously look at me.' It could be argued that the phrase may indicate a transition from visual perception to (ἐπεῖδόν) to 'understanding (κατανοέω), but in this case, the order of the two verbs is reversed.[39]

Ps. 21.8
MT: אֲסַפֵּר כָּל־עַצְמוֹתָי הֵמָּה יַבִּיטוּ יִרְאוּ־בִי׃
NASB: I can count all my bones. They *look*, they *stare* at me.
LXX: ἐξηρίθμησα πάντα τὰ ὀστᾶ μου, αὐτοὶ δὲ κατενόησαν καὶ ἐπεῖδόν με.
NETS: I counted all my bones, but they *took note* and *observed* me.

This is only one of the thirteen cases of κατανοέω that appear with both ὁράω and βλέπω or at least with one of them.[40] The additional verb σκοπεύω meaning 'look/watch closely' in Exod. 33.8 seems redundant and paraphrastic, since it is a repeated description of the same action: 'all the people stood watching (σκοπεύοντες)…and gazed (κατενοοῦν) after Moses'. Yet unlike in the MT, the translator has supplied an additional verb to bring out the sense.'[41] In Is. 59.16, the verb κατανοέω is used again in conjunction with ὁράω to express two phrases with the same meaning: 'And he *saw* (εἶδε), and there was no man, and he *took notice* (κατενόησε), and there was none who helped.' Gen. 3.6 is also rich with sight-related words - the verb ὁράω occurs twice and the verse also has an agent of action, 'eye' (ὀφθαλμός) through which Eve 'sees' (ὁράω). Note also that the verb ἰδεῖν in Gen. 3.6, the infinitive of ὁράω is an translational insertion as no equivalent word is found in other witnesses. The addition of the verb ἰδεῖν could be a stylistic accommodation of the translator to make all three phrases alike.[42] In any case,

[37] Cf. the similar usage in the NT: 'I looked (ἀτενίσας) into it and observed (κατενόουν) four-footed animals' (Acts. 11.6).

[38] The context of the remaining case of κατανοέω in Exod. 33.8 is neutral where people of Israel 'gaze' (κατανοέω) after Moses until he enters the tabernacle.

[39] See note 24.

[40] Gen. 3.6; Exod. 2.11; 33.8; Ps. 9.35; 21.8; 90.8; 93.9; 118.18; 141.5; Is. 5.12; 57.1; 59.16; Sir. 23.19. See Appendix.

[41] Luke 23.35 'And the people stood by, looking on' (καὶ εἱστήκει ὁ λαὸς θεωρῶν).

[42] Wevers, *Notes on the Greek text of Genesis*, 39.

this additional ἰδεῖν creates the link between 'seeing' and the 'eye' and further underscores the visual sense of the Eve's actions regarding the fruit. The translator also chose ὡραῖόν (adj. 'beautiful') in translating נֶחְמָד (Nifal ptc. ms 'desirable'). The phrase ὡραῖόν ἐστιν τοῦ κατανοῆσαι ('beautiful to look at') is reminiscent of the description of all the trees that God made in general, ὡραῖον εἰς ὅρασιν ('beautiful to the sight') and the rest of the creation that he created: 'And God saw (εἶδεν)…that it was good (καλόν).' Although, in Gen. 3.6, κατανοέω is not directly related to ὀφθαλμός, the verb κατανοέω in the third clause is in close connection with ὁράω as it is paralleled with infinitive ὁράω both of them modifying two adjectives with similar meaning (with the lack of ὅτι in the third clause). Also, in Is. 57.1, the verb ὁράω which has no corresponding word in the MT is added by the translator at the beginning of the verse and forms an envelope structure with κατανοέω at the end of the verse: 'Observe (Ἴδετε) how the righteous has perished, and no one takes it to heart; righteous men are being taken away, and no one *takes notice* (κατανοεῖ).' More examples of the case in which the meaning of either κατανοέω or the whole phrase is intensified through the use of an additional verb can be found throuhout the LXX: 'You *see* (βλέπεις), because you *note*/*beheld* (κατανοεῖς) hardship and anger' (Ps. 9.35), 'I would *look* (κατενόουν) to my right and would *see* (ἐπέβλεπον) that there was no one who recognized me' (Ps. 142.5).

Moreover, the verb κατανοέω is particularly linked with the word 'eye' (ὀφθαλμός) through which visual perception is gained. Thus, an immediate link is made between the act of seeing and the eyes: 'You will only look on (κατανοήσεις) with your eyes (ὀφθαλμοῖς σου) and see (ὄψῃ) the recompense of the wicked' (Ps. 90.8), 'He who planted the ear, does He not hear? He who formed the *eye* (ὀφθαλμὸν), does He not *see*? (κατανοεῖ)' (Ps. 93.9),[43] 'Open my eyes (ὀφθαλμούς μου) that I may *behold* (κατανοήσω) wonderful things from Your law' (Ps. 118.18) and 'People's *eyes* (ὀφθαλμοὶ ἀνθρώπων) are his fear, and he was unaware that the *eyes* of the Lord (ὀφθαλμοὶ κυρίου) are ten thousand times brighter than the sun, as they *look* (ἐπιβλέποντες) upon all the ways of human beings and as they *look* (κατανοοῦντες) into obscure parts' (Sir. 23.19). There are numerous examples in the biblical texts where the sensory organ 'eye' (עַיִן/ὀφθαλμός) is combined with the verbs meaning 'to see' (ראה/ὁράω).[44] A phrase like 'he lifted his eyes and saw' (καὶ ἀναβλέψας τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ εἶδεν) is quite common in the narratives of Genesis.[45] Frequently, the 'eyes' appear as agents of action, sometimes even as the subject that incorporates the verb: 'Behold, your eyes see, and the eyes of my brother Benjamin see' (ἰδοὺ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ὑμῶν βλέπουσιν καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ Βενιαμὶν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου) (Gen. 45.12). All the examples mentioned above show that the word eye marks the act of seeing (κατανοέω) in the context of sight.

Notably, the only place where the verb κατανοέω may have been used to describe 'understanding' is Jdt. 8.14: 'How will you discern (ἐπιγνώσεσθε) his mind, and how will you *perceive* (κατανοήσετε) his reasoning?' Lacking its Hebrew *Vorlage*, it is usually asserted that κατανοέω here is used to render the meaning 'to understand.'[46] The object of the verb κατενόησαν in Jdt. 8.14 is λογισμὸν ('reasoning'), which is a common rendering of מַחֲשָׁבָה ('thought, intent') in the LXX. Although, the verb γιγνώσκω ('to know') is more frequently linked with λογισμὸν ('reasoning') throughout the LXX, the only occurrence of מַחֲשָׁבָה ('thought, intent') in the Pentateuch (translated in the LXX as διανοεῖται ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, 'to think in the heart') is found in Gen. 6.5 with the verb ὁράω ('to see'): 'The LORD God saw (Ἰδὼν)

[43] Cf. Is. 42.18; 51.1-2.

[44] In the Pentateuch alone, forty-four occurrences are found. It would be redundant to list all the occurrences.

[45] Gen. 13.10, 14; 18.2; 22.4, 13; 24.63 and many others.

[46] J. Behm, "κατανοέω," *TDNT* 4: 974.

that ... every intent of the thoughts of his heart (all think in their hearts) was only evil continually.' Another example of 'seeing' (ὁράω) one's thought, is attested in Lam. 3.60, 'you *saw* (εἶδες) all their revenge, all their schemes (διαλογισμοὺς) against me.'[47] Furthermore, the writer of Judith uses κατανοέω to denote visual perception in 10.14:

Jdt. 10.14
LXX: ὡς δὲ ἤκουσαν οἱ ἄνδρες τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῆς καὶ κατενόησαν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς, καὶ ἦν ἐναντίον αὐτῶν θαυμάσιον τῷ κάλλει σφόδρα· καὶ εἶπαν πρὸς αὐτήν
NETS: Now when the men heard her words and ***considered*** *her face*, and before them it was wonderful beyond measure in beauty, they also said to her:

Here, κατανοέω is used to describe the act of seeing 'her face' and concluding 'it was wonderful beyond measure in beauty,' which bears the resemblance with Gen. 3.6, in which the woman see 'the tree' and concludes that it 'was good for food and that it was pleasing for the eyes to look at and it was beautiful to contemplate.' Hence, it seems possible to also render the κατανοέω in Jdt. 8.14 as 'to perceive,' perhaps in the context that 'understanding' is described as or acquired by 'seeing.'[48]

Summing up the main points of this analysis I would stress the following. The word κατανοέω was used to denote 'seeing' in the context of sight, in the Pentateuch and in the subsequently translated books of the LXX. It is used in a close connection with the other verbs meaning 'to see' (ὁράω and βλέπω) and 'eye' (ὀφθαλμός) in the form of hendiadys, synonyms and often with an additional word (not evident in other ancient witnesses) that puts emphasis on the visual sense and meaning of the main verb. This sense is retained in every usage of the word. Thus, in Gen. 3.6, it is unusual that the translator of the LXX Genesis used κατανοέω in translating שׂכל, which has the meaning 'to make one wise.' This unusual translation poses a question that requires a further study: why did the translator of Greek Genesis translate שׂכל as κατανοέω?

The close analysis of the word κατανοέω reveals that the Genesis translator's choice of the word is indeed out of ordinary, and may represent a possible theological exegesis. This opens various suggestions as to why the translator would have made such lexical choice. William Loader proposes a possible connection between κατανοέω and the theme of seduction by beauty. He regards this change from the attractiveness of acquiring wisdom to visual attraction may contribute to the opening of the interpretation that Eve's sin might be the result of sexual seduction. Loader sees similar sexual connotation in Gen. 3.13 that renders הִשִּׁיאַנִי ('to deceive') as ἠπάτησέν, which he sees as meaning "to seduce." Furthermore, he claims such translation could have been read by the contemporaries as suggesting that woman are vulnerable to seduction and cannot control their sexuality. Although Loader is careful in his wording that he does not intend to interpret the translator's *Tendenz* as per se but only how the

[47] Cf. the similar idea in the NT: 'he saw through (Κατανοήσας) their trickery' (Luke 20.23).

[48] In the biblical texts (either Hebrew or Greek) and in our modern culture, the act of 'seeing' (or hearing) frequently appears metaphorically or as an idiom in the context of 'understanding.' The word 'eye' or 'to see' appears often in conjunction with other word with concrete meaning 'to understand' or 'to know.' When the sight-related word is used alone in the phrase, the intended meaning sometimes depends solely on the context. It is not my intention in this paper to provide an in-depth discussion of the sight-related word's subtle nuance and differences in meaning. What I have focused to demonstrate in this paper is that the verb κατανοέω ('to see'), when used by the translators of the LXX, strongly denotes visual perception based on its contexts and frequent association with other sight-related verbs.

Greek Genesis could have been read, he cannot completely be free from subtle implication that these translational traits are the reflection of the cultural norm of the translator's time and very possibly the reflection of the translator as he would not think all these translational features are accidental. The historical context of the translator could have indeed exerted a strong enough influence that the translation reflects a new understanding of the text. The Genesis translator without being conscious of it may have been influenced by the low opinion of women found in the cultural milieu of the time reflected in the literatures contemporary to the LXX, such as that of Philo, resulting in the translational difference between the LXX and the Hebrew. Yet such claim will not be conclusive without the support of consistent intra textual indications in favor of the argument.[49] The textual evidence of the Gen. 3.6 is not enough to ascertain if there is detectable translational *Tendenz* concerning women, particularly concerning the first woman Eve. Although it is certain that the use of κατανοέω is an unusual, more extensive study of the Genesis translator's translational tendency will be needed in order to find some sort of meaningful pattern in his translation. Thus further study is needed in order to propose the Genesis translator's *Tendenz* concerning Eve or to make a stronger critique of Loader's claims.

[49] The translator's *Tendenz* about women reflected in the translated work is more obvious in the Vulgate. Jane Varr, after comparing the Latin translations with the MT and the LXX, has concluded that most irregularities in the Vg. were found in passages concerning women and suggests that Jerome's attitude towards women has influenced his translation. See Jane Barr, "The Influence of St. Jerome on Medieval Attitudes to Women," in After Eve: Women in the Theology of the Christian Tradition, ed. Janet Martin Soskice (London: Marshall Pickering, 1990) and "The Vulgate Genesis and St. Jeromne's Attitude to Women," in *Papers Presented to the Eighth International Conference on Patristic Studies Held at Oxford, 1979*(ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone; St Patr 17; Oxford: Pergamon, 1982), 268-73.

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OTSEM CONFERENCE
PAPER PRESENTATION

Date: 18-20 September
Place: Uppsala
Researcher: Hoyce Jacob Lyimo-Mbowe
Institution: The School of Mission and Theology Stavanger

Project Title: **Bible as a Means of Emancipation of Maasai Women**

Conversation Questions

1. How do you perceive the method of African womanist biblical hermeneutics?
2. Many African female biblical scholars are optimistic that African woman can read the Bible as a liberative text. What are your opinions?
3. How do you understand the biblical concepts of female inferiority? What are its implications on women today?
4. Do the selected biblical texts (i.e. Genesis 1:27, 1Samuel 1, Deuteronomy 21:15-17 and Exodus 21:10) say anything that empower women and contribute towards their emancipation? How?

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2.3.AFRICAN WOMANIST BIBLICAL HERMENEUTICS

The reason which brings African Womanist hermeneutics into existence is more or less the same that brought other womanist hermeneutics and movements into reality. One of the well-known reason is the awareness of the existence of the oppressive forces in some life structures. These oppressive forces have its roots. According to many feminist/womanist scholars the roots differs and base on the contexts.[1] Yet, the most mentioned root are sociocultural, the existence of the patriarchal elements in some biblical interpretations and the existence of the oppressive elements in the political structures. In many part of Africa, the contemporary life settings are influenced much by the biblical interpretation and the African sociocultural settings. Apart from challenging the oppressive forces like colonialism and African sociocultural structures, many African woman theologians strive for a good ways of reading the biblical text with positive lenses, aiming at winning the liberative message of the Bible for the emancipation of African women.

As indicated in previous section, feminist biblical scholars ask the reader of the bible (both scholars and lay Christians) while reading the Bible to be aware that we are living in a world of men. Also to be aware that the Bible is not separated from that world and very unfortunately it has been used in the interests of maintaining things in that manner. This awareness will help the reader of the Bible to be able to get closer to the message of God which is carried by the Bible.[2]

Some African scholars are active in this process of womanist hermeneutics. However, Masenya is of the opinion that "Black theologians still failed to address the androcentric nature of the Bible, while they also failed to challenge the all-male biblical scholarship. Though some did touch on women's issues…they did not do so extensively."[3] As a matter of fact, it is not so long since Sub-Saharan African women stated to read the Bible academically. There is also a shortage of academic biblical interpretation that targeting at supporting women's liberation in the continent.[4] Nevertheless, Sub-Saharan African women have begun to read and interpret the biblical texts some centuries ago. Their "biblical interpretations go as far back as the time when

[1] Madipoane Masenya, *How Worthy Is the Woman of Worth?: Rereading Proverbs 31:10-31 in African-South Africa* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004), 7-12.
[2] Nicholas King, *Whispers of Liberation : Feminist Perspectives on the New Testament* (New York: Paulist Press, 1998), 13f.
[3] Masenya, *How Worthy Is the Woman of Worth?: Rereading Proverbs 31:10-31 in African-South Africa*, 3.
[4] C.f., ibid.

the Bible came to co-exist with sub-Saharan African cultures, people and lands."[5] One example is the interpretation of Kimpa Vita – born in the 16th Century and murdered in 1706.[6] Nowadays the majority of the ordinary readers of the Bible in Africa are women.[7]

2.3.1. Approaches of African Women in Interpreting the Bible

In this section, let us reflect on approaches of some few African women and their individual contributions in the interpretation of the Bible in Africa.

2.3.1.1.Kimpa Vita: Contextualized Biblical Interpretation

Musa W. Dube in her writing about *Talitha Cum Hermeneutics of Liberation* evokes a very remarkable woman in Congo called Kimpa Vita. This Congolese woman accepted Christianity during the colonial times. In her Christian baptism she was given a new name and called Dona Beatrice. This Congolese woman read the Bible "when the biblical readers of that time and place operated within the colonial ideology and practice of domination of other cultures, lands, people and minds. Kimpa Vita was therefore a colonized African Christian woman, who together with the rest of her people was subjugated to foreign rule, religion, culture, economics, and taught to despise all that represented the cosmology of her people."[8] Kimpa Vita was a heroine who dare to challenge the colonial power with her critical opinions about the images in the Church and oppression forces. She denied those images because she understood them as their former charms. She claimed to be possessed with the Saint Anthony's spirit. Saint Anthony was a famous Catholic saint who performed miracle. It is held that with the help of Saint Anthony, she preached against the Catholic Church and colonial practices which she found as unjust. For instance, she demanded the removal of the church's images, she declared the restoration of the Congolese kingdom which was destroyed by the colonial power etc. Her actions are well narrated by Dube as follows:

> Kimpa Vita proclaimed that the Spirit of St Anthony had taken possession of her. Empowered by the Spirit, Kimpa Vita's preaching became a powerful protest against the Catholic Church and the colonial government. She wanted all the crosses, crucifixes, and images of Christ to be destroyed because, as she said, they were just as good as the old fetishes. She proclaimed that God will restore the subjugated kingdom of Kongo. Vita held that Christ came into the world as

[5] Musa W. Dube Shomanah, "Talitha Cum Hermeneutics of Liberation: Some African Women's Ways of Reading the Bible," in *Postcolonial Perspectives in African Biblical Interpretations*, ed. Musa W. Dube Shomanah, Andrew M. Mbuvi, and Dora R. Mbuwayesango (Atlanta, Ga.: Society of biblical literture, 2012), 29.
[6] Ibid., 33f.In the footnote
[7] C.f., Masenya, *How Worthy Is the Woman of Worth?: Rereading Proverbs 31:10-31 in African-South Africa*, 3.
[8] Dube Shomanah, "Talitha Cum Hermeneutics of Liberation: Some African Women's Ways of Reading the Bible," 29.

> an African in Sao Salvador[9] and that he had black apostles.[10] With this radically subversive proclamation for both the colonial church and government, Kimpa Vita was recognized as a dangerous thinker. She was thus condemned to death and was burnt at the stake in 1706.[11]

The interpretation of Kimpa Vita carries all aspects of contextualization and hermeneutics of liberation. She draw the message of the Gospel closer to her people as she depicted Jesus, Mary, disciple and apostles as black. She "brought black paint into a white colonial church space-one that was filled with a white-blue eyed blond Jesus; Mary the mother of Jesus; male disciplines and apostles."[12] She wanted her people to experience the full liberation as portrayed by the Bible; that's way she also resisted the oppressive colonial power by rejecting "to embrace the unequal inclusion that was served to her Congolese people. She realized that the divine images of power were as white as the colonizers themselves—legitimating and feeding each other; and serving to suppress the colonized black people of Congo."[13] She believed that God is also for the African as she proclaimed His intervene in the process of restoring the Congolese kingdom.[14] Although she was murdered, her dreams and spirit are still moving and alive in the todays Church. "Historically, Kimpa Vita is held to be the founder of AICs. These are churches that sought to resist colonization of their countries and colonizing Christian practices."[15] In the AICs, the voices of women is highly respected because of Kimpa Vita. Dube states that:

> The centrality of women in AICs could not be ended with the crucifixion of Kimpa Vita. A line of other women have ever since heard and responded to the word of the Spirit of God to serve as church founders, leaders, prophets, and faith healers. Outstanding among these are Ma Nku, Grace Tshabalala, Alice Lenshina, and Mai Chaza, who became founders and leaders of massive AICs movements in this [last] century.[16]

There many points in the story of Vita but I would like to point out three of them which I think are very important to be echoed as far as the womanist biblical hermeneutics is concern:

i. Critical Eyes

Identification of the problem is very important step in solving a problem. Vita had a critical eye to identify the problem. She could see what was unjust in her society. She realised that the

[9] Ibid., 31.See Dube explanation that "This was by then the colonial capital of Congo, which she apparently renamed Bethlehem"
[10] Ibid.See Dube explanation that "Kimpa Vita is held to have told her follower that Jesus, Marynand other Christians saints were really Kongolese."
[11] "Readings of the Semoya: Botswana Women Interpretations of Matt. 15:21-28," in *Semeia 73* (1996), 113.
[12] "Talitha Cum Hermeneutics of Liberation: Some African Women's Ways of Reading the Bible," 31.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid., 33.
[16] "Readings of the Semoya: Botswana Women Interpretations of Matt. 15:21-28," 113.

Congolese power was taken away. Their charms were replaced by the Christian images. Their names were replaced by the foreign names. Their close God in their colour/image was replaced by another. She knew the source of the problem was the interpretation of the biblical texts as well as colonial ideologies. She realized that the colonial power was oppressive to her people. She recognised that her culture was neglected by the missionaries to the extent of been asked to change her name. She perceive the replacement of Congolese kingdom with the colonial power as prejudicial and oppression. She had an eye to see. This is what we need the most in dealing with the womanist hermeneutics.

ii. Bible as the Primary Source of Solution

As a Christians and an African, the main source of solution for a problem is normally the Bible. Although Dube does not mention the biblical texts which Vita used, but her perceptions on the mentioned issues shows that she must have used the Bible. For example, Vita's faith on God for the restoration of the Congolese Kingdom, indicates her knowledge of the Old Testament. This is exactly like what God told the Israelites when were under oppressive power, that He will restore their power. Vita's proclamations identify her as a daughter of faith. Woman's interpretations in Africa also base on the Bible as the main source of their perceptions and particularly in case of need of liberation. This tendency attracts scholarly interpretations which will enrich the existing perception of many African women that Bible message is liberative.

iii. Actions of Resisting Injustices

Vita saw a problem, learn what the Bible says about that problem then she acted. She resisted. She feared no power. She spoke out loudly what she thought was contradicting the Christian faith and was unfair. The spirit of daring, breaking the silence as well as acting accordingly is still dwelling in many African womanist hermeneutics. However more encouragements and moral support is needed especial for the ordinary readers.

2.3.1.2. Mercy Amba Oduyoye: In-Culturated Feminist Hermeneutics[17]

Mercy Amba Oduyoye is among the first African scholars who works hard on women issues and offers selective African biblical interpretations. She points out the important survey of African biblical interpretations and scholarship, with special attention to the readings of African

[17] C.f. "Talitha Cum Hermeneutics of Liberation: Some African Women's Ways of Reading the Bible," 37.

women.[18] She "is not trained as a biblical scholar yet she is the most illustrious African theologian of the continent."[19] She disclosures experiences of women in African societies. Socio-cultural ideologies that oppress women have been identified through her writings. For example in her explanation on the violence against women she pointed out that "socio-cultural norms generally demand submissive and subordinate behaviour of women; this, in turn, makes them easy victims of violence and predisposes them to accept the violence done to them."[20]She addresses the problem of silence among women. This silence is rooted in the socio-cultural settings. Women are mistreated but are afraid to complain, while the consequences might be a rejection or been considered unmoral. Some women abuses are labelled as discipline. Oduyoye attests that "a husband is entitled to discipline his wife."[21] However, because of the socio-cultural setting, it is not easy to get statistics of the practices. Women do not dare to share their problems. Oduyoye claims that "Although I am extremely conscious of violence against women in Africa, it is difficult to find statistics to illustrate its prevalence. Conversations and observations, however, leave no doubt in my mind as to how widespread it is in practice."[22] Silence hinders transformations. Women need to be encouraged to speak out what they think is unfair to them like what Vita[23] did. Oduyoye shares a story aired at BBC program in one of her articles entitled "Praying for God's Transformation in Africa." She says:

> A recent BBC programme featured a book in which the author likens genocide to bullying and points out that both come out of treating the other with contempt or as though they were not human. The programme was being aired as I read Sister Thandeki Umlilo's *Little Girl, Arise!* In her book, Umlilo deals with the abuse and incest she suffered from the male members of her household – namely her father, uncle and two brothers – and the silence of her mother in her days of torment. She felt that her humanity had been violated and her person held in contempt.[24]

Oduyoye argues that we need to overcome the silence, but that alone is not enough. Without the willing of change, nothing can be transformed. According to Oduyoye lamentation about various injustices has become a manner of the African meetings and she insists the necessity of

[18] See: Mercy Amba Oduyoye, ""Biblical Interpretation and the Social Location of the Interpreter: African Women's Reading of the Bible," in *Reading from This Place*, ed. Fernando F. Segovia and Mary Ann Tolbert (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995).
[19] Dube Shomanah, "Talitha Cum Hermeneutics of Liberation: Some African Women's Ways of Reading the Bible," 37.
[20] Mercy Amba Oduyoye, *Daughters of Anowa: African Women and Patriarchy* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1995), 164.
[21] Ibid., 165.
[22] Ibid.
[23] See Vita's story obove.
[24] Mercy Amba Oduyoye, "Praying for God's Transformation in Africa," *The Ecumenical Review* 57, no. 3 (2005): 281.

action. Like Vita she also sees the important of appealing to God, to ask for His Grace as far as the issue of justice in Africa is concern. She affirms:

> Lament on the situation of Africa has become our regular topic of conversation when we Africans meet. The impunity protecting those who wield power in Africa and how they deal with citizens is proverbial. The impunity of people paid to serve the public – at frontiers, on the roads, in offices, even at the markets – is to be experienced to be believed. Bribes of different kinds, tardiness in delivering services, are not punished, while victims have no recourse to justice. TV programmes continuously decry these practices but nothing changes. All one can do is to cry out: *God, in your grace, transform* this situation, grant us respect for the humanity of the other. Yet our lamentations are also a protest that says that we do not accept the status quo and an expression of our hope that things will mend.[25]

Oduyoye observes a problem of gender discrimination in Churches and among theologians in Africa. She notes some African biblical scholars' interpretations of the Bible which contain arguments that discriminate against women. She argues;

> Throughout West Africa, such popular Christianity tends to absolutize the Bible to such a degree that any historical-critical approach is viewed with suspicion or simply dismissed. While some African biblical scholars may mouth contemporary hermeneutical approaches to the Bible, they often accept or hide behind "paradoxes," refusing to draw conclusions. Because non-canonical material contemporary to the New Testament is generally ignored, statements on the position of women are usually taken from Genesis, Leviticus, or the New Testament Epistles; such texts tend to constitute a "man's Bible."[26]

This indicates that the reading of the biblical texts with liberative lenses seems to be missing in some works of African biblical scholars. The worse thing is the tendency of some scholars to proclaim on the pulpit or write articles against women liberation. Oduyoye reveals the typical expressions from some contemporary theologians. The first argument that speaks against the contemporary viewpoint of women's liberation says: "The Gospel of Christ has created a new unity in the one Body of Christ. However, the modern philosophy of women's liberation is not biblical; rather, it is a threat to world peace and a rejection of defined role expectations of each sex within the created order."[27] Actually, this argument is contradicting itself, because, if the Gospel of Christ which itself is liberative is biblical, how then, the women's liberation philosophy become unbiblical? Does the denying of the power of the Gospel in liberating women, not means that Jesus died for the liberation of men only? To argue that women's liberation is not biblical is to affirm that the Bible is not for women and support the oppression of women. The philosophies and biblical interpretation that disagree with the emancipation of women are the concern of many womanist hermeneutics.

[25] Ibid., 281f.
[26] *Daughters of Anowa: African Women and Patriarchy*, 124.
[27] Ibid.

Another question on this ideology is that: is it not very awkward to observe the liberation of women as the threat to the peace of the world, rather than seen it as a healing of the world? Is there any peace where there is oppression? It is obvious, once the oppressed starts to speak of her/his situation and demand for the liberation, the oppressor must define that as threatening of his/her peace. I suppose, what makes many to think there is a peace where oppressive power rules, is nothing else than **silence** of the oppressed one.

Furthermore, is it not unrealistic to think that liberation of women is a denial of the defined role expectations of each gender within the created order? I think, the linking of gender defined role and the order of creation is what we can call not biblical. Apart from biological role of each sex, which can be narrowed to child bearing, no other role can be called defined according to the order of the creation. All of the other defined role of each sex is rooted in the socio-cultural settings of the various societies. That is why there is no single structure of life in the world. Each society has its own setting, which proves that the structure is not biological, but man made orders.

Therefore, due to the fact that "Women are traditionally expected to submit to the authority of males (their fathers and/or their husbands), without questioning…,"[28] women do experience oppression but remain quiet because of the life settings which defining them as subordinated creature and demanding them to accept their low position regardless how oppressive and hurt it is. This situation is making many including women themselves, eyeless and unable to identify the problem. It is like what prophet Jeremiah is saying: „They have healed also the hurt of My people lightly, saying: 'Peace, peace', when there is no peace." (Jeremiah 6:14).

Oduyoye shows in her second point that in the Church in Africa some scholars see equality and say: "Here in Africa, particularly in Nigeria, both indigenous and established churches allow women's participation in their organization…"[29] It is certain that currently many churches in Africa have allowed the participation of women in the church organisations, however, this participation is still limited in various ways in many churches. There are some offices in the several African churches and organisations where women are not allowed to minister.[30]

[28] Masenya, *How Worthy Is the Woman of Worth?: Rereading Proverbs 31:10-31 in African-South Africa*, 8.
[29] Oduyoye, *Daughters of Anowa: African Women and Patriarchy*, 125.
[30] C.f.,Hoyce Jacob Lyimo-Mbowe, *Feminist Expositions of the Old Testament in Africa (Tanzania) in the Context of the Office Held by Deborah in Judges 4 and 5* (Berlin: Logos Verlag, 2015), 93-114.

Another dilemma is that the submissive status of African women is tagged with good manner and womanhood. This can be noted in the third point revealed by Oduyoye as the claim of some African scholars who are against the liberation of women; they claim that:

> Paul established the equality of man and woman before God, but such equality does not remove the physical distinctions given at creation, which have a divine purpose. The modem call for the liberation of women is a replica of the Corinthian women's libertarianism. For women to aspire to become like men and reject their womanhood is not a genuine form of equality. Hence modem women's liberation is not biblical, and is not African.[31]

This implies that to remain biblical and African is to make sure that women are not liberated. Yet again, is that not contradicting the biblical message of liberation? Now comes the fourth point of those against liberation of women. In this point they perpetuate the tendency of silencing women as they maintain: "Is St. Paul silenced such women, the antinomian libertines (women liberationists) of today should not be encouraged in the church."[32] This argument is encouraging the oppression of women in the name of Paul. It is contrary to what womanist hermeneutics organize. Breaking of silence is one of the womanist strategies. It creates a platform for the discussion of issues between people who are living together. Discussion leads to the identification of the problems and possible solutions, and if it done in a good way, it paves a way into the genuine peaceful life for all. In her investigation on the African Instituted Churches (AIC), Oduyoye notes that:

> Although women play a more prominent role in the African Instituted Churches, we should inquire if these churches have in fact succeeded in incorporating women's insights into the will of God for human beings. It is generally asserted that the Aladura churches give women more room to express leadership abilities than do the churches that have grown out of the Euro-American missionary enterprise.[33]

Thus, the fact remains that change towards women liberation is noticeable in some African churches. Although the transformation speed is very slow but still something is happening towards full liberation. As we can see above, in most of her writings, Oduyeyo addresses important issues like breaking of the silence and revelations of the problems. She also encourage men and women to see the possibility of changing for the better live of both men and women.

2.3.1.3. Madipoane Masenya: Bosadi Hermeneutics/African Woman's Liberationist Reading of the Bible

[31] Oduyoye, *Daughters of Anowa: African Women and Patriarchy*, 125.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.

In South Africa, the first black woman, Hebrew Bible scholar is Madipoane Masenya. She has published several books as well as articles. One of her books is entitled *How Worthy Is the Woman of Worth*.[34] In this book, Masenya Madipoane parallels specific biblical verses to the life of African women. She uses the *bosadi* (womanhood) approach to offer a contextual reading of Proverbs 31:10–31 in the context of postcolonial South Africa and patriarchal domination of African women. She maintains that despite the undeniable fact that the Bible has many patriarchal elements, yet, it can offer emancipating possibilities to the individuals including women in her context of South Africa. She insists that, the Bible is comprises of both, the positive (liberative) as well as negative (oppressive) features. In her work on Proverbs 31:10-31, Masenya demonstrates the existence of these two biblical elements as far as women are concerned, namely: the bible as liberator and as a patriarchal document. In analysing the selected texts, she employs both the hermeneutics of suspicion and that of consent.[35]

The interesting part of Masenya's work is her approach in reading Proverbs 31:10-31 and concept of *Bosadi* hermeneutics. She develops *Bosadi* methodology from her own perceptions, experiences and imagination of what ideal womanhood is in her African socio-cultural context. She clarifies that *Bosadi* hermeneutics is a concept drawn from the culture of Northern Sotho which pursues to investigate critically the traditions of the Bible as well as that of the Sotho for the purpose of developing liberating perceptions.[36]

Masenya portrays how an African women in South Africa read the Bible. Her main concern is to show which factors form the way these black women in South Africa read the biblical texts. In her reflection on the Socio-political situation of South Africa, she affirms that in her context women are reading the Bible from a liberationist perception. She perceives colonial imperialism (racism), classism, gender asymmetry (sexism), and the African culture as the main factors that have influence the biblical interpretation of the Black South African women. [37] According to her, the voice of African women in the interpretation of the Bible is unremarked. She notes this as she says, "Until recently, the Bible has been interpreted on their behalf from Western and male perspectives in the churches and in theological institutions. This has resulted in Black women being characterised by invisibility, silence and being unknown."[38] The work of

[34] Dube Shomanah, "Talitha Cum Hermeneutics of Liberation: Some African Women's Ways of Reading the Bible," 39.
[35] Masenya, *How Worthy Is the Woman of Worth?: Rereading Proverbs 31:10-31 in African-South Africa*, 7f.
[36] Ibid., 9, 54-68.
[37] Ibid., 55-66.
[38] Ibid., 54.

Masenya through her book is very important for the African women, because it perpetuate the efforts of breaking the silence of African women and expose their ability to reflect on their situation and read the Bible for their emancipation, instead of waiting for others to speak on their behalf.

The five chapters of this book explore the potentials and margins of a historical-critical and postcolonial-feminist interpretation of the selected biblical text. From her arguments, Masenya is optimistic that African and particularly the South African woman can read the Bible as a liberative text[39].

2.3.1.4.Musa W. Dube Shomanah: Talitha Cum Hermeneutics of Liberation

Dube, Musa develops postcolonial feminist hermeneutics as part of African biblical studies. She collected thirteen articles by African women scholars who interpret the Bible in their various historical and cultural contexts. She points out the hermeneutical approaches of storytelling, investigations about patriarchal and colonizing interpretations, reading with and from non-academic readers, womanist methods etc.[40]

In her contribution on the book entitled *Postcolonial Perspectives in African Biblical Interpretations*, as mentioned above, Dube narrates a story of one Congolese woman known as Kimpa Vita.[41] This woman (Vita) read the Bible critical, with African lens and from a liberationist perspectives. She dare to express her opinions which was against the colonial power and the practices of the Catholic Church. Due to her challenging opinions, she was assassinated and remains heroine. Dube reflects on the contextualization spirit and vision of Vita and argues that - Vita is time after time restored in life, for the reason that, her spirit dwells among leaders of the AICs as well as some academic biblical readers in Africa.[42] In general, Vita offers a great potential notions in the interpretation of the Bible among the African.

Dube recognizes and appreciates Vita's potentiality and in the line of Vita's spirit and vision, she introduces *Talitha Cum* hermeneutics which "refers to the art of living in the resurrection space: the art of continually rising against the powers of death–the powers of patriarchy, the powers of colonial oppression and exploitation, the powers that produce and perpetuate poverty,

[39] Ibid.
[40] Musa W. Dube Shomanah, *Other Ways of Reading: African Women and the Bible* (Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature ; WCC, 2001).
[41] See her story above.
[42] Dube Shomanah, "Talitha Cum Hermeneutics of Liberation: Some African Women's Ways of Reading the Bible," 29-34.

disease and all forms of exclusion and dehumanization."[43] Dube maintains that "Walking in the legacy of Kimpa Vita, African women's *talitha cum* hermeneutics are ways of living and insisting on staying alive; even where one confronts oppressive powers that crushes, one dares to rise."[44] I think Dube's concept maintains that walking in the legacy of Kimpa Vita needs to be combined with the power of talitha *cum* in the sense of insisting on staying alive. This is due to the fact that Kimpa Vita was murdered. Despite her death, her ideas lives on. The approach of Vita, was like the Swahili aphorism which says "Kufa na kupona". Literary can be translated as "die or live" – which means you enter into a battle with two possibilities, either to die or live. Vita's spirit is of kufa na kupona. It needs a strong faith which dares to confront oppressive power and prepared for any outcome, be it life or death.

Dube parallels the situations of the bleeding woman as well as that of the dead body of Jairus' daughter in Mark 5:21-43 with the situation of African women, which is portrayed by numerous works of the African theologians. She is of the opinion that as Jesus said to the little girl "talitha cum", the African women need to be empowered with the same spirit. The sprit that heals and resurrects.[45]

2.3.2. **Major Theoretical Arguments on Womanist Biblical Hermeneutics**

2.3.2.1.**Justice**

As the above feminist arguments demonstrate, the main problem which motivates feminist/womanist scholarships is the existence of injustice in the society. In many cases, feminism/womanist strive to expose what they perceive as oppression and marginalisation of human being for the purpose of liberation.

Justice, in its comprehensive context, includes the realisation of that which is just. The concept of justice is rooted on several fields. Each fields have its own perspectives as well as the perceptions of ethical matters based on belief or religious matters, regulations or law issues, equity etc. The important thing to notice is that the perception of justice varies in each culture and religion. Cultures and religions have structures. It is through these structures, one can perceive the position of women and men in any society.

Many feminist scholars comprehend that the Bible has androcentric elements and it was written down under the patriarchal context. Thus, many feminist works prefer suspicion hermeneutics

[43] Ibid., 34.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid., 34-37.

as their way of reading the Bible.[46] The existence of some patriarchal oppressive systems within the African Christian families motivates the African womanists to engage themselves in various researches. They see that the oppressive systems contradicts the liberative message that the Bible brings to the African people.

The fact remains that patriarchal oppressive system of life confers power on male as the "head of the household owns everything, including individual people, wives, children, extended family, slaves, animals and land. In a patriarchal society, the male can therefore do what he will with his 'possession' including selling them, and has the right to punish individuals by methods up to and including capital punishment"[47] This kind of life is purely injustices and therefore contrary to the God who is addressed as just. Womanist hermeneutics challenges all oppressive forces including all biblical interpretations that seem to hinder women's struggle for survival and for the progress of a positive, productive quality of life conducive to women's and the family's freedom and welfare. "Feminist scholars argue that many injustices, in the church as well as in society at large that are still with us today, are the direct consequences of the absolute authority conferred on men by a patriarchal society…"[48] This raises many questions that if patriarchy inevitably leads to discrimination and it accepted in the church, then is God not proclaimed as a God who is injustice? Womanist hermeneutic rejects to believe that injustice is part of the biblical message.[49]

Moreover, womanists maintain that more than patriarchal elements in some biblical texts, there are some interpretation of the Bible which create some unfair doctrines. Womanist is of the opinion that, "the doctrine that androcentric patriarchy has involved in order to keep women ,in their place'. Their concern is to ensure that this doctrine is not applied to the Bible and its interpretation –that the Bible is not used to maintain patriarchy."[50] Many African scholar prefer to read the biblical text with questions in mind such as - is the text useful to their context? Does it encourage justice among people? Does it says anything that empower women and contribute towards their emancipation?[51] Therefore, African women theologians' perception of justice is rooted in the liberative message of the Bible.

[46] C.f., Masenya, *How Worthy Is the Woman of Worth?: Rereading Proverbs 31:10-31 in African-South Africa*, 6.
[47] King, *Whispers of Liberation : Feminist Perspectives on the New Testament*, 15.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid., 16f.
[51] C.f., Masenya, *How Worthy Is the Woman of Worth?: Rereading Proverbs 31:10-31 in African-South Africa*, 6.

2.3.2.2.**Transformation of the Society and Emancipation of Women**

From the above exemplar of theologians in Africa and outside the continent, womanists see an existence of classes in the society and that one class belief that has the right to exploit the other. The main concerns of many womanist scholars is to explore and expose the existence of injustice in various societies, aiming at challenging them for the emancipation of the marginalized one.

This research is done in the context in which a "liberated women" is an ambiguous phrase. Oduyoye affirm that "In Africa, the very idea of a 'free woman' conjures up negative images. We have been brought up to believe that a woman should always have a suzerain, that she should be "owned" by a man, be he father, uncle, or husband. A "free woman" spells disaster. An adult woman, if unmarried, is immediately reckoned to be available for the pleasure of all males and is treated as such."[52] With this African notion about women's status, one needs to be careful in paralleling the biblical practice with the African culture. Analysis of the patriarchal element of the biblical texts and challenge to the oppressive practices in various culture is imperative. Otherwise, some interpretation of the Bible can bring misery life to some groups and particularly the marginalized one.

African women theologians are attempting to challenge the African cultures, which seems oppressive to women by interpreting the Bible with liberative lenses. "African women in particular, and not only men, are believers in the Bible as the 'Word of God'. For many of them the Bible is the source of comfort amidst the troubles they encounter in their daily lives."[53] Two things are important here. The first one is to address the problem and the second one is to use it for the liberation of those in problem.

Oduyoye, Dube, Masenya are among many virtuous researchers in exploring and exposing the status of women in Africa. Oduyoye affirm that "The mystery of men's secret societies in West Africa is now being questioned by women. Why should women close their eyes and seal their lips?"[54] African women theologians encourage women to speak out their problems as a primary step towards liberation. According to many African women scholars, any injustice in the society need to be criticised. Oduyoye insists it as she says: "To denounce injustice is a necessary prophetic work that might lead to healing for the whole community."[55] Silence on African

[52] Oduyoye, *Daughters of Anowa: African Women and Patriarchy*, 4f.
[53] Masenya, *How Worthy Is the Woman of Worth?: Rereading Proverbs 31:10-31 in African-South Africa*, 8.
[54] Oduyoye, *Daughters of Anowa: African Women and Patriarchy*, 33.
[55] Ibid.

women mysteries of life need to be broken-down. This can be done through sharing the problems, challenging them, resisting injustice actions etc.[56] Thus, womanist hermeneutics focus on exposing the problem as well as introducing the liberative message of the Bible in any structure which seems oppressive and marginalizing any human being. In that way, the transformation of the society, which carries an emancipation of the oppressed, is expected

2.3.3. Summary

Most of the above works of scholars and many others are seeking another ways of reading the Bible for the sake of liberating the oppressed one. Everyone tries to see how the Bible can bring fullness of life to human being. The focus of the womanist hermeneutics is all about liberation. As I explained in my PhD dissertation, it has two main actions the first one is to explore on women and the second is to explore for women.[57] In other words womanist hermeneutics is all about emancipation of women; and once women are liberated, the family also is enlightened and the standard of life change.

In the present research, I prefer womanist hermeneutic approach in working with the situation which the Maasai women are facing in Tanzania. I will use as a tool to study their challenges and see how they can be transformed through their interpretation of the biblical texts. As demonstrated above, many African women biblical scholars are optimistic that African and particularly African woman can read the Bible as a liberative text. I am also positive that Maasai people can read the Bible for the transformation of their society and primarily, for the emancipation of the Maasai women. This approach involve the following:

1. Analysis of Maasai sociocultural structure.
2. Reading the Bible together (men and women) with an emancipatory lens.
3. Reading the Bible with commitment of taking actions which will transform the society positively.
4. Analysing Hanna's methods in solving her challenges
   4.1.Through sharing
   4.2.Appealing to God

[56] C.f., ibid.
[57] Lyimo-Mbowe, *Feminist Expositions of the Old Testament in Africa (Tanzania) in the Context of the Office Held by Deborah in Judges 4 and 5*, 11.

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SUBVERTING ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT A BABYLONIAN-PERSIAN DICHOTOMY: A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF THE HISTORICAL MILIEU OF ESTHER

1 Introduction

The story of Esther unfolds within a Persian context (Esther 1:1) and 'many scholars have remarked on the accuracy of the Persian background in Esther.'[1] This paper aims to assess the basis upon which that historical accuracy has been assumed and to establish the extent to which modern day diaspora terms can be applied justifiably in understanding Jewish communities in the world of ancient Persia. Until the establishment of the Groningen Achaemenid Workshop in the 1980s, there was scant material available for a reconstruction of Persian history from the Persians themselves. It is for this reason that scholarship with interest in Persian history has welcomed this development with enthusiasm as expressed in Lindsay Allen's statement:

> The specialized study of the culture and politics of the empire through evidence unearthed from within its bounds, whether a contemporary text or an archaeological artifact, has developed much more recently. An international academic community spanning the number of disciplines concerned with this subject continues to raise new questions, opinions and evidence. There is great potential in this exciting field for discovering new insights into the ancient world, as evidence emerges from the multiple languages and cultures that made up the empire.[2]

Prior to this concerted effort there was very little known about the Persians from Persian sources. The much-celebrated historical accuracy in Esther has been established by looking to Greek writings, which are so abundantly available to fill in the gap. The rise of Cyrus is portrayed in very positive light as marking clear discontinuity with the preceding Babylonian regime; reversing the policies of the preceding administration most conspicuously by returning deportees and assisting them restore their cultic centres. Admittedly, these Greek writings are of historical value insofar as they provide a window into understanding some views of the Persians and their institutions. However, I wish to assess the implications for reading Esther if what we find in these writings are Greek attitudes to (and not unbiased historical data on) the Persian Empire and its institutions. It is interesting to note that details relating to the restoration of cities and cultic centres in these sources omit reference to Jerusalem. It would seem therefore that the significance of Jewishness has been disproportionately exaggerated in the book of Esther. With evidence pointing to a focus on Babylon and its vicinity, that the Persian political authority would concern itself with matters affecting Jerusalem and the Jews in the way depicted in the story of Esther is very unlikely. It is also critical in this paper to ask the following question: given that the Jews remaining in the Persian province of Yehud and their compatriots who were now forcibly scattered across the empire shared one and the same political overlord, how appropriate is it to speak of the community behind Esther in diaspora terms?

2 Taking into Account Alternative Sources of Persian History

The major problem in attempting to re-construct the world of ancient Persia historically is one of sources. Geo Widengen, in an article focusing on Jewish life during the Persian empire places available literary sources on Persian history into four major categories

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[1] A. Berlin, *Esther,* The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation (Philadelphia, PA: The Jewish Publication Society, 2001), xxviii.

[2] L. Allen, *The Persian Empire: A History* (London: British Museum Company Ltd, 2005), 6.

namely: (i) biblical Jewish sources such as Ezra-Nehemiah traditions comprising a portion of the Chronicler's History, (ii) non-biblical Jewish sources such as Josephus and the papyri from Elephantine and Samaria, (iii) non-Jewish sources such as the Cuneiform historical texts from as far back as the time of Nabonidus, and the Cyrus Cylinder and (iv) archaeological remains from several sites in Palestine to have yielded some vital data from the Persian period.[3] It is from this sort of background that Pierre Briant notes:

> One of the most remarkable peculiarities of Achaemenid history is that, unlike most conquering peoples, the Persians left no written testaments of their own history, in the *narrative* sense of the word. It is noteworthy that unlike the Assyrian Kings, the Great Kings had no Annals prepared where the memory of their mighty deeds on the battlefield or in the hunt could be made heroic and preserved. We have no chronicle prepared by a court scholar at the command of the Great Kings.[4]

As remarked above, in the absence of literary sources written by the Persians themselves, the much-celebrated historical accuracy in Esther has been established by looking to Greek writings so abundantly available to fill in the gap. Briant expresses the consequent complication when he notes: 'Here is an extraordinary situation: one must reconstruct the narrative thread of Achaemenid history from the writings of their subjects and their enemies …'[5] It is curious that Widengren does not mention the work of Greek historians and writers such as Herodotus, Thucydides, Ctesias, Xenophon, to name a few whose works are given a more detailed treatment by Lester L Grabbe.[6] Their methodological limitations granted, their influence on what has come to be known of ancient Persian cannot be overemphasized: 'Until the rediscovery of primary sources from the ancient Near East in the nineteenth century, the Greek accounts were the major basis for reconstructing Persian history.'[7] As already stated, there is not much left by the Persians themselves to allow for a balance of views with those emerging from the sources produced by people who despised them.

The consequent Greek influence on Persian studies becomes even more apparent when one takes into consideration the nature of terminology dominating the discourse. Lindsey Allen notes in respect of the terminology used starting with the term Achaemenid itself:

> The word is in fact a simplified Greek version of the Old Persian word *Haxamanishiya.* Similarly we tend to refer to Darius rather than *Dariyavaush,* Xerxes rather than *Xshayarsha* and Artaxerxes instead of *Artaxshaca.*[8]

The bulk of what has been passed down as knowledge on Persia has been expressed and preserved in a very bold Greek tint. Even the term "Persia" itself is a Greek corruption of the original "*Parsa*".[9] Regarding these Greek writings, Adele Berlin notes:

> In fact, their works are so voluminous that for lack of anything of comparable mass, and because they were taken as objective fact, they have long been regarded as the standard against which the accuracy of Esther is to be measured. And so, when

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[3] G. Widengren, "The Persian Period" in Hayes, J. H. and Miller, J., eds., *Israelite and Judean History* (London: SCM Press, 1977), 490-500.
[4] P. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire* (trans. by PT Daniels) (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002), 5-6.
[5] P. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander,* 7.
[6] L. L. Grabbe, *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period, Vol. 1. Yehud: A History of the Persian Province of Judah* (London: T&T Clark International, 2004), 118-130.
[7] L. L. Grabbe, *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period, Vol. 1,* 119.
[8] L. Allen, *The Persian Empire: A History,* 7.
[9] L. Allen, *The Persian Empire: A History* 7.

> Esther agrees with Herodotus or Xenophon, Esther was deemed to have accurate information about Persian life.[10]

Studies on Esther have taken shape in this wake; that the story narrative and plot detail fit very well in the general literary paradigm established in the Greek writings. While these Greek writings provide some understanding of Persia, it has become increasingly clear that these Greek sources are not reliable as historical sources as they reflect more of Greek attitudes to Persia and her institutions at a particular point in history. In using these ancient sources, scholars have awakened to the fact that what we have are not sources of history, at least not in the light of modern conceptualisation of historiography. The realisation that what we find in these writings are Greek attitudes to and not historical data on the Persian Empire or its institutions is well expressed by Briant where he says: 'I came to realise with more and more conviction that our entire view of the Achaemenid Empire and its populations was corrupt by the distortions perpetrated by the ancient historians of Alexander.'[11] Persian reign is littered with several attempts to subjugate Greece and it is at the hands of Alexander the Great that Persian domination falls and gives way to the Greek empire. For a relationship riddled with so much conflict it is a reasonable inference that Greek perception of Persia was more on the negative side and a tendency to ridicule the Persians must have been pretty rife. After giving an account of Cyrus' rise to the throne of united Persia, Herodotus devotes a long literary stretch detailing the observable practices of the Persians, most of which show the Persians as a pretty shallow people.[12] It is having made this observation that Berlin further notes:

> ... the Greeks portrayed the Persians – and mostly that means the Persian court – as indulgent, decadent, and effeminate. There was much emphasis on Persian luxury, palace bureaucracy, and an extensive hierarchy including slaves.[13]

The employment of the same motifs in Esther including the long drinking parties and a general decadence of Persian royal court gives reason to conclude that 'Esther's image of Persia is stereotypical.'[14] This is not to say that the portrayal of ancient Persia was always negative as some of the motifs cited such as an advanced postal service and imperial law known as דת are signs of sophistication. Even in the work of Greek historians are several surges of Persian brilliance such as would necessitate expression of admiration as is exemplified by Herodotus when he avers: 'I admire also the custom which forbids even the king himself to put a man to death for a single offence, and any Persian under similar circumstances to punish a servant by an irreparable injury.'[15] It must also be noted that even the drinking parties and orgies that would be viewed with repulsion today were not only acceptable in antiquity but could form part of worship. In earlier traditions to Esther, Amos seems to refer to a practice that may actually be read as embedded in similar practices of religious revelry: '… father and son go into the same girl, so that my holy name is profaned; they lay themselves down besides every altar on garments taken in pledge …' (Amos 2:7-8). Of course this reference may have had application in a very different context within the prophetic discourse but the mentioning of awkward sexual behavior and religious altars in such close proximity in relation to Israel's transgressions point to a practice at the very least known to the writer and his audience, a practice acceptable at some level. Similarly, viewing

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[10] A. Berlin, *Esther,* xxix.
[11] P. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander,* 2.
[12] Herodotus, *The Histories,* trans. J Marincola (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 1:131-140.
[13] A. Berlin, *Esther,* xxix.
[14] A. Berlin, *Esther,* xxx.
[15] Herodotus, 1:137.

as decadent the 180-day drinking parties and the sexual connotations latent in the summoning of Vashti to appear in the nude before the king and his party could be a matter of external value judgment to an otherwise admirable practice. The tendency to portray ancient Persian and its royal court in a range that includes both negative and positive traits in the story of Esther is only indicative of the fact that the story was told in a way that was common for the time in which it came into being.

Herodotus is acclaimed to have been an exception in that unlike most of his contemporaries, 'he shows no evidence of systematic hostility to the Persians - hence the accusation directed against him by Plutarch of being a 'friend of the barbarians' *(philobarbaros).'*[16] I have already noted above an instance when Herodotus is on record confessing admiration to some Persian practices. Yet even then, his perception of the Persians was not very different from that of his contemporaries as is stated in declaring his intentions for writing *The Histories:*

> Herodotus of Halicarnassus here displays his inquiry, so that human achievements may not become forgotten in time, and great and marvellous deeds – some displayed by Greeks, some by barbarians – may not be without their glory; and especially to show why the two peoples fought with each other.[17]

It is clear is that the epistemology underpinning Greek thought was that the population of the known world was made up by the Greeks and everyone else. Thus even for the friend of the barbarians, Herodotus viewed the world as having a clear line separating the Hellenes from everyone else; the Persians were indeed barbarians still! The fact that a perception of this nature would influence historical constructions is a critical given.

Complications arise from the fact that even if Greek writers were "fair" in their presentation of Persia, historiography has undergone several changes over the centuries such that what would pass as historical then would not be accepted as such today.[18] It is no wonder then that very little of what they said could be of use in an attempt to a historical reconstruction of the Persian world by modern standards. Thomas Harrison puts it aptly where he says: 'All these main sources of evidence have their limitations (of knowledge or of scope); all of them *shape* their reader's views according to their own agenda.'[19] Where a people have written their own history; the Greeks, the Jews and many others, modern scholarship still has to work its way through obvious biases and alien approach to historiography. However, it must be stated here that the value of these volumes of Greek writings on Persia cannot be ignored. Pierre Briant warns: 'In this case, we must not "throw the baby out with the bath water." That is, in reading the classical authors, it becomes the primary task to distinguish the Greek interpretative coating from the Achaemenid nugget of information available and proceed on the understanding that: 'Rejecting the interpretation the Greek writers gave to an Achaemenid court custom does not imply that the custom or practice they were dealing with was simple and pure invention on their part.'[20] The task becomes one of corroboration of sources, one that Thomas Harrison expresses in terms of putting together a puzzle where:

> … the object of study can only be reconstructed from - and in a sense may only be constituted by - a whole range of different perspectives: those of the Greek (and

[16] P. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander,* 7.
[17] Herodotus, 1:1
[18] L. L. Grabbe, *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period, Vol. 1,* 3-18.
[19] T. Harrison, *Writing Ancient Persia* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011) 19.
[20] P. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander,* 256.

> other) subjects of Persian imperialism, the administrative records of Persepolis, and the grandiloquent pronouncements of the early Persian kings, especially Darius and Xerxes.[21]

In Grabbe's terms: '*We must use all potential sources …* we should not rule out any sources *ab initio.'*[22] Greek sources on Persian history may not be the best sources one could have but they are valuable sources anyway.

3 Assumptions about Persia Reflected in Hebrew Biblical Traditions

If biblical history is granted, even just in terms of the grand framework of things, the disruption occasioned by the Babylonian exile included the destruction of institutions of ancient Israel that hitherto had ensured the security of her traditions. Such institutions include the monarchy, priesthood and the temple. The magnitude of the disaster is remembered as one of epic proportions, which Norman Whybray aptly described when he remarked:

> In 587 B.C. the tiny kingdom of Judah, the survivor of the two kingdoms into which the united kingdom of Israel had been split at the death of Solomon, succumbed to the military power of the neo-Babylonian Empire. Despite its traditional confidence in its special relationship with its God Yahweh, but in accordance with the predictions of prophets such as Jeremiah and Ezekiel, its capital Jerusalem and the other cities were laid to waste, the temple at Jerusalem pillaged and burnt, the king and many high officials executed, and the whole apparatus of government brought to an end.[23]

John Bright shares the same sentiment: 'The land had been completely wrecked. Its cities destroyed, its economy ruined, its leading citizens killed or deported, the population consisted chiefly of poor peasants considered incapable of making trouble.'[24] For ancient Israel, the exile altered life in the most profound of ways. The story of Esther represents a strand of cultural memory emerging from the dynamic of a people whose self-understanding includes a portion of their people living away from home. Whether the details of the story as it now stands represent the views of those domiciled at home[25] or are a reflection of the experiences of those forced by circumstances to live away from home[26]; at the centre of the story are concerns relating to life in diaspora.

Literature about biblical Israel is generally accepted to have taken shape in the aftermath of this experience.

> … the major changes and developments in Judaism and the Jewish people were seminal to the Persian period … the Persian period is the single most important period for the development of Jewish thought and practice from antiquity to the present.[27]

The general consensus within biblical scholarship is that finalisation of the traditions of ancient Israel into writing was necessitated by a need to respond to this disaster. Paula

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[21] T. Harrison, *Writing Ancient Persia* 19.
[22] L. L. Grabbe, *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period, Vol. 1,* 15.
[23] R. N. Whybray, *The Second Isaiah* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983), 8.
[24] J. Bright, *A History of Israel* 3rd ed., (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1983), 331.
[25] E. Stern, 'Esther and the Politics of Diaspora' in *Jewish Quarterly Review* 100.1 (2010), 25-53.
[26] 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.
[27] L. L. Grabbe, *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period, Vol. 1,* 3.

McNutt's position represents many when she states: 'Persian period Judah is the most likely setting for the final construct of much of the material in the Hebrew Bible, even though many of the independent traditions originated in earlier periods.'[28] If there were any traditions circulating in textual form prior to this point in time they were few and a preserve of only the elite. Life during and after the exile ushered in a new dispensation, one without institutions hitherto trusted to provide central guidance to socio-political and religious life for the people sharing a common identity in biblical Israel. Committing her traditions to writing became necessary for biblical Israel not only to preserve the said traditions but also as the only means to reach out to the Jews now forcibly scattered all over the known world. The bulk of what we have received as the Hebrew Bible came into being in this era. If authors and final redactors of the texts now constituting what we know as the Hebrew Bible can be located in the Persian period, their works would have had to be shaped by what was held as true in their world. As noted above, Greek historians dominated the epistemological database for the biblical authors. In this section I will look at a few of the many ways in which the Greek historians portrayed the Persians and how such portrayals are reflected in the Hebrew Bible in general and in the book of Esther particularly.

3.1 Cyrus the Great's Persian Ethnic Identity

The impression that is created by Greek historians is that Cyrus inherited royal blood from both parents as his father's line ruled the tiny kingdom of Persia while his maternal ancestry sat at the helm of the equally small kingdom of Media. The stories of the birth and rise to power of Cyrus the Great are legendary in nature and can hardly pass as history even by ancient standards. Herodotus recounts how his birth is revealed to his maternal grandfather Astyages, King of the Medes, and how the consulted Magi interpreted the dream to mean that the unborn child would be a threat to his reign.[29] The 'revelation' is then followed by a long discourse of how Astyages plots to kill the child at birth, how the child survives his grandfather's plots by what seemed to be sheer provision of the gods and returns to his native Persia to take the throne there and eventually march against his grandfather to take the throne as foretold in the dream.[30] In modern day historical reconstructions of the history of this period, this information has not been treated as mere folklore. It is often taken as fact that Cyrus became king of Persia in 559 BC and overthrew his Median grandfather to combine the two kingdoms in 550 BC. His continued expansionist campaigns saw him defeat many territories including Lydia, much of Asia Minor including some major Greek cities of the time. A modern day Iranian historian, Homa Katouzian, considers the capture of Babylon as the zenith of Cyrus expansionist campaign:

> But the jewel in his imperial crown came with the conquest of Babylonia in 539, which was the oldest surviving civilization in the region and included Mesopotamia, Syria, Phoenicia and Palestine [establishing] the largest empire that the ancient world had known to that point in time.[31]

With the conquest of Babylon, the Persian Empire was firmly established by the Persian who later became Cyrus the Great.

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[28] P. McNutt, *Reconstructing the Society of Ancient Israel* (London: SPCK, 1999), 182.
[29] Herodotus, 1:107.
[30] Herodotus, 1:107-130.
[31] J. L. Berquist, *Judaism in Persia's Shadow: A Social and Historical Approach* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 1995), 23.

Looking at what Widengen categorised as biblical Jewish sources of Persian history, details emerge that render Cyrus' clear-cut Persian ethnicity somewhat suspicious. Of the dozen times Cyrus is mention in the biblical book of Ezra, at least once he is referred to as די בבל ימלכ literally 'King of Babylon' (Ezra 5:13). In addition, when making reference to the decrees authorizing support for the rebuilding of the Jerusalem Temple made by Cyrus, Darius and Artaxerxes only the last is specified as King of Persia (Ezra 6:14), a detail that could be in itself negligible. However, reason given for the joy associated with the first Passover celebration following the completion of the project (Ezra 6:19-22) is telling indeed: '… for the Lord had made them joyful, and had turned the heart of the king of Assyria to them, so that he aided them in the work on the house of God, the God of Israel' (Ezra 6:22b). In this instance Cyrus is associated not with Persia but with Assyria. Basing on numerical strength alone, it can be argued that the author of Ezra remembered Cyrus as a Persian. The fact that the portrayal of Cyrus includes at least to traditions where he is not Persian cannot pass as sheer error; it points to the possibility that his Persian identity, its dominance notwithstanding, could be a result of deliberate construction.

I can only mention in passing here the fact that the authenticity of the Cyrus Cylinder is a matter still in discussion. What seems clear is its assumed connection with a new dispensation breaking off Babylonian legacy, marking a clear discontinuity with the new Persian Empire as ushered in by Cyrus. Having established a physical and content connection between the Cyrus Cylinder and an inscription attributed to Assurbanipal, the Assyrian king between 669-630 BC[32]; Kuhrt concludes that the Cyrus Cylinder was written in support of Cyrus' legitimacy as a Babylonian ruler:

> The main elements used to demonstrate all these facets are the fact that (a) Cyrus was chosen by Babylon's god, (b) that he carried out all the cultically correct activities of a Babylonian ruler, and (c) that he was part of a long tradition of rulers of Babylonia including such kings as Assurbanipal of Assyria.[33]

This observation renders seriously suspicious the conclusion that Cyrus was distinctly Persian responsible for not only overturning Babylonian dominance but also introducing a new government. The balance of evidence suggests that the assumed Babylonian-Persian dichotomy might not have had basis in fact. Though numerically inferior, the references to Cyrus once as a Babylonian king and another as an Assyrian king in Ezra cited above could have more historical relevance than the numerous references to him as a Persian king.

3.2 Babylonian-Persian Dichotomies

There seems to be a general consensus in the historical sources available in that this 'Persian' king is portrayed in very positive light. Biblical Jewish sources, in Widengen's categorisation, have not been sparing in their praise of Cyrus. The Chronicler presented Cyrus as the figure used by יהוה to bring into reality the divine promise as uttered in the prophetic traditions of biblical Israel: 'In the first year of King Cyrus of Persia, in fulfillment of the word of the Lord spoken by Jeremiah, the Lord stirred up the spirit of King Cyrus of Persia so that he sent a herald throughout all his kingdom and also declared in a written edict: "Thus says King Cyrus of Persia: The Lord the God of heaven, has given me all the

[32] The two were found next to each other and in the concluding line of the Cyrus Cylinder refers to Assurbanipal as 'a king who preceded me'

[33] A. Kuhrt, 'The Cyrus Cylinder and Achaemenid Imperial Policy' in *JSOT 25* (1983) 83-97, 88-89.

kingdoms of the earth, and has charged me to build him a house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Whoever is among you of all his people, may the Lord his God be with him! Let him go up." (2 Chronicles 36:22-23 with the same sentiment repeated almost verbatim on Ezra 1:1-2). The Ezra account goes on to provide details of how this benevolent king went beyond mere authorisation of the Jerusalem temple but also restored the vessels plundered by Nebuchadnezzar (Ezra 1:7-8) and offered financial support to the work (Ezra 3:7). In Deutero-Isaiah, Cyrus is introduced in terms reminiscent of David: 'Who says of Cyrus, "He is my shepherd, and he shall carry out all my purpose" …' (Isaiah 44:28). He is cast as the anointed one of God, with the Lord pledging unwavering favour upon his reign and pathways (Isaiah 45:1, 13). It is in this light that Amélie Kuhrt notes of the 'very good press' Cyrus enjoyed:

> He is presented as plucky, honourable and lacking in vicious traits by Herodotus who also provides the interesting information that the Persians themselves regarded him as a 'father' – a term suggestive of benevolence and wisdom as well as underlining his achievements as the founder of the Persian state and first extender of its realm.[34]

The positive portrayal of Cyrus in biblical Jewish sources seems to have been a feature prevalent to the ancient Near East. It is arguably conformity to this general portrayal of Cyrus, Persia and her institutions that makes Frederic Bush describe the author of Esther as '… a narrator who shows himself at every level to be so fully cognizant of the setting and circumstances of the Persian world of his story...'[35] It would be appropriate at this point to ask then: Does Esther's agreement in detail with Greek historians as is the case with the Chronicler and Deutero-Isaiah here translate to historical accuracy or is it simply a matter of conforming to current stereotypes? Again on the basis of the balance of evidence, it seems more than probable that the Cyrus of history is not the same as the one portrayed in what Kuhrt has termed 'a good press' in the sources available. It is not unusual to speak of the Persian period in terms such as employed by Adele Berlin: 'The Persian (Achaemenid) period begins in 539 B.C.E. when, under the leadership of Cyrus, the Persians conquered the Babylonians and became heirs to their empire.'[36] The impression is that the Persian conquest marked a clear changeover of political administration of the region. The evidence available seems to be pointing in a different direction; one where the emergence of the Persian Empire is unclear and complicated:

> Some of the complexity of the world of successive dynasties and interacting cultures that was transformed into Persian empire is revealed instead in contemporary historical sources and archeological evidence. These material remains and traditions of pre-Persia empires influenced how the later monarchy shaped itself.[37]

In the light of the intricate relationships of these empires it seems to make more sense to speak of continuity rather than discontinuity. It would seem that the historical Cyrus is best perceived as a Babylonian continuing the legacy of Babylonian kings. The reference to 'Cyrus of Babylon' in Esra 5:13 must be viewed not as an error but as representing a genuine tradition. His fame must have been local to Babylon as it is here where he effected a historically verifiable programme of reversal to Nabinidus' policies resulting in relief for the citizens of the region of Babylon while for the rest of the empire, business continued as usual.

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[34] A. Kuhrt, 'The Cyrus Cylinder and Achaemenid Imperial Policy', 83.
[35] F. W. Bush, *Ruth & Esther* (Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1996), 263.
[36] A. Berlin, *Esther,* xxxii
[37] L. Allen, *The Persian Empire: A History*, 15.

3.3 Returning of Babylonian Deportees Revisited

One celebrated artifact read as authenticating the existence of Cyrus and one Widengen lists among the sources of Persian history is the Cyrus Cylinder discovered at Babylon in 1879[38] and now housed in the British Museum.[39] While the Cylinder's authenticity remains in doubt, its contents offer alternative perspective to the one so vehemently sustained in biblical Jewish sources of the history of Persia. The first nineteen lines show that, having been disappointed by Nabonidus, it was the god of Babylon Marduk (not the God of Israel יהוה) who established Cyrus.[40] Lines 30-34 provide details of the programme of restoration of cultic centres, all very close to or even within the bounds of the city of Babylon. Needless to say Jerusalem is conspicuous by its absence on the list of cultic centres provided here and understandably so as it is located too far from the text's centre of focus. The contents of the Cylinder relate exclusively to Marduk, the city of his patronage Babylon and its inhabitants as Kuhrt aptly reads:

> … it is the citizens of Babylon who perish as a result of the maltreatment of the gods by Nabonidus and who lament their fate; it is the actual city of Babylon to which Cyrus is guided and where he receives the acclaim of the people of the country; it is the cult-centres of Babylon whom he releases from their burdens (probably forced labour); it is the walls and so forth of Babylon that Cyrus rebuilds, repairs or embellishes.[41]

Furthermore and contrary to the popular assumption that Cyrus reversed the damage caused by Babylonian deportations by instituting a programme of returning *all* deportees to their respective places of origin, lines 30-32 (often cited to support the said assumption) state that 'the gods (presumably statues) of *specified* places together with their people are returned to their … original dwelling places.'[42] The positive cast of Cyrus must have related to and ended not with benevolence to *all* the people of his empire but with his deemed righteous restoration of Babylonian cultic centre. The extension of that positive portrayal to other writers including authors of the material categorized by Widengen as biblical Jewish sources must have been the case of appropriating an independent tradition in order to tell their own story. Whatever was in the mind of the biblical writers cited above, the fact remains that an analysis of the Cylinder leads to the inescapable conclusion that it is very unlikely that Cyrus and the centre of imperial hegemony would have had the sort of interest in as peripheral a place as Jerusalem in the manner rendered in the biblical Jewish sources.

4 Applicability of Diaspora Terms to the Community Behind Esther

While the concept of diaspora comes into being in close relation to the experience of the biblical Jews, the framework of its coinage and the epistemological base underpinning its development are characterised by a clear sense of the nation state. The basic meaning of diaspora, at least in its prototypical sense, necessarily involved movement of a large portion, if not an entire people, across clearly defined political borders. Central to defining the phenomenon of diaspora were two basic building blocks, namely home/homeland and ethnic/religious community. Those claiming or given a diasporic identity needed to show

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[38] A. Kuhrt, 'The Cyrus Cylinder and Achaemenid Imperial Policy', 83.
[39] BM 90920
[40] J. B. Pritchard, ed., *Antient Near Eastern Texts Pertaining to the Old Testament with Supplement,* 3rd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 316.
[41] A. Kuhrt, 'The Cyrus Cylinder and Achaemenid Imperial Policy', 87.
[42] A. Kuhrt, 'The Cyrus Cylinder and Achaemenid Imperial Policy', 87.

that they shared memory of a homeland, ideally from which they were forcibly removed. Closely related to that memory would be a grave sense of incapacitation where the said community yearned to return to its homeland but could not as the ones wielding power denied them that choice. It is with this understanding that I raise the question of the applicability of the concept of diaspora to Jewish communities of the period leading up to and including second and first centuries.

I have already made reference to the preamble of the book of Esther, which provides, in geographical terms, a rough map of the territory of the Persian Empire; one that stretched 'from India to Ethiopia' (Esther 1:1). Among the plethora of Greek sources already intimated is Xenophon who describes the territory established by Cyrus in graphic terms: '… the tribes which he brought into subjection to himself were so many that it is a difficult matter even to travel to them all …'[43] The unfathomable expanse defining the Persian Empire at its peak is remembered as an undisputed fact as expressed in as recent a lament as one by Christopher Marlowe dated in the 1590s:

> Unhappy Persia, that in former age
> Hast been the seat of mighty conquerors,
> That, in their prowess and their policies,
> Have triumph'd over Afric and the bounds
> Of Europe where the sun dares scarce appear
>
> Christopher Marlowe, *Tamburlaine pt. 1*[44]

Again as already pointed out above, the Persian province of Yehud is included in that marked expanse defining the Persian Empire. The political boundaries as defined here meant that all Jews, whether residing within the Persian province of Yehud, the empire's winter capital of Susa or anywhere else within the empire answered to the same political structure. When read together with the Ezra-Nehemiah traditions, there does not seem to be anything barring Jews from returning home if they so wished. The blocks by which the concept of diaspora has come to be defined seem to make application of the term to the Jewish community behind Esther not so straight forward after all.

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', among others, posits that: 'It carried a distinct negative – though not a religious – connotation, which differentiated it from other more voluntary forms of population movement.'[45] However, its historical usage came about initially in the Greek language in relation to the experience of the biblical Jews as already stated. Biblical traditions portray biblical 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

[43] Xenophon I.i.4-5 (taken from L. Allen, *The Persian Empire,* 15).
[44] Taken from L. Allen, *The Persian Empire,* 6.
[45] K. Kenny, *Diaspora: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 2.

> 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.[46]

The Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible seemed to translate as diaspora only those instances where the sense of dispersion was expressed in terms of the Hebrew זעוה English rough equivalent of which is trembling[47] or horror. Kenny notes that גלת with the connotation of banishment or exile is often translated with the Greek *apoikia* meaning of which covered the wide range from migration to captivity.[48] The Greek verb *diaspeirein* with more than forty appearances in the LXX and the noun *diaspora* appearing about twelve times are used in close association with Hebrew זעוה with the implication of 'horror' or 'trouble'.[49] Diaspora is the word used in the Greek version of: 'The Lord will cause 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 גלת*/apoikia* may mean a mere political condition of exile, in the context here 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 גלת to זעוה specifically in the memory of the Jews.

The understanding in the story of Esther is that there is only one diaspora and it is the Jewish diaspora. Whatever the identity of the community behind the story of Esther or the origins of the story, the end product is that of a community with a legitimate claim to the tradition of that one diaspora. The community behind Esther attaches itself to that one diasporic experience of the Jews by way of the genealogical material as discussed above. When Mordecai is introduced, he is identified first by his ethnicity: 'Now there was a Jew in the citadel of Susa whose name was Mordecai …' (Esther 2:5). The trigger to the crisis that defines the plot of the story of Esther can be traced to Mordecai's refusal to pay obeisance to a royal court official and the reason given for that refusal was that he was a Jew (Esther 3:4). In his fury on learning that Mordecai would not bow to him, 'Haman plotted to destroy all the Jews, the people of Mordecai, throughout the whole kingdom of Ahasuerus' (Esther 3:6). In all this, the author of Esther shows that there is an identifiable community of Jews languishing in a state of homelessness and now vulnerable to abuse. In identifying the community of Jews at the centre of the crisis with the deportees of 586 BC, the author implies that here we are dealing with diaspora in its prototypical form and their circumstances are not defined necessarily by what Haman can or cannot do but, rather, by the fact that they are part of the 'horror to all the kingdoms of the earth' (Deut. 28:25).

5 Conclusion

Given the importance of the Persian period to the traditions fixed in the Hebrew Bible in general and behind the story of Esther in particular, some consideration of the historical reality is pivotal to any reading of these traditions. Complications arising from the nature of historiography make such an exercise not at all easy if not completely impossible. The thesis of this paper is that by considering multiple sources it is possible, at the very least, to

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[46] 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.
[47] D. J. A. Clines, ed., *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* Vol. III, (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2011), 125.
[48] K. Kenny, *Diaspora,* 5.
[49] K. Kenny, *Diaspora,* 4.

subvert some assumptions, perpetuation of which would impede understanding the traditions in question. It is my submission that without necessarily disregarding them, concerted effort to sift through the abundant Greek sources replete with attitudes on Persia can wield valuable results. Attempts must be made to balance the picture that emerges from these Greek sources with what can be gleaned from what is available from the Persians themselves. One challenge emerging from that effort is that applicability of modern diaspora terminology to Jewish communities in this context becomes untenable. However, it is my view that the strength of a collective memory of a community attaching itself to the Jewish experience understood in modern day diaspora studies as *the* prototype of all diasporic experiences justifies the proposal to read the story of Esther in diasporic terms.

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4Q216 and the *Jubilees* Creation Account in the Dead Sea Scrolls

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Abstract

In this paper I will briefly review the arguments for viewing 4Q216 not as a complete copy of *Jubilees,* but possibly as a manuscript originally only containing the creation account found in *Jub.* 2:1-24. Based on this, I will discuss the state of the *Jubilees* creation account at Qumran in relation to the Genesis creation account as discerned through the reading of other Qumran texts that speak of creation. The discussion shows that both creation accounts are important in Qumran texts, and firmly establishes the importance of the *Jubilees* account as a Qumran text.

Discussion Points for OTSEM:

My main point here is to discuss the place of 4Q216 among the Dead Sea Scrolls, not only as a text-critical witness for *Jubilees.* This paper is an attempt to look at some of the places it may have value. I am interested in discussing what value this sort of observation may have and whether there are other texts that may be of interest. Further, I am interested in a discussion of the relevance of the production and distribution of excerpted texts or parts of texts, and how this then relates to the discussion of the use of different scrolls.

1. Introduction

In this paper, I will develop a discussion of 4Q216 (4QJub[a]) from the perspective of the manuscript as part of the Dead Sea Scrolls. 4Q216 is discussed in DJD 13[1] and is made up of 18 fragments which contain text corresponding to sections of *Ethiopic Jubilees* (EJ)[2] Prologue, and Chapters 1 and 2, though a number of variants do occur (see below). 4Q216 is of importance in primarily because it is dated to the end of the 2nd century BCE, making it the oldest manuscript containing text from *Jubilees* extant to date. The manuscript itself shows interesting material features, including an attached first sheet, which is a quite uncommon feature among the DSS.[3] Further, the text of the manuscript, viewed in light of the materiality, can give us clues to the literary development of *Jubilees* during the Qumran period. These points are not my primary objective here, but I will begin by outlining the material philological analysis of the manuscript. My aim here is to discuss 4Q216 from the

[1] VanderKam and Milik, DJD 13. Cf. Also VanderKam and Milik, "The First Jubilees Manuscript From Qumran Cave 4: A Preliminary Publication," 110, no. 2 (1991).

[2] I use the term *Ethiopic Jubilees* (EJ) when I refer sections of the work *Jubilees* which are compared with the Qumran texts. I do this to avoid confusion about what is the basis for the comparison at the *work* level. Cf. Lied, "Text - Work - Manuscript: What is an Old Testament Pseudepigraph*on*," in *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* (Forthcoming (2015)).

[3] See the discussion below.

perspective of it as a Qumran text, rather than simply as the earliest textual witness to *Jubilees.* I will do so here by looking at the sections that correspond to *Jub.* 2, the creation account, and discuss how the *Jubilees* creation account is important for interpreting and understanding other texts at Qumran.

2. Material Philological Analysis[4]

2.1.1. The Manuscript[5]

There are no complete lines of text among the fragments, but fragment 18 seems to contain the entire height of the column, including 17 lines and part of the upper and lower margins. The column height is approximately 12 cm and the total height of the manuscript is approximately 14.5 cm. The width of the columns is not certain, but based on the letter counts needed to account for EJ, the average line length would be approximately 13 cm. There are 6 extant columns, but in DJD 13 an additional column between columns 3 and 5 is assumed based on the text of EJ.[6] The text of 4Q216 contains parts of *Jub* Prologue; 1-2 and in EJ, this accounts for approximately 5.4% of the total length the composition. To incorporate all of EJ, the scroll would have to have 130 columns and a total length of at least 16.9 meters.[7] Even allowing for major variants that would reduce the size of EJ, it is highly unlikely that this scroll was a complete copy of *Jubilees.*[8]

[4] A discussion of what a "Material Philological Analysis" is makes up a large part of my method chapter – which is not revisited here. In short, MP treats the manuscript as a historical artifact which contains a text. The analysis takes into account physical properties of the manuscript and scribal practice as well as the text of manuscript. The main arguments for proceeding in this way are 1) the explicit discussion of what a manuscript was and was used for affect the way in which we interpret the text of the mauscript. 2) The discussion of the manuscript as an artifact can give insight into the production and understanding of the text of the work during the time when the manuscript was produced and 3) The way in which textual and literary variants are used in devleoping our understanding of the work at different points in time can be more nuanced.

[5] A fuller discussion of this can be seen in Monger, "4Q216 and the State of Jubilees at Qumran." *Revue de Qumran* 104 (2014), 595–612.

[6] 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), 11.

[7] Calculations are based a comparison of the text of the manuscripts and the corresponding passages in VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (CSCO vol. 511; Lovanii: Peeters, 1989), which contains 48,337 words, cf. Hanneken, *The Subversion of the Apocalypses in the Book of Jubilees* (EJIL 34; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012). The percentage of the extant text compared to the entire EJ is then used to calculate approximately how many columns would be necessary to include the entire text, and is only hypothetical and meant to illustrate the *necessary* length, not the *actual* length of the scroll.

[8] The longest scroll found at Qumran is 11Q19 (The Temple Scroll) which is 8.146 meters long, though it may have been close to 9 meters when complete. The longest biblical scroll – the IQIsa[a] – is 7.32 meters long and includes the entire book of Isaiah, which is considerably shorter than *Jubilees* -The NRSV translation of Isaiah is 34,672 words, about 72% of the length of VanderKam's translation of *Jubilees.*

2.1.1.1. Sheet 1 of 4Q216

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, written in different hands.[9] There is little material evidence from Qumran to compare 4Q216 with, the only clear examples being 4Q41 and 11Q19. 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 that would indicate that the two originally were meant to be together. If we accept the placement of the fragments in DJD 13, then like 4Q41, the text beginning on sheet 2 of 4Q216 is the beginning of a chapter or section, meaning that there is no carry over or repeated text, as in 11Q19. It follows that sheet 2 of 4Q216, then, actually does not have to have been the second sheet of a work, but could have been the first (or only) sheet of the original manuscript.

The literary structure of *Jubilees* 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. The literary structure of chapter 1 is not completely agreed upon in scholarship, but it is likely that this chapter is made of several redactional layers.[10] Chapter 2 begins the creation narrative and though it is not easily confused with the text of Gen 1-2, it is discernible as parallel in many aspects.[11] Given the dimensions of 4Q216, it is highly unlikely that the manuscript could have contained the entire text of the Ethiopic *Jubilees.* It is then plausible to think that the text of sheet two was either an excerpt of, or precursor to, *Jubilees.* Tigchelaar has convincingly noted that the content of the last lines of the final column of 4Q216 retain themes that may connect to the wider literary unity of *Jubilees* ruling out 4Q216 as a source text.[12] As the materiality and the text of 4Q216 point to the likelihood of it being an excerpt or abbreviated text, it seems unlikely that someone

[9] A fuller discussion of this can be found in Monger, "4Q216 and the State of Jubilees at Qumran." (*Revue de Qumran* 104: 2014), 595–612. 2014, cf also Hempel, "The Place of the Book of Jubilees at Qumran and Beyond." in *The Dead Sea Scrolls In Their Historical Context* (Ed. Timothy H. Lim. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 187–96.

[10] Cf. Davenport, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees* (Leiden: Brill, 1971); Kugel, *A Walk Through* Jubilees (JSJS 156, Leiden: Brill, 2012). Against this cf. Segal, *The Book of* Jubilees. (JSJS 117, Atlanta: SBL, 2007).

[11] For a full discussion of the relationship between the creation story in *Jubilees* and the Hebrew Bible see J. T. A. G. M. van Ruiten, *Primaeval History Interpreted: The Rewriting of Genesis 1-11 in the Book of Jubilees* (SJSJ 66; Leiden: Brill, 2000).

[12] Tigchelaar, "The Qumran *Jubilees* Manuscripts as Evidence for the Literary Growth of the Book." (*Revue de Qumran* 104: 2014), 579–594.

would go to the trouble of *replacing* the first sheet of such a manuscript.[13] Like 4Q41, it seems much more likely that there was some other purpose to the addition of the first sheet, possibly even a material confirmation of the process of redaction taking place in *Jubilees* during the first century B.C.E.[14] Eibert Tigchelaar has also suggested that the text of 4Q217 may reflect a different form of the text of *Jub.* 1:29,[15] indicating that that portion of *Jubilees* was still under development during the mid-first century B.C.E. If that is the case, it strengthens the arguments that 4Q216 could show materially the development of *Jubilees* during the second and first centuries B.C.E. – at Qumran. As the text of sheet one of 4Q216 is identifiable as containing parts of *Jub.* 1 known from Ethiopic *Jubilees*, we could speculate that part of a major redaction of *Jubilees* as we now know it, possibly took place at Qumran.[16]

3. 4Q216 and the Creation Account at Qumran

In light of the material analysis, it is a distinct possibility that the creation account according to *Jub* 2:1-24 was transmitted independently from what is now known as *Jubilees.* This raises the question of the importance of the *Jubilees* creation account, for understanding the how creation was viewed at Qumran. Having other texts supporting the understanding of creation found in *Jubilees* helps support the idea that *Jub* 2 was especially important at Qumran. I will begin by briefly discussing the Genesis manuscripts and the creation story in these. Following this, I will discuss texts from Qumran that point toward an understanding of creation as described in *Jub* 2.

3.1. The Genesis Creation Account at Qumran

In order to evaluate the importance of the *Jubilees* creation account at Qumran, it is fruitful to establish the place the Genesis creation account has at Qumran, especially considering the established view that *Jubilees* is an intentional rewriting of Genesis 1 through Exodus 12. The book of Genesis is well represented at Qumran, being identified in between 18 and 20 manuscripts.[17] No manuscript retains the entire book of Genesis, and only 6 retain text from

[13] This was first pointed out to me by Kipp Davis (P.C.)
[14] See Tigchelaar (2014)
[15] Ibid.
[16] See Ibid.
[17] Manuscripts containing text(s) from Genesis are 1Q1, 2Q1, 4Q1, 4Q2, 4Q3, 4Q4, 4Q5, 4Q6, 4Q7, 4Q8a, 4Q8b, 4Q9, 4Q10, 4Q11, 4Q12 4Q576, 6Q1 and 8Q1. Cf. DJD 39, 167-168. DJD 39 also lists 4Q483 as a possible Genesis manuscript. In DJD 7, this is listed as "4QpapGen or papJubj". There are two arguments for leaving it off the list of Genesis manuscripts. 1) The manuscript is so fragmentary that it does not give us anything other than a statistical boost and 2) it is papyrus and would thus be the only papyrus Genesis manuscript at among the DSS. Jubilees, however, is found on papyrus (e.g. 4Q223-224).

Genesis 1: 1Q1, 4Q2, 4Q4, 4Q7, 4Q8 and 4Q10.[18] Of these, two are so fragmentary as to give little help in understand the text of Genesis 1 during this period, e.g. 1Q1 and 4Q8. 4Q2 should probably also be left out of the discussion for the present time as it is quite different from the other Qumran manuscripts, having a later hand and lower quality leather and being "reminiscent of the biblical scrolls from Murabbaʿat."[19] It is also virtually identical with the MT, meaning that we can establish that in the (post-)Qumranic period we have a clearly stabilized MT text. A cursory look at 4Q4, 4Q7 and 4Q10 shows that the Genesis creation account was firmly established at Qumran. Variants found in the manuscripts do not stray widely from the variants known from the MT and the ancient translations. This may seem trivial, but it is important in this context that the *Jubilees* creation account was transmitted alongside the Genesis account, not instead of it.

Further, 4Q4 provides an interesting example of a scroll with a very short, wide column with 11 lines containing 57-67 letter spaces per line. Based on these material features, it is likely that this manuscript was not an entire Genesis scroll, but a/some excerpt(s). The sheet that has survived does not contain the entire text of Genesis 1, but it does clearly show stitching to the right, meaning that another sheet could have been attached at some point, possibly containing the rest of the Genesis creation account. If this small manuscript indeed did *only* contain the creation story,[20] it would be an interesting parallel to the older sheet of 4Q216, which, as I have argued above, may show the *Jubilees* creation story as transmitted separate from the rest of the work. It is not surprising to find the creation story as an independently circulated text, surely this was of great import for various communities and would be a likely text to find in anthologies or other excerpted texts.

3.1.1. The *Jubilees* Creation Account at Qumran

There are several angles which are fruitful to pursue in the discussion of the place of the *Jubilees* creation account at Qumran. First, I will at a section of 11Q5 which has a very clear parallel in the *Jubilees* creation account as found in the text of 4Q216. Further, I will discuss how texts discussing the creation of Humanity may be related to the *Jubilees* creation account.

[18] On the exclusion of 4Q483 see previous note.
[19] Davila (DJD 12), 31.
[20] Davila (DJD 12, 43) says that it is possible, but unlikely, that there were lines above the 11 extant lines in 4Q4. I find this highly unlikely as it would require either an unlikely large space between lines (notice the lamed in line 2 nearly touches the bottom of the lamed and he in line 1) or a large blank space in the manuscript that does not correspond to a פ division not found in the MT. There is, however an empty space not corresponding with a פ division in the MT is found after verse 21 in line 9. Any reconstructed break in the line previous to line 1 would have to take up nearly the entire line, and is thus highly unlikely at that point.

Finally, I will look at the important topic of the *Jubilees* creation account and the Qumran calendar.

3.1.1.1. 4Q216 and 11Q5 XXVI (11QPs[a] Hymn to the Creator)

A text which shows a clear connection to *Jubilees* from Qumran is 11Q5 XXVI 11-12 (11QPs[a] Hymn to the Creator).[21] The following passage, lines 11b – 12 is relevant to 4Q216 and *Jub* 2:2-3 as seen in 4Q216 v 10-11:

4Q216 v 10-11[22]		11Q5 xxvi 11b-12[23]
מאפלה ושחר ו[אור וערב אשר הכין בד]עתו.		מבדיל אור מאפלה שחר הכין בדעת
אז ר֯אינו מעשיו ונ[ברכהו] על כל [מ]עשיו ו[נהללה לפניו כי שבעה]מעשים גדולים ע[שה ביום הראשון]		לבו אזראו כול מלאכיו וירננו כי הראם את אשר לוא ידעו

4Q216 v 10-11[24]		11Q5 xxvi 11b-12[25]
darkness, dawn, [light, the dusk which he prepared with] his [know]ledge. Then we saw his deeds and [blessed him] on account of all his [d]eeds and [we praised him in his presence because] he ma[de seven] great works [on the first day.]		He separated light from darkness, the dawn he established with the knowledge of his heart. Then all his angels saw and sang for he showed them what they had not known.

There are several parallels here that are worth noting,[26] first is the connection between the creation of light and darkness and the creation of dawn. The Genesis creation account does

[21] This connection was originally pointed out in Skehan, "*Jubilees* and the Qumran Psalter," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, 37 (1975). His article was written before the publication of DJD 13 and VanderKam's edition and translation of *Jubilees*, so his observations were based on the Ethiopic text and translation of Charles along with the versional evidence. 11Q5 is discussed by Sanders in DJD 4, 89-91. He does not observe the connection to Jubilees in his edition. Cf. Also the discussion in van Ruiten, *Primaeval history interpreted: the rewriting of Genesis I-II in the Book of Jubilees* (Boston: Brill, 2000), 26-27. and in VanderKam and Milik (DJD 13), 16.
[22] Martin G. Abegg Jr., "Qumran Sectarian Manuscripts" (Bellingham, WA: Logos Bible Software, 2003).
[23] *11Q5 Psalms a* (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2010), Hymn to the Creator 3–5.
[24] Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition (translations)" (Leiden; New York: Brill, 1997–1998) = DSSSE, 461.
[25] DSSSE, 1179.
[26] Cf. van Ruiten, (2000).

not mention the creation of dawn, only the creation of light and darkness, which are called day and night – followed by the formula that ends each day of creation "And there was morning and there was evening, the first day." The *Jubilees* creation account has a tendency to make explicit the elements of creation that are necessary to understand the creation account as it progresses. It is likely for this reason the angels and the dusk and dawn are mentioned on the first day. The dusk and dawn may be included here quite simply because the entire structure of the creation account in Genesis.[27] Further, the Greek chronographer *Epiphanius* seems to use *Jub* 2 in his creation account, and in his use of *Jub* 2:2 he lists the items in a different order, ending with dawn – which would align even better with the text of 11Q5.[28]

The second parallel builds on the first - the establishment or preparation of the dawn (and other items of the first day of creation) is done through or by God's knowledge. 4Q216 lacks the word לבו but a retroversion of the Ethiopic supports reading "his heart" in the Ethiopic tradition. This is a very interesting case, and may be explained either as a mistake on the part of the scribe of 4Q216, or perhaps later editions of the text were edited to come even closer to the 11Q5 text. Either way, it seems that the connection here is quite strong.

The third parallel is even more telling. The angels see the works of God on the first day and praise him because of them. 11Q5 reads "Then all his angels saw" were 4Q216 reads "then we saw." The difference is not only superficial, it is in fact entirely predictable based on the narrative structure of *Jubilees. Jubilees* is narrated by the angel of presence, who has been tasked with transmitting the narrative to Moses. In the perspective of *Jubilees*, the angel then would for literary reasons use the first person plural when speaking of himself and the other angels. In 11Q5, the implied speaker is to be understood as David or the Psalmist, the addressee is God and the angels are spoken of in the 3rd person. This is also the case in other passages in *Jubilees*, as seen in 4Q216 vi 8-9 (= *Jub* 2:17).[29]

These parallels from this relatively short passage seem to show the two texts are related in some way. The question is of course how this relationship may be discussed. Skehan argues that the Hymn to the Creator in 11Q5 xxvi is a liturgical text, connected to Psalms 149 and 150, which it is also materially connected to in the manuscript.[30] Skehan follows Sanders'

[27] On the creation of the angels on the first day, see below, section 2.1.1.2
[28] See Skehan (1975), 345
[29] Also many other times, such as *Jub* 2:30; 3:1,9,12,15; 4:6; 5:23; 10:6,11-13; etc.
[30] Skehan (1975), 343.

discussion from the *edition princeps* where verbal connections are made with 1QH and 1QS[31] and views the Hymn as the source of the text in *Jub* 2.[32] As Skehan argues that the text is liturgical in nature, it is difficult to know the direction of the influence, but Peter Flint, upon the advice of Professor VanderKam, offers a more nuanced discussion, allowing for the possibility that *Jubilees* could be older than the Hymn or that the hymn was not a part of the Psalms corpus at the time of the composition of *Jubilees.* No matter what, it seems likely that both the some form of the Hymn and the parallel text in 4Q216/*Jub* 2 could be seen as adaptations of a known text or liturgy. It is also possible that later versions of *Jubilees* reflect the development of the liturgical text/hymn that occurred after the copying of 4Q216. Considering 4Q216 is the oldest extant copy of *Jub* 2, it is quite possible that subsequent versions reflect a movement toward the text of 11Q5 Hymn to the Creator. Either way it is an important connection as the text of 11Q5 Hymn to the Creator is only known from Qumran.

3.2. The Creation of Humanity at Qumran

As we have seen, the Genesis creation account is clearly known and circulated at Qumran, but it is also a text about which there seems to have been a good deal of discussion during the Second Temple period. As John J. Collins has pointed out, there are similarities in the interpretation of the creation of humanity in Genesis, through Ben Sira and on to the Dead Sea Scrolls.[33] Especially significant is the understanding of the creation of the *Jubilees* creation account is also helpful in understanding at least Qumran text, 4QInstruction.[34] Several lines of 4Q417 1 i are interesting in the discussion of the creation of Humanity at Qumran, especially given the possible readings proposed by Collins:

16 לשמרי דברו. והואה חזון הֿהגוֿ לֹספר זכרון. וינחילֹנֿוֹ לאנוש עם ^עם^ רוח. כֹ[י]אֹ
17 כתבנית קדושים יצרו. ועוד לוא נתן הגוֹ לרוח בשר כי לא ידע בין
18 [טו]ב לרע כמשפט [ר]וחו[.] ⟦ ⟧ ואתה בן מבין הבט ⟦ ⟧ ברז נהיה ודע[35]

16 for those who keep his word. And this is the vision of meditation and a book of remembrance. And he will give it as an inheritance to Enosh together with a spiritual /people/, f[o]r

[31] Sanders (DJD 4), 90-91. Skehan (1975), 345
[32] Skehan was working before both the publication of the Qumran *Jubilees* fragments and the publication of VanderKam's studies and editions, and the arguments, evidence and dating of the composition of *Jubilees* reflect this.
[33] Collins, "Interpretations of the Creation of Humanity in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. Henze; *Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature*; Grand rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005).
[34] The texts are presented and discussed in DJD 34.
[35] Abegg (2003).

17 according to the pattern of the holy ones is his fashioning, but he did not give meditation (as) a witness to the spirit of flesh, for it does not know the difference between

18 [goo]d and evil according to the judgment of its [sp]irit. *Blank* And you, understanding son, consider *Blank* the mystery of existence, and know[36]

There are two possible connections to *Jubilees* in this text. The first, concerning the word לאנוש is discussed by Lange who states:

> Da אנוש 4Q417 2 $i_{16f.}$ von der den Bereich des Menschlichen als widergöttlich qualifizierenden רוח בשר ausgeschlossen wird, ist es unwahrscheinlich, daß אנוש das den Menschen bezeichnende Nomen ist, es handelt sich vielmehr um ein *nomen proprium* und meint den in Gen 4,26; 5,6f.9-11; 1Chr 1,1; Sir 49,16 genannten Sohn des Seth; was durch die Anmerkung, das Buch der Erinnerung sei um des Frevels der Söhne des Seth willen geschrieben worden, bestätigt wird.[37]

Collins acknowledges this possibility, but rejects this in favor of another interpretation, where אנוש is seen as signifying humanity, or more specifically Adam, the primordial human.[38] Collins' arguments are interesting, but if we follow Lange's reasoning, he rightly connects 4QInstruction with *Jub.* 4:12, where Enosh is specifically credited with being the first to "Call on the Lord's name on the earth." Further, the ספר זכרון mentioned in 4QInstruction also awakens thoughts of *Jubilees* which is rich in book imagery. If Enosh was the first person to call on the name of the Lord, it also seems reasonable that his name could be connected to a "book of remembrance" or "book of meditation"[39] which he, in 4QInstruction, is said to have inherited. This connection would ease the tension pointed to in DJD 34, with *Jubilees* serving as an interpretive bridge between the texts.

The second and more important connection between 4Q417 1 i 16-18 and *Jubilees* holds whether we follow Lange's or Collins' interpretation of אנוש in 4Q417, namely the understanding of the phrase כתבנית קדושים יצרו כֹּ[י]א in line 16-17. This has been translated in different ways, DJD 34 reads "according to the pattern of the Holy Ones *is his* (man's) fashioning."[40] Collins reads "'for according to the likeness of the Holy Ones is his inclination' (or, he formed him)"[41] The point here is that Enosh/humanity is formed according to the likeness of the *angels*, in contrast to Gen. 1:26, where humanity is made in the likeness of

[36] DSSSE, 859.
[37] A. Lange, *Weisheit und Pradestination*, (Leiden, Brill: 1995), 87; cf also pp 86-92 on the view that אנוש is a personal name in 4Q417.
[38] Collins (2005), 37. Both views are discussed in DJD 34, 164-165.
[39] Connections to other Qumran texts are also clear based on the the book of Meditation, e.g. 1Q28 (1QSa) and
[40] DJD 34, 155 (italics in the original). DSSSE follows this reading, dropping the parenthesis (though the text is there labelled 4Q217 2 i 16-17.
[41] Collins (2005), 38.

God. This is striking when taken on its own, but is quite interesting when seen light of the *Jubilees* creation account. First, *Jub* 2 does not, in any known manuscript, include the phrase וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים נַעֲשֶׂה אָדָם בְּצַלְמֵנוּ כִּדְמוּתֵנוּ as is found in Gen 1:26. It is difficult to know why *Jubilees* does not include this phrase, and there could be a number of reasons,[42] but it seems likely that there could be an exegetical problem with אלהים being the subject of the plural verb, נעשה.

The question of why the verb of Genesis 1:26 is in the plural cohortative is well known and needs not be reviewed here in detail.[43] In *Jubilees* it may be that the understanding of אלהים is that it with the plural verb means "angel" which also seems to be the case in *Jub.* 4:21.[44] This would then mean that Gen 1:26 is omitted in *Jub* 2 to avoid the implication that the angels were involved in creating. This is where the 4Q417 text becomes quite interesting. The language in this section is much closer to Gen 2 than Gen 1 and the connection here to Gen. 2:7 has already been established.[45] What is relevant for the understanding of 4Q417 from 4Q216 and *Jub* 2 is the fact that *Jubilees* provides the interpretive key allowing the association of the angels and creation, namely that in the *Jubilees* creation account, the angels are created on the first day, along with the heavens and the earth, as witnessed by 4Q216 i 5-10. It is quite possible that *Jubilees*' understanding of the creation of the angels on the first day then is the background for understand Enosh/humanity as being created in the image of the angels.[46]

The fact that *Jubilees* views the angels in anthropomorphic terms is best illustrated by *Jub* 15:26-27, where EJ is clear that angels were created circumcised:

> Anyone who is born, the flesh of whose private parts has not been circumcised by the eight day does not belong to the people of the pact…For this is what the nature of all the angels of the presence and all the angels of holiness was like from the day of their creation. In front of the angels of the presence and the angels of holiness he sanctified Israel to be with him and his holy angels.[47]

Based on the references to the book in connection with the reference to Enosh and the clear understanding of the angels being a model for the forming of man seems that *Jubilees* in

[42] Cf. van Ruiten (2000), 44-45; Kugel (2014), 32.
[43] Cf. among others Westermann, *Genesis 1-11* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 143ff.
[44] Cf. van Ruiten (2000), 25.
[45] Cf. DJD 34.
[46] A spiritual or non-anthropomorphic understanding of human beings as being in the likeness of the angels is known from 1 Enoch 69:11 "For indeed human beings were not created but to be like angels, permanently to live pure and righteous lives." Citation from OTP 1, 47
[47] *Jub 15:26-27* citation from VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (vol. 511; Lovanii: Peeters, 1989).

general and the *Jubilees* creation account in particular is an important text for the interpretation of creation found in 4QInstruction. This underscores the importance of *Jub 2* at in the context of Qumran and affirms 4Q216 as a Qumran text.

3.3. Creation and Calendar at in the Dead Sea Scrolls

The *Jubilees* creation account is especially important when it comes to the understanding of the calendar as it is perceived in second temple Judaism in general and in the Dead Sea Scrolls in particular.[48] It is well known that the *Jubilees* calendar was of great importance in the development of the understanding of the Qumran calendar, though they are not identical.[49] This topic has been dealt with in detail, and it is not my purpose here to make new claims about the *Jubilees* calendar. There, however, are several reasons to connect texts unique (to the best of our knowledge) to Qumran and the *Jubilees* creation account, and this may also impact our understanding of the importance of the transmission of *Jub* 2 independent from the rest of the book. First, it seems that where the Astronomical Book of Enoch, *1 En* 72-82,[50] goes to great lengths to combine the lunar and solar calendars, *Jub* 2:9 erases all doubt and establishes the sun as the guiding heavenly body for fixing of "days, Sabbaths, months, festivals, years, Sabbaths of years, jubilees, and all times of the years." Second, as Ben-Dov, following Ravid[51] has convincingly argued, *Jubilees* has specific motives for the adoption of the 364 day calendar. If the calendar is used both exegetically and prescriptively, i.e. to make sense of texts and to prescribe when festivals should be celebrated, within a solar calendar. Jubilees stands in Enochic the tradition, but is also challenging or radicalizing it for its own purposes. It seems that the point of the presentation of the calendar in *Jubilees* is to show that the liturgical calendar, where festivals are celebrated in relation to harvests, can be reconciled with a civil calendar made up of 52 7-day weeks.

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[48] A good overview of both topics, as well as an extensive bibliography on the subject is Ben-Dov, Head of All Years : Astronomy and Calendars at Qumran in their Ancient Context (78; Leiden: Brill, 2008). Cf. also VanderKam, Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls : Measuring Time (London ; New York: Routledge, 1998). More specifically related to Jubilees is Ben-Dov, "Tradition and Innovation in the Calendar of Jubilees," in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah The Evidence of Jubilees* (eds. Boccaccini and Ibba; Grand Rapids, MI.: Eerdmans, 2009). Earlier work on the Jubilees calendar and Qumran can be seen for example in A. Jaubert, "Le calendrier des Jubilés et de la secte de Qumran. Ses origins bibliques," VT 3 (1953): 250-64; Jaubert, "Le calendrier des Jubilés et les jours liturgiques de la semaine," VT 7 (1957): 35-61; S. Talmon, "The Calendar Reckoning of the Sect from the Judaean Desert," reprinted with revisions in Talmon, The World of Qumran from Within (Jerusalem: Magnes; Leiden: Brill, 1989), 147-85.

[49] This was explored early on by A. Jaubert (1953,1957), Cf. Also S. Talmon (1989), 147-85. Jaubert's work has been refined in Ravid, "The Book of Jubilees and its Calendar - A Reexamination," 10, no. 3 (2003). and Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years : Astronomy and Calendars at Qumran in their Ancient Context* (78; Leiden: Brill, 2008).

[50] Partially preserved in 4Q208 and 4Q209.

[51] Ravid (2003), 371-94.

The importance of 4Q216 and *Jub* 2 in this connection is the interpretive framework for why the calendar should be 364 days – corresponding closely to the solar calendar. The main difference on this point between the *Jubilees* creation account and the *Gen* 1 creation account is the found in the following passage:

4Q216 5-7 = *Jub* 2:8-9	Gen 1:14-16
5 [Blank On the fourth day yhwh made the s]un, the moon and the stars. [He placed] 6 [them in the vault of the sky so that they could give light to the whole earth,] to regulate day and night and to separ[ate] 7 [light and darkness. And he placed the sun as a gre]at [sign above the earth] for the day[s], the [sa]bbaths, the [months], 8 [the feasts, the years, the weeks of years and the jubi]lees and for all the cyc[les of the years.][52]	14 And God said, "Let there be lights in the dome of the sky to separate the day from the night; and let them be for signs and for seasons and for days and years, 15 and let them be lights in the dome of the sky to give light upon the earth." And it was so. 16 God made the two great lights—the greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night—and the stars. 17 God set them in the dome of the sky to give light upon the earth, 18 to rule over the day and over the night, and to separate the light from the darkness.[53]

In the Genesis account, the "lights in the dome of the sky" are the signs "for the seasons and for days and years" while in *Jubilees* it is very clearly stated that it is only the sun that plays this role. In my opinion this is a quite clear polemic against those who would argue for a lunisolar calendar which follows both the sun and the moon. This is quite clear when read together with *Jub* 6:32-38, where the angel of presence warns that

> There will be people who carefully observe the moon with lunar observations because it is corrupt (with respect to) the seasons and is early from year to year by ten days. Therefore yearas will come about for them when they will disturb (the year) and make a day of testimony something worhthless and a profane day a festival…[54]

[52] DSSSE, 463.
[53] *The Holy Bible: New Revised Standard Version* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1989), Ge 1:14–18.
[54] *Jub* 6:36-37, trans. VanderKam (1989).

This seems to be a major consideration *Jubilees* – all the major festivals are easily dated to a specific day of a specific month, in the 364 day calendar, and do not change from year to year.

Besides these broader considerations about the calendar at Qumran and in the Second Temple period, my main interest here is related to three Qumran calendrical texts that seem even more related to the *Jubilees* creation account than what would be garnered from the general observations. The first text 4Q320, which explicitly connects creation and the calendar, which is interesting to examine further in light of the *Jub* 2. The second text is 4Q317 (4QcryptA Lunisolar Calendar/4QPhases of the Moon), which aligns the lunar and solar calendars.

3.3.1. 4Q320

This manuscript is a calendrical text that includes literary elements.[55] My interest here is the connection between the calendar and creation found in the literary sections.[56] 4Q320 is a *mishmarot* text, which is not a simple secular calendar, but lists the priestly watches for each month, in relation to the lunar and the solar calendars. I will here only look at three small parts of this manuscript, fragment 1 i, 3 i 9-13 and 4 ii 10-14. Fragment shows the importance, as has been seen in the *Jubilees* creation story, of the 4th day being the first day of the calendrical system:

1 ○[--]להראותה מן המזרח
2 [-- ^]ל[א]ורה^ [ב]מחצית השמים ביסוד
3 [הבריא]ה מערב עד בוקר ב4 בשבת
4 [ג]מול לחודש הרישון בשנה
5 [הרישו]נה. ⟦ ⟧
[ב5 בידע]יה ל29 ב30 בו. [57]

1[…] to become visible from the East
2 [and] shine [in] the centre of the sky, at the base of
3 [the vaul]t, from evening to morning, on the 4th (day, i.e. Wednesday) of the week of
4 [the sons of Ga]mul, in the first month of the
5 [fir]st year. *Blank*
6 [The 5th of (the week of) Jedai]ah (corresponds) to the 29th (day of a lunar month, and falls) on the 30th of the 1st (month according to the solar calendar).[58]

Here it is clear that the calendar begins on the fourth day of creation, as is necessary according the view established in *Jubilees*. This understanding is necessary for the further

[55] The texts are discussed in several works: Pfann, (DJD 21), Ben-Dov (2008), Jacobus (2013).
[56] Jacobus (2013)
[57] Abegg (2003)
[58] DSSSE, 679.

calculations of the text, which determines fixed days in the solar calendar that correspond to the lunar calendar and the priestly cycle.

9 [--]◌ שני הקדש
10 [-- ה]בריאה קדש
11 [-- ב]4בשבת
12 [-- גמו]ל ר[ו]ש כל השנים
13 [-- את]ות היובל השני[59]

9 […] the holy years
10 […] holy creation
11 […] the 4th of the week of
12 [the sons of Gamu]l the begi[nn]ing of all the years.
13 [… the y]ear of the second jubilee.[60]

In this fragment we see the first mention of the jubilee. It is not clear what the reference is to, but the relationship between the sun and the Jubilee is clearly established in the *Jubilees* creation account. The final fragment to be looked at here, however, increases the connection to the *Jubilees* creation account:

10 הימים ולשבתת
11 לחדשים
12 [ול]שנים ולשמטים
13 וליובלות. ב4[61]

10 the days, and according to the weeks,
11 [and] to the months, *Blank*
12 according to the years, and to the Releases
13 and to the jubilees. On the 4th of
14 the week of the sons of Gamul.[62]

This fragment is very close to the text of *Jub* 2:9 = 4Q216 vi 7-8:

7 לימ[ים] ול[ש]בתות ול[חדשים]
8 [ולמועדים ולשנים ולשבועות השנים -- וליוב]לים [63]

7 for the day[s], the [sa]bbaths, the [months],
8 [the feasts, the years, the weeks of years and the jubi]lees[64]

This text seems very closely related to the formula of *Jub* 2. The text of 4Q320 is closer to *Jub* 2:9 than it is to *Gen* 1:14, not only in light of the systematic reference to the solar

[59] Abegg (2003)
[60] DSSSE, 681.
[61] Abegg (2003)
[62] DSSSE, 681.
[63] Abegg (2003)
[64] DSSSE, 463.

calendar in 4Q320, but also because of the inclusion of שבתת, חדשים, and וליובלות, as well as the omission of מועדים which is found in *Gen* 1:14.

Before beginning to draw conclusions about the relationship between the two texts I will first look at another calendrical text from Qumran which is interesting in relation to the *Jubilees* creation account, namely 4Q317.

3.3.2. 4Q317

4Q317 has been called 4QcryptA Lunisolar Calendar[65] and 4Q 4QcryptA Phases of the Moon[66] and has been previously discussed most recently by Helen R. Jacobus who draws connections between 4Q317 and creation.[67] Jacobus convincingly shows that the language of 4Q317 stands in the same tradition as 4Q320 in relation to creation, and is thus relevant to our discussion here. In particular there are two features of this text that I find relevant to the discussion of the calendar at Qumran in relation to *Jubilees.* First is the schematic presentation of the lunar phases according to the solar calendar. Second is the cryptic script.

The text of 4Q317 is highly schematic, making up what could be considered a reference volume for the phases of the moon in relation to the solar calendar. This is highly interesting from the point of view of the *Jubilees* calendar, as *Jubilees* seems to be arguing against the use of the moon for calculating the dates of the festivals. The text equates the amount of the moon visible in the cycles of waxing and waning to the solar calendar, by way of describing how many 14^{ths} of the moon are visible, reflecting the number of days between the new moon and the full moon, and *vice versa.* The following text from fragment 1 ii a 2-9 is a good example of the text as a whole:

2 [בח]משה בֹּו[תכסה שתים]
3 [ע]שׂרא וכֹן [תבוא ליום. בששה בו]
4 תכסה שלושׁ[עשרא וכן תבוא ליום.]
5 בש^ב^עה בו תכס[ה ארבע עשרא וכן]
6 תבוא ליום. ⟦ ⟧ [ ]
7 בשמנהׂ בו תׂ[משול אורה ליום בתוך]
8 הרקיע ממעׂ[ל ^ארבע עשרא וחצי^. ובבוא השמש יכלה כול]
9 אורה להכסׂות[וכן יחל להגלות][68]

2 [On the] {fourth} fifth (day) of it (i.e. the month) [it is covered for]
3 twelve (fourteenths,) and so [it enters the day. On the sixth of it,]

[65] Jacobus (2013)
[66] DSSSE
[67] Jacobus (2013)
[68] Abegg (2003).

4 it is covered for thir[teen, and so it enters the day.]
5 On the {sixth} seventh of it, it is co[vered for fourteen, and so]
6 it enters the day. *Blank* [*Blank*]
7 On the {seventh} eighth of it, [its light dominates the day in the centre of the]
8 high vault, [/fourteen and a half/. And at the arrival of the sun]
9 its light is obscured [and thus it starts to be visible][69]

Accordingly, one is able to calculate the day of the year in the solar calendar, based on the phase of the moon. This would only be necessary in a situation where the solar calendar plays a vital role. It seems that the function of the text is not to show the compatibility of the two calendars, but to insure that one is able to be certain of the correct day in the solar calendar using the methods easily available through the observation of the moon. This would support a situation where the actual calendar being followed is solar, but where people are still used to calculating the date based on the moon. This manuscript would then provide a key to finding the correct date, using the methods that are not solar, but allowing the solar calendar to be correctly calculated.

Adding to this line of reasoning is the cryptic script in which the text is written. It is quite interesting that a text which seems to go against the commands of *Jub* 6 to abandon the moon as in the calendar, would be written in a cryptic script. One could speculate that this document was prepared as an aid for those who were still reliant on the moon in order to calculate dates, but were part of the community using the solar calendar. It may be possible that this reference guide was not meant to be the prescriptive calendar for the community, but was used to double check or the help those who did not know the date in the 364 day calendar.

Current scholarship has accorded much weight to the fact that the lunar calendar still holds much value at Qumran, as especially these calendrical texts seem to point toward. However, it is possible to reinterpret the function of these calendrical texts pragmatically, as I have discussed especially in relation to 4Q317. It does seem that according to the calendars, i.e. 4Q320, it is the solar calendar (or 364-day calendar) that decides the dates of the festivals and the six-year cycle of the priestly courses.[70] It may be that these calendars that correlate the lunar and the solar calendars are not prescriptive in nature, but a necessary aid for a group who easily can discern the date based on the position and size of the moon, but have no such tool to do so in a solar calendar. The fact that *Jubilees* and other Qumran texts seem to argue against the use of the lunar calendar may strengthen this understanding. The community may

[69] DSSSE, 673.
[70] DJD 21, 47-48.

have been ideally based on a solar calendar, but still needed the lunar calendar to help know what day it was. The calendrical texts that correlate the two calendars can then be seen as an aid for those who want to determine the correct *solar* date – in order to maintain the correct calendar in the 364-day cycle. Thus, the calendrical texts may be reading the *Jubilees* creation account and its emphasis on the sun as authoritative in opposition to the Genesis account.

4. Conclusion

This paper has attempted to use the material analysis to discuss the likelihood and relevance of the transmission of the *Jubilees* creation account independently from the rest of *Jubilees* during the Qumran period. The distinct possibility that 4Q4 is the Genesis creation account transmitted separate from the rest of Genesis strengthens the possibility that creation accounts in general were being circulated independently of the works from which they are now known. The *Jubilees* creation account also seems to be an interpretive key for understanding parts of 4QInstruction. Further, it seems that the *Jubilees* creation account is important in the interpretation of some Qumran texts, the calendrical texts of 4Q320 and 4Q317 as well as 11Q5 Hymn to the Creator and 4QInstruction. This firmly situates *Jubilees* as a Qumran text, and raises the importance of reading 4Q216 as a part of the Qumran literature. Further, the use of the *Jubilees* creation account in later texts, and the influence that especially this part of *Jubilees* had on Greek historiography supports the hypothesis that 4Q216 may represent an early tradition of transmitting the *Jubilees* creation account as a parallel or more detailed version than that of Genesis. In sum, all these observations show that 4Q216, while clearly a manuscript preserving the *Jubilees* tradition, is an important Qumran manuscript in its own right.

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OTSEM CONFERENCE 2015-Uppsala, 18-20 September

PROJECT TITLE: **Maasai Encounter with the Bible: Nomadic Identity as a Hermeneutical Question**

PhD Candidate: Zephania Shila Nkesela

Dear OTSEM 2015 participants,

I am blessed to have this opportunity to share my research with you. I look forward to learn from you during the discussion.

I have included the table of contents and some selected subtopics from chapters 1&2. My project is still at the initial stage, it started in January 2015. From the table of contents as you can see, my project has two dialogue partners that is popular reading and critical scholarship of the Bible. I would like you to focus on this method and enrich this project if that sounds fruitful. Hope you will be in a position to grasp what I am trying to achieve.

With blessings,

Zephania.

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5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Introduction

1.1 A Case from Maasai

> "Where are you God? I am tired of this humiliation! Everybody is blaming the Maasai for our way of life as if it is a sin. Are you God who led the Israelites out of Egypt with their cattle, sheep and goats to Canaan as we read in the Bible? Are you not the one who led people like Abraham, Moses, Jacob and many others with their herds of cattle without being disturbed by other people? Instead they are praised up to now as your people, are you not the God of Maasai also?"

This was a crying voice of a certain Maasai woman from Mabwerege village of Morogoro region in Tanzania, standing at a distance from her burning hut, her injured husband lying down, bleeding from the fresh wounds while the farmers were continuing setting fire on other huts of these pastoralists' village. Her husband was terribly injured when he was trying to resist farmers from cultivating the land near these Maasai pastoralists home. The woman continued crying saying: who will help us, the Maasai? God, have you abandoned us because we have moved from Arusha region to this village? We came here to find good pastures for our cattle, the gift you gave us! What have we done wrong to deserve all this punishment?"

Furthermore, this woman continued saying:

> God, you are the one who created the Maasai and other people in this world. You provided for different tribes in this world what it pleased you. You gave others bows and spears to be hunters, others hoes to be farmers. You gave us the Maasai cattle, sheep and goats that we can take care of them. There is no other place to feed our animals except on this land you gifted us. You bring rain; the grasses grow that our animals should not die of hunger. Why are these farmers jealous of us? Let them practice farming and leave us to graze our animals in peace. Our dear God, do not be silent when your people are oppressed, you are the only one we depend on, come and help us please.

The Maasai nomadic life reminds me the nomadic life of the patriarchs we read in the Old Testament texts like Gen 13:1-12 Abraham and Lot. First, this Old Testament story shows us a glimpse that both Abraham and Lot were living a nomadic life. They owned large groups of animals and they were moving from one place to another with their animals they owned. Second, they had no permanent settlement. They lived in tents. Permanent houses could not be a good option for them simply because the lifestyle they were living demanded moving here and there for feeding their animals. Third, these two nomads had a shortage of land, their herdsmen quarreled until when Abraham settled the matter by land division between the two groups. Despite the fact of them bearing a nomadic identity, fourth, God was with Abraham since he was building an altar for the Lord who appeared to him. In other terms, God was also baring a nomadic identity moving with them wherever they went.

Having observed these parallels between the Maasai and the Old Testament nomadic life, a passion of reading nomadic Old Testament texts with this woman and probably with the Maasai community sprout in my mind.

1.2 Problem Identification

Some people in Tanzania do not like the Maasai ways of life. The Maasai practice pastoralism as their main way of survival. Pastoralism leads Maasai to be following their animals to good pastures most of their life. When the Maasai are running a life, which is normal to them, some other people oppose Maasai way of life and this encounter creates a kind of cultural and social marginalization to the Maasai.

Furthermore, Maasai nomadic way of life has become subject to stereotype and downgrading. When the Maasai are moving with their cattle to different parts of Tanzania, they have been facing a serious opposition from other tribes and accused of destroying the agricultural activities with their large groups of animals. In some cases, there has been a serious fight between farmers and Maasai pastoralists fighting for what is claimed as 'Maasai invasion of farmer's land.' The fight has cost people's lives and loss of property for both sides, farmers and pastoralists. Some officials from the government also are fighting Maasai way of life by trying to force the Maasai to be "civilized" and abandon their nomadic way of life. Their concern has been the Maasai to sell their cattle, build permanent houses, settle in one place and practice agriculture instead of pastoralism. All these efforts to make Maasai abandon their way of life have been like beating the air since the Maasai like their way of life and are contented with it. When they resist the idea, they lock horns with the farmers and fight, resulting to what might be termed as a civil war.

Maasai problem seems to be part of a larger problem, which is happening in Africa. Having researched the source of civil wars in Africa, Ali Mazrui mentions "Identity" to be one of the cause reasons to why Africans fight.[1] According to him, though there might be some other causes mentioned, Africans fight simply about *who is who*. This means when someone's identity seems inferior to another then the one who feels superior wants to intimidate the other and when the inferior resists the war begins. Abiodun Alao on his side is even specific and he comments on the conflict between farmers and pastoralists in Africa when he says the pastoralists are perhaps some

[1]Ali A Mazrui, "Conflict in Africa : An Overview," in *The Roots of African Conflicts : The Causes & Costs*, ed. Alfed Nhema & Paul Tiyambe Zeleza (Oxford: James Currey, 2008), 38; ibid.

of the most misunderstood participants of the natural resource sector.[2] To expand his ideas, this means the pastoralists are regarded as if they have no contribution to the national's economy and thus misusing the land. The job they are doing seems to some as private and cannot benefit the community. Leif Manger and M. Ahmed sympathize with the pastoralists that:

> "they are victims of conscious policies of marginalization based on the simplistic assumption (accusing them) desertification, of managing their stock according to irrational economic principles and of being technically stagnant and backward, of wandering about destroying nature, and of adhering to conservative social structures and cultural notions."[3]

Basing on these contributions of these scholars, the problem of marginalizing the Maasai pastoralists seems to be part of what has started many years ago in Africa and it is still going on. However, the negative attitude towards the Maasai pastoralists and their nomadic way of life might be combated by appealing to some Old Testament texts that bear a nomadic nature. When those texts are interpreted might bring new insights for liberation.

Nevertheless, these parallels between the Bible and the Maasai nomadic way of life on one hand and the Maasai woman's appeal for the biblical God's help on the other hand, one question might be so vital, building the background and arousing the curiosity for this research. How can Maasai popular reading of the Bible strengthen nomadic identity, the vital characteristic of their traditional values?

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[2] Abiodun Alao, *Natural resources and conflict in Africa: the tragedy of endowment* (Rochester, NY: Univ. of Rochester Press, 2007), 102.

[3] Leif O. Manger and M. Ahmed Abdel Ghaffar, *Pastoralists and environment: experiences from the Greater Horn of Africa : proceedings of the regional workshops on African drylands, Addis Ababa and Jinja* (Addis Ababa: Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA), 2000), 1.

2 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

2.1 Introduction

Taking into account the aim of the study and the research question presented, this study longs for an epistemology of Maasai culture in dialogue with the Bible. My way of analysis follows Inculturation hermeneutics. One of the tasks of this study is to discover how the Maasai can interpret the chosen text from their cultural perspective as "ordinary readers." In this chapter, three points are put forward in developing theoretical perspectives. These are the context, the text and actors.

2.2 Interpretive Context

2.2.1 Maasai Worldview

The Maasai have their own worldview that influences the way they read the Bible as ordinary readers. They have their beliefs, practices and a lifestyle that greatly affects their interpretation of the Bible. In this section of my study, I am going to discuss three aspects of the Maasai worldview namely the creation of people by *Enkai*,[4] the sense of community and the emphasis on the concrete rather than on the abstract.

Worldview is the term originating from the German word *Weltanschauung*. The term refers to the framework of ideas and beliefs through which an individual interprets the world and interacts with it.[5] From this definition, worldview is someone's daily life rather than a concept in the mind. The world view forms a component of life that is practiced and can be seen in the whole life of a person or a community.

The first component I would like to discuss here is the Maasai belief on the creation of people by *Enkai*. My reference is a famous Maasai folk story on creation of human beings. [6] The Maasai do believe that they were created by Enkai (who lives in heavens), simultaneously with other tribes on the world. In parallel to that creation, *Enkai* asked different tribes to choose the type of job they would like to do in this world. Some tribes like the Kikuyus, the Kambas and other crop cultivators asked for agricultural implements, the Maasai asked for cattle, sheep and goats while the Somali

[4] *Enkai* is the name of a traditional Maasai God. The Maasai are monotheistic believers and they believe in Enkai as the source of everything.
[5] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_view; accessed 02 July 2015.
[6] See the folkstory in Hans-Egil Hauge, *Maasai religion and folklore* (Nairobi: City Printing Works, 1979), 79.

asked for donkeys and camels and Enkai gave the Ndorobo hunting implements such as bows and arrows. That means, *Enkai* has distributed different jobs to be done by humanity and it is upon the human beings to concentrate on what *Enkai* has provided them.

The above-explained worldview shows that traditionally, Maasai believe their nomadic way of life is divinely ordained. Any idea that aims at separating them from cattle keeping is against *Enkai's* will and any Maasai who decides to do another job is diverging from the original plan. They are ready to defend their nomadic way of life at any cost. In other terms, it might be said, for a traditional Maasai, nomadic way of life is something sacred. If that is the case, when the Maasai ordinary readers come across the texts I have chosen for this thesis, their interpretation are influenced by Maasai understanding of the world which is part and parcel of their daily life.

The second component of the Maasai worldview is communal life. In Maasai, like in any other African society, communal life is very much valued. An individual traditional Maasai defines his/her way of life in relation to that of the whole Maasai community. Donovan witnessed this when doing mission to the Maasai that it was only possible until he asked permission from the *legwanan* (the elders), the symbol of unity in Maasai, he was not allowed to meet the community.[7] The communal life in traditional Maasai starts from the family members, the children, parents (husband and wives), brothers, sisters, grandparents, uncles, aunts and other close relatives. The communal life extends to people in other kraals though not blood relatives. Together with all who are bearing the Maasai identity, they form a Maasai community that considers itself as one.

From a traditional Maasai view, when a person succeeds in earning something, it is the success of the whole community, and the blessings have to be shared in a community. However, when bad things happen to an individual, the whole Maasai community suffers. That is why the ongoing land conflict in Maasai area has affected the whole Maasai community though, practically, only few Kraals are involved. It is from this perspective John Mbiti, one of the prominent scholars in African Philosophy summarizes the concept of communal life in Africa that "I am because we are; and since we are, therefore I am."[8] The age group system explained in section 1.7 of this thesis cements my argument. The *moran* who are living in *manyata* village do not exist as individual warriors but the warriors for the whole Maasai society. The elders, the *legwanans'* decisions affect the whole

[7] Vincent J. Donovan, *Christianity rediscovered : an epistle from the Masai* (London: SCM Press, 1978), 86-87.
[8] John S. Mbiti, *African religions & philosophy* (London: Heinemann, 1969), 106.

Maasai community not their individual families. The same applies to each age group in the Maasai society.

Nevertheless, Kwame Gyeke, a professional philosopher discusses the issue of collective and individual thought and comes with a conclusion that challenges the collectivity thought. He argues, there is strictly speaking, no such a thing like collective thought.[9] For him, what is called "collective thought" originates from an individual but accepted by the community. I find his argument partly right but it goes to one extreme. I agree on one hand, that thoughts originate from an individual but after a thorough discussion, when they become agreed by the majority, they become communal not individual. On the other hand, the community might have the common knowledge of a matter traditionally, when they make a decision on that particular matter that is a collective thinking. I am aware of the communal life of the Maasai and their collective way of thinking might influence the interpretation of the texts. The Bible study groups as used in my research may be appropriate for gaining the meaning that is communally accepted than the individual interpretation. The formation of the Bible study groups takes into consideration the dynamics of the Maasai society to get representatives of each age group to make sure I get a reasonable sample that represents the Maasai society in reading the texts.

The third aspect of Maasai worldview to be discussed in this study is the emphasis on the concrete rather than the abstract. The Maasai with their belief in *Enkai*, have a religion which focuses on the practical aspects rather than the theoretical ones. Following their prayers, all are directed to the practical, day-to-day life. One of the Maasai prayer says:

> Our *Enkai*, the maker of everything, we pray you not to destroy the creation you have made with your own hands. Receive the milk we give to you our God, so that you may share, or you may know that whatever you give us we are ready to return it (milk) to you.[10]

This is very practical because when Enkai is asked not to destroy the creation, they mean their God not to destroy grass, trees, cattle and the people, all these are existing now and can be seen. The offering of milk is showing an appreciation to *Enkai* that when he provides rain, the grass grow and when the cows eat the grass, they produce milk. *Enkai* also is seen as active now and here. He is a creator, he brings rain, he sustains his creation and he receives the gifts from human beings.

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[9] Kwame Gyekye, *An essay on African philosophical thought: the Akan conceptual scheme* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 24.
[10]Hauge, *Maasai religion and folklore*, 19.

John S. Pobee, a Ghanaian theologian, explains that this kind of worldview is common to various African societies.[11] The Africans seem not to expect things that are not tangible, expected to happen somewhere in the future but they want to touch and probably witness in their eyes. When someone comes to Christian faith, Pobee admits a big challenge of jumping from belief to practice.[12] However, the relationship between the cultures and Christian faith needs much attention especially the inculturation practice that is the task of this thesis.

In this issue of practice and theory, the Maasai go a step further. In their language, *Maa*, they do not have a future tense.[13] What they have is the past and present, but no future. This means, whatever task is, if it demands implementation, it has to be now. The future language is not understandable to them.

This worldview may also bring effects to the reading of the biblical texts that are focused in my study. For example, everything concerning time, as I know, does not exclude the future. When the society focused does deny the future what then will be the result? I will be very careful to take care of the issue.

The three aspects of the Maasai worldview discussed in this section have shown that they have influenced much on the Maasai reading of the biblical texts. These are the way of thinking of the Maasai that ca not be uprooted in a day if they deserve to.

2.3 Text

2.3.1 Maasai "texts": Popular and Academic Readings

2.3.2 The Bible: Popular and Critical Scholarship

Another text in this study is the Bible. This book has been part of the Christian life in Maasai area since the beginning of the 20th century. The missionaries used to interpret it to the natives but as the time passed on, the Christians themselves started to retell the biblical stories and reflect on them in relation to their daily lives. This forms two levels on which the Bible is read in Maasai area to date. The first level is the one where the individual lay Christians read the Bible without any theological training or any biblical exegetical training. This is the popular reading of the Bible. The

[11] John S. Pobee, *Toward an African theology* (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1979), 55.
[12] ibid.
[13] Donovan, *Christianity rediscovered : an epistle from the Masai*, 17.

second level is the one where the trained professionals read the Bible with theological and exegetical training. These professionals start from the time of missionaries to the present time where there are pastors trained in theology and exegetical methods. In this section of this study, these two types of reading the Bible in Maasai area are discussed.

2.3.2.1 The Popular Reading of the Bible

The context in which the popular reading is done in Maasai area is in homes, Bible study groups as commonly known as "fellowship" groups, home-to-home evangelism, prayers for the sick, consolation occasions and in open air meetings. Moreover, some emerging Pentecostal churches are motivated by revivalism movements in the Maasai area in which the popular reading of the Bible seems to be the best way of the Christian life. Justo Lemburis, a Maasai Lutheran pastor, in his presentation to the startup seminar of this project on the 27th May 2015, among three great challenges of mission work in Maasai area, mentioned Pentecostalism as the second challenge threatening Lutheranism.[14] When he coins Pentecostalism as a challenge, he means the popular reading of the Bible and a free liturgy open for dancing and emotional expression during the service. These features are common in Pentecostal meetings and some people are moved with them. Some Lutheran congregants are nor reaching a point of comparing the sermons performed by the ordinary readers and those ones by theologians. They seem to prefer the popular reading of the Bible as compared to the academic.

In popular reading, the Bible is read in a way that the interpretation interacts with the daily life experience of the reader. The attitude of the Maasai people towards the Bible is that the Bible is a sacred book from God and its existence in their context is to help them to solve their daily life problems, physical and spiritual. The Bible also gives directives for a good Christian life. The Maasai seem to share the same understanding of the Bible with people from West Africa. In a research done in West Africa, Ukpong reports the Bible to be perceived as a book of devotion and norm for morality.[15] These two evidences are not enough to conclude for all African readers of the Bible, but it gives us a clue of how some ordinary readers approach the Bible with much positive expectations.

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[14] Presentation in Maasai Bible project workshop 26-27.05.2015, Stavanger.

[15] Justin S. Ukpong, "Popular Readings of the Bible in Africa and Implications for Academic Readings: Reporton the Field Research Carried out on Oral Interpretatidtion of the Bible in Port Harcourt Metropolis, Nigeria under the Auspices of the Bible in Africa Project,1991-94 " in *The Bible in Africa: Transactions, Trajectories and Trends*, ed. Gerald O. West & Musa W. Dube (Leiden: Brill, 2000, 2000), 589.

With regard to the current privatization process done by the Tanzanian government, the Maasai are becoming landless. The land, which was then used for pastoralism by the Maasai, is now given to farmers, hunting companies and tourists companies. They are in conflict with these groups because their land is taken without any replacement. This seems to be an acute problem among the Maasai. When those who read the Bible come across biblical stories that favor nomadic ways of life, they interpret it in a way of obtaining solutions to their problems. Although they have the knowledge that the Bible is an ancient book, it is also God's voice to his people today, he can intervene their life problems today. Ukpong coins this understanding in West African context that for Africans, strategies for reading the Bible should seek to involve and touch the lives of ordinary readers.[16] From this point of view, the Bible is regarded as an instrument from God to solve all practical problems that are encountered by the community of believers. The Maasai think that reading the Bible can solve any sort of marginalization they pass through.

The Maasai ordinary readers also believe that the Bible can chase evil spirits that are threatening them. Evil spirits according to the Maasai are natural. They are not spirits of the dead as other Africans think but are spirits believed to effect diseases, which in some occasions may cause death to people. That means when these spirits possess someone, he/she may get sick or even die. It is through reading the Bible where someone may keep himself/herself safe from the attack. The Bible as the word of the living God is powerful not only to protect someone from the invasion of the evil spirits but also to bring deliverance to all who are now possessed by those evil spirits. Reading of biblical verses can bring healing to the sick and drive away the demons.

With the regard to the blessings of the patriarchs like Abraham who was prosperous in livestock, the Maasai use such biblical stories as the prayers for prosperity. In Maasai, a prosperous life is the one with owning a large number of livestock, health of the livestock, having enough rainfall annually thus having enough grass for feeding animals and even if it does not rain enough in that year but a good guidance on the journey toward the areas with enough grass for animals. Always when ordinary readers pray to God for prosperity, such verses speaking about some people who succeeded in owning much wealth in this world are cited while asking God to bring wealth as he did to those people. To the Maasai, reading the Bible can make someone poor to improve his/her living in this world to a wealthy person. The Bible has that power.

[16] ibid., 591.

It sounds right when Knut Holter comments on the biblical interpreters found in the popular context, the lay or so-called ordinary readers that their interpretations tend to reflect upon the relationship between their daily life, faith and the biblical texts.[17] Although this is a general comment for ordinary readers of the Bible, it applies directly to what is happening in the Maasai area. The popular Maasai Bible readers do believe that there is power in the Bible, which can intervene their daily life experiences. However, in my opinion, despite of its relation to the daily life of the readers, popular reading of the Bible is not strong to be trusted in total. Furthermore, the origin of the Bible is not Africa. Assuming that popular reading of the Bible is enough for the Maasai is like building an ivory tower on air. In the present study, the Maasai popular reading of the biblical verses has to look for a partner to complement their popular reading of the Bible. In the next subtopic, I discuss the academic reading of the Bible.

2.3.2.2 The Critical Scholarship of the Bible

The critical scholarship of the Bible is a kind of interpreting the Bible by the use of exegetical methods that are developed in an academic arena. These methods are western in nature and they are done with theologians and exegetes that are trained. In the Maasai area, there are pastors and evangelists who have been trained in theological colleges, they are familiar with these exegetical methods, and they are the ones who are pioneering the academic reading of the Bible. In addition to that, these theological schools are western oriented. However, some of them might be situated in Africa, but the methods taught there are western.

Biblical scholars use several methodological approaches to study/interpret ancient texts in order to gain their original meaning as fully as possible. One of the most common is, of course, the historical approach, in which one attempts to reconstruct the phenomena on the basis of textual indices. John Barton in his book titled *Reading the Old Testament* argues that biblical interpretation is a descriptive pursuit, analyzing, explaining and codifying the questions that perceptive readers put to the text; not a prescriptive discipline laying down rules about how the text ought be read.[18] Saying this, Barton means no method can claim to be the only right for a proper interpretation of the biblical text. Instead, interpretation of the text is like a joint-venture project where different methods might bring contribution to the understanding of a particular text. That is, because the

[17] Knut Holter, *Yahweh in Africa : essays on Africa and the Old Testament*, vol. vol. 1, Bible and theology in Africa (New York: Peter Lang, 2000), 52.
[18] John Barton, *Reading the Old Testament: method in biblical study* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1984), 6.

reasoning and themes of a text are mixed together, an integrative methodology might be helpful to investigate the historical, social, cultural and biblical context of the author's message and purposes and his rhetorical means of convincing his readers.

The above argument by a prominent Old Testament scholar convinces me to use the holistic interpretation of the biblical texts as an academic way of reading the Bible. The reason of choosing this is the fact that one particular method might not satisfy to the intensive meaning of the text. It can only reach a limited knowledge of the text. Consequently, I am not opting to use all biblical critical methods that exist in this world either. What I am arguing here is for a combination of methods that I find fitting to the dynamics of the texts that are going to be interpreted.

Discussing on this way of interpreting the texts, James P. Martin sheds light to the method by saying, it is a reversal of the archaeological direction of classical historical criticism. It is future-oriented and it might be understood as the theory and practice of participating in the whole (pre- and post-) history of the text. It is structurally evolutionary in reconstructing history.[19] According to this argument, Martin means that there is a shift from the historical criticism of the Bible, which focuses on the archaeology of the text to the same dynamics in the contemporary context of the reader. It is the interpretation based not only on the socio-political world of the text in its past context but also on the socio-political world of the contemporary reader. This kind of biblical interpretation where the past and present meet and decide the meaning of the text today, in my opinion, might be fruitful in my Maasai context. The Maasai have their own worldview as I have described in in section 2.2.1 of this thesis, a worldview that can much affect their way of attributing meaning to the biblical text. This Maasai way of thinking might not be taken for granted but it has to dialogue with the history of the texts for a sound theological meaning of the text.

Contributing to the holistic interpretation of the Bible, in a more elaborated way, J.I.H. McDonald coins that this method rotates around four axes namely; first, the inner logic of the text, second, the immediate, mediate and the larger literary context of the text, third, the historical context of the text and fourth, the contemporary context of the text.[20] From his explanation about this method, one may see how a careful analysis of the inner logic of the text is emphasized in holistic exegesis, something that can lead to a more understanding of the text and balanced theology. This means,

[19] James P. Martin, "Toward a Post-Critical Paradigm," *New Testament Studies* 33, no. 03 (1987): 381.
[20] J. I. H. McDonald, "Romans 13.1–7: A Test Case for New Testament Interpretation," ibid.35, no. 04 (1989): 542-48.

for a better understanding of the text, an exegete has to make a good follow up of how the argument of the text is narrated. In the second axis, McDonald insists on the literary context of the text. This axis treats the text as a living component in the whole process of interpretation.[21] When the text is read in this way, it does not lose its essence to all generations that read it. The reference to the historical perspective of the text has its own importance if someone has a pragmatic goal in biblical interpretation as McDonald puts as the third axis of holistic exegesis. This is accepting that the Bible has its own historical socio-cultural context that is important to shed light to the contemporary readers. There is the biblical world that created and gave meaning to texts. That world is needed to inform the Maasai ordinary reader today that we might be meaningful and balanced theology in the interpretations we do today.

Holistic exegesis needs knowledge of the contemporary context of the reader in order to be complete. This is the fourth axis as McDonald puts it. However, it is not a matter of a scholar sitting, reading books and doing exegesis on a table but it is also going into contact with the culture reading the text today. It is a matter of going to interact and listen to the Maasai, know their context and how they read the texts. Discussing on the context of the readers, Ukpong defines the term "context" as:

> …an existing human community (a country, local church, ethnic group) designated as the subject of interpretation with the people's worldview, and historical, social, economic, political and religious life experiences. It is a dynamic reality with its values, disvalues, needs and aspirations. Issues within the community whether they be religious, like the mode of Christian worship or economic, like racism, all constitute materials for analysis within the context.[22]

Different from what exegesis has been perceived traditionally as bringing out the historical meaning of the text, this is a new shift where an exegete sees the importance of the context in which the text is read. The text is expected to nurture humanity. It is difficult to nurture people whom their context in not well understood. It is only when the context is well understood, then the text might be in a position to support social reform on one side and advise the society to withdraw from negative characters like dominance, subordinance and marginalizing others on the other hand.

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[21] ibid., 547.

[22] Justin S. Ukpong, "Rereading the Bible with African Eyes : Inculturation and Hermeneutics," *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, no. 91 (1995): 6.

In this study, I am convinced that the Maasai popular reading of the Bible is a good step of interpreting the texts to get a contextual meaning but this is not enough. This step has to be exposed to another partner for a dialogue. The critical scholarship of the text is good but it should not end with books alone. As the method I prefer, the holistic exegesis has shown, the only way to a fruitful exegetical way is to get in touch with the community which reads the Bible. My project seeks to bring into dialogue the popular reading and the critical scholarship of the Bible. For this interaction, I will use Holter's complementary model where the two interacting partners acknowledge each other as equal participants despite of their different contributions they make.[23] They are equal because none of them can stand alone without being complemented by the other. Some might doubt the bringing on the same level of these two dialogue partners, but it brings mutual respect that takes serious the contribution of each dialogue partner for the purpose of the community.

2.4 Actors and Actions

2.4.1 Ordinary Readers

> One old Maasai man attended Sunday service in a Lutheran congregation which was 7 kilometers far from his kraal. He walked on foot from home to church and arrived on time. When the pastor started preaching, this Maasai man, together with others were very much moved with the sermon. After 10 minutes, the sermon ended. This old man interrupted the service by asking the pastor; "have you finished all you planned to tell us today about the Bible? I have walked a long distance to this church and then you talk for few minutes and finish? If you have finished what you prepared for us today then tell us about what you planned to preach to us next Sunday because what you said today is not enough."[24]

In order to get the popular reading of the Bible by the Maasai, I had to get in touch with the Maasai ordinary readers of the Bible. The 'ordinary' readers of the Bible are people who are privileged neither theological education nor scholarly biblical interpretation methods. From the South African context, West is defining 'ordinary' readers to be also from the "poor and marginalized" communities.[25] This might be true but it depends on the context. In South African context due to the situation of apartheid and its effects, it is possible marginalization to go hand in hand with poverty for the reason that the people were marginalized and the economy was in control of the colonialists. In this sense it is possible people to be both poor and undergo a serious marginalization

[23] Holter, *Yahweh in Africa : essays on Africa and the Old Testament*, vol. 1, 59.
[24] Conversation with Justo Lemburis, Stavanger, 26 May 2015.
[25] Gerald O. West, *The academy of the poor : towards a dialogical reading of the Bible*, vol. 2, Interventions (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 12.

For the Maasai ordinary readers, it might be fallacy of generalization to call them poor while most of them own groups of cattle, goats and sheep. In addition to that, I have three contexts in which I conduct my research, the rural area, theological school and the urban area. These contexts have some people with different economic status and it is not fair to dump them in a single pool of poverty. Thus, in my research, I build my understanding on the idea that the Maasai are marginalized due to their nomadic identity. Saying this, I am not denying that some of them are poor. In this thesis, the Maasai are treated as the marginalized community. These are people who lack theological education and in some cases, they might not have attended any formal school. However, they are in the society and they can hear the biblical story and can retell the story and probably remake it. For those who at least can read the Bible, they do it pre-critically.

The Maasai like to read and hear biblical stories. The old man cited at the beginning of this subtopic is a good example representing many others. The Maasai read the Bible from the family level where the message is used as family instructions for children, youth and other members of the family. One reads the text or retells what the pastor said in church and other family members reflect on what they heard. When they pray, they recite some biblical verses to accompany their prayers.

From the historical point of view, since the entrance of Christianity in Africa, western biblical scholarship did not consider ordinary readers to be one of the subjects of biblical interpretation because they lack biblical interpretation education. The ordinary readers had to receive the interpretation done by missionaries for them. The interpretation whether from their priests who are educated in western universities or other learned scholars according to that view, has to be imposed to them without compromise. These people have been made to believe so since the time when the Bible came to them from the missionaries that it is the word of God and they have to listen to it from their priests' interpretation.

These circumstances and many others are the ones that compel scholars to call this group of people as poor and marginalized, underprivileged, oppressed and common people. The kind of marginalization West speaks here does not exclude race, class and gender.[26] Such people might be in any place in this world and not necessarily poor, but for this case, African biblical scholars have

[26] ibid.

been very specific to the problem in Africa and they deal with "ordinary Africans readers.[27]" There are many reasons that might compel these scholars to say so. The biggest of all being colonialism that put the African continent in a serious marginalization in all sectors. Apart from that, even after all African countries got independence; still many people are suffering from the effect of colonialism so to speak. However, some policies adapted by different governments of Africa has led to an emergence of social classes, which make some Africans to be oppressors of their fellow Africans. This also gives reason for these African scholars to see some glimpses of oppression and implicate the poor and marginalized to the Africans.

The case cited at the beginning of my thesis shows that different tribes in Tanzania and the government marginalize the Maasai. Their nomadic identity seems to be the target of throwing different accusations against them. It is from this perspective I decide to read the Bible with them as "ordinary readers," the marginalized.

For the Maasai, among other tools used for interpreting the Bible, two major ones are evident. These ordinary readers whether partially literate or illiterate, yet they hear, remember and retell the Bible as a result they can remake it. The first resource these Maasai ordinary readers have is their tradition and culture. In the traditions and culture of these people, there are components that shape the various aspects of their life. They grew up within these traditions since childhood and everything they think and do originates from their culture. When we come to the issue of reading the Bible, they do not have any biblical interpretation formal education, they use what is available to them, which is culture. What comes out from that kind of interpretation is the meaning of the text to the 'ordinary' readers of the Bible since they have read the particular text from their cultural perspective. This is different from what they received the biblical tradition from the first place because it was not translated from the cultural perspective, not integrated in the native culture. West insists that when the Bible is read with 'ordinary' readers the message becomes rooted in the native culture and the book itself is meaningful to the natives.[28]

The second resource these Maasai ordinary readers of the Bible use is their life experience they have in their daily life. Since received in the first place, the Bible is understood as an authoritative

[27] Justin S. Ukpong, "Reading the Bible in a Global Village : Issues and Challenges from African Readings," in *Reading the Bible in the global village: Cape Town*, ed. Justin S. Ukpong (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002), 11.
[28] West, *The academy of the poor : towards a dialogical reading of the Bible*, 2.

book and a solution to the problems facing people. When read by people in marginalized communities, they use it to address the experience of the life facing them with a strong belief that it will provide solution. Furthermore, this provides a reader with a step further from what does the text mean to him/her by inviting the text to solve life problems. These people are still facing various problems like civil wars and cultural marginalization like the one the Maasai cited in the case of this thesis.

However, by saying this, I am not suggesting that there is no need for the trained biblical scholars. To the contrary, I follow West who is arguing for a shared knowledge between ordinary readers of the Bible and the socially engaged biblical scholars.[29] In the following sections, the professional biblical readers and their roles are going to be discussed.

[29] ibid., 92-93.

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The Semantics of Silence in Job 4:16

Suggested focal points of discussion:

- My presentation of the semantic field of silence as a whole:

  Is anything particularly unclear? Does anything seem particularly interesting?

- My suggested interpretation of Job 4.16:

  Are there difficulties or advantages with this suggestion that I did not mention?

Introduction

Thesis topic and contents

In this paper I will first introduce the initial findings of my doctoral research and will then give an illustration of how the results might shed new light on the interpretation of a difficult biblical verse.

My doctoral thesis is a semantic study of the words used in biblical Hebrew to refer to silence. I am looking primarily at the roots סכת, שׁתק, הס, חשׁה, חרשׁ, אלם and the biforms דמה/דום/דמם along with their derived forms: דְּמָמָה, דֳּמִי, דֳּמָה, דּוּמָם, דּוּמִיָּה, דּוּמָה. I also intend to survey more briefly the roots שׁקט (‘be quiet’) and צמת (‘destroy’), which seem to be related.

Method

I have gathered information for each word by looking carefully at how it is used throughout the corpus, in which I include not only biblical texts, but also Dead Sea Scrolls, Ben Sira, and inscriptions. I have paid special attention to the syntagmatic contexts in which the words are used, noting parallels, contrasts and glosses. I have also consulted the early versions and a range of modern translations, as well as commentaries, to see how others have understood the words. I consider related words from cognate languages as well, particularly where Hebrew textual evidence is scarce, but I do not believe these can determine with certainty the meaning of a Hebrew word.

Initial results

After having completed initial surveys of the words listed above, I have begun to map out the contours of the semantic field, attempting to identify what nuances words convey, and in which ways they overlap with or differ from one another. For the sake of space, the survey below will of necessity be very general and without specific examples. In a fuller presentation of the semantic field, it would obviously be helpful to provide specific examples with references.

Silence generally

Biblical Hebrew words for silence have wide-ranging applications. They refer not only to a lack of noise but also to a lack of communication, sometimes indicating an inability to speak

or hear, other times indicating a wilful refusal or an externally imposed constraint that keeps one from speaking or hearing. Silence can alternatively pave the way for communication, as when someone is silent in order to listen.

In certain contexts, the meaning of 'silence' is transferred from the realm of sound to that of action in order to indicate that an action was not done. When applied to the inanimate physical world it can refer to a cessation of motion and turbulence, not only to the cessation of noise. It can also be used to refer to the cessation of war and the resulting peace.

Silence is used with human subjects to refer to a range of emotions and states, including rest, prosperity, wisdom, waiting, fear, reverence, and even death and destruction. 'Silence' thus is able to describe much more than the absence of noise. It often indicates the lack of something, such as communication, physical movement, or even life itself, but it can also be used positively to describe the presence of things such as peace or wisdom.

Domains and axes of difference

The uses of the image of silence mentioned above fall into a variety of domains: from human speech to human behaviour and even the natural world. Within these domains, the uses of silence seem to be centred on a few axes of difference. One of these, already mentioned above, is that between silence as presence or as absence. Another is the distinction between silence that is by choice (e.g., not listening, or putting a hand on the mouth) and silence that is involuntary (e.g., not hearing or speaking because of a physical disability or externally imposed constraint, or the complete silence that results from destruction). Another axis of difference is that of production and reception: some words indicate silence resulting from a lack of production of noise (e.g., muteness), while others indicate a lack of reception (e.g., deafness). A further distinction is between verbs that focus on initiation (i.e., not starting something, or restraining oneself from something) and verbs that focus on cessation (i.e., stopping something that was already underway).

The chart below is an initial attempt to represent some of these relations graphically. The vertical axis, on the left, shows the realm or domain in which the action occurs, which I have simplified to the following categories:

1) communication (speech or hearing),
2) action/motion (animate action or inanimate motion), and
3) life itself (or existence, in the case of inanimate objects).

The horizontal axis represents the progression of meanings from complete lack to cessation: it begins with inability, progresses to not doing something (i.e., refraining from, or not starting), then to the neutral state of lack (identifying neither start point nor end point), and finally to the act of causing something to stop. There is some crossover between the middle two columns, which has been represented by the dotted line.

Processes and states indicated by words for 'be silent' in biblical Hebrew

	⟵	⟶		
REALM / DOMAIN	**inability**	**not doing (restraint, not starting)**	**lack (neutral absence)**	**stop doing (cessation)**
COMMUNICATION: SPEECH	אלם	אלם, חשׁה, חרשׁ (Hiph., Qal)	אלם, חשׁה, דמם חרשׁ (adv., Hiph.),	דמם, חרשׁ מן, הס (*poss.:* סכת? חשׁה? 2x)
HEARING	חרשׁ (as adj., Qal)	חרשׁ (Qal)		
ACTION / MOTION		חשׁה, חרשׁ (Hiph., Hithp.)	דמם, שׁקט (4x)	דמם (דמה), שׁתק, שׁקט (1x)
LIFE				דמה (דמם), צמת (*poss.* חרשׁ? 1x)

Relations between words (similarities / differences)
It can be seen in the left-hand columns of this chart that the words חרשׁ and חשׁה overlap in that both can mean 'not speak' or 'not do' (an action). It can also be seen that for indicating physical disability אלם is used exclusively for lack of speech and חרשׁ exclusively for lack of hearing. For a voluntary lack of speech, however, חרשׁ (Hiphil or Qal) can also be used.

In the right-hand columns דמם is more prevalent. It covers a variety of meanings and can refer to a lack of speech or action as well as to the cessation of speech, action, or life (i.e., destruction or perishing).

The greatest overlap of roots is understandably found in the squares indicating lack or cessation of speech, which is the most straightforward meaning of 'be silent'. The roots also used outside of this category, however, demonstrate that words referring to silence can extend beyond the realm of speech into figurative or 'non-literal' uses.

Extended meanings
Many of these words have additional meanings not referring to silence, most likely as a result of the process of semantic extension either into or from another domain.

אלם, for example, as a Niphal verb means 'be mute', but in the Piel stem it means 'bind'. It therefore seems likely that the Niphal may initially have had the passive sense 'be bound', and only later came to be used exclusively to refer to the figurative 'binding' of the mouth in muteness. The extant Hebrew textual record, however, does not provide us with concrete evidence of this hypothetical development.

The roots חרשׁ and חשׁה, both of which can mean 'not speak', can also both be used to mean 'refrain from action', particularly from an action that is expected in a given situation. With divine subject these roots refer to a restraint from judgement or from actions seen to achieve justice. This nuanced meaning of not performing an expected action seems to be a natural transfer from the more literal uses of 'be silent' in the domain of sound, in which silence usually implies the expectation that something or someone would have been able and likely to produce noise in the first place.

Other non-literal uses of silence or quiet refer to rest or waiting (often with שׁקט or דום/דמם and its derivatives). שׁקט can additionally be used to refer to those who live in prosperity (often in combination with בטח) or to the peace of the land that does not have war.

Another non-literal use of silence is in reference to the cessation of motion. The roots שׁתק and דמם are used in this way especially for inanimate objects (שׁתק for the sea and a quarrel, דמם for the sun).[1] The root דמם especially seems to centre on meanings of cessation.[2] In light of this, it is possible that its primary meaning was 'hold still' or 'cease' and only later was transferred to the domain of sound to refer to silence. It is unlikely, however, that the specific direction and course of semantic development can be proven. Another meaning suggested for דמם is 'mourn' or 'moan', a meaning that is attested in cognate languages and seems to fit in some biblical passages. It is not clear, however, what relation, if any, this proposed meaning has with the others.

What appears to be a further extension of the meaning of cessation inherent in דמם, especially in its biform דמה, is the cessation of life. To 'silence' people can refer not only to silencing their speech, but also by extension to silencing their very ability to produce noise (that is, to remove and 'silence' their life). Although this meaning seems to occur predominantly with דמה, because some of its forms overlap with those of דמם, it can be very difficult, if not impossible, to separate cleanly their forms and meanings.

Another verb meaning 'destroy' is צמת, cognates of which mean 'be silent' in other Semitic languages. It is not clear whether the root in Hebrew also meant 'be silent' at one time and by the process of semantic spread came to be used for destruction, or whether it always referred exclusively to destruction. The existence of the additional meanings 'destroy' and 'perish' for other roots meaning 'silence', however, suggest that a related semantic shift could have occurred with this root as well.

Practical Implications

The purpose of the above survey has been to demonstrate that the meanings and uses of words in a given semantic field may be broader than we initially assume. Words can be used in contiguous domains, for example, such as with the transfer of 'be silent' from the domain of speech to that of action. The transfer of meaning to a contiguous domain may classify it as metonymy,[3] but it is, in any case in our own understanding of 'be silent', 'non-literal'. We cannot escape the fact that our own understandings of the concept of silence do not automatically coincide with all aspects of how the biblical Hebrew words referring to silence are used. The benefit of looking at the semantic field as a whole is that it brings to light extended or non-literal uses that we may not previously have known to consider as part of the semantic field. This awareness, in turn, can sometimes illuminate new possibilities for the interpretation of difficult words or passages.

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[1] One use of שׁתק, in Ps. 107.30, could possibly have a human subject ('they were glad because *they themselves* were quiet'), but it is more likely, in my view, to have as its subject either the waves of the previous verse ('they were glad because *the waves* were still'), or, by implication, the plural 'waters'.

[2] The same conclusion is reached by Göran Eidevall: 'Arguably, the primary lexical sense of *dmm* I is not "to be silent", but rather "cease" or "be still", in 'Sounds of Silence in Biblical Hebrew: A Lexical Study', *VT* 62 (2012): 169.

[3] In the words of René Dirven, 'the two (sub-)domains in a metonymy are said to be contiguous, i.e. they are seen as bordering on or overlapping each other'. He also says, however, that verbs 'are far less apt' to be used in 'metonymical extensions'. See René Dirven, 'Structuring of word meaning III: Figurative use of language', in *Lexikologie: ein internationales Handbuch zur Natur und Struktur von Wörtern und Wortschätzen,* ed. D. Alan Cruse et al., vol. 1 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2002), pp. 340-41.

In the second part of this paper, I wish to use the preceding observations on the semantic field of silence in biblical Hebrew in order to bring new light to, and a possible reinterpretation of, a difficult passage in Job.

Interpretation of דְּמָמָה in Job 4.16

Job 4 records a condemnatory speech by Eliphaz against Job, which includes the report of a frightening vision in which an unrecognisable form spoke to him about the impossibility of man being right before God. The physical description of the vision in verses 12-16 is replete with syntactic difficulties and lexical ambiguities, which will be surveyed briefly below before examining more closely the role of דממה in the passage.

Job 4:12-16 (Eliphaz's vision)

[12] "Now a word came stealing to me,	[12] וְאֵלַי דָּבָר יְגֻנָּב
my ear received the whisper of it.	וַתִּקַּח אָזְנִי שֵׁמֶץ מֶנְהוּ:
[13] Amid thoughts from visions of the night,	[13] בִּשְׂעִפִּים מֵחֶזְיֹנוֹת לָיְלָה
when deep sleep falls on mortals,	בִּנְפֹל תַּרְדֵּמָה עַל־אֲנָשִׁים:
[14] dread came upon me, and trembling,	[14] פַּחַד קָרָאַנִי וּרְעָדָה
which made all my bones shake.	וְרֹב עַצְמוֹתַי הִפְחִיד:
[15] A spirit glided past my face;	[15] וְרוּחַ עַל־פָּנַי יַחֲלֹף
the hair of my flesh bristled.	תְּסַמֵּר שַׂעֲרַת בְּשָׂרִי:
[16] It stood still, but I could not discern its appearance.	[16] יַעֲמֹד וְלֹא־אַכִּיר מַרְאֵהוּ
A form was before my eyes; there was silence,	תְּמוּנָה לְנֶגֶד עֵינָי דְּמָמָה
then I heard a voice. (NRSV)	וָקוֹל אֶשְׁמָע: (MT)

Context of passage

Eliphaz first announces: 'to me a word was stolen (יְגֻנָּב), and my ear got a whisper (שֵׁמֶץ) of it'. The Pual of גנב is rare, and although in its other two uses it refers to something stolen, here it is generally understood to refer to stealth or secrecy.[4] The word שׁמץ is also rare and uncertain, but often translated 'whisper', although it has been suggested that it might also mean 'particle' or 'fraction', or even 'fullness'![5] Also difficult and rare is שְׂעִפִּים, the first word of v. 13, which is likely related to שַׂרְעַפִּים (BDB: 'disquieting thoughts'). Despite the many lexical difficulties, verses 12-14 do succeed in portraying a fear-inducing night vision.

In v. 15 a רוח is introduced, which could refer either to a spirit coming as part of the vision or to a wind or breeze preceding the revelation. Although a feminine noun, רוח here is the subject of the masculine verb יחלף,[6] and seems also to be the subject of the masculine verb יעמד beginning the next verse. The second half of v. 15, תסמר שערת בשרי, describing the

[4] As NRSV 'a word came stealing to me', or ESV 'a word was brought to me stealthily'.

[5] Gordis and Michel refer to its use in Ben Sirah 10.10 and 18.36, as well as the Talmud (Robert Gordis, *The Book of Job: Commentary, New Translation and Special Studies* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1978), p. 48; Walter L. Michel, *Job in the Light of Northwest Semitic*, vol. 1 (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1987), p. 87). However, as Lust points out, the LXX translates שׁמץ in these two Ben Sirah references with *makron* and *pollè*, respectively, suggesting the word was understood to mean 'a longitude and a magnitude or a fullness'. He suggests the alternative reading: 'a word was hurld [*sic*] on to me and my ear received the fullness (*shemets*) of it' (Johan Lust, 'A Stormy Vision: Some Remarks on Job 4, 12-16', *Bijdragen* 36 (1975), p. 309). As far as I can tell, however, this interpretation has not been followed.

[6] Cf. Hab. 1.11, where רוח is also the subject of masculine חלף and can be interpreted either as 'wind' or 'spirit'. The phrase אז חלף רוח ויעבר is translated variously as 'they sweep by like the wind' (NRSV), 'their spirit doth pass over' (JPS 1917), and 'he shall change his spirit (or 'mind')' (LXX, Vulgate, KJV).

effects of the רוח, also allows for multiple interpretations. The Piel תְּסַמֵּר could be intransitive with שערת as its subject (‘the hair of my flesh trembled/stood up’), or it could be a transitive verb with רוח as its subject (‘the spirit/wind causes the hair of my flesh to tremble’). This latter translation, however, creates the unlikely situation of רוח being the subject of both a masculine and a feminine verb in subsequent lines.[7]

Commentators are also divided over the meaning of שַׂעֲרַת. Is it the construct form of the feminine singular שַׂעֲרָה, a hair (used here presumably as a *nomen unitatis*: ‘the hair of my flesh’), or is it in fact the word שְׂעָרָה, a variant of סְעָרָה, ‘storm’?[8] The argument for the interpretation as ‘storm’ is strengthened by the presence of רוח in the previous line and by the frequent linkage elsewhere of רוח and סערה to mean a stormy wind.[9] It is further strengthened by the Targumic rendering with עלעולא, ‘storm-wind’. The same approach is followed by Clines, who translates שערת as ‘whirlwind’ and רוח as ‘wind’, as fitting imagery for the description of a theophany.[10] A difficulty with this interpretation, however, is that שערת, which is in construct with בשׂרי, would have to lose its construct ending to become the subject of תסמר with בשרי as its object: ‘a storm תסמר my flesh’. To solve this problem, commentators have suggested that the ת- ending indicates not a construct, but the archaic absolute feminine ending.[11] In support of the more common interpretation of שערת as ‘hair’, Dhorme refers to a close parallel in an Akkadian text relating a frightening and hair-raising night-time vision.[12] Further ancient Near Eastern parallels are presented by Shalom Paul, who favours the interpretation as hair standing on end in fright over that of the storm.[13]

It is in this state of uncertainty that we reach v. 16, which begins with the subjectless יעמד: ‘it stood’. The most logical subject is the רוח of v. 15, where its use with a masculine verb suggests that the same is possible here and would also account for the masculine suffix on מראהו later in the line. There are other interpretations, however. The LXX has a first-person verb (‘I stood’),[14] while others interpret יעמד as an impersonal: ‘it was still’.[15]

יעמד is followed by the clause: ולא־אכיר מראהו, ‘and I did not recognise its appearance’. A slight pause is natural after יעמד, but as a single word it is too short to be considered a full line by itself under normal circumstances.[16] Some have therefore posited the accidental deletion of

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[7] Shalom Paul argues that it is possible for רוח to be the subject of the feminine verb תסמר despite being the subject of the masculine יחלף, pointing out that the same happens with רוח also in Job 1.19 (והנה רוח גדולה באה מעבר המדבר ויגע בארבע פנות הבית) and 1 Kings 19.11 (והנה יהוה עבר ורוח גדולה וחזק מפרק הרים ומשבר סלעים לפני יהוה לא ברוח יהוה) (Shalom M. Paul, ‘Job 4.15 – A Hair-Raising Encounter’, *ZAW* 95 (1983), p. 120).

[8] The variant spelling with שׂ for ס is also found in Nah. 1.3 and Job 9.17.

[9] See Ps. 107.25; 148.8; Is. 41.16; Ezek. 1.4; 13.11, 13.

[10] David J. A. Clines, *Job 1–20*, Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 17 (Dallas, Texas: Word Books, 1989), pp. 107, 111 and 120.

[11] See Clines, *Job*, p. 111; Michel, *Job in the Light of Northwest Semitic*, pp. 91-92. See also Anton C. M. Blommerde, *Northwest Semitic Grammar and Job* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969), p. 40; M. Dahood, ‘Śʿ RT “Storm” in Job 4,15’, *Biblica* 48 (1967), p. 544. They refer to Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Grammatik*, §80g, and to the *-t* absolute ending in Phoenician and Ugaritic.

[12] The text as translated by F. Thureau-Dangin is: ‘Le spectre . . . qui fait se dresser les poils de (mon) corps, se hérisser les cheveux de mon crâne’. In ‘Rituel et Amulettes contre Labartu’, *Revue d’Assyriologie et d’archéologie orientale* 18 (1921), p. 187.

[13] Paul, ‘A Hair-Raising Encounter’, p. 120.

[14] This may reflect an emendation to match the first-person of the next verb in the verse: אכיר. Gordis, however, proposes a possible phonetic confusion of the י and the א (Gordis, *The Book of Job*, p. 49).

[15] Tur-Sinai suggests ‘it ceases’, referring to the ‘subsiding of the storm’. N.H. Tur-Sinai, *The Book of Job: A New Commentary* (Jerusalem: Kiryath Sepher, 1957), p. 83.

[16] Richter finds it ‘rhythmisch ungefällig’ and proposes rearranging the words of the verse (Georg Richter, *Textstudien zum Buche Hiob* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1927), pp. 5-6).

a word, many favouring Dhorme's suggestion that God may have been omitted as the subject of יעמד.[17] Others have suggested an intentionally short line as a poetic device to convey the dramatic nature of the revelation or a certain fearful breathlessness.[18]

The next phrase, תמונה לנגד עיני, adds a physical dimension to the unrecognisable sight: 'a form (was) before my eyes'. The LXX and Peshitta add a second negative: 'there was *no* form before my eyes',[19] a change almost certainly due to a theological concern to maintain consistency with other divine revelations in which a voice was heard but no form seen.[20]

The syntactic relationship between the remaining three words, דממה וקול אשמע, is unclear, as is the exact meaning of דממה.

דממה in Job 4.16: survey of interpretations and difficulties

Modern translations usually interpret דממה either as 'silence' or as something with the attribute of quietness, such as 'whisper'.[21] In this they are similar to the Targum, which translates with חשיי. Both the LXX and Vulgate, however, translate דממה as 'breeze' (αὔρα and *aura*, respectively).

It is not only difficult to define דממה precisely; there is also ambiguity about its syntactic role. It can be read on its own as a circumstantial clause ('there was דממה'), as a modifier of the קול ('a voice/sound of דממה'), or as a direct object of the verb אשמע ('I heard דממה'). Most interpretations of דממה fall into one of three categories:

1) as a complete clause on its own: 'there was silence';[22]
2) as a direct object of the following verb שׁמע, either:
    a. as the first of two objects ('I heard a murmur/whisper and a voice/sound')[23]
    b. as a single object, דממה וקול forming a hendiadys in which דממה modifies קול, meaning:
        i. 'silence and a voice', that is, 'a quiet voice' or even 'a whisper';[24] or
        ii. 'moaning and a sound', or 'a roaring noise' (based on the interpretation of דממה as from a root meaning 'moan');[25]

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[17] Paul Dhorme, *Le Livre de Job* (Paris: Victor Lecoffre, 1926), p. 46.

[18] Duhm at first speculates that the shortness of the line may reflect textual corruption, but then suggests it may be an intentional poetic device to emphasise the unearthly and scary nature of the vision ('das Unheimliche') (D.B. Duhm, *Das Buch Hiob* (Freiburg: J.C.B. Mohr, 1897), p. 28). Rowley builds on Duhm's suggestion and proposes that the line is intentionally broken off to suggest a 'sudden catch of the breath'. In his words, 'the vagueness heightens the terror' (H.H. Rowley, *Job* (The Century Bible, New Series; London: Nelson, 1970), p. 55).

[19] LXX: οὐκ ἦν μορφὴ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν μου; Peshitta: ܠܝܬ ܚܙܘܬܐ ܩܕܡ ܥܝܢܝ.

[20] See, for example, Deut. 4.12 and 15, with which this passage has been compared.

[21] The interpretation of דממה as a state of stillness or silence is derived from דמם I, 'to be motionless', 'stand still', or 'to keep quiet' (Koehler-Baumgartner 1994, דמם I, p. 226). The Koehler-Baumgartner lexicon defines דממה as 'calm, cessation of strong movement of air', *BDB* as '(silence), whisper', and the Sheffield *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* as 'whisper, sighing, (low) rumbling, perh. silence, calm of sea'. In all cases, the glosses or definitions derive from the context of the three passages in which דממה appears rather than from the more general meanings of the root דמם.

[22] Followed by ESV, KJV, RSV, and others.

[23] Followed by the JPS 1985 translation ('I heard a murmur and a voice'), by the Elberfelder translation ('ein leises Wehen und eine Stimme hörte ich'), and by the French Darby version (1885) ('un léger murmure et une voix'). The LXX and Vulgate also treat דממה as an object of 'hear', but translate it as 'breeze': LXX ἠ αὔραν καὶ φωνὴν ἤκουον and Vul. *et vocem quasi aurae lenis audivi*. I have not yet found a translation that treats דממה as a direct object meaning 'silence' ('I heard silence and [then] a sound'), but it is at least a possibility to consider.

[24] The translation as hendiadys is followed by the JPS 1917 translation ('a still voice'), the NIV ('a hushed voice'), and the German Schlachter translation ('eine flüsternde Stimme').

3) as a verbal modifier, having supplied a verbal idea such as ‘speak’ or ‘murmur’: ‘a voice that murmured softly’, ‘I heard him say softly’.[26]

The first category above, in which דממה functions as a clause on its own, offers the simplest solution. It creates another one-word line, however, which further complicates line divisions in an otherwise fairly regular poetic passage with mostly three- and four-member lines.

The difficulty with the interpretation of דממה and קול as separate objects of אשמע (2a) is the questionable logic of hearing silence or stillness. Translations following this approach therefore translate דממה not as ‘silence’ but as a ‘murmur’ or ‘whisper’.

It is even more difficult, in my view, to argue that דממה should modify קול in a relationship of hendiadys (2b), as it juxtaposes two seemingly contradictory words.[27] As Reymond demonstrates, however, in later Hebrew words of silence do sometimes modify words of speech or sound to indicate speaking quietly.[28] In the examples from Aramaic and rabbinic Hebrew, however, the syntax is different: a preposition is used (ב in בחשׁי, for example), and the modifier comes after the verb of speaking rather than before it.[29] To express the idea of the sound of silence in this passage, the construct קול דממה could have been used; to express the idea of a quiet voice, the preposition ב could have been affixed to דממה and placed after קול (קול בדממה), or an adjectival or verbal phrase could have been used instead. The placement in Job 4.16 of דממה *before* קול and the presence of the waw before the קול suggest that the noun דממה is functioning, like קול, as an object of שׁמע. Dhorme associates this passage very closely with 1 Kings 19 and assumes that דממה has been removed from its expected position for emphasis.[30]

A third approach is to supply a verbal idea and describe the voice as doing something quiet such as murmur or whisper. The presence of a verb or adverb in these translations may admittedly simply reflect the target language syntax. Overall this approach to interpretation overlaps with category 2b, in which דממה is assumed to modify the קול in some way.

A very different interpretation of דממה וקול as a hendiadys understands the phrase to refer to a roaring or thunderous noise (2b ii). Johan Lust made this suggestion in 1975 and was followed by David Clines.[31] Lust’s argument is first contextual, then philological: ‘Since the

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[25] Lust, ‘A Stormy Vision’, pp. 310-11; Clines, *Job*, p. 112.

[26] The Einheitsübersetzung (1980) and the Louis-Segond translation (1910) supply a verb: ‘ich höre eine Stimme flüstern’ and ‘j’entendis une voix qui murmurait doucement’, respectively. The Reina-Valera 1995 replaced קול with a verb: ‘lo oí decir muy quedo’ (‘I heard him say softly’). Saʿadia also interprets it as a verb, but applies it to the first-person speaker, which in English translation becomes a predicate adjective: ‘I silent and listening’ (Saʿadiah ben Joseph al-Fayyūmī, *The Book of Theodicy: Translation and Commentary on the Book of Job* (trans. L.E. Goodman; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 187).

[27] See the dissertation on hendiadys in the Hebrew Bible by Rosmari Lillas, who identifies the frequent misapplication of this term and argues that it should be disregarded. She catalogues a number of authors who have classified the phrase דממה וקול in Job 4.16 as a hendiadys in which ‘silence and a voice’ is presumed to equate to a whispering or low voice, but she does not offer extended critique on the interpretation of this specific phrase. Rosmari Lillas, ‘Hendiadys in the Hebrew Bible’ (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Gothenburg, 2012).

[28] E.D. Reymond, ‘The Hebrew Word דממה and the Root *d-m-m* I’, *Biblica* 90 (2009), pp. 380, 384.

[29] Reymond, ‘The Hebrew Word דממה’, pp. 379-80.

[30] ‘La plupart des commentateurs voient dans דממה וקול une hendiadys . . . mais la construction קול דממה de *I Reg.* xix, 12 prouve que le mot דממה dans notre passage a simplement été détaché de son contexte pour être mis en relief. En fait, c’est וקול qui devrait ouvrir l’hémistiche’ (Dhorme, *Le Livre de Job*, p. 47).

[31] Lust suggested this interpretation in ‘A Stormy Vision’, pp. 310-11; Clines followed him in his commentary on Job 1–20, p. 112.

term *qol* in the context of a revelation implies a thundering sound, something similar must be true for *demamah*.'[32] He then refers to the entry for דמם II in the 1967 edition of Koehler-Baumgartner's lexicon: 'to moan, to mourn',[33] meanings based both on cognate evidence[34] and on biblical usage of דמם in mourning contexts where it may mean 'wail' instead of 'be silent'.[35] After proposing that דממה in Job 4 is derived from this root meaning 'mourn' or 'moan', Lust then suggests translating the colon as 'I heard a roaring voice'. The interpretation of דממה וקול as a 'thundering sound' or 'roaring voice' (Lust)[36] or as a 'thunderous voice' (Clines),[37] however, is in my view an unjustifiable stretching of the cognate evidence from 'mourn' or 'moan' to 'roar'. The idea of thunder or roaring is not found in the cognate texts, but is based instead on the imposition of a context (the theophany on Mount Horeb) foreign to that of Eliphaz's night vision. Although translation of the nominal form דממה as 'mourning' or even possibly 'moaning' could be defensible, 'mourning' does not fit the context of Job 4, and the translation 'roaring' is untenable. Neither the Semitic cognates of דמם, nor the entry in Koehler-Baumgartner, nor any biblical texts, suggest a meaning of 'roar' for דמם.

Other biblical references to דממה

In addition to Job 4.16, דממה appears in only two other biblical passages:

1 Kings 19.12 וְאַחַר הָרַעַשׁ אֵשׁ לֹא בָאֵשׁ יְהוָה וְאַחַר הָאֵשׁ קוֹל דְּמָמָה דַקָּה׃

Psalm 107.29 יָקֵם סְעָרָה לִדְמָמָה וַיֶּחֱשׁוּ גַּלֵּיהֶם׃.

דממה is more frequent in the Dead Sea Scrolls, appearing 14 times.[38] The use of דממה in the scrolls largely reflects biblical usage in referring to the quieting of a storm or a quiet voice, but does not always appear in a sufficiently preserved text to determine contextual meaning.[39]

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[32] Lust 'A Stormy Vision', pp. 310-11. Lust published another article in 1975 focused on the word דממה in 1 Kings 19.12, in which he made a similar claim that דממה should mean 'roaring'. In this article he suggests that Job 4.16 is similar to 1QIsa[a] 33.3, with its מדממתך instead of MT's מרוממתך, but his arguments there are no stronger, in my opinion, and the meaning of 'roar' still seems to be imposed from the context rather than from any philological evidence. Johan Lust, 'A Gentle Breeze or a Roaring Thunderous Sound? Elijah at Horeb: 1 Kings XIX 12', *VT* 25 (1975), pp. 110-15.

[33] This definition of a second root was added to the lexicon after the 1953 edition. I am not sure, however, if Lust is translating from the German or using an English gloss. In the 1994 edition of the English translation of the lexicon, דמם II is defined as 'to wail, lament'.

[34] The cognate evidence is primarily from Ugaritic and Akkadian. In Ugaritic, *dmm* is used in parallel with *bky*, 'weep', and is clearly related to mourning. The Ugaritic texts read *bn al tbkn* / *al tdm ly* ('My son, weep not for me / Do thou not wail for me'), and *tbkn wtdm ly* ('let her weep and wail for me') (*CTA* 16 [125] I:25-26 and 28-30). These were quoted by Yitzhak Avishur, *Stylistic Studies of Word-Pairs in Biblical and Ancient Semitic Literatures* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1984), p. 530. In Akkadian the verb *damāmu* means 'to mourn' or 'moan', and also appears in parallel with the cognate *bky*. It is also used to describe a range of animal noises (dove, donkey, wildcat, ewe, snake) as well as the mourning or moaning of inanimate objects and places (house, town, reed swamp). It is not, however, defined as 'roaring'. See CAD, vol. 3 (D), *The Assyrian Dictionary* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1959), pp. 59-61.

[35] The examples given in the 1994 edition of Koehler-Baumgartner are: Is 23.3, where דמם is parallel to הילילו; Ps. 4.5, where it *may* parallel רגז; Ps 31.18, where it is modified by לשׁאול; and Lam 2.10, which describes mourners sitting on the ground and ידמו. It is not entirely clear whether we should understand these to be silent or wailing mourners, but it is clear enough that even in biblical texts, דמם is sometimes associated with mourning. Another example is Lev. 10.13, when Aaron learns of the death of his sons and his action in response is described as: וידם.

[36] Lust, 'A Stormy Vision', pp. 310-11.

[37] Clines, *Job*, p. 107.

[38] As listed in *DCH*: 1QH 5.18, 6.23; 4QShirShab[f] 16[2], 18[3,5], 19[7,8], 20.2[7,8,12,13]; 4Q417 1.1[3]; 1QIsa[a] 33.3 (MT מרוממתך), 47.5 (MT דומם).

[39] See Reymond, who concludes that דממה means 'silence, quiet' in both the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls (Reymond, 'The Hebrew Word דממה', p. 387). See also Christiane Schneider, 'דממה' in the *Theologisches Wörterbuch zu den Qumrantexten*, where she concludes that דממה in the Dead Sea Scrolls must refer to an

Despite its limited biblical attestation, דממה has received much exegetical attention in studies of the קול דממה דקה in 1 Kings 19, the interpretation of which has influenced the understanding of דממה in Job 4 as well. In both passages דממה is closely associated with a קול in the context of a revelation. Although it has been claimed that both are theophanies, the divine nature of the revelation in Job 4 is not beyond dispute, and the passages should not be too closely associated.

Context of 1 Kings 19 (and contrast to Job 4)

While the revelation in 1 Kings 19 is specifically identified as a word of the Lord and comes on the mountain of God to a favoured and powerful prophet of God, the revelation to Eliphaz in Job 4.12-16 is a 'night vision', a 'stolen'/'secret' word the source of which is never clearly identified. The contents of the revelation to Elijah contain specific instructions as to where he should go and what he should do, as well as predictive prophecy, whereas the contents of Eliphaz's vision are commonplace observations on the standing of man before God, more easily classifiable as proverbs or wisdom material than as divine revelation. In addition, although the seen but unrecognisable form in Job 4 has led some to conclude that this is a theophany, it may suggest the opposite precisely *because* a form was seen. Eliphaz's vision is sometimes compared with Deuteronomy 4 (esp. vv. 12, 15), in which the people are specifically reminded that in the theophany at the mountain of God they had heard a voice (קול) but had seen no form (תמונה). Another verse sometimes associated with Job 4.16 is Numbers 12.8, which also contains both words מראה and תמונה. In Numbers 12, however, God is explaining the exceptional nature of his communication with Moses, who, unlike anyone else, sees even God's form. Eliphaz, it is safe to say, is no Moses, nor is he a chosen, favoured prophet of the Lord like Elijah. Rather, he is later denounced by God, who declares: 'you have not spoken of me what is right, as my servant Job has' (Job 42.7).

There is also a difference in language between these two passages. 1 Kings 19 is a prose passage in which the surrounding text is much easier to understand than that of the poetic and often obscure Job 4. The syntax of the phrase in 1 Kings is also slightly easier, with קול דממה as a construct, and דממה modified by the feminine singular adjective דקה. The precise meaning of the phrase is still difficult, but contextual clues indicate that it contrasts with the preceding stormy natural phenomena, and that it precedes the voice of revelation, strengthening the suggested meaning of 'stillness' or 'silence'. In Job 4, in contrast, the syntax is more difficult, with דממה preceding קול, not in construct, and with somewhat unclear clause divisions.

Context of Psalm 107

The other biblical reference with דממה (Psalm 107.29), in contrast, is relatively clear. Here דממה is not associated with a voice but is contrasted to a storm as a noun representing the stillness (or perhaps a figurative silence) that the storm has been turned into: יקם סערה לדממה. Two other words in the immediate context also indicate silence: ויחשׁו גליהם at the end of the same verse portrays the waves as stilled or restrained, paralleling the stopping or silencing of the storm, and the next verse begins with the phrase וישמחו כי־ישתקו ('they were happy

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acoustic phenomenon, in part because of its frequent use with קול or the Hiphil of שׁמע, but also because of the frequent use of המון in parallel. This 'akustisches Phänomen' is part of the heavenly liturgy or sounds of heavenly beings (*Theologisches Wörterbuch zu den Qumrantexten*, Band I., ed. H.-J. Fabry and U. Dahmen, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2011, p. 702).

because they[40] were silent'), identifying the silence or quiet (שׁתק) of v. 30 as the result of the דממה and חשׁה of v. 29.

Survey of meanings of the root דמם

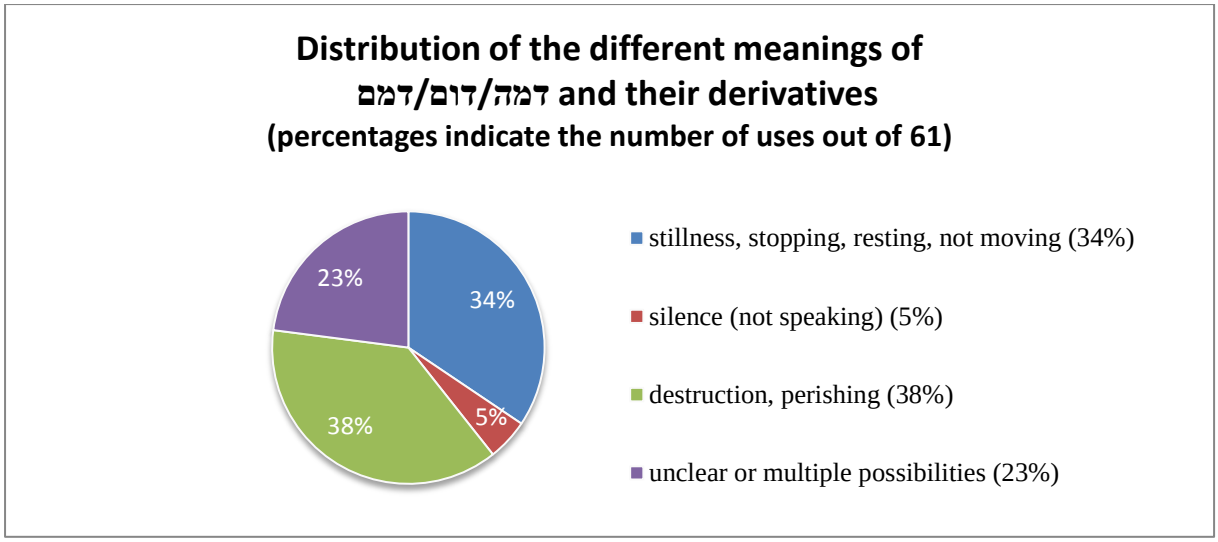
Before revisiting the interpretation of the difficult passage in Job 4, it will be beneficial to summarise the range of meanings of the root(s) דמם/דום/דמה and derived forms. In this brief section I will treat them all together, because it is not always possible to determine from which root the verbal forms or derived forms have come. There do seem to be differences in meaning between דמם and דמה, the second of which predominantly means 'perish' or 'destroy' and sometimes 'cease'. In eight or nine cases a form of דמם may refer to mourning, but these are sufficiently ambiguous that they must remain speculative.

דמם and related words frequently mean be still, stop moving, and sometimes by implication wait or rest.[41] These extended meanings are not surprising, as indeed, stillness and silence are in contiguous or even overlapping domains.[42] Meanings related to stillness or stopping can be found in about 21 of 63 uses of the root(s). It also frequently means 'perish' or 'be destroyed', more often with a form that suggests the root דמה. This meaning is found in at least 23 references. Only three references, in my view, make an unambiguously clear reference to the silence of not speaking, though I have counted an additional fourteen possible references that may fit in this category. I have counted sixteen references as having multiple possible interpretations; that is, they might mean either 'be still' or 'be silent', or either 'mourn' or 'be silent', etc. This distribution of references is represented in the pie chart below, in which the number of references counted for each meaning is represented as a percentage of the chart. The total number of references being counted for this chart is 61, as for the purposes of this paper I have left out the two more difficult references with דממה, Job 4.16 and 1 Kings 19.12.

[40] On the identity of the subject 'they', see footnote 1.

[41] Some examples of דמם in its meaning 'stop' or 'cease' are surveyed here. דמם is used to describe people who are 'still as stone' out of fright (ידמו כאבן in Exod. 15.16) and to describe idols of stone who are still or silent (אבן דומם in Hab. 2.19). It is parallel to rest and quiet (שׁקט and רגע) in Jer. 47.6 in a request for the sword of the Lord to stop (דֹּמִי). It also contrasts to great turmoil in Job 30.27 (מעי רתחו ולא־דמו), a passage in which דמם can be interpreted either as stillness (as an antonym of רתח, 'boil'), or as cessation (of the 'boiling'). Cessation of an action is also indicated by דמם in Ps. 35.15 ('they tore at me without ceasing': קרעו ולא־דמו), and in Lam 2.18 to refer to the cessation of tears (בת־עינך אל־תדם). Cessation of tears is also indicated by the related root דמה in Jer. 14.17: תרדנה עיני דמעה לילה ויומם ואל־תדמינה, and in Lam. 3.49: עיני נגרה ולא תדמה.

[42] On this point, see Eidevall, 'Sounds of Silence', who points out the overlap in domains, and the lack of a 'sharp line between stillness and silence' (p. 170).



There is clearly some overlap between these meanings, and it may not always be possible, or indeed desirable, to separate out the meanings 'be still' from 'be silent', or 'be silent' from 'be destroyed'. It is likely that the literary and idiomatic use of silence could refer to multiple concepts. The existence of overlap may also have to do with the history of semantic development, as both meanings 'to silence' and 'to perish' could presumably have derived from the meaning 'to stop' or 'cease': in the case of silence referring to the cessation of noise, and in the case of perishing to the cessation of life.

דמם as parallel to עמד

Before returning to look more closely at Job 4.16, I would like to point out one important observation on a word used in parallel to דמם. In two passages in which דמם clearly refers to the lack or cessation of motion, it is parallel to the verb עמד, 'to stand'. In Joshua 10.12-13, the sun and moon are said to have stood still, twice indicated by the verb דמם and twice by the verb עמד.[43] In 1 Samuel 14.9-10, Jonathan, imagining what the Philistines might say to him and his armour bearer, declares: 'If they say to us, "דמו until we come to you," then we will stand still in our place (ועמדנו תחתינו), and we will not go up to them. But if they say, "Come up to us," then we will go up, for the Lord has given them into our hand'. The imagined command דֹּמוּ is translated variously as 'wait', 'tarry' or 'stand still', and the resulting imagined action in response is that they would stand, remaining where they were (ועמדנו). To put it simply, if they were told to דמם, they would עמד. The parallel verbs דמם and עמד are contrasted to the opposite action of going up (עלה) against the Philistines, thus reinforcing the interpretation of דמם as holding still and not moving.

A suggested reinterpretation of דממה in Job 4.16

In light of the twice-repeated parallel between דמם and עמד, the presence of forms from both roots in Job 4.16 merits the investigation of a possible parallel here as well. Could the verse-initial יעמד in 4.16 be paralleled by דממה in the second line as a verbal form of דמם? If so, it would create two parallel hemistichs with corresponding parallel verbs meaning 'stand still' or 'stop'. The form דממה could indeed be a verb if revocalised as דָּמְמָה, a third singular feminine perfect.[44] Fittingly, the most logical subject for a verb in the second line is the singular feminine תמונה. The difference in tense between the imperfect יעמד and the proposed

[43] שמש בגבעון דום וירח בעמק אילון: וידם השמש וירח עמד ... ויעמד השמש בחצי השמים ולא־אץ לבוא כיום תמים:

[44] קָלָה and סָבְבָה are alternate patterns for the 3fs perfect of geminate verbs as given by both Joüon-Muraoka and Gesenius-Kautzsch in their paradigms.

perfect דממה need not be a problem, as it is not unusual in poetic couplets for a perfect verb to be paired with an imperfect.[45]

Parallels
This suggested parallel relationship between דממה and יעמד would create a clearer division of clauses and line breaks, and would restructure the verse as follows:

suggested translation	*suggested rearrangement of lines*
It stood still, but I did not recognise its appearance a form stopped before my eyes and I heard a voice	יעמד ולא־אכיר מראהו תמונה לנגד עיני דממה וקול אשמע:

To make the parallel structure clearer, the same text is reproduced in the box below with letters and corresponding shades of grey marking parallel segments of the lines. It will be seen that the two lines create the parallel structure ABC/C′B′A′, and are followed by a shorter line, which will be addressed below in the section on metre.

C מראהו	B ולא־אכיר	A יעמד
A′ דממה	B′ לנגד עיני	C′ תמונה
first-person interpolation וקול אשמע:		

In this arrangement of the first two lines as a parallel couplet, the two (proposed) verbs יעמד and דממה open and close the couplet, functioning in parallel with both referring to cessation of movement. The noun מראה (appearance, visible form) in position C corresponds to תמונה (likeness, form) in C′, even while the two words fulfil different syntactic roles as object and subject, respectively. Furthermore, the lack of recognition (expressed by the Hiphil of נכר) in position B of the first line corresponds loosely to the eyes (עיני) in B′ of the second line, highlighting the curious fact that he did not recognise the form even though it was right before his eyes. Interestingly, the same combination of Hiphil נכר and עין are also used together in Job 2.12 to describe a scene in which Job's friends lifted up their eyes from a distance yet did not recognise him: וישאו את־עיניהם מרחוק / ולא הכירהו.

Metre
In suggesting a restructuring of the lines, the metre of the poetic passage as a whole must also be considered. Though the metre is neither rigid nor entirely predictable, there is a recognisable pattern of mostly three- or four-member poetic lines throughout Eliphaz's speech in chapters 4 and 5, with a few others interspersed as well. The counting of line-members, of course, is not fool proof, and results vary depending on how words with maqqef are counted. By regarding the maqqef as creating a single line member, however, the pattern of mostly three-member lines basically continues throughout these two chapters.[46]

[45] See, for example, Job 4.3 (with יסרת and תחזק) and 4.21 (with נסע and ימותו).
[46] For my own suggested line divisions in the speech of Eliphaz in Job 4-5, see the text reproduced in the appendix at the end of this paper.

A further relevant observation on the metre of chapters 4–5 is that very short one or two-member lines occasionally interrupt the three-member line pattern in order to introduce new parts of the speech or changes in topic. In 4.7, for example, Eliphaz interrupts his speech with a direct address to Job: זכר־נא (‘remember’). It is disruptive to the metre, but serves the purpose of catching the reader’s attention in order to introduce a slight shift in topic as Eliphaz then makes a general statement on justice for the upright. In v. 8, Eliphaz again interrupts his own speech with כאשר ראיתי (‘as I have seen’), thereby breaking the rhythm to introduce a further exposition on the topic as well as to focus attention on the first-person nature of his observations (perhaps lest it begin to sound like a list of proverbial statements by an anonymous narrator). The comment ‘as I have seen’ is followed by another general statement, this time on justice for the sinful. The last line of v. 16, according to the proposed restructuring, is the short וקול אשמע (‘and I heard a voice’), which performs the same function as the aforementioned two phrases זכר־נא and כאשר ראיתי: it interrupts the metre and the flow of thought, reminds the reader that this is direct address, and focuses attention on a new topic: a statement about the position of humankind before God. There are fewer of these short interpolations in chapter 5, although it does begin with the imperative קרא־נא (which might be considered either on its own or connected to the following היש עונך), and verse 17 begins with הנה, which seems to interrupt the metre to perform a similar function.

Conclusions

It seems likely that the interpretation of the דממה וקול of Job 4.16 was influenced by the קול דממה of 1 Kings 19.12, causing translators to link these words syntactically in Job 4 as well. The vision in Job 4, however, should be reconsidered in its own poetic context, allowing for the possibility of separating the enigmatic דממה from וקול אשמע and integrating it into the preceding words of the verse. As argued above, despite the similarities, I do not think the larger context of Job 4 is similar enough to that of 1 Kings 19 to consider it a related type of theophany.[47]

The interpretation of דממה as a stand-alone clause (‘there was silence’) is possible, but it creates difficulties in both line division and interpretation that, as I suggest, could potentially be solved by revocalising דממה as a verbal form. The resulting rearrangement into parallel clauses results in easier line divisions with better semantic and syntactic parallelism, but it is not a perfect solution, and drawbacks remain.

One drawback of this interpretation is the need to change the Masoretic pointing, which should not be easily dismissed. Not only is דממה pointed as a noun rather than a verb, but the accents also indicate that דממה וקול אשמע was understood to go together as the second half of the verse.[48] It is worth considering the possibility of retaining the Masoretic identification of דממה as a noun, but interpreting it as more closely related to other meanings found with the root דמם, such as ‘cessation’ or ‘holding still’. If דממה were a nominal form referring to the state of holding still (i.e., the result of cessation of movement), in this verse it could still be understood as functioning in semantic parallel to יעמד. The first two lines could then be

[47] There is admittedly a fair amount of lexical overlap between the two passages with the shared terms: רוח, קול, דממה, and שמע. There is also a similar progression of events, with a fearful supernatural appearance followed by דממה and then by an audible voice. The vision of Eliphaz, however, is not an appearance of the God of Israel, nor is Eliphaz a prophet. The context is different, as well as the outcome (he is not surrounded by physical signs of a theophany, but only a dream-like spectre).

[48] This is indicated by the ethnach under עיני, indicating verse midpoint, as well as by the qameṣ under the waw of וְקוֹל, suggesting that דממה and קול were linked as a pair.

understood along these lines: ‘It stood still, and I did not recognise its appearance / a form was before my eyes, holding still’.

A further difficulty with my proposal is that none of the early versions reflect the possibility that דממה might be a verb. It is likely, however, that early translators also struggled to make sense of the verse, and the variety of translations they produced witness to the uncertainty of the verse’s interpretation.

The strengths of the proposed revocalisation and rearrangement are that they create better syntactic parallels in the verse lines with an ABC/C′B′A′ pattern as well as a plausible interpretation. Interpreting דממה as a verb indicating cessation of movement corresponds to the meaning of דמם in well over a third of its uses and puts it in parallel with עמד, with which דמם is parallel in two other passages. Easier line divisions also result from the rearrangement, with the short third line וקול אשמע matching a pattern of interspersed short lines that draw attention to the speaker and introduce a shift in focus.

In conclusion, although difficulties remain, I believe the change of דממה to a verbal form meaning ‘stopped’ or ‘held still’ and the resulting rearrangement into parallel lines is an attractive solution to the lexical and syntactic difficulties of Job 4.16.

Appendix:

Job 4-5 with line breaks (short interpolations in bold)

Job 4

1 וַיַּעַן אֱלִיפַז הַתֵּימָנִי וַיֹּאמַר׃
2 הֲנִסָּה דָבָר אֵלֶיךָ תִּלְאֶה
וְעִצֹר בְּמִלִּין מִי יוּכָל׃
3 הִנֵּה יִסַּרְתָּ רַבִּים
וְיָדַיִם רָפוֹת תְּחַזֵּק׃
4 כּוֹשֵׁל יְקִימוּן מִלֶּיךָ
וּבִרְכַּיִם כֹּרְעוֹת תְּאַמֵּץ׃
5 כִּי עַתָּה תָּבוֹא אֵלֶיךָ וַתֵּלֶא
תִּגַּע עָלֶיךָ וַתִּבָּהֵל׃
6 הֲלֹא יִרְאָתְךָ כִסְלָתֶךָ
תִּקְוָתְךָ וְתֹם דְּרָכֶיךָ׃
7 **זְכָר־נָא**
מִי הוּא נָקִי אָבֵד
וְאֵיפֹה יְשָׁרִים נִכְחָדוּ׃
8 **כַּאֲשֶׁר רָאִיתִי**
חֹרְשֵׁי אָוֶן
וְזֹרְעֵי עָמָל יְקַצְּרֻהוּ׃
9 מִנִּשְׁמַת אֱלוֹהַּ יֹאבֵדוּ
וּמֵרוּחַ אַפּוֹ יִכְלוּ׃
10 שַׁאֲגַת אַרְיֵה
וְקוֹל שָׁחַל
וְשִׁנֵּי כְפִירִים נִתָּעוּ׃
11 לַיִשׁ אֹבֵד מִבְּלִי־טָרָף
וּבְנֵי לָבִיא יְתֻפָּרָדוּ׃
12 וְאֵלַי דָּבָר יֻגְנַּב
וַתִּקַּח אָזְנִי שֵׁמֶץ מֶנֶּהוּ׃
13 בְּשַׂעִפִּים מֵחֶזְיֹנוֹת לָיְלָה
בִּנְפֹל תַּרְדֵּמָה עַל־אֲנָשִׁים׃
14 פַּחַד קָרָאַנִי וּרְעָדָה
וְרֹב עַצְמוֹתַי הִפְחִיד׃
15 וְרוּחַ עַל־פָּנַי יַחֲלֹף
תְּסַמֵּר שַׂעֲרַת בְּשָׂרִי׃
16 יַעֲמֹד וְלֹא־אַכִּיר מַרְאֵהוּ
תְּמוּנָה לְנֶגֶד עֵינָי דְּמָמָה
וָקוֹל אֶשְׁמָע:
17 הַאֱנוֹשׁ מֵאֱלוֹהַ יִצְדָּק
אִם מֵעֹשֵׂהוּ יִטְהַר־גָּבֶר׃
18 הֵן בַּעֲבָדָיו לֹא יַאֲמִין
וּבְמַלְאָכָיו יָשִׂים תָּהָלָה׃
19 אַף־ שֹׁכְנֵי בָתֵּי־חֹמֶר
אֲשֶׁר־בֶּעָפָר יְסוֹדָם
יְדֻכְּאוּם לִפְנֵי־עָשׁ׃
20 מִבֹּקֶר לָעֶרֶב יֻכַּתּוּ
מִבְּלִי מֵשִׂים לָנֶצַח יֹאבֵדוּ׃
21 הֲלֹא־נָסַע יִתְרָם בָּם
יָמֻתוּ וְלֹא בְחָכְמָה׃

Job 5

1 **קְרָא־נָא**
הֲיֵשׁ עוֹנֶךָ
וְאֶל־מִי מִקְּדֹשִׁים תִּפְנֶה׃
2 כִּי־לְאֱוִיל יַהֲרֹג־כָּעַשׂ
וּפֹתֶה תָּמִית קִנְאָה׃
3 אֲנִי־רָאִיתִי אֱוִיל מַשְׁרִישׁ
וָאֶקּוֹב נָוֵהוּ פִּתְאֹם׃
4 יִרְחַקּוּ בָנָיו מִיֵּשַׁע
וְיִדַּכְּאוּ בַשַּׁעַר
וְאֵין מַצִּיל׃
5 אֲשֶׁר קְצִירוֹ רָעֵב יֹאכֵל
וְאֶל־מִצִּנִּים יְקֻחֶהוּ
וְשָׁאֵף צִמִּים חֵילָם׃
6 כִּי לֹא־יֵצֵא מֵעָפָר אָוֶן
וּמֵאֲדָמָה לֹא־יִצְמַח עָמָל׃
7 כִּי־אָדָם לְעָמָל יוּלָּד
וּבְנֵי־רֶשֶׁף יַגְבִּיהוּ עוּף׃
8 אוּלָם אֲנִי אֶדְרֹשׁ אֶל־אֵל
וְאֶל־אֱלוֹהִים אָשִׂים דְּבָרָתִי׃
9 עֹשֶׂה גְדֹלוֹת וְאֵין חֵקֶר
נִפְלָאוֹת עַד־אֵין מִסְפָּר׃
10 הַנֹּתֵן מָטָר עַל־פְּנֵי־אָרֶץ
וְשֹׁלֵחַ מַיִם עַל־פְּנֵי חוּצוֹת׃
11 לָשׂוּם שְׁפָלִים לְמָרוֹם
וְקֹדְרִים שָׂגְבוּ יֶשַׁע׃
12 מֵפֵר מַחְשְׁבוֹת עָרוּמִּים
וְלֹא־תַעֲשֶׂינָה יְדֵיהֶם תּוּשִׁיָּה׃
13 לֹכֵד חֲכָמִים בְּעָרְמָם
וַעֲצַת נִפְתָּלִים נִמְהָרָה׃
14 יוֹמָם יְפַגְּשׁוּ־חֹשֶׁךְ
וְכַלַּיְלָה יְמַשְׁשׁוּ בַצָּהֳרָיִם׃
15 וַיֹּשַׁע מֵחֶרֶב מִפִּיהֶם
וּמִיַּד חָזָק אֶבְיוֹן׃
16 וַתְּהִי לַדַּל תִּקְוָה
וְעַוָּלָתָה קָפְצָה פִּיהָ׃
17 **הִנֵּה**
אַשְׁרֵי אֱנוֹשׁ יוֹכְחֶנּוּ אֱלוֹהַּ
וּמוּסַר שַׁדַּי אַל־תִּמְאָס׃
18 כִּי הוּא יַכְאִיב וְיַחֲבֹשׁ
יָמְחַץ וְיָדָו (וידיו) תִּרְפֶּינָה׃
19 בְּשֵׁשׁ צָרוֹת יַצִּילֶךָּ
וּבְשֶׁבַע לֹא־יִגַּע בְּךָ רָע׃
20 בָּרָעָב פָּדְךָ מִמָּוֶת
וּבְמִלְחָמָה מִיַּדֵי חָרֶב׃
21 בְּשׁוֹט לָשׁוֹן תֵּחָבֵא
וְלֹא־תִירָא מְשֹׁד כִּי יָבוֹא׃
22 לְשֹׁד וּלְכָפָן תִּשְׂחָק
וּמֵחַיַּת הָאָרֶץ אַל־תִּירָא׃
23 כִּי עִם־אַבְנֵי הַשָּׂדֶה בְּרִיתֶךָ
וְחַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה הָשְׁלְמָה־לָּךְ׃
24 וְיָדַעְתָּ כִּי־שָׁלוֹם אָהֳלֶךָ
וּפָקַדְתָּ נָוְךָ וְלֹא תֶחֱטָא׃
25 וְיָדַעְתָּ כִּי־רַב זַרְעֶךָ
וְצֶאֱצָאֶיךָ כְּעֵשֶׂב הָאָרֶץ׃
26 תָּבוֹא בְכֹלַח אֶלִי־קֶבֶר
כַּעֲלוֹת גָּדִישׁ בְּעִתּוֹ׃
27 **הִנֵּה־זֹאת חְקַרְנוּהָ**
כֵּן־הִיא
שְׁמָעֶנָּה וְאַתָּה דַּע־לָךְ׃ פ

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Bible and Archaeology – Conflicting Witnesses for David?

OTSEM 2015 (UPPSALA) PH.D. PAPER

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1. Trends in biblical scholarship

My thesis proposes a detailed and comprehensive poetic structure underlying the entire book of 1-2 Samuel [hereafter *Samuel*]. One of the most common questions I am asked regarding this discovery is why it has never been seen before. Surveying past research on *Samuel* in the first chapter of my thesis, the answer to this has become somewhat clearer:

In the earliest period of its reception history, the book of *Samuel* was treated simply as a source of historical facts about the origins of the Israelite monarchy, though from the Church Fathers and Tannaim onwards many became more interested in tracing spiritual patterns between either David and Jesus or the early monarchy and the laws of Moses, respectively. The recovery of the 'literal' sense as foundational to the 'spiritual' led to a new appreciation of the history for its own sake, reflected pragmatically in the reigns of Charlemagne and James I among many others. When Enlightenment thought started to interest biblical scholars in the literary history of *Samuel*, presuppositions about contradictions and multiple sources (termed '*Literarkritik*') distracted them from reconsidering its hackneyed final form. Attention did return to the final form in the later twentieth century (termed 'newer literary criticism'), just as postmodernism began persuading younger scholars to focus on reader-response studies and reject the importance of a (final) author. Only now, therefore, are we finding ourselves free once more to explore techniques by which an author might have given an objective arrangement to his material, conveying a specific message to his original audience. Whether it is possible to determine who this audience might have been will depend in part on whether the findings of my thesis are found to be convincing.

The first wave of 'literary criticism', or *Literarkritik*, in the late-nineteenth and early- to mid-twentieth century, recognised that the biblical texts are not transparent windows onto historical or theological reality, as they had typically been used for generations by confessing scholars, but are worthy of analysis in their own right as literature. Understanding their original composition and transmission would enable the scholar better to distinguish the unique perspective(s) afforded by each particular 'window' on the external reality to which they bore witness. The methods pioneered by first wave literary criticism prioritised the detection of internally coherent sources, primary forms, agglomerative traditions, and redactional activity by compilers. As these methods each degenerated into unrestricted proliferation of hypotheses, postmodernist developments in literary theory and history inspired a second wave of 'newer literary criticism' in the second half of the twentieth century, focusing on the final form of the text as an artistic unity in which inconsistencies were valued precisely because of the polyvalence they generated. Final-form analyses typically chose to ignore diachronic questions of origin as either irrelevant or (sadly) unrecoverable,[1] but as with first wave literary criticism, before long the second wave surrendered to the law of diminishing returns by dissipating into widely divergent readings of the same texts, eschewing competition on principle.[2]

In a perhaps inevitable Hegelian dialectic, the internal problems of the first wave expressed in the contradictory second wave have in the last decade or two begun to resolve themselves into a rising third wave of literary criticism, only just beginning to be felt.[3] In this third wave, synchronic analysis is appreciated as in fact an essential foundation for the ever-important diachronic questions, questions of how ancient authors deliberately crafted their texts as compositions for specific audiences.[4] When James Muilenburg advocated final-form analysis four decades ago, he was simply arguing that the rhetorical analysis assumed by form criticism ought to be applied to the complete text rather than just to extracted

[1] Barton (1994: 8-10) criticises Robert Alter along these lines, and attempts to mediate between first- and second-wave literary critics.

[2] For recent examples of the deregulated abandon in newer literary criticism of *Samuel*, see Linafelt, Camp & Beal 2010.

[3] E.g. Koorevaar (1990) on Joshua, summarised in Klement (1996; ETr 1999), or Webb (1987) on Judges.

[4] Klement (e.g. 1999: 459 = 1996: 101) makes a persuasive argument for the priority of synchronic analysis before diachronic, citing Polzin (1980: 3-7), who cites Bakhtin and others. Cf. also Edelman 1991: 21-24.

selections. Rhetorical analysis was forsaking the basic gradualist assumptions of form and tradition criticism and returning to the older views of scholars such as Wellhausen, Rost and von Rad who had assumed creative individual authors to have been at work.[5] Unfortunately, since that time postmodern philosophical scepticism about both authors and history has deterred most final-form critics from attempting to pursue the synchronic 'plain sense' of the text back into its original diachronic context(s). Nevertheless, his call still stands, and more evidence is now available to determine the rhetorical intent of the final-form author by identifying comparable document-length literature from Near Eastern cultures surrounding ancient Israel. For example, Deuteronomy has been compared with vassal treaties and lawcodes, Joshua with conquest accounts, Samuel with royal accession propaganda, and Kings with court chronicles.[6]

The other method of discovering rhetorical intent in a final-form text, logically prior to the comparative approach, is the discernment of structural techniques used by the author across the whole document. That requires a definition of the limits of the document, and the natural place to start is at the most basic and tangible division between individual scrolls, attested in the Genizah manuscripts, medieval Hebrew scrolls, and as far back as the Dead Sea Scrolls themselves. We know that at some point prior to our earliest manuscript evidence, each book was physically distinguished from others by means of its own scroll, and would therefore have been recognised at that time as having had a distinct rhetorical purpose.[7] We are justified, therefore, in treating *Samuel* as a single work, following its attestation in the Dead Sea Scrolls rather than in the Septuagint, as a deliberate alternative to either isolating small portions of text for analysis or presuming an original narrative continuum from Judges through Kings.[8]

My own doctoral thesis is intended to be an illustration of third wave literary criticism, analysing the entire book of *Samuel* by explaining every episode within its structural context (Chapters Three and Four) so as to demonstrate the message of the whole. The particular rhetorical technique used by the author to arrange episodes throughout the book, 'concentrism', must first be given a suitably thorough methodological justification (Chapter Two), including criteria that must be met to prove that concentrism is genuinely present in any particular text. However, the literary analysis of *Samuel* would not be complete without assessing the proposed rhetorical structure, not only verifying it according to the criteria, but also considering questions of likely authorship, historical setting, and even the multiple editions uncovered through rhetorical analysis (Chapter Five). This study of *Samuel* will naturally provoke many questions for further research, some of which are spelled out in Chapter Six.

2. Trends in historical scholarship

The growth of interest in final-form or narrative criticism was inspired in part by the rhetorical interests of Muilenburg, Alter and others. An additional factor, though, was the loss of confidence in the unique value of the biblical texts as sources for history.[9] This had been a primary objective of traditional historical criticism of the Bible since the early nineteenth century, inspired by the same philological

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[5] Alter (1981: 119 n.1) writes, "the evidence for a unified imaginative conception of the whole David story seems to be persuasive".

[6] E.g. [1] Wenham 1970; Kitchen & Lawrence 2012; [2] Younger 1990: 249-53; [3] McCarter 1980a (developing Hoffner 1975). Römer (2005: 104-106) uses this sort of comparative analysis to argue for a library of individual scrolls composed by Deuteronomists prior to the final redaction of the DtrH. Unfortunately his predetermined conclusion about the neo-Assyrian date for all these compositions prevents an impartial comparison with documents from other civilisations or time periods.

[7] Exceptions might be Genesis through Numbers, or the Book of the Twelve. Barton (2007c: 4) commends the "advantage in beginning from what is known and proceeding by stages to reconstruct what is unknown, rather than starting with hypothetical 'earliest stages' and coming late in the day to the text in its present form; for this more familiar route tends to mean that we have already made up our minds on many issues before ever we confront the text itself, and can no longer see it with any freshness of perception."

[8] This is not to ignore the fact that we do find mention made of traditional associations of distinct scrolls, either in libraries or as a perceived theoretical group, in preceding centuries as early as the manuscript copies of the books themselves. See the evidence collected by Beckwith (1986: *passim*, 221, 242-45).

[9] E.g. Steussy (1999: 10-19) justifies her final-form approach, open to textual disunity and unorthdoxy, by simply reporting lack of historical-critical consensus over historical reconstructions from the text (Goliath, Ahinoam), United Monarchy archaeology, and diachronic development of texts (DtrH, Succession Narrative).

developments in literary theory that led the great German historian Leopold von Ranke to found modern history on criticism of primary sources, seeking to show the past "how it essentially was" (*wie es eigentlich gewesen*).[10] Historians between the wars became disillusioned about previous certainties, and after the second World War they tried again to restore objectivity, turning to the new social sciences to make their discipline more 'scientific' and quantifiable. The French *Annales* historians became very influential, emphasising the *longue durée* rather than a subjective history of specific people and events. They also influenced the development of the 'new archaeology' approach in the 1960s by American New World archaeologists.[11] To identify factors governing processes of cultural change, these 'processualists' downplayed historical records – largely lacking for pre-literate indigenous societies – in favour of interdisciplinary collaboration between anthropologists, sociologists, palaeo-ecologists and the physical science disciplines. These new methods reaching archaeologists of ancient Canaan by the 1970s justified for some of them also a reduced interest in the events-based approach to history as found in the Bible.[12]

Between the wars, biblical archaeologists led by W.F. Albright had made many confident historical assertions based on the biblical texts, such as a twelfth-century BC 'conquest' of Canaan by Joshua. Ever-increasing archaeological research, though, began to undermine some of these conclusions, and historians of ancient Israel turned to the social sciences and 'new archaeology' for alternative theories, particularly for the Israelite arrival in Canaan and the emergence of the first Israelite state(s).[13] Their apparent successes then reinforced the parallel conclusion that biblical texts were likely to be unreliable as sources for history unless backed up by more 'objective' evidence from scientific archaeological investigation.[14]

Within less than a decade, some of the same scholars who had pioneered social scientific methods for objective historical research into Israel's origins (e.g. Lemche 1984; Whitelam & Coote 1987; cf. Finkelstein 1988) were at the forefront of a new 'revisionist' school of biblical scholarship, effectively repudiating even their own earlier attempts to write a history of ancient 'Israel'. They continued to affirm the value of processualist archaeological methods, as a way of writing history without needing to appeal to written sources,[15] but in general they appear to have largely turned from 'positivist' contributions of socio-scientific historiography (being unqualified in archaeology apart from Finkelstein) to 'nihilist' attacks on the historicity of the biblical texts. It is not that actual archaeological material uncovered in the last twenty years has given rise to such a vicious assault on the reliability of biblical history;[16] on the contrary, many discoveries could perhaps reinforce its historical value.[17] It seems, therefore, that the primary cause for this scepticism was the same postmodern philosophy that had already been assailing the wider discipline of history (Dever 2001).

'Postmodern' recognition of the indeterminacy of language provoked an existential crisis in the discipline of history in the 1980s and 1990s, criticising the dominant discourses and idealistic objectivity of older historians.[18] Since then, secular and biblical historians as well as archaeologists have taken on board valid postmodern insights,[19] and yet defended the theoretical robustness of the historical endeavour in

[10] Evans 2000: 16-19.
[11] Evans 2000: 38-40.
[12] Dever 1981; cf. Moorey 1991: 140-48, xv-xvi.
[13] The discussion below raises the possibility that it may be the standard chronology, rather than the biblical text, that is to blame for the incompatibility between for example the book of Joshua and the early Iron Age.
[14] Davies (1996: 15) and Liverani (2005: xv-xvi) note how the advancing scepticism in biblical history has successively overwhelmed the Primeval History, the Patriarchal Period, and the Exodus and Conquest, and is now assailing the United Monarchy.
[15] Finkelstein does still appeal to biblical texts for the later Iron Age, but rejects their value for Israelite history before Omri and Ahab (Finkelstein & Silberman 2001). Lemche, Whitelam et al. reject biblical history *a priori*.
[16] Finkelstein's cogent proposal of a new 'low chronology' for the early Iron Age is instead a re-interpretation of existing archaeological evidence, and is discussed at greater length below.
[17] Cf., e.g., the Tel Dan stele fragments (1993–1994), the 'Large Stone structure' in Jerusalem (2005), the Tel Zayit Abecedary (2005; cf. Tappy & McCarter 2008), and the Khirbet Qeiyafa ostraca (2008; cf. Galil 2009).
[18] Evans 2000: 3-9; he offers an instructive example (233-38) of the postmodern literary theorist Paul de Man, whose historical deconstructionism was employed to excuse his youthful collaboration with Nazi propaganda.
[19] For example, that acknowledging ideological bias is the best way to limit its effects.

principle and in practice.[20] Even so, the degree to which ideology may have unduly influenced particular historical sources such as *Samuel*, and our use of them, remains widely disputed, and final-form criticism has often provided a convenient scholarly way of circumventing the whole question.

3. The interrelation between literary and historical scholarship

In the last forty years – the span of a single scholarly career – confidence in the historical value of traditions about David in the book of *Samuel* has changed to the point of being unrecognisable. There used to be a consensus in classical historical-critical scholarship that the author of *Samuel* (at least of 2Samuel 9–20) was most likely an eyewitness, contemporary with the events described and physically close to the royal court.[21] Gradually scholars have been forced to concede that biblical depictions of Solomon's glorious empire, conquered by David, could not be substantiated, and thus to express uncertainty also about the historicity of many of the narrative details. They now address the possibility that "Saul and David never existed as historical figures" (Brettler 2010: 48; cf. Grabbe 2010a: 115), belonging to "a golden age, not a historical period" (Auld 1996: 167-68). It was only the discovery in 1993 and 1994 of fragments of a ninth-century stele in Tel Dan, referring to the Judahite dynasty as the 'house of David', that repelled the onslaught at the gate, so to speak.[22] Since then, even the most extreme sceptics no longer deny the probability that an actual chieftain named David founded a dynasty around the tenth century in the southern central highlands of Canaan, though they insist that this is hardly proof for the "fictional" biblical profile of 'King David' (Davies 2010: 60).

The growth of historical revisionism draws on a combination of historical/archaeological and literary arguments which are themselves interdependent and difficult to extricate from each other.[23] Often the impression given is that the linchpin of current scepticism is archaeological – the 'Low Chronology' of the early Iron Age promoted by Israel Finkelstein is "stripping the United Monarchy of monumental buildings" and thus of historical plausibility (Finkelstein 1996: 185). However, Moore and Kelle (2011: 233; cf. 17-25, 148, 407) have demonstrated that it was in fact literary reassessments of material about David which gave the primary impetus to a growing historical scepticism since the 1980s. In fact, they show that this impact of the literary upon the historical has been the consistent direction of influence throughout biblical history research. If that is so, a fresh literary reassessment such as is offered in my thesis could potentially have a major impact on discussions about the historical existence of David and the nature of his reign, especially given the widely divergent views among modern archaeologists about the time of David.[24]

Introducing his survey of *A Century of Biblical Archaeology* (1890–1990), Roger Moorey highlighted an important gap in the theoretical self-evaluation of archaeology as a discipline. During the previous thirty years, "relatively little attention has been given in that time to the particular complexities of archaeological research in historic (text-aided) as distinct from prehistoric (textless) periods" (Moorey 1991: *xv*). He notes that because of the impossibility of being in full control of both the textual data and material data, some archaeologists prefer to operate within prehistory, "where the formulation and testing of models or hypotheses would appear to suffer from fewer restraints" (p. *xvi*). Among those who do work in periods attested by biblical texts, when they come across apparent discrepancies between the texts and the material evidence, some find it convenient to short-circuit the debate by appeal to sceptical literary critics who have dismissed these texts as 'biased', 'incomplete', or even 'pure fiction'. These assessments may of course be accurate, but the aim of this paper is to reconsider whether this is the proper relationship between archaeology and text when conflict arises in reconstructing ancient history in the land of Canaan.[25]

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[20] E.g. Evans 2000; Dever 2001; Provan, Long & Longman 2003; Grabbe 2007: 28-30; Brettler 2010: 26-27.

[21] As Lemche summarises (2008: 143).

[22] [Isa 28:6] Hence the use of this image on the cover of Moore & Kelle (2011; cf. pp. 217-18, 277-78). Lemaire (1994) quickly identified the same phrase as a likely reading on the Mesha Stele from the same era.

[23] Though they ought to be, as will be argued below.

[24] For the latter, see the convenient and thorough introduction by Kletter 2004.

[25] Despite Amihai Mazar's defence of the geographical term 'Palestine' (1990: 33 n. 1), Dever (2001: 62) suggests a more proper term would be ancient "Greater Canaan" – a less anachronistic and more politically neutral label. Cf. Hess 1998; Younger 1999: 187-88; Patrick 2011a: 4-5.

Lester Grabbe, in his learned and judicious 2007 survey of the evidence for *Ancient Israel*, identified "the major difference" between archaeological and textual data as follows (2007: 10):

> … the archaeological data actually existed in real life – the artifacts are realia (apart from some faked artifacts – see below). Texts, on the other hand, are products of the imagination. The content of a text always contains human invention, and it is always possible that a text is entirely fantasy.

Shortly before this, he had offered two cautions concerning archaeology and biblical interpretation: first, recognise that "the use of archaeological data is just as subjective and interpretative as data from texts" (2007: 9); but second, and in seeming contradiction, beware the view that "archaeological data is no more objective than textual data" (that is to say, archaeological data *is* in fact more objective than textual data; they are *not* equally subjective and interpretative). In fact, the contradiction is avoided on a technicality – the key words in the first caution are "the *use* of". Artifacts are without question realia from the past, able to be handled and seen for oneself unlike the data drawn from texts, but that is where the greater objectivity ends. As soon as the archaeologist starts to connect this blackened potsherd with a layer of destruction across the whole site, and thence with destruction levels at other sites, in order to speculate about a particular invasion of a foreign army at a particular point in history, that archaeological datum has been shaped by imagination and human invention as surely as any textual data.[26] Therefore, archaeologists ever since the great Pitt Rivers have emphasised the importance of recording and publishing every detail of an excavation, aware that others may interpret the same data differently, or consider different aspects of the data to be more important for their own questions. This does not differ at all from genuinely historical texts, since in these the historian gives his or her own interpretation of a particular set of data. The usefulness of each text to other historians will depend entirely on the care taken by the author in recording facts accurately for posterity – minor details as much as major events. Archaeologists are just as prone to ideological misinterpretations of their data as historians are, as competing schools of archaeology constantly remind each other.

The same is true for forgeries in both disciplines. It is perhaps easier to accuse an ancient author of 'pious fraud' than it is to accuse a modern archaeologist of 'complete fabrication', though both run the equal risk of being libellous.[27] With current levels of academic scrutiny it would hopefully be hard to get away with concealing inconvenient data found in excavations.[28] It is often assumed, though, that in ancient Israel the general population were far more gullible than a modern audience might be, happy to swallow made-up stories about events of the past, as long as they reinforced popular religious concepts about their god. Yet at the same time, more and more material evidence is coming to light of heterodox religious practices in ancient Israel throughout the biblical period, which only confirms the Bible's own portrayal of its ancient audience as frequently antagonistic towards its claims about Israel's god. Witness the conflicting ideological interpretations of events of recent history by the prophet Jeremiah and his contemporaries in exile in Egypt, recorded in the 45th chapter of his book.

On the other hand, just as it is notoriously difficult to distinguish forged artifacts from genuine ones in current scholarship, so it may have been difficult for ancient Israelite historians to distinguish fictional reports in their sources from factual ones. Different eras may have had different methods of confirming the accuracy of their sources. The post-exilic period appears to have placed special emphasis on quoting from or citing earlier written material (e.g. 1Chr 4:22, 41; 29:29-30; 2Chr 9:29; 20:34; 21:12-15; 24:27; 30:6-9; 35:4, 25-27; Ezra 1:2-4; 4:7-23; 5:6–6:12; 7:11-27; Neh 7:5-72; 9:5b–10:31; Zec 1:4-6; 7:7), even though modern scholars question the authenticity of some of their claimed sources. Earlier periods seem instead to have appealed every now and then to evidence of objects, names or traditions that have endured 'until this day' (e.g. Gen 32:33; 47:26; Jos 4:9; Jdg 6:24; 1Sam 5:5; 30:25; 2Sam 18:18; 1Kgs 9:13).[29] In any case, we cannot simply take it for granted that ancient audiences were less interested in

[26] "both texts and artifacts are 'objective,' yet require 'subjective' interpretation if the record is to be read correctly" – Dever 2001: 81, cf. 70-71.

[27] Dever (2001: 272) notes concerning biblical authors that "for the revisionists virtually all their writing is not only 'myth' but deliberate 'fiction'; and they were obviously pious as well as orthodox".

[28] This has not stopped Thomas Thompson, for example, from insinuating such things about Bill Dever with regard to his excavations of the gate at Gezer – Dever 2001: 33, 134.

[29] Discussed at greater length in Patrick (2011a).

verification than modern ones. We undoubtedly have fewer contemporaneous records with which to assess for ourselves the quality of historical judgement of the various biblical authors,[30] but just as when we use published excavation reports by archaeologists of previous generations, we must make an informed decision about how far to trust their texts for the data we wish to incorporate into our own imaginative reconstructions of the past.

4. The independence of archaeological and literary research

Far from being a simplistic dichotomy, then, between 'objective' archaeology and 'subjective' texts, the true conflict is between different interpretations of data from ancient times. The modern historian may wish to trust the interpretation of an archaeologist, based on a creative synthesis of a host of scattered fragments from the past in light of certain accepted historical events, more than the interpretation of an ancient historian, based it would seem on a creative synthesis of even earlier records alongside extant material or cultural remnants from earlier times. In both cases, the modern historian must judge how far an interpretation is trustworthy, but the tools and methods for making this judgement will be different in each case. Archaeologists differ from each other in their interpretations even of the same material data, often due to ideological differences, and it is not easy to decide which view, if any, to agree with.[31] Likewise, biblical texts present differing, perhaps even conflicting, interpretations of past historical events (Dever 2001: 45-46), and there are tools and methods available for assessing the different rhetorical aims which may have motivated their presentations.

The need for developing expertise in each discipline on its own terms has long been recognised in scholarship. Originally, this was used as defence by literary critics sympathetic to the views of Wellhausen, against the powerful appeal to archaeological discoveries by those wishing to dispute the conclusions of higher criticism. For example, Francis Brown in his presidential address to SBL in 1896 attacked the position of the Assyriologist A.H. Sayce and others:[32]

> But one of the crudest mistakes in using Archaeology as a conservative ally is made when it is employed to win a battle in literary criticism. It is not equipped for that kind of fighting. It has its proper place in the determination of historical facts, but a very subordinate place, or none at all, in the determination of literary facts. To attempt to prove by Archaeology that Moses wrote the Pentateuch, is simply grotesque. The question is not whether Moses could write, it is whether he did write certain books which there is strong internal and historical ground for holding he did not write; and on this point Archaeology has nothing to say, nor is it likely she will have anything to say.

Likewise, S.R. Driver (1899: 150) took issue with Sayce for confusing "the illustration of a narrative, known, or reasonably supposed, to be authentic, with the confirmation of a narrative, the historical character of which is in dispute".[33] Essentially, archaeology may be used to illustrate narratives which literary analysis suggests are broadly reliable history, but when such analysis concludes that a narrative is untrustworthy, archaeology cannot be summoned as a witness for the defence.

A generation later, the great archaeologist W.F. Albright took up the baton from Sayce, and laboured tirelessly to shift the weight of proof of historicity from the internal evidence adduced by literary critics onto external material evidence. In response, Martin Noth, like Albrecht Alt before him, emphasised the limitations of archaeology for early Israelite history (Noth 1960: 48):[34]

> The fact that an event can be shown to have been possible is no proof that it actually occurred, and the archaeological illumination of the general situation in any period does not in any way enable us

[30] Moore and Kelle (2011: 4) demonstrate "the prominence of history and information about the past in the Bible", and argue that narratives in Genesis through 2 Kings can reasonably be labelled 'history', even if their accuracy is disputed.

[31] Grabbe (2010b: 66) comments concerning the 'Pottery assemblages and the dating of various strata' relevant to the Low Chronology debate: "Here there is a surprising difference of interpretation between professional archaeologists whom one would expect to agree about the facts in the ground". Similarly, Dever (2001: 77) laments that "archaeology today is so specialized and so esoteric that the non-specialist (historian or biblical scholar, for instance) is at a loss to know whom or what to trust".

[32] Cited by Moorey (1991: 40-41).

[33] Cited by Moorey (1991: 44).

[34] Cited by Moorey (1991: 105).

> to dispense with the study of the nature of the traditions enshrined in the records which have been handed down.

Albright's arguments carried the day during his lifetime, and his successors, such as G.E. Wright, John Bright, and Kenneth Kitchen, have continued to argue that archaeology can be co-opted in defence of the reliability of the biblical presentation of history, if not as strict 'proof' then at least as evidence for plausibility or probability (cf. Moorey 1991: 106).[35]

Nevertheless, from soon after Albright's death, the criticisms of his approach by T.L. Thompson and others, following more closely the higher-critical literary tradition of Wellhausen, have tilted the balance in the opposite direction, to the point that many archaeologists now sideline the written sources as "largely biased, incomplete, and open to different interpretations".[36] First the Patriarchal Narratives, and then the stories of the Exodus and Conquest, were called into question and summarily rejected as largely invention, primarily on literary grounds but also on archaeological absence of evidence (which would ideally be in the form of inscriptions from stratigraphically sealed contexts that explicitly confirm biblical characters or events). In recent years the debate has progressed still further to draw in the foundation narratives of the first Israelite state(s), and Moore and Kelle raise the possibility that since "there is no undisputed archaeological evidence for David's activities", in the future "perhaps the beginnings of Israel's 'real' history will again be pushed later in time, and the time of David will be seen as another mythical origin story" (Moore & Kelle 2011: 243).

Thompson's case against Albright was built upon a careful extrication of biblical data from archaeological data, rejecting the earlier idea that the two may simply be presumed to be compatible and mutually illustrative (Thompson 1974: 3-4):

> Because of this it seems necessary to insist on a methodology of writing the history of the ancient Near East which observes a careful distinction between the types of materials at hand, and which allows historical conclusions to be drawn only after each type of material has been independently examined. Thus, archaeological materials should not be dated or evaluated on the basis of written texts which are independent of these materials; so also written documents should not be interpreted on the basis of archaeological hypotheses.

This statement does not seem to reflect an understanding of just how dependent archaeological interpretations are upon written texts for fixing the absolute dates necessary for calibrating independent pottery sequences or carbon-14 readings.[37] However, we can accept Thompson's general point that interpretations of data in each discipline ought to be assessed first within the terms of their own field of study as far as possible, before the attempt is made to correlate the two and draw historical conclusions.[38] It then follows that in the historical analysis one must decide when, if ever, it might be "methodologically proper to deviate from the most natural interpretation of one in order to bring it into line with the other" and achieve correlation (Miller 1977: 88). This question is a vital one, but it must not be allowed to impinge upon the logically prior stage of determining "the most natural interpretation" in either discipline.[39]

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[35] This argument is expressed slightly differently by the conservative scholars Provan, Long, and Longman in *A Biblical History of Israel* (2003), where they argue that biblical texts should be considered plausible until falsified by external evidence (the 'maximalist' view), rather than unreliable until verified by archaeology (the 'minimalist' view).

[36] Ussishkin 2006: 147-8. Fellow archaeologist Nadav Na'aman takes issue with this "artificial contrast", noting that "Like the written sources, the results of the archaeological excavations are open to different, sometimes even contradictory, interpretations" (2011: 167).

[37] See footnote 66 below.

[38] Also argued by two of Thompson's critics, Dever (2001: 79, 90, 106) and J. Maxwell Miller (1991: 93-94). Miller notes, though, that archaeological conclusions must then be much more circumspect as to dates and ethnic definitions.

[39] Père de Vaux (1970: 78) offered some perceptive remarks in this regard: "Archaeology does not confirm the text, which is what it is, it can only confirm the interpretation which we give it. If the results of archaeology seem to be opposed to the conclusions of text criticism, the reason may perhaps be that not enough archaeological facts are known or that they have not been firmly established; the reason also may be that the text has been wrongly interpreted." Cf. Wright 1971. Na'aman has repeatedly emphasised the first two of these three options – "Does Archaeology Really Deserve the Status of a 'High Court' in Biblical Historical Research?" (2011; cf. 1996a, 2009, 2010).

As literary analysis takes precedence over archaeological assessments, both in principle and in practice, the following discussion will address them in the same order.

5. Literary analysis of the book of *Samuel*

(i) *Literary arguments in favour of historical value*

It is important to start by acknowledging the vast majority of historical-critical scholars, right up to the 1980s and beyond, whose trained critical faculties led them to the considered conclusion that the books of Samuel constitute broadly reliable historical accounts, perhaps sometimes even contemporary with the events they describe. Like their pre-critical predecessors, they were not ignorant of the difference between plausible history and popular folktale, and we would be ill-advised to brush aside the preponderance of scholarly opinion, even to this day, too hastily.

Secondly, there are literary critics today who still defend the value of the book of *Samuel* for historical reconstructions. Among these, Stephen McKenzie (2000) and Baruch Halpern (2001) have both written 'lives' of David that make extensive use of the biblical book, albeit as a thoroughly polemical work that must be comprehensively deconstructed in order to arrive at the true historical picture of events in the time of David.[40] Others are inclined to be less cynical about David's protestations of innocence,[41] viewing *Samuel* in the pattern of ancient royal apologetic literature. Halpern has continued to defend the value of the biblical text for historical study, and draws upon numerous other lines of internal evidence from (1-)2 Samuel to argue for a pre-exilic, even tenth-century composition (e.g. Halpern 2005).

Thirdly, this present thesis undertakes a more narrowly technical rhetorical analysis of *Samuel* which points not only to the remarkable coherence of both its literary structure and its 'ideological' messages, but also to an apparent claim to be the work of a named eyewitness present at most of the events recorded in the book. Having explored in detail the authorial perspective and the implied audience of the book, and having weighed the possibility of pseudonymity, I have concluded provisionally that the least implausible solution is to accept the ascription as accurate. As such, that would make *Samuel* in some senses a 'primary source' (albeit subject to the vicissitudes of textual transmission, as are most ancient sources) – the sort of source with which "any work of history must begin" (Grabbe 2010b: 226; cf. 2007: 35). I must make it very clear, however, that it is certainly not my intention to try to argue that the biblical book is entirely accurate.[42] Like any other historical work, it is an unashamedly biased presentation of one particular narrative about events in those ancient times, and however strongly one might disagree with the author's ideology, it remains a valuable source of historical information for a wide variety of questions relating to that time period.

(ii) *Literary arguments against historical value*

Reassessments of the biblical literature have arisen primarily from four lines of argument: redactional, technological, logical and philosophical.

First, the theory of a 'Deuteronomistic History' (Noth 1943) remains powerfully influential to the present day, despite various slight adjustments or criticisms. If this theory is accepted, it follows that the book of *Samuel* must ultimately belong to the exilic composition, whatever its earlier sources may have been, and as such was completed in its current form around four hundred years after the events it

[40] Cf. also Heym 1973; McCarter 1980a; 1980b. Isser (2003: 108-9) argues implausibly that this 'true picture' could instead represent just the negative legends about David circulating at the time of the Deuteronomists.

[41] Gordon 1984: 65-66; Provan, Long & Longman 2003: 217-21. It seems to me that the large number of Davidic individual lament psalms mentioning unjust accusations and political intrigue, particularly in Book 1 of the Psalter, may provide independent evidence relevant to the narrative *apologia* for David in 1-2 Samuel.

[42] One might choose to believe that the book is accurate in every detail, and thus align oneself fully with the ideological perspective of the author/narrator, but this would be a theological position rather than a critical one. Such a conclusion could not be derived from careful analysis of the text itself, even if we were to unearth a tenth-century autograph *in situ* complete with an attached photograph of the author. The text is simply one person's perspective on reality, and while a critic may judge him to be broadly trustworthy, to conclude that his text is without error could only be based on prior extra-textual convictions about the trustworthiness of the author(s), of the community of faith who preserved it, and ultimately of the god who has reportedly attached His reputation to such ancient texts.

purports to describe.[43] It is not hard to see how this might call into question the accuracy of its historical details.[44]

Second, there is clear evidence from both archaeology (e.g. names on seals) and biblical literature (e.g. the eighth-century prophets) for a significant expansion of popular literacy in ancient Israel in the eighth to seventh centuries BC (Grabbe 2007: 116-18). Epigraphic finds from preceding centuries are much scarcer, and it has therefore been proposed (Jamieson-Drake 1991) that major works of biblical historiography or literature would be unlikely to have been composed earlier than this period.[45] If literature only appeared at that time, even written sources incorporated within the DtrH cannot have been earlier than a couple of hundred years after events they report, their factual details being drawn from less dependable oral transmission and thus unreliable as history.[46]

Third, and related to the first two, many claim to recognise clear examples of internal inconsistency within the book of *Samuel*. The underlying implication is that if the inconsistent elements were assigned to different time periods (e.g. eighth century, or an exilic DtrH), it would be possible to recognise greater overall coherence at a diachronic as opposed to a synchronic level.[47] It then supposedly follows (once again) that the further away such editorial layers are from the events described, the less reliable they will be as history.[48] Examples commonly appealed to include 'doublets' such as David sparing Saul twice (1Sam 24 paralleling 1Sam 26; Brettler 2010), 'contradictions' such as Goliath being defeated by David (1Sam 17) and by Elhanan (2Sam 21; Bar-Efrat 2010: 48), narrator comments presumed to indicate a lengthy passage of time (e.g. 1Sam 27:6; 2Sam 18:18; Bar-Efrat 2010: 48-49),[49] or specific themes or background details characteristic of later historical periods – whether Omride depictions of courtly life (Finkelstein & Silberman 2006: 106-110, 117), Persian historical events (Isser 2003: 87-99) and ideas about monarchy (Liverani 2005: 308-23), or Greek use of mercenaries (Van Seters 2010), of single combat between champions (Rofé 1987),[50] and of dramatic narrative themes (Adam 2010). Rarely is there any attempt made to synthesise these isolated details, themes, or passages into a coherent explanation that accounts for even a complete portion of the text. Perhaps the convoluted and impenetrable processes of ancient redaction are thought to add enough uncertainty as to make such attempts ultimately fruitless.[51]

Fourth, a major shift in the *Zeitgeist* of Western philosophy, associated with the 'linguistic turn' and 'postmodernism', has exerted a strong influence on historiography (discussed above). Already back in the 1960s, David Levin (1967: 3) drew on expertise in both history and literature to contest the widespread "assumption that a natural law decrees hostility between good literature and serious history, between

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[43] Finkelstein and Silberman (2006) present a remarkably confident sequence of 'stages in development of biblical material' throughout their book, the three oral tradition stages and then four written stages of editing each associated with specific features of the text as it now appears.

[44] Polzin (1989, 1993) takes this to the extreme of denying any validity to the search for earlier traditions or sources within *Samuel*; he insists (rightly) that the document be interpreted first as a literary unity, and then within its historical context, but by presupposing an exilic setting he is forced to rely purely on allegory to find the author's messages for his audience (1989: 1-17). It is understandable, therefore, how the DtrH theory drew attention to the role of ideology in the writing of historical texts (Brettler 1995: 4).

[45] Cf. Garsiel 2010: 7-8. Halpern (2005: 426) is surprised at the "extraordinary extent" to which not only the revisionists' theories but also Finkelstein's 'low chronology' depend upon the lack of earlier historical sources.

[46] Liverani rejects an early 'Succession Narrative' not for historical anachronism but for the implausibility of authorised confession and of accurate scribal transmission (2005: 315-16, cf. 95-96). Isser (2003: 44) goes further, arguing on the basis of "folkloric elements, narrative breaks, and story variations" in *Samuel* that the Deuteronomist(s) historicised, baptised, and nationalised an earlier "popular fixed secular legend of David", a largely oral canon of heroic tales rather than genuinely early historiography (2003: 52-53).

[47] Cf. Barton 2007a: 41-44.

[48] Knoppers (1999: 211) cautions, though, that chronological distance need not entail less historical accuracy.

[49] It is rarely argued why these necessarily indicate that; indeed, Halpern (2001: 68, 225-26) actually treats 1Sam 27:6 as evidence of composition in the ninth century at the latest.

[50] Although cf. de Vaux 1972.

[51] Credit must be given here to Finkelstein and Silberman (2006) for attempting to create at least a broad framework within which to explain the successive stages of the text's redaction. Even so, the impression given is of plucking from the texts any details which could plausibly be associated with the various historical periods of Israel's history, at least as reconstructed by the authors; this is far from a thorough, or even coherent, treatment of the literary work that is the book of *Samuel* (let alone any one of its hypothesised earlier forms).

literary effects and factual accuracy".[52] Nevertheless, the more biblical texts came to be appreciated for their literary artistry and ideological rhetoric,[53] the more their historical value was doubted, distrusted until verified by extra-biblical sources (Davies 1992: 29; Thompson 1992: 132). Biblical historians of this persuasion give the impression that they are positivists, defending objective (i.e. non-theological) historiography of Iron Age Canaan against the pollution of base ideology (cf. Provan 1995; Dever 2001: 258). Not only does this misrepresent archaeology as objective and impartial,[54] but it unjustly denigrates biblical literature; some revisionists have consequently tried to claim that "the Bible is not history, and only very recently has anyone ever wanted it to be".[55] Although the revisionist biblical historians often deny having postmodern presuppositions (Lemche 2010: 160), their views conform closely to this philosophical approach to history,[56] which Grabbe (2007: 27) conveniently summarises:

> "There is no essential difference between history and literature, between a historical narrative and a narrative of fiction… the denial that historical writing refers to an actual historical past… The text can be interpreted in multiple ways. Authorial intent is an illusion… The 'grand narrative' is at an end, to be replaced by fragmentation, with many different even competing histories"

To assert that a text such as *Samuel* may contain certain reliable narratives about history is rejected as effectively reinforcing a dominant ideology which seeks to suppress competing or marginalised narratives.[57] 'Authorial perspective' or purpose, even if it were to be admitted as discernible, would be considered entirely self-referential, and would exist only to be deconstructed.[58]

(iii) *The contribution of this thesis to the literary debate*

My thesis can be seen to provide different solutions to each of the above problems raised with the historical reliability of the book of *Samuel* from a literary perspective.

First, whereas the DtrH theory is a broad-brush attempt to account for all of the various perspectives and rhetorical features of the books of Deuteronomy through Kings, my own analysis focuses the attention down to the level of every single episode of *Samuel*, and in several cases every single verse of an episode. At this level of investigation, I have tried to demonstrate that the entire fifty-five chapters of the book, according to its accepted limits in the Masoretic Tradition (i.e. 1Sam 1 – 2Sam 24), forms a stand-alone literary unity. This rhetorical unit can be explained without any need for positing literary connections with other texts either in Judges or in Kings, suggesting that the DtrH theory is ultimately inadequate at the level of episodes, whether or not it appears to manage with broader narratives and themes.[59] If this is the case, then the book of *Samuel* ought to be assessed on its own merits for the most likely date of composition, and must not be presupposed to have reached its final form only at the time of the Babylonian exile.[60]

Second, my investigation into patterns of orality and literacy in ancient Israel (in chapter 2 of my thesis) establishes that there is no reason why major works of literature could not in theory have been written in times of limited popular literacy.[61] Lemaire likewise rejects the arguments of Jamieson-Drake

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[52] Cf. Long 1994: 58-86; Evans 2000: 70-71; Provan, Long & Longman 2003: 79-93; Eynikel 2010: 1-7.

[53] For a summary of scholarship on the 'ideological' nature of the stories of David, see Brettler 1995: 91-111.

[54] As with historical texts in the Bible, when we use published excavation reports by archaeologists of previous generations, we must make an informed decision about how far to trust their texts for the data we wish to incorporate into our own imaginative reconstructions of the past.

[55] Lemche & Thompson 1994: 18; dismissed as patently absurd by Dever 2001: 10. Moore and Kelle (2011: 4) demonstrate "the prominence of history and information about the past in the Bible", and argue that narratives in Genesis through 2 Kings can reasonably be labelled 'history', even if their accuracy is disputed.

[56] Dever (2001:23-52) demonstrates what he describes as their nihilist postmodern agenda.

[57] Hence the title of Whitelam's 1996 book *The Invention of Ancient Israel: The Silencing of Palestinian History*.

[58] E.g. Clines 1990a, 1990b, 1993, 1995. Cf. Longman 1999: 107-15.

[59] Polzin's impressionistic narrative reconstructions of the exilic message of 1Samuel and 2Samuel (anachronistically divided, but cf. 1993:1) show how the book could have been re-interpreted in that era, but fail to do justice to the original message of *Samuel* as conveyed through its detailed literary arrangement.

[60] Garsiel (2010: 18-23, 41) accepts the idea of a Deuteronomistic History, and yet demonstrates the prominent "lack of Deuteronomistic editorial intervention" in the book of *Samuel*. Cf. also McConville 1996.

[61] Isser (2003) grudgingly acknowledges that archaeology could corroborate various details in *Samuel*, and maybe even tenth-century historiographical literature (2003: 20-21, 53, 60-71). As for the 'heroic' features he sees,

against the possibility of literary composition earlier than the eighth century, which seem "somewhat ridiculous to anyone with experience in archaeology and epigraphy".[62] Furthermore, the fact that the book of *Samuel* shows clear evidence of using a compositional technique particularly well-suited to oral performance and reception (as shown in my second chapter) indicates that it is in fact likely to have been composed in a period when orality was more predominant than literacy in ancient Israelite society. This would be consistent with a tenth-century date.

Third, my thesis has offered a complete and coherent analysis of the entire book of *Samuel* (Chapters Three and Four) rather than simply isolated portions or themes, even though the depth and detail is unavoidably limited. My explanation also goes so far as to include a hypothesis about two distinct editions of the book, both by the same author (as argued in my fifth chapter). Yet in this case redaction has been used not as an excuse, to exclude passages problematic to my overall proposal, but rather as a solution, suggesting two editions which may each be fully reconstructed as internally coherent with their own detailed rhetorical arrangements. The challenge, therefore, for those who wish to dispute my analysis of the book is not to identify a handful of points at which they take issue with my interpretations, but to produce an analysis of their own which explains in a more satisfying way all of the various features of the text as part of one or more coherent literary compositions.[63]

Fourth, as mentioned above, most scholars have accepted postmodernism's recognition that subjectivity and ideology is unavoidable in all historical reconstruction,[64] but they also point out its limitations with regard to observing, recording and linking historical facts in as objective a manner as possible.[65] At the risk of betraying my philosophical naïveté, I continue to affirm the primary importance of determining authorial intent in any work of literature. I would not want to deny the presence of various inconsequential or even unintended messages, but if the fundamental purpose of the composition is ignored, the work as a whole is likely to be distorted and mishandled. The major methodological contribution of this thesis to literary analysis of ancient Hebrew narrative is its recognition of an essential purposefulness inherent in the concentric rhetorical technique (as explained in my second chapter). Concentrism has an unparalleled ability to lay bare the deliberate rhetorical and theological messages of its author, communicated through parallelism at the smallest or largest scale (examples laid out in the appendix of my thesis). My application of these theoretical principles to the book of *Samuel* is of course open to critique by other rhetorical analysts, but if it can be demonstrated that the author did have a clear interest in drawing rational historical conclusions from events being described, it would be reasonable to treat his work as a reliable source for writing modern histories of ancient Canaan. What is more, if the ascription of authorship is correct, it should be possible to assess this individual's ideological and social biases to some extent, in order better to isolate and evaluate the ways in which his personality may have shaped his presentation of the historical evidence he records.

'folkloric' stories might equally be interpreted as 'traditional' or 'popularist', rhetorical structure accounts for the 'narrative breaks', and 'story variations' usually have perfectly plausible explanations (for example, 2Sam 21:22 says that the second 'Goliath' was "born to the giant in Gath" along with his three bothers, perhaps accounting for the "five smooth stones" picked up by David at the brook decades earlier).

[62] Lemaire 2010: 58; cf. also 59. Around 190 well-stratified seals, impressions and bullae from tenth- to ninth-century levels in Tel Rehov and the City of David prove the existence of documents written on papyrus (Sanders 2008: 103-104), which probably included works of literature for scribal education (Na'aman 1996b: 180-82; Carr 2008: 116-17). The shift from iconographic earlier seals to onomastic later ones is not 'proof' of newly-developed literacy, but probably reflects aniconic religious reforms instead (Dever 2001: 235-37; *pace* Sanders). Na'aman (1996b: 172) discusses the evidence of hieratic numerals. Cf. Garsiel 2010: 27-33.

[63] Dever (2001: 108) poses the equivalent challenge from an archaeological perspective, to those who wish to take issue with his reconstruction of early Israelite history: "to overturn that [balance of probability] would require a more *likely* scenario, replete with new and superior independent witnesses. In the absence of that, scepticism is not warranted, and indeed is suspect." – Dever 2001: 108.

[64] Revisionist historians freely admit this, in which case one wonders whether their dismissal of the Bible as little more than literary "fiction, a fabrication" (Whitelam 1996: 23, cf. 33, 222) is simply a rejection of ideology incompatible with their own (Provan, Long & Longman 2003: 8). Let us all heed the plea of Long 1999: 586-87.

[65] In view of its limitations, more recent trends have been observed in literary criticism ('neo-pragmatism'), in history ('critical-historical' approaches), and in archaeology ('post-processualism') – Dever 2001: 17, 272-73.

6. Archaeological analysis of the Late Bronze – Iron Age transition

As I have argued above, literary analysis of a biblical book must be undertaken first, before historical-critical analysis can identify the most likely historical context for the implied audience using archaeological and other extra-biblical data (i.e. 'third wave literary criticism'). Hence we turn to consider the evidence from archaeology for the Late Bronze – Iron Age transition and early Iron Age in ancient Canaan, the period generally thought to correspond to what the biblical literature describes as the United Monarchy.

Before it is even possible to assess the conflicting views, though, one is immediately confronted by the problem of cross-contamination between archaeology and historical criticism of the Bible. Most discussions of this topic are littered with unqualified absolute dates and biblical designations for archaeological eras such as 'Canaanite', 'proto-Israelite', or 'Solomonic', and the non-specialist might easily get the impression of much greater confidence than the evidence actually warrants. Investigations in both fields ought to be conducted as independently as possible, assessing each type of data on its own terms. For archaeology, this means drawing conclusions about pottery sequences and correlations between strata of different sites according to their best fit in a 'floating' relative chronology. Only then can this be anchored with potentially historical ancient texts, which are the only possible source both for absolute dates of strata and equally for calibrated radiocarbon dates.[66] Archaeological data should ideally be discussed at first in purely typological terms such as 'Late Bronze', 'Iron Age I', 'Iron Age II', and so on,[67] because the archaeological debates that rage over the United Monarchy ultimately boil down to disputes over the absolute dates that ought to be assigned to different archaeological eras or destruction layers.

It seems, then, that there are three major options available to scholars for assigning dates to the strata relevant to *Samuel*:[68]

(i) *Modified Conventional Chronology*

The first is to leave the chronology broadly where it has been since Yadin famously identified the six-chambered gates in Hazor X, Megiddo V,[69] and Gezer VIII as clear evidence of Solomonic imperial architecture (cf. 1Kgs 9:15). The subsequent excavators of Hazor and of Gezer have confidently reaffirmed Yadin's chronology,[70] whereas two of the co-directors of the current Megiddo Expedition, Ussishkin and Finkelstein, have tried to undermine Yadin's conclusion, each in different ways. Ussishkin detaches Megiddo's all-important six-chambered gate from the supposedly tenth-century (Solomonic) Stratum V and attributes it instead to the later Stratum IV. However, Halpern, third co-director at Megiddo, has provided a careful and, in my inexpert view, convincing rebuttal of Ussishkin's archaeological case.[71] Finkelstein, on the other hand, takes the battle beyond just Megiddo, down-dating the entire Stratum V at Megiddo from the tenth to the ninth century, and therefore forcing associated strata in other sites to follow suit. By attributing all of this building work to Omri and Ahab, he leaves Solomon entirely without

[66] "Regarding ceramic typology, for example, archaeologists can work out a relative chronology from the potsherds alone, but when they assign dates they rely directly or indirectly on other kinds of evidence … for Palestinian Iron Age pottery, the Hebrew Bible plays a major role in the process." – Miller 1991: 101. Similarly, Yigael Yadin writes with regard to his excavations at Hazor (1967: 259): "the possibility of identifying the structures and finds from Stratum X with Solomon is not only a good example of how the Old Testament data can play an important role in field archaeology in the Holy Land, but, and this is more important, it enables us now to fix the pottery sequence of the first centuries of the first millennium BC with much greater accuracy." Cf. Grabbe 2007: 24. For radiocarbon dating, see Levy & Higham (eds.) 2005 (articles by Mazar and by Sharon et al.); Grabbe 2010a: 67, 79, and references therein to Grabbe (ed.) 2008 (articles by Sharon et al. and by Ussishkin, among others).

[67] That said, Grabbe (2010a: 63-64) identifies eight or nine different terminological proposals about how to divide up the period generally known as 'Iron Age II' (conventionally 1000–586 BC), often due to disagreements over correlations with textual data. Peter James (2008) also illustrates just how much potential leeway there is in the relative association of specific strata in different archaeological sites, let alone in the absolute historical dates assigned to each of these 'horizons' of associated strata.

[68] For a helpful introduction to the first two options, with extensive bibliography, see Bodine 2010.

[69] Franklin (2005: 314) explains why Stratum IVb is an "imaginary stratum", incorrectly distinguished in the final report, and thus why the former 'Stratum Va-IVb' should become simply 'V', and 'Stratum IVa' simply 'IV'.

[70] Respectively, Amnon Ben-Tor (with Doron Ben-Ami 1998: 11-13) and William Dever (2001: 124-57, 267-69).

[71] Halpern 2001: 439-50. Cf. also Mazar (2007a: 156-57).

monumental architecture, effectively disproving the idea of a Solomonic empire at all. As expected, this has provoked fierce reactions from many others.

Halpern, like most other archaeologists, has acknowledged the strength of the observation that both Samaria and Jezreel, which appear from biblical texts to have been established as prominent cities first by Omri and Ahab in the ninth century, do indeed have similar types of pottery to the supposedly 'Solomonic' Stratum V at Megiddo (Halpern 2001: 464).[72] However, he and others try to dismiss the argument by down-playing the accuracy of dating according to pottery typology; a seventy-five year difference is apparently too small to distinguish, and the complex stratigraphies of Jezreel and Samaria add further ambiguity (Halpern 2001: 452-53). Amihai Mazar has consequently proposed a 'Modified Conventional Chronology', 'modified' to take into account Finkelstein's arguments by stretching out the Iron Age IIA period (formerly 1000–925BC) from 980 down as far as 840/830BC.[73] Effectively, it then becomes impossible to say for certain whether the six-chambered gates were built by either Solomon or Omri. Even so, this diluting of the already unimpressive monumental remains from the Iron IIA strata reinforces the conclusion of most historians that the biblical depiction of Solomon's glorious empire is at best a huge exaggeration. Halpern retorts that such 'spin' was a rhetorical convention in all ancient Near Eastern kingdoms – something he calls the 'Tiglath-Pileser principle' – and that exaggeration is something quite different from pure fiction; the minimum solid claims of a text must be skilfully extracted, but these then serve as valuable historical data (Halpern 2001: 107-41). It may not be much, but this first, widely-accepted option at least allows for the possibility that Solomon built something.[74]

(ii) *Low Chronology*

The second option as regards archaeological evidence for David and Solomon, therefore, is the 'Low Chronology' model championed by Israel Finkelstein. Although he rejects the biblical claims for a Solomonic empire, his chronological revision is also based unavoidably on other claims recorded in the same book of 1Kings for the foundation of Samaria.[75] Minimalist critics like Thompson (2006: 286) have not surprisingly taken him to task for this, insisting that the biblical texts are to be ignored as wholly unreliable for all pre-exilic Israelite history. However, engaging with ancient texts, in addition to archaeological and epigraphic data, is unavoidable for any reasonable ancient historian.[76] Finkelstein has presented clear archaeological reasons for down-dating the supposedly 'Solomonic' period of Iron IIA to the ninth century, and although his critics suspect ideological anti-United Monarchy motives (e.g. Mazar 2005: 25), they themselves may well have equal and opposite *a priori* reasons for resisting his conclusions, however well-grounded their counter-arguments may be archaeologically.[77]

Regarding the lower end of the Iron IIA, Finkelstein's opponents point out that while it may seem reasonable to compress Megiddo's unusually long-lasting Strata V and IV into about 150 years by lowering the first Iron IIA stratum to the time of Omri, doing this for the more densely stratified city of Hazor would "allow for each of the six Iron Age strata of Hazor [X–V], with several sub-phases in each, a duration of only approximately 25 years" (Ben-Tor & Ben-Ami 1998: 32). The stratigraphic congestion caused by this Low Chronology makes it entirely unrealistic, and one is therefore justified in holding on to Solomon after all. However, it was partly to resolve the opposite problem of overly sparse stratigraphy in some sites that Finkelstein originally proposed his revision (1996: 181-84), aiming to close the strange gap between

[72] A point made already by Fisher (1929), Crowfoot (1940) and Kenyon (1964). A further important argument (Franklin 2005, 2008) recognises identical masons' marks in the palaces of Samaria Building Period I and of Megiddo Stratum V. Halpern does point out, though, that biblical texts report Jezreel's existence as a village before its establishment as an important Omride city – 2001: 453.

[73] Mazar 2005: 21-22; 2007b: 121-23.

[74] Mazar (2007a: 152-54; 2007b: 125-29) presents the not insubstantial evidence concerning Jerusalem in the Iron IIA as compatible with a "modest yet vivid" United Monarchy; quote from Mazar 2005: 26.

[75] Defended in Finkelstein 2005: 38.

[76] Halpern 2005: 425. A disappointing example, though, is Liverani's recent imaginative 'history' of Israel (2005), which interweaves an indiscriminate selection of highly speculative and sceptical biblical scholarship with his own archaeological extrapolations into an impenetrable thicket of baldly asserted hypotheses. Na'aman (2006: 7-11) criticises the "authoritative manner", lack of methodological criteria for dealing with texts, fixation with ideology as an allegorical "code" for Israelite literati, and inaccessibility to students.

[77] Moore & Kelle 2011: 251. Cf. Halpern 1996: 53; 2001: 75; Garsiel 2010: 34-37; Ben-Tor & Ben-Ami 1998: 34-36.

supposedly tenth-century monumental architecture and late ninth- to eighth-century evidence of public administration in many Philistine sites and elsewhere. Closing gaps is a valid method for resolving very thin stratigraphy, but in this case it ended up as little more than 'robbing Peter to pay Paul' (cf. Kletter 2004: 37-38).

By lowering the Iron IIA period, an even larger gap opens up for the preceding Iron I period, which now stretches across an "unfeasible" three centuries from the end of the Late Bronze Age, conventionally dated up around 1200BC, down to the early ninth century.[78] In order to 'spread the butter more thinly', Finkelstein turned to the anomaly identified by Ussishkin (2007: 136) in the distribution of so-called 'Philistine' monochrome pottery (Mycenaean IIIC:1b). Monochrome is never attested in sites which have finds clearly associated with the final 20th Dynasty of New Kingdom Egypt (e.g. Lachish), despite being traditionally dated to the same time period. This gives him an excuse to delay the start of the 'Philistine' monochrome period until after the 20th Dynasty presence in Canaan ends, around 1140/1130BC. Naturally, this pushes the subsequent bichrome phase later still, and the various pottery phases are thereby distributed nice and evenly throughout the long dark age of the Iron Age I. Other historians counter that that this brief anomaly might simply reflect a last-ditch Egyptian boycott of the pesky 'Sea People' Philistines and their monochrome ware, resisting their migration down the coast of Canaan. The historical arguments can be read both ways, but Finkelstein's case is strengthened by Aegean archaeologists who consider the Low Chronology a better fit with the broader Mediterranean pottery context.[79]

Grabbe observes (2010b: 224) that he has "had more than one scholar approach me privately to assure me that the [Low Chronology] is dead – that no archaeologist believes it. Yet I keep coming across archaeologists who find supporting evidence for it or parts of it!" The idea began long before Finkelstein, and clearly the debate is far from over.[80] In fact, it seems bound to rumble on indefinitely in view of the fact that it is tied up, quite deliberately by both sides of the debate, with the emotive spiritual and political issues surrounding the existence of the kingdom of David and Solomon.[81]

(iii) *Centuries of Darkness*

It is for this reason that the third option for assigning dates to strata is so appealing. Back in 1991, before Finkelstein introduced his Low Chronology hypothesis, a group of young archaeologists in London led by Peter James, each with expertise in a different field (ranging from prehistoric Britain to Mycenaean Greece to Pharaonic Nubia), published a *tour de force* called *Centuries of Darkness: A challenge to the conventional chronology of Old World archaeology*, for which Professor Colin Renfrew provided a Foreword. Far from trying to grind any ideological axe as regards biblical authority, they pooled their expertise in order to attempt a resolution of a long-standing problem of chronology around the Late Bronze – Iron Age transition. This problem has afflicted Old World archaeologists for a hundred years, whether they be digging in Sardinia, Sicily, Malta, Italy, Greece, Troy, Anatolia and northern Syria, Cyprus, Sudan, or even as far as Bahrain and Iran. Each of these areas struggles with 'centuries of darkness' following the end of the Late Bronze Age, until civilisation picks up again almost where it left off, two to three centuries later in the Iron Age. As Ad Thijs puts it (2010: 172), these five scholars "have accumulated an astonishing mass of evidence to show that the existing Egyptian timetable is too long and leads to chronological problems in all civilisations of which the timetables are ultimately derived from connections with Egypt". They demonstrate that the chronological interconnectivity goes back to William Flinders Petrie in the late 1880s, who first assigned (surprisingly high) absolute dates to certain types of Mycenaean pottery based on datable Egyptian strata in which examples were found. Petrie was unaware that mistaken assumptions had already been introduced to the absolute dating of Egyptian eras, through

[78] Mazar 2005: 25.

[79] Grabbe 2010a: 65-66; but cf. Kletter 2004: 38-39.

[80] Cf. Dever 1997: 232-39. Grabbe (2010a: 66) remarks, concerning the relevant 'Pottery assemblages and the dating of various strata', on the "surprising difference of interpretation between professional archaeologists whom one would expect to agree about the facts in the ground".

[81] Witness on the one hand Finkelstein's appeal to the popular literati with his 2006 paperback *David and Solomon* (with Neil Asher Silberman), and on the other Eilat Mazar's regular press releases for tourists and donors about 'David's Palace' and other discoveries in the City of David excavations at Jerusalem.

unreliable astronomical Sothic dating and (unsurprisingly) the biblical archaeology synchronism equating Shishaq with Shoshenq I, based solely on similarity of name.[82] From this indisputable material connection of Mycenae and Ramesside Egypt, though, the conventional chronology spread far and wide, and in its wake also an invariable dark age following the Late Bronze – everywhere apart from Egypt. Even so, the chronological illusion became virtually impossible to detect from the vantage point of any one geographical region on its own.

Centuries of Darkness begins its survey in the Western Mediterranean, finding corresponding anomalies in the archaeological literature for each successive geographical area, and thus arriving in due course at ancient Canaan (chapter 8). Seeking out chronological discrepancies in the relevant scholarly publications, James found in the work of Kathleen Kenyon at Samaria evidence to suggest that the start of Iron II should be lowered – presumably the same source Finkelstein used for his proposals a few years later. However, with the benefit of a far broader perspective, James could see that on the one hand it is possible, or even necessary, to redistribute stratigraphic dates lower in the later Iron Age (732BC, 586BC, etc.) in order to close an artificial chronological gap in early Persian period Canaan, and so ease the unnecessary stratigraphic congestion earlier in the strata at sites like Hazor (cf. James 1991: 170-92; 2008). On the other hand, in line with chronological revisions everywhere else in the ancient Mediterranean, it is also advisable to lower the end of the Late Bronze to within perhaps a generation or two of the start of the Iron IIA in the early ninth century.[83]

A happy side-effect of this chronological revision would be that David and Solomon, dated by free-standing biblical chronology to the eleventh/tenth century, come to be associated not with the poor material culture of either Iron IIA or Iron I, but instead with the prosperous final years of the Late Bronze Age, when trade flourished between the Egyptians and the Hittites, among many others, and when Canaan boasted local rulers who competed over the profitable trade routes and evidently imitated the fading glory of Egyptian imperial culture. It is no surprise that textual descriptions of Solomon's temple and its furnishings match excavated Late Bronze examples almost identically. In this reconstruction, the Late Bronze – Iron Age transition would therefore represent not the arrival of the Israelites into Canaan (as Albright conjectured), but rather the political and economic collapse of the United Monarchy, the Late Bronze 'golden age'. The authors of *Centuries of Darkness* are promoting neither a 'maximalist' nor a 'minimalist' approach to the Bible, neither the traditional archaeological identification of 'Solomonic' strata nor the 'Low Chronology' reconstruction. They are genuinely trying to solve one of the most intractable and widespread archaeological problems of ancient history, and coming up with some surprisingly plausible results when it comes to matters of biblical archaeology. In the absence of sufficient space to do their proposals justice, I simply commend their magnificent (if controversial) book to the attention of the reader.[84]

As regards the findings of my thesis, then, it is clear that the current state of archaeological research in no way undermines literary conclusions about unitary authorship of the book of *Samuel*, nor even the idea that it might in fact have been composed by an eyewitness. Whether one chooses to maintain the conventional ascription of Iron IIA strata to David and Solomon, or whether one prefers the 'Low Chronology' of Finkelstein as expressed more fully and reasonably in the *Centuries of Darkness* model, the literary presentation of David and other characters in the book of *Samuel* is perfectly adequately supported by the evidence of archaeology, insofar as it is able to provide independent corroboration. Archaeology can therefore retreat into its traditional supporting role to await the outcome of the necessary literary investigation into the proposals made in this thesis.

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[82] For a useful introduction to the complexities and uncertainties of Egyptian chronology, see Shortland 2013.

[83] Careful investigation of Egyptian chronology justifies significant overlaps of the Egyptian 21st Dynasty, which lacks Apis bull burials, statuary, genealogies and objects outside of Egypt, and also a considerable collapsing of the 22nd; "*for every doubtful year of Egyptian history granted to the Third Intermediate Period, another year is added to the Dark Ages of the Eastern and Central Mediterranean, the Near East and Africa*" (James et al. 1991: 232 [emphasis theirs]). Dodson (2013) also questions conventional Egyptian synchronisms with the Assyrian King List, and allows that challenges to the Shoshenq/Shishaq 'fixed' point may be justified.

[84] Further details can be found on their website: <www.centuries.co.uk>.

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CHAPTER 2

[1]עזב-COMPLAINTS AS GOD-COMPLAINTS

Introduction

In the Hebrew Bible we find eight instances where the term עזב used in human complaint expressions in which both accusations against Yahweh and notes of lament are assumed to be attested. In other words, there are eight עזב-complaints that can be defined as God-complaints:[2] Pss 22:2; 27:9; 38:22; 71:9, 18; 119:8; Isa 49:14 and Lam 5:20.

The task in the following is to read these עזב-complaints in light of their literary contexts in order to identify and define the nature and character of these notes of lament. In my readings I begin with locating the complaints in their literary contexts. Then I draw attention to the four elements that are understood to be essential with regard to the identification and definition of the notes of lament, namely the *occasions*, *problems*, and *rhetorics* of the עזב-complaints, and finally also the *goals* of the speakers of the עזב-complaints.[3] Finally, by means of the taxonomy defined above,[4] the notes of lament

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[1]**FYI**: This chapter intends to serve as a foil to the study of Yahweh's עזב-complaints in Jer 1-25. In my dissertation I pursue the idea that an analogy is to be found between Yahweh's עזב-complaints in Jer 1-25 and the עזב-complaints in the lament tradition in the Hebrew Bible and, therefore, that in Yahweh's עזב-complaints notes of lament of Yahweh (because of the people's forsaking of him) is attested and to be identified in Yahweh's עזב-complaints in Jer 1-25. In short, this study of the עזב-complaints in the lament tradition serving as a foil helps me clarify the characteristics of Yahweh's עזב-complaints in Jer 1-25.

[2]For the definition of "God-complaints", see below.

[3]**FYI**: These terms are/will be defined more precisely in my "Introduction". Put briefly, "occasion"refers to the situation eliciting the עזב-complaint and the perspective from which the complaint is spoken; "problem" refers to the content of the עזב-complaint, the problem addressed by and referred to in עזב-complaint; "rhetoric" refers to the very formulation of and characteristics in the complaint utterance; "goal" refers to the ideal vision of the speaker.The *problem* and *rhetoric* of the עזב-complaint make clear what have gone wrong in the relationship between Yahweh and the speaker(s), while the *occasion* and *goal*,

attested in the עזב-complaints will be pointed out.

Yet, before dealing with the individual complaints some general remarks are needed with regard to the selection of texts specified above. To this end, the term "God-complaints" and the form-critical discussion and definitions of it proves useful. For in the terminology of form criticism "God-complaint" is used with reference to typical expressions in human speech (mainly in prayers) in which God somehow is identified as source of suffering or cause of distress.[5] Evidently, in such expressions both accusation against Yahweh and notes of lament are understood to be attested. This understanding makes the basis for my use the term "God-complaint" in the following.

More difficult in form critical studies, however, is the question of which expressions that should be included or seen to qualify as God-complaints. My selection of texts is informed by these discussions, therefore, I provide a brief presentation of the discussions applied to my texts.

William S. Morrow defines God-complaints as "accusatory statements and questions about divine actions".[6] Likewise, Claus Westermann highlights the accusatory questions and statements as the essential forms of complaints against God, at least in laments of the people.[7] Craig C. Broyles follows a similar track and finds God-complaints

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which establish the contextual framework of the עזב-complaint, disclose how it affects the speaker.

[4]**FYI:** In the "Introduction" the taxonomy is/will be defined. Put briefly, I distinguish between so-called reflexive and transitive dimensions and furthermore between passive and active aspects in suffering and lament. The distinction between reflexive and transitive dimensions concerns the directionality of the suffering and lament. That is, in its reflexive dimension the lament is directed or oriented toward the speaker himself and the speaker laments on his own behalf. In its transitive dimension, however, the lament is directed or oriented toward Yahweh and the speaker laments on Yahweh's behalf.

[5]E.g., William S. Morrow, *Protest Against God. The Eclipse of a Biblical Tradition.* (Hebrew Bible Monographs; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2007), 9

[6]Morrow, *Protest Against God*, 10.

[7]Claus Westermann, *Praise and Lament in the Psalms* (Second ed.; Transl. Keith R. Crim and Richard N. Soulen; Atlanta: John Knoxx Press, 1981), 176–78.

in sentences “where God is the grammatical subject” and predicated “demeaning or unfavorable attributes and actions”.[8] As regards my eight עזב-complaints, however, only the ones in Ps 22:2, Isa 49:14, and Lam 5:20 meet these criteria. Only in these three instances we find that the עזב-complaints are formulated either as an accusatory statement or an accusatory question directed against Yahweh.

Ps 22:2a: “My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?” (אלי אלי למה עזבתני)
Lam 5:20b: “Why [...] have you forsaken us for so many days?” (למה ... תעזבנו לארך ימים)
Isa 49:14a: “Yahweh has forsaken me” (עזבני יהוה)

The other five instances are shaped as *negative petitions*.

Ps 27:9c: “Do not forsake me, God of my salvation” (ואל־תעזבני אלהי ישעי)
Ps 38:22a: “Do not forsake me, Yahweh” (אל־תעזבני יהוה)
Ps 71:9b: “Do not forsake me” (אל־תעזבני)
Ps 71:18b: “Do not forsake me” (אל־תעזבני)
Ps 119:8b: “Do not utterly forsake me” (אל־תעזבני עד־מאד)

If we are to follow Broyles, who stays strictly with his definition of God-complaints, these five instances do not qualify as God-complaints and should consequently not be taken into account in our study.[9] Yet, Broyles ignores the fact that implicit notes of accusation against God can be found in other forms of expression than

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[8]Craig C. Broyles, *The Conflict of Faith and Experience in the Psalms: A Form-Critical and Theological Study* (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament. Supplement Series; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 37.

[9]Cf. Broyles list of God-complaint expressions in the Psalms, Broyles, *The Conflict of Faith*, 55–59.

simply in accusatory questions and statements. A definition of God-complaints that is too restrictive is in danger over overlooking expressions closely associated with accusatory statements and questions.[10] One way to solve the problem, of course, is simply to broaden the definition of God-complaints and to include any form of expression in which the slightest note of accusation and protest could be argued being implied.[11] Walter Brueggemann, for instance, defines the petitions in the Psalms in general as forming part of "Israel's countertestimony", and argues that "while the petition is positive and hopeful, it tends to have a note of reprimand,"[12] and furthermore, that "the very appeal to Yahweh is an understated accusation against Yahweh, who has not been attentive as Yahweh is sworn to be."[13] A problematic consequence of Brueggemann's widened perspective is the loss of feasible categories.[14] Moreover, one risks the danger of losing sight of the distinctiveness and indeed extraordinary character of the rhetoric in accusatory questions and statements against God.

However, if turning back to the question of the עזב-complaints in form of negative petitions (i.e., Pss 27:9c; 38:22a; 71:9b, 18b; 119:8b), it has long been recognized that negative petitions in general are particularly close to accusatory statements and questions,

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[10]Cf. Morrow, *Protest Against God*, 49.

[11]Also Patrick D. Miller broadens the category and argues: "The experience of being taunted and the shaming that comes from it are seen to be in some sense challenges or complaints to God not only because, as in several cases above, the taunts received by the psalmist are explicitly said to be directed toward God but also because the shame of the faithful sufferer suggest God's indifference or powerlessness in the situation." Miller, *They Cried to the Lord*, 78.

[12]Walter Brueggemann, *Theology of the Old Testament: Testimony, Dispute, Advocacy* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997), 375.

[13]Brueggemann, *Theology*, 376 Also Patrick D. Miller broadens the category and argues: "The experience of being taunted and the shaming that comes from it are seen to be in some sense challenges or complaints to God not only because, as in several cases above, the taunts received by the psalmist are explicitly said to be directed toward God but also because the shame of the faithful sufferer suggest God's indifference or powerlessness in the situation." Miller, *They Cried to the Lord*, 78.

[14]See also Morrow's critique of Miller, Morrow, *Protest Against God*, 10

especially in individual laments. Westermann speaks about "a modified complaint against God".[15] The close association is highlighted by the fact that most frequently negative petitions occur in psalms which also include accusatory statements and/or questions directed at Yahweh,[16] and only with a few exceptions[17] negative petitions are to be found in psalms that, according to Morrow, "can be considered laments of the community or individual".[18] Morrow, therefore, refers to negative petitions as expressions of "*indirect* protest," which are associated with, but still distinct from, the "*direct* protest" in accusatory questions and statements.[19] In light of this, it seems reasonable to include the negative petitions in Pss 27:9c; 38:22a; 71:9b, 18b; 119:8b into this study, take them as expressions of "God-complaints" and, as a point of departure, assume an accusation against Yahweh and notes of lament being implied in them.

However, one thing is to argue that the עזב-complaints qualify as "God-complaints," my task is to read the individual עזב-complaints in light of their literary contexts and to identify their specific accusations against Yahweh and notes of lament.

Psalm 22

Psalm 22 is most commonly regarded as an individual lament psalm.[20] In its

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[15]Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 181, cf. also 183–86.

[16]E.g., Pss 6:2; 10:10, 12; 22:12, 20, 39:9; 44:24; 74:19, 23; 79:8; 83:2.

[17]Morrow has pointed out the following exceptions, Pss. 119:8, 10, 19, 31, 43, 116, 133; 132:10; 138:8. "These exceptions are less telling than they may appear. Psalm 119 has been written under the influence of the LI genre. Psalm 138 is a thanksgiving psalm for an individual; therefore, it has a thematic connection with the rhetoric of LI by virtue of its membership in the lament-thanskgiving cycle of liturgical poetry. This leaves only Psalm 132 outside the ambit of the rhetoric of LI." (Morrow, *Protest Against God*, 50)

[18]Morrow, *Protest Against God*, 50.

[19]Morrow, *Protest Against God*, 48–51.

[20]Despite divergencies in terminology, see for instance Peter C. Craigie and Marwin E. Tate, *Psalm 1–50* (Second ed.; Word Biblical Commentary; Colombia: Thomas Nelson, 2004), 198; Mitchell

present form the psalm is characterized by a dramatic change from lament (vv. 2-22) to thanksgiving and hymnic exclamations (vv. 23-32) which structures the psalm as a whole into two main sections, i.e., vv. 2-22 and vv. 23-32.[21] Despite the mixed form, two short statements highlight the unity of the psalm, namely "You have answered me" (עניתני) in v. 22bβ and "For he has acted" (כי עשה) in v. 32bβ. The first marks a turning point in the psalm and opens for the thanksgiving and hymnic exclamation, while the latter concludes the hymnic exclamation by pointing back to Yahweh's intervention in the life of the psalmist.[22]

The עזב-complaint occurs at the beginning of the first section and opens the psalm as a whole. Heightening the urgency of the עזב-complaint, any initial invocation and plea to be heard is left out. The psalmist goes straight to the heart of the matter and addresses the problem from the very beginning: "My God, my God, why have you forsaken (עזב) me?" (v. 2a). The significance of the עזב-complaint is also indicated as it forms part a

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Dahood, *Psalms I (1–50) - a New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (The Anchor Bible; Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1965), 138 Hermann Gunkel and Joachim Begreich, *Introduction to Psalms: The Genres of the Religious Lyric of Israel* (4th ed.; transl. James D. Nogalski; Mercer Library of Biblical Studies; Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1998), 121 Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (transl. Hilton C. Oswald; A Continental Commentary; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 293; Gerstenberger, *Psalms I*, 108; John Goldingay, *Psalms 1–41* (Baker Commentary on the Old Testament Wisdom and Psalms; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2006), 323.

[21]The change from lament (vv. 1-22) to thanksgiving and hymnic exlamation (23-32) was taken by Duhm as an indication that Ps 22 consists of two originally separate units - an individual lament psalm and an individual thanksgiving psalm (cf. Bernhard Duhm, *Die Psalmen: erklärt* [Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament; Freiburg: J. C. B. Mohr, 1899], 68–74) Though not rejecting a complex history of composition behind the present form of the text, in more recent times the majority of commentators tend to focus on the unity of the psalm in its present form (cf. Fredrik Lindström, *Suffering and Sin: Interpretations of Illness in the Individual Complaint Psalms* [Coniectanea Biblica.; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1994], 66) On the complexity of the present form of the text and attempts to explain it redaction critically, see Hermann Spieckerman, *Heilsgegenwart: Eine Theologie der Psalmen* [Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989], 242–45; Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Eric Zenger, *Die Psalmen I [1–50]* [Die Neue Echter Bibel Kommentar zum Alten Testament mit der Einheitsübersetzung ; Würtzburg: Echter Verlag, 1993], 144–46)

[22]Cf. Bodil Ejrnæs, "Salme 22," in *Dansk Kommentar til Davids Salmer II* (eds. Else K. Holt and Kirsten Nielsen; København: Anis, 2002), 81–82. See also Kraus, *Psalms I*, 293.

divine absence motif which functions as a *Leitmotif* in the first section of the psalm.[23] Though there is just one עזב-complaint in the psalm, synonymous expressions and other references to the problem of divine absence are heavily represented. For instance, in the opening of the psalm the עזב-complaint is followed by complaints about Yahweh's remoteness (רחוק)[24] and unresponsiveness (ולא תענה) to incessant request (vv. 2b-3). Moreover, the problem of divine absence is further highlighted by the negative petitions in v. 12a and v. 20a: "Do not be far from me" (אל־תרחק ממני) and "You, Yahweh, do not be far away" (ואתה יהוה אל־תרחק).[25]

As regards the *occasion* of the עזב-complaint, the I- and enemy-complaints in vv. 2-22 reveal that the complaint is rooted in highly concrete experiences of the psalmist.[26] Without identifying any specific event the enemy-complaints describe a situation where the psalmist suffers from being disgraced, mocked, and despised (vv. 7-9), as well as from being subject of threats and violence (vv. 13-14, 17-19). The I-complaints (vv. 15-16a and 18a) highlight the severeness of the affliction. Indeed, the very life of the

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[23]Cf. Spieckerman, *Heilsgegenwart*, 246.

[24]MTs reading of v. 2b (רחוק מישועתי דברי שׁאגתי) is difficult (cf. Goldingay, *Psalms I*, 326) Spieckermann, however, has argued convincingly that MTs reading should be kept unchanged, and that the easiest reading is to see "רחוק 'fern' als Prädikatsnomen, יְשׁוּעָתִי 'meine Hilfe' als paralleles Epitheton zu אלי 'mein Gott' in V.2a und דברי שׁאגתי 'Worte meines Klagens' als Subjekt" (Spieckerman, *Heilsgegenwart*, 239, n. 1).

[25]Goldingay points out the structuring function of the רחק-רחוק-complaints in vv. 2-22 as "Yahweh's being far away feature at the beinning of the psalm (v. 1[2]), at the beginning of the major section lament (v. 11[12]), and at the beginning of the main section of plea (v. 19[20])." (Goldingay, *Psalms I*, 334)

[26]The I- and enemy-complaints are to be understood as "concretizations of the absence of YHWH" (Lindström, *Suffering and Sin*, 454). Or as Brian Doyle puts it: "Metaphorical statements of God's absence in the psalms [...] are thus frequently indirect, implied [...] in the activity of enemy" (Brian Doyle, "Where is God When You Need Him Most? The Divine Metaphor of Absence and Presence as a Binding Element in the Composition of the Book of Psalms," in *The Composition of the Book of Psalms* [ed. Zenger Eric; Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium CCXXXVIII; Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2010], 389).

psalmist is at stake.[27] Thus, in the עזב-complaint the psalmist cries out from a life-threatening situation, from being in utmost need of help.

Accordingly, the *problem* addressed by the psalmist in the עזב-complaint concerns the lack of divine intervention. It is noteworthy how closely the motif of divine absence is associated with the statements referring to or implying the absence of help and deliverance (vv. 2b, 12b, 20b, 21-22a) and with the presence of trouble (v. 12b). For the psalmist, the remoteness of deliverance (cf. v. 2b) proves divine absence and abandonment and the עזב-complaint addresses this problem of Yahweh's passivity and lack of intervention in times of trouble.

However, the problem is deeper rooted. No rationale is provided for the divine forsaking, rather the contrary. Yahweh's forsaking of the psalmist appears to be highly irrational as it affects a faithful devotee of Yahweh.[28] The faithfulness of the psalmist is, first and foremost, demonstrated in his confessions of trust in Yahweh. The psalmist has trusted Yahweh from birth (vv. 10-11) and still confesses trust in Yahweh as "my God" (אלהי/אלי, vv. 2a, 3a, 11b), "my help" (אילותי, v. 20b), and as deliverer (פלט) and savior (מלט) of those (i.e., "our ancestors") who trust (בטח) and cry (זעק) to him (vv. 5-6).[29] Evidently, Yahweh's forsaking of the psalmist represent no less than a divine betrayal. This is also highlighted by the rhetoric of the עזב-complaint utterance: אלי אלי למה עזבתני

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[27]In particular, the expression "in the dust of death" (ולעפר־מות, v. 16b) and the petitions "deliver my soul from the sword, my life from the power of the dog" (הצילה מחרב נפשי מיד־כלב יחידתי) in v. 21 are commonly understood to refer to life-threatening character of the psalmist's situation. In point of fact, Peter C. Craigie and Marvin E. Tate read Ps 22 as "a liturgy of one threatened with death" (Craigie and Tate, *Psalm 1–50*, 195–98)

[28]As has been demonstrated by Hermann Spieckermann and not least Fredrik Lindström Ps 22 follows the tradition and pattern in which enemies, not sin and guilt of the psalmist, are identified as cause of the psalmist's suffering and the enemies's free rein taken as indication and concretization of divine absence (cf. Spieckerman, *Heilsgegenwart*, 246–48; Lindström, *Suffering and Sin*, esp. 65–97, 435–60).

[29]One may also add that the faithfulness of the psalmist is implied in the elements and statements bespeaking the goal of the psalmist. See below.

(v. 2a). Yahweh has broken a relationship (עזב) to which the psalmist, faithfully and hopefully, clings (cf. אלי in vv. 2a, 11b and אלהי in v. 3a). Moreover, in vv. 10-11it is put emphasize to the point that Yahweh is the one who brought the psalmist to life (כי־אתה גחי מבטן, v. 10a) and made the psalmist, already as an infant, trust (מבטיחי, v. 10bα)[30] in him. Thus, in his forsaking of the psalmist, Yahweh is understood to be both irresponsible and unfaithful. [31] What is more, the psalmist accuses Yahweh for having sided with the enemies and "actively causing the near death-situation"[32] (v. 16b) of the psalmist. In the end, then, Yahweh's forsaking of the psalmist is not just a betrayal against the psalmist but against the divine character of Yahweh. In the forsaking of the psalmist Yahweh proves to be, as Morrow puts, "out of keeping with the divine character".[33]

Evidently, in Yahweh's forsaking of the psalmist, something is also broken in the psalmist's relationship with Yahweh. For even though the faithfulness of the psalmist is highlighted throughout the psalm, the *rhetoric* of the עזב-complaint, shaped as an expression of "direct protest," to borrow the terminology of Morrow,[34] shows that the once stable faith of the psalmist (cf. vv. 10-11) has been shaken. The tension between the address - "my God" (אלי) - and the following accusatory question -"why?" (למה) - is telling. In accordance with the aspect of betrayal involved in the problem of the עזב-complaint,[35] the present devotion of the psalmist is interspersed with protest.

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[30]I stay with MT's reading מִבְטִיחִי in v. 10bα and follow Goldingay in seeing a reference to "the attitude of trust rather than a position of security" (Goldingay, *Psalms I*, 321)

[31]Gerstenberger, *Psalms I*, 111: "The second affirmation of confidence (vv. 10-11) is very personal throughout. It addresses Yahweh directly, insisting on a indestructible, almost parental, affiliation to him. The personal God is the creator of this particular supplicant, therefore he has the obligations of a parent [...]. The declaration comes to a high point with the final confession 'you are my God' (v. 11b)."

[32]Ingvar Fløysik, *When God Becomes My Enemy: The Theology of the Complaint Psalms* (Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Academic Press, 1998), 150.

[33]Morrow, *Protest Against God*, 73.

[34]See above.

The *goal* of the psalmist, of course, is first and foremost divine intervention; deliverance from the desperate situation. The petitions in vv. 20-22a clearly demonstrate this point: "My help, hasten to help me!" (אילותי לעזרתי חושה, v. 20b); "Deliver my soul from the sword, my life from the power of the dog" (הצילה מחרב נפשי מיד־כלב יחידתי, v. 21); "Save me from the mouth of the lion and from horns of the wild ox" (הושיעני מפי אריה ומקרני רמים, v. 22a). In addition, the second section of the psalms (vv. 23-32) shows that, ultimately, the goal is the praise of Yahweh. First, the psalmist himself seeks to praise Yahweh "in the midst of the congregation" (v. 23b, also v. 26), and then the praise of the whole, true Israel - "die Gemeinschaft der JHWH-Fürchtigen, der JHWH-Sucher und der Armen"[36] - (vv. 24-27) because Yahweh has not despised (בזה, v. 25aα), detested (שקץ, v. 25aβ) or hided his face (סתר פנים v. 25bα), but listened (שמע) to one's outcry (שוע, v. 25bβ). Moreover, in the end there is the grandiose vision of universal praise, of the worship of the mighty and the weak[37] alike (v. 30) in endless generations (v. 31b), as "the kingdom belongs to Yahweh" (ליהוה המלוכה, v. 29a), and Yahweh finally has demonstrated his faithfulness (צדקה, v. 32).

Finally turning to the question about the nature and character of the lament attested in the עזב-complaint in Ps 22 it is evident that both reflexive and transitive dimensions are present in the lament attested in the עזב-complaint in Ps 22:2. As regards the *reflexive* dimension, it is first and foremost indicated and highlighted by the relatively extensive elaboration of the distressfulness of the eliciting situation of the complaint. As noted above, the psalmist speaks from the point of utmost need of Yahweh to act as deliverer and savior. The psalmist suffers miserably from the lack of divine intervention.

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[35]See above.

[36]Hossfeld and Zenger, *Die Psalmen I*, 144.

[37]It has also been suggested that the expression "all those who are going down to the dirt" (כל־חורדי עפר, v. 30b) refers to the death (e.g., Kraus, *Psalms I*, 300).

Accordingly, the עזב-complaint implies deep sorrow over the lack of deliverance. And in as much as the lack of deliverance involves a divine betrayal against the psalmist, sadness and disappointment over the divine betrayal is also implied. And finally, in light of the tensions in the rhetoric of the עזב-complaint it seems evident that the psalmist also mourns the loss of his original stable faith in Yahweh as faithful deliverer. Yahweh's forsaking has deeply affected the psalmist's way of relating to Yahweh. The devotion is now mixed with protest.

Moreover, the reflexive dimension include an active aspect too. The psalmist does not only sorrows his own situation passively but yearns for change as well. Despite sadness over the divine betrayal the psalmist still clings to and seeks relationship with Yahweh. Again, however, it is noteworthy, the motifs of divine intervention and deliverance that forms the context. So in so far as there is a note of yearning for Yahweh implied in the עזב-complaint, it is a yearning for deliverance.

On the other hand, aspects of a *transitive* dimension are also implied in the עזב-complaint. For as pointed out above, the problem of the עזב-complaint include an element of divine betrayal against the divine character. In his forsaking of the psalmist, Yahweh proves to be "out of keeping with the divine character," to repeat the words of Morrow.[38] The problem of the psalmist is a problem of the divine self as well. The question of "why?" thus suggests disappointment and sorrow on Yahweh's behalf.

Finally, there is also an active aspect of the transitive dimension. For, as the ultimate goal of the psalmist indicates, the disappointment and sorrow on Yahweh's behalf is followed by a yearning for Yahweh to be praised for his faithfulness.

Psalm 27

Psalm 27 is a complex poetic unit and may be defined either as an individual

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[38]Morrow, *Protest Against God*, 73.

lament psalm,[39] a psalm of confidence,[40] or a combination of both.[41] The problem of defining the psalm is chiefly due to the dramatic changes occurring between vv. 6 and 7. Wile the psalm opens with a section consisting primarily of affirmations of confidence in Yahweh in third person (vv. 1-6), another section, primarily filled with complaints (mostly in the form of negative petitions) and petitions directly addressed to Yahweh, follows in vv. 7-12. At the end of the psalm, however, expressions affirming confidence in Yahweh in third person recur (v. 13), which, in turn, are followed by final exhortations to an unidentified audience (v.14). Because of the tension filled structure the unity of the psalm has been much debated.[42] But the many overlaps in vocabulary between vv. 1-6

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[39]E.g., Gerstenberger, *Psalms I*, 124–30. See also Hossfeld who, though putting emphasis the psalmist's confidence in success, reads the psalm as prayers of a "Verfolgten und Angeklagten Gerechten" (Hossfeld and Zenger, *Die Psalmen I*, 171).

[40]E.g., Dahood, *Psalms I*, 166; Gerald H. Wilson, *Psalms I* [The NIV Application Commentary; Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 2002], 482) H.J. Kraus, however, argues against a sharp distinction between lament psalm and psalm of confidence. He broadens the categories and defines Ps 27 as a "prayer song" (תפלה) (Kraus, *Psalms I*, 332). In this category he includes both individual laments, communal laments, and thanksgiving songs (Kraus, *Psalms I*, 47).

[41]To Hans-Joachim Kraus Ps 27 underlines his argument that any sharp distinction between psalms of lament and psalms of confidence should be avoided (cf. Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* [Transl. Hilton C. Oswald; A Continental Commentary; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993], 47–56, 332). Along with Frank-Lothar Hossfeld, Kraus reads the psalm as a prayer of a person who is "persecuted and [innocently] accused," (Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* [Transl. Hilton C. Oswald; A Continental Commentary; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993], 332) but nevertheless confident of victory (Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* [Transl. Hilton C. Oswald; A Continental Commentary; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993], 333; Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Eric Zenger, *Die Psalmen I [1–50]* [Die Neue Echter Bibel Kommentar zum Alten Testament mit der Einheitsübersetzung ; Würtzburg: Echter Verlag, 1993], 171).

[42]Hermann Gunkel divided Ps 27 into two psalms, i.e., a "psalm of confidence" (27:1-6) and an "individual complaint song" (27:7-14) (Gunkel and Begreich, *Psalms*, 121). Gunkel's thesis has been criticized, however, and scholars have long been arguing for the unity of psalm, either by suggesting a specific cultic and liturgical setting for the psalm as a whole (e.g., Craigie and Tate, *Psalm 1–50*, 230–31; Gerstenberger, *Psalms I*, 125; Harris Birkeland, "Die Einheitlichkeit von Psalm 27," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 51 [1933]: 216–21), or by putting emphasis to the occurrence of common and unifying themes throughout the psalm (e.g., Else K. Holt, "Salme 27," in *Dansk Kommentar til Davids Salmer II* [eds. Else K. Holt and Kirsten Nielsen; København: Anis, 2002], 103; Craig C. Broyles, *Psalms* [New International Biblical Commentary: Old Testament Series; Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1999], 141–42). However, several commentators recognize composite character of the psalm even though they argue for the unity of the present form of the text (e.g., Hossfeld and Zenger, *Die Psalmen I*, 171–72; Goldingay, *Psalms I*, 391).

and 7-12(13),[43] and the theme of seeking safety in the divine presence in the face of enemies unites the psalm into a whole. In accordance with this understanding, vv. 1-6 have the imprint of describing and ideal situation with which psalmist struggles, but which is also sought to be actualized.[44]

If then focusing in on the עזב-complaint in Ps 27, it appears in the complaint and petition section of the psalm (vv. 7-12), in a sequence of four negative petitions. The negative petitions are closely associated through the motif of divine rejection which functions as common denominator: "Do not hide (אל־תסתר) your face from me, do not turn your servant aside in anger (אל־תט־באף), do not cast me off (אל־תטשני), do not forsake me (ואל־תעזבני)" (v. 9). The urgency is highlighted by the accumulation of negative petitions in v. 9, the three attention seeking appeals in v. 7: "Hear!" (שמע); "Be gracious to me!" (וחנני); "Answer me!" (ועננני), and finally also by the two statements bespeaking "the supplicant's efforts to come close to God"[45] in vv. 7-8: "I cry out" (אקרא); "Your face, Yahweh, I seek" (את־פניך יהוה אבקש).

Yet, the context is characterized by being "unusual in its strong emphasis on confidence."[46] From this point of view, the occurrence of the עזב-complaint is striking. In v. 1 the psalmist confidently proclaims that Yahweh is "my light" (אורי), "my salvation" (ישעי), and "the stronghold of my life" (מעוז־חיי) and therefore that he is without fear (ירא, v. 1aβ; פחד, v. 1bβ), even in the face of enemies. The psalmist follows up on this in vv. 2-2 and 6a as he confidently announces his own victory, and the opposite fate of his

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[43]For a brief overview, see Hossfeld and Zenger, *Die Psalmen I*, 172.

[44]Regarding the distinction between ideal and actualization, see Else K. Holt, "Salme 27," in *Dansk Kommentar til Davids Salmer II* (Eds. Else K. Holt and Kirsten Nielsen; København: Anis, 2002), 103

[45]Gerstenberger, *Psalms I*, 126.

[46]Gerstenberger, *Psalms I*, 127.

enemies. Be it approaching "evildoers" (מרעים, v. 2aα) and enemies (צר and איב, v. 2aβ), encamping armies (מחנה, v. v. 3aα), or surrounding enemies (איב, v. 6a), their potency are limited, and the psalmist is kept safe by Yahweh in his temple (v. 5). In fact, confessions and affirmations of confidence continue into vv. 7-12. The psalmist addresses Yahweh both as the one who has "been my help" (עזרתי היית, v. 9aγ) and as "God of my salvation" (אלהי ישעי, v. 9bγ). Moreover, the psalmist clings to the conviction that Yahweh will not forsake but "take me in" (יאספני, v. 10b) and that he finally will experience "the goodness of Yahweh in the land of the living" (לראות בטוב־יהוה בארץ חיים).

The occurrence of the עזב-complaint in this context indicate that the psalmist is one who, despite knowing Yahweh well, has not escaped being hit by uncertainty and anxiety. However, the *occasion* giving voice to the עזב-complaint is indeed a demanding one for the psalmist. As in Ps 22 the עזב-complaint is rooted in highly concrete experiences, as the psalmist has become subject of threats and attacks from surrounding enemies (שׁורר, v. 11c) which are described as "false witnesses" (עדי־שׁקר, v. 12b), including one particular violent one (ויפח חמס, v. 12c).[47] The characterization of the enemies are brief, however. Nor is there any I-complaints elaborating and highlighting the severeness of the psalmist's distress. But the enemy motif in general, and particularly the term חמס, indicate that the psalmist is in great danger, somehow.[48] Moreover, in light of

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[47]MT's ויפח חמס is difficult. The traditional interpretation takes the adjective יפח to be the root and reads: "breathing out violence" (cf. Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon* [Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 2000], 422). The problem with this reading is the singular form of יפח and how it relates to the preceding plural, עדי־שׁקר. Kraus, on the other hand, follows Peshitta (S) and reads plural of פוח (וְיַפִּיחוּ/וְיָפֵחַ), "and [they] arouse injustice" (Kraus, *Psalms I*, 331). I follow Craigie and others arguing that (the root) יפח functions as a noun, meaning "witness", and read "a violent witness" in singular (cf. Craigie and Tate, *Psalm 1–50*, 230 See also Hossfeld and Zenger, *Die Psalmen I*, 174).

[48]The reference to "the land of the living" (בארץ חיים) in v. 13 may indicate that the psalmist "sees before him death as the realm of abandonment by God" (Kraus, *Psalms I*, 337). Besides, the reference to witnesses (esp., עדי־שׁקר, v. 12bα) is often assumed to imply a judicial process (e.g., Hossfeld and Zenger, *Die Psalmen I*, 175; Kraus, *Psalms I*, 333)

the enemy motifs in vv. 1-6 it is worth noticing that, though the image of surrounding enemies is not novel, in vv. 7-12 no limits are indicated to their potency; nor any evident, safe place to hide. The enemies have seemingly got free rein.

As regards the *problem* referred to in the עזב-complaint, it evidently relates to the lack of divine deliverance. This is implied, first, by the three attention seeking appeals which precede the עזב-complaint (i.e., v. 7), then, by the two reference to Yahweh as the one who has "been my help" (עזרה) and as "God of my salvation (ישׁע)" which form a distinct contrast to the complaints in v. 9.

Yet, it must be noted that no explicit petition for deliverance is attested in the psalm. The references to the problem are only made in broad and highly relational terms, i.e., hide the face (סתר פנים), turn aside in anger (נטה באף), cast off (נטשׁ), and forsake (עזב)). So even though the problem is anchored in the lack of deliverance the crux of the problem seems rather to be the lack of some kind of assurance, confidence and safety. On the hand there is of course the psalmist's lack of safety and security in the face of enemies. On the other hand, there is the psalmist's lack of assurance with regard to the present status of Yahweh's relationship with the psalmist. The latter is indicated, and indeed highlighted, by the strong tensions and contrasts between the confident affirmations of trust and the negative petitions of the psalmist. For instance, the psalmist turns from the statement that Yahweh "hides me (יסתרני) in the shelter (בסתר) of his tent" (v. 5a) to the urgent petition that Yahweh must not hide (סתר) his face to him (v. 9aα). In similar manner, in v. 9 the confession of Yahweh as "my helper" (עזרתי) is juxtaposed with sudden reference to divine wrath (אף), and the עזב- and synonymous נטשׁ-complaint juxtaposed with a confession of Yahweh as "God of my salvation" (אלהי ישׁעי). And at the end of the psalm the negative petitions in v. 9 culminate in the petition in v. 12a: "Do not give me up to the will of my enemies" (אל־תתנני בפשׁ צרי). In short, the psalmist has got a problem with the reliability of Yahweh and of Yahweh's relationship with the psalmist,

which in the end, then, is concretized in terms of the fear of being handed over to the will of enemies.

Closely associated with the problem of divine reliability, of course, is the concept of betrayal. As in Ps 22, the psalmist is portrayed as a faithful devotee of Yahweh. There are no references to the sin or guild of the psalmist. Rather, the psalmist clings to his relationship with Yahweh, seeks his face (v. 8c), refers to himself as a servant of Yahweh (עבדך, v. 9b), and not least, repeatedly confesses and affirms his trust in Yahweh. In the very affirmation of trust in v. 10, however, the concept of betrayal is hinted at, as the psalmist introduces the hypothetical case of his parents betrayal of him (כי־אבי ואמי עזבוני). This parental betrayal connects with the עזב-complaint in v. 9 by the use of the term עזב. Consequently, any divine forsaking of the psalmist (עזב) is to be compared with the ultimate betrayal in a father's and mother's rejection (עזב) of their own child. In as much as the motif of parental betrayal forms part of an affirmation of trust, it is also clear that in the affirmations of trust the psalmist builds up an argument against God. That is, to forsake the psalmist would not only mean a betrayal against the psalmist but also include a betrayal against the divine self.

As regards the *rhetoric* of the עזב-complaint, however, it is of course essential that it is shaped as an negative petition; not an accusatory statement. Despite the psalmist's lack of safety in the face of enemies, Yahweh is not accused of actually having forsaken and betrayed the psalmist. It is a petition that Yahweh must not end up betraying the psalmist. The urgency, however, highlight the element of indirect protest implied in the עזב-complaint, which in turn bespeaks the uncertainty and anxiousness of the psalmist in his relationship with Yahweh. Moreover, the reference to Yahweh as "God of my salvation" (אלהי ישעי), which is subsequent to the עזב-complaint, makes clear what is at stake for the psalmist if Yahweh forsakes him.

However, the rhetoric of the עזב-complaint also reveal the essential *goal* of the psalmist, namely the avoidance of divine abandonment, which in turn means being handed over to the wills of the enemies. The psalmist, however, does not simply seek to avoid something. The psalmist seeks Yahweh's face (v. 8). On the one hand, the psalmist seeks Yahweh's face for the sake of protection and deliverance from the enemies, so that, in the end, the psalmist can experience "the goodness of Yahweh in the life of the living" (v. 13). On the other hand, Yahweh's face is sought for the sake of restored confidence in Yahweh and Yahweh's relationship with him (v. 14) and of the enrichments accompanying a trustful relationship with Yahweh (cf. v. 5, 13). In short, the psalmist seeks the ideal of vv. 1-6 to be actualized, which in the end also include the psalmist's praise of Yahweh (v. 6b).

Finally to address the question about the nature and character of the notes of lament attested in the עזב-complaint it is clear that both reflexive and transitive dimensions are present in the עזב-complaint in Ps 27 too. To begin with the *reflexive* dimension, it is evident that the psalmist is in deep need of divine intervention and that the lack of such an intervention troubles the psalmist. As regards the aspect of passive sorrow, we have seen that in Ps 27 the focus is not so much related to the divine lack of intervention *per se* or an actual divine betrayal (contrary to Ps 22:2). Rather, the passive sorrow in the עזב-complaints relates primarily to the psalmist's pain of anxiety in the face of enemies and of uncertainty with regard to the reliability of Yahweh. As the rhetoric of the עזב-complaint indicate, this passive aspect is subordinate to the active yearning for assurance with regard to Yahweh's relationship with the psalmist and for the enrichments accompanying a confident relationship with Yahweh.

Turning to the *transitive* dimension passive sorrow seems not to be attested in the עזב-complaint in Ps 27. There only seems to be active yearnings. First there is a yearning for the reliability of Yahweh; that Yahweh must not betray his own self by actually

rejecting the psalmist. As the goal of the psalmist demonstrates, however, this yearning culminates finally in the wish for Yahweh to receive praise from the psalmist in “his tent” (באהלו, v. 6b).

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TRACING TEXTUAL MARKERS OF GROUP IDENTITY IN THE PSALMS: SOME QUESTIONS ON METHODOLOGY[1]

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Focal points for discussion:

I would be glad to hear your opinion about following questions:

a) To which extent is it at all possible to "prove" the existence of a certain group behind specific OT texts?
b) How to connect a group known from other sources (e.g. Dead Sea Scrolls, Josephus etc) to an OT text?
c) As far as the Chassidim are concerned: can one (and on which grounds) differentiate between the Chassidim of the Psalms, the Maccabean Chassidim and Pharisees?

Introduction

The multilateral development of the Old Testament (OT) studies in the last decades with a shift towards social-scientific (social-historical) approach in the biblical studies has among other things led to re-evaluation of the dating of the OT texts and their development. Today majority of the OT texts are assigned to a later date, to the post-exilic Persian and Hellenistic time – a period that is all but uniform as the studies of Second Temple Judaism (accompanied by the studies of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the New Testament and early Christianity) have shown.

The question about the nature of the post-exilic Judaism or Judaisms – its internal strategies for coping with the changed situation, the reshaping of identity as well as the internal diversification – has been a major topic in scholarship on the Second Temple Judaism

[1] The paper has been written in the framework of the research grant ETF9279 ("Formal and Theological Markers of Religious Groups in the Late Old Testament and Related Literature") of the Estonian Research Council and is part of an ongoing research for the article "Psalm 86, Its Place in the Psalter, and Group Identity in the Second Temple Period" to be published by Urmas Nõmmik and Anu Põldsam.

since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls.[2] The growing heterogeneity of the period resulted in emergence of groups carrying different social, religious, political ideas and meanings. The most well-known of these groups or "philosophies" as Josephus called them,[3] were Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes but as the Dead Sea Scrolls and OT show there were many others like, as listed by H.-J. Farby, Cohanim, Levites, Korahites, Asaphites, Shaphanites, 'Am ha'Arets, prophetic conventicles like 'Ebyone ha'Am, 'Emunim, Tsaddikim and Chassidim and carriers of the temple-scroll.[4] There are numerous studies on the nature of these "philosophies" or movements or groups or sects and on the causes and processes of their emergence.[5]

It can therefore be presumed that this diversification left its mark also on the central texts of the era – the scribes were carriers of one or the other group identity – and assumed that the vast text mass that emerged during this period cannot be uniform either but reflects the variety of theological, cultic and political interests represented by different groups that emerged at that time. This means that the vast number of diverse additions to the OT text cannot be explained only diachronically, but they have to be considered also as parallel evolving texts and text corpora. Many studies on the Dead Sea Scrolls or early Christian writings, especially the gospels, have emphasized communal aspects in these writings – while written by different individuals, these writings give voice to different groups by expressing

[2] See e.g. Sacha Stern, *Jewish Identity in Early Rabbinic Writings* (Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums; 23; Leiden et al: Brill, 1994); *Ethos und Identität. Einheit und Vielfalt des Judentums in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit* [Symposium, 6. - 8. Dezember 2000] (ed. Matthias Konradt and Ulrike Steinert, Paderborn et al: Schöningh, 2002); Francis Schmidt, *How the temple thinks: Identity and Social Cohesion in Ancient Judaism* (Sheffield Academic Press, 2001); Lester L. Grabbe, *An Introduction to Second Temple Judaism: History and Religion of the Jews in the Time of Nehemiah, the Maccabees, Hillel, and Jesus* (Bloomsbury: T&T Clark 2010); Benedikt Eckhardt, *Jewish Identity and Politics Between the Maccabees and Bar Kokhba: Groups, Normativity, and Rituals (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism)* (Brill, 2011); Jeff S. Anderson, *The Internal Diversification of Second Temple Judaism: An Introduction to the Second Temple Period* (UPA, 2002).

[3] On these groups see Albert I. Baumgarten, "Josephus on Ancient Jewish Groups from a Social Scientific Perspective", in *Studies in Josephus and the Varieties of Ancient Judaism: Louis H. Feldman Jubilee Volume* (ed. Shaye J.D. Cohen and Joshua J. Schwartz; Leiden et al: Brill, 2007. 1–14); Günther Stemberger, *Jewish Contemporaries of Jesus: Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes* (Fortress Press, 1995); Anthony J. Saldarini, *Pharisees, Scribes and Sadducees in Palestinian Society: A Sociological Approach* (W.B. Eerdmans, 2001); Ruth M. Ludlam and Hillel Newman, *Proximity to Power and Jewish Sectarian Groups of the Ancient Period: A Review of Lifestyle, Values, and Halakhah in the Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, and Qumran* (Brill, 2006).

[4] Heinz-Josef Fabry, „Qumran und die Essener: vom Beginn frühjüdischer Gruppenbildung bis zur Vielfalt der „Häresien"," – in *Ethos und Identität Einheit und Vielfalt des Judentums in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit* [Symposium, 6. - 8. Dezember 2000] (ed. Matthias Konradt and Ulrike Steinert, Paderborn et al: Schöningh, 2002. 123–147). 127–130.

[5] On Weber's sociology of sects and analyses of the Pharisees and the Essenes in his „Ancient Judaism" see David J. Chalcraft, "Weber's Treatment of Sects in *Ancient Judaism*: the Pharisees and the Essenes," in Sectarianism in Early Judaism: Sociological Advances (ed. David J. Chalcraft; BibleWorld, Routledge, 2007. 52–73). See also Albert I. Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era: An Interpretation* (Leiden et al: Brill, 1997).

their collective convictions and shared view of the world[6] – the question is if and how far these predominantly anonymous or pseudonymous texts reveal the self-identity of the group of scribes behind them and how to trace them in the corpus as vast and interwoven as OT.

The aim of the current paper is therefore to point towards different methods – historical critical methods of OT study (with special emphasis on form critical and poetological study) and socio-historical studies on the post-exilic and early rabbinic time – and especially their possible combinations which can eventually point towards different religious and political groups in the post-exilic period in the history of Israel. It is to be assumed, that if certain formal markers are congruent with certain symptomatic theological markers, a certain group bearing certain tradition or ideology and hand-writing will be supposed.

Based on the previous research done by U. Nõmmik[7], one can assume (1) that by the formation of the late OT texts and related literature, several groups of scribes were involved, (2) that was not always the same group of people which just changed its theological thinking in the course of time but several simultaneous groups proceeding diverging routes, (3) that Some groups of scribes stand next to traditions with longer pre-history, setting to it new accents (therefore all layers of redaction are meaningful – interaction) and (4) Specific theological markers in the OT texts are often accompanied by specific formal – e.g. rhetorical, poetological, incl. colometrical patterns – markers sometimes independent of genre (psalm, proverb, instructional speech, apocalyptic speech etc). This kind of combinations point towards an "handwriting" of a group or towards a group dialect.

In the light of these assumptions I would like to analyze some exemplary passages from the Psalm literature[8] (Pss 40, 72 and especially Ps 86) in order to explore if and how far the predominantly anonymous or pseudonymous texts of the OT reveal the self-identity of a group of scribes representing different theological, cultic and political interests behind them. Whereas there are several studies about the identity of the Individual in the Psalms, less has

[6] Raimo Hakola, "Social Identities and Group Phenomena in Second Temple Period," in *Explaining Christian Origins and Early Judaism. Contributions from Cognitive and Social Science* (Biblical Interpretation Series, v. 89; ed Petri Luomanen, Ikka Pyysiäinen and Risto Uro, Leiden et al: Brill, 2007. 259–276), 261–263.

[7] As summarized in Urmas Nõmmik, "Indications of Pluralism in the Persian Period Psalm and Wisdom Literature," paper held on SBL meeting in Tartu 2010.

[8] An advantage of the Psalter in the context of the studies of group-identity is the possibility to compare it with Qumran Psalm Pesher, which clearly represents a view of a concrete group.

been said about the group-identity latent in this text,[9] whereas one can observe several indications to group phenomena in these texts, like:

a. The use of certain vocabulary in specific contexts, e.g. "the righteous" (that could be interpreted as group-denominations or a group dialect).

b. Specific confrontations, e.g. "the righteous" vs. "the godless / wicked" (confrontations with outsiders and setting boundaries as one of the main characteristics of a gruoup-identity).

c. The accumulation of "the pious" at the end of the Psalter (as a possible sign of an „hand-writing", self-assertion etc).

d. The shift in the use of singular and plural forms like "the needy".

e. The shift in the use of aforementioned terms from object to subject, often complemented by differences between their neutral and emotional use.

Historical critical perspective - Psalm 86 in the light of poetological and literary critical observations[10]

To narrow down the task set above, I have chosen Psalm 86 as a well suitable example – being classified by most scholars as an individual lament it incorporates different layers of editions implying different editors identifying themselves with the "I" of the Psalm. Being a lament psalm it carries a communal character – as stated by Amy C. Cotrill while referring to works of E. Gerstenberger and G.T. Sheppard: "the lament was not just private communication between God and the psalmist, but also public discourse simultaneously addressed to the enemy and community."[11] Therefore the main emphasis of the Psalm analyses lays on the redaction criticism based on the form critical and poetological analysis, that helps to highlight the different redactional layers of the Psalm, the latest of which are to be dated to the post-exilic time. [12]

U. Nõmmik's colometrical analysis of the Psalm lets us state that this or a similar older psalm has been extended by several additions in vv. 2, 8–9, 11, 14, 16c, and 17b. These have supplemented the psalm with the thesis of a universal God over all nations (= Zion-theology in vv. 8–9), deepened the pious character of the "I" of the psalm (vv. 2 and 11) and

[9] See e.g. Steven J. L. Croft, *Identity of the Individual in the Psalms* (*Journal of the study of the OT supplement series (44)*; Sheffield Academic Press, 1987); Amy C. Cotrill, *Language, Power, and Identity in the Lament Psalms of the Individual* (LHBOTS, 493, London: T&T Clark, 2008).

[10] The following poetological and form critical analysis of the Psalm 86 and its conclusions draw on the research done by U. Nõmmik.

[11] Amy C. Cotrill, *Language, Power, and Identity in the Lament Psalms of the Individual*, 63.

[12] Current paper outlines only the most important results of this analysis. For the analyses itself as done my U. Nõmmik, feel free to contact the author of the paper: anu.poldsam@gmail.com.

contrasted him to the bunch of arrogant (vv. 14, 17b). For our further argumentation, it is important to underline that v. 2 affects directly the question of the "I" of the psalm—to put it briefly, the author of v. 2 has captured the whole psalm since the "I" אני is changed from the "poor and needy" עני ואביון (v. 1c) "servant" עבד of the Lord (v. 4a) to the "pious" חסיד servant (v. 2). The חסיד-verse 2 offers us, therefore an anchorage point for a relative chronology of redactions. The text of the Psalm, with additions supposed by us in cursive, and with keywords in bold is following:

	1a	A Prayer of David.
I	1b	Incline, YHWH, your ear [and] **answer me**,
	c	**for I am poor and needy**!
	2a	*Preserve my soul, for I am pious!*
	b	*Save your servant – you are my God –, who trusts in you!*
	3a	**Be gracious to me**, O Lord,
	b	**for to you** I cry all day long!
	4a	Rejoice the soul of **your servant**,
	b	**for to you**, O Lord, I lift up my soul!
II	5a	**For you**, O Lord, are good and forgiving,
	b	and **abounding in kindness** to all, who **call upon you**.
	6a	Give ear, YHWH, to my prayer,
	b	and attend to the voice of **my supplications**!
	7a	In the day of my trouble **I cry to you**,
	b	**for** you will answer me.
	8a	*There is none like you among the gods, O Lord,*
	b	*nor are there any works like yours.*
	9a	*All the nations you have made come*
	b	*and bow down before you,*
	c	*O Lord, and glorify your name.*
III	10a	**For you** are **great**, and do wondrous things,
	b	**you** alone are God!
	11a	*Teach me, YHWH, your way! I walk in your truth.*
	b	*Unite my heart to fear your 'name'!* [13]
	12a	I will give thanks to you, O Lord, my God, with all my heart,
	b	and I will glorify your name forever,
	13a	**for** your kindness is **great** toward me,
	b	and you have delivered my soul from the depths of Sheol.
	14a	*God, the arrogant rise up against me,*
	b	*and a band of mighty seeks my soul,*
	c	*but they do not set you before them.*
IV	15a	But **you**, O Lord, are merciful and **gracious** El,
	b	slow to anger, and **abounding in kindness** and truth!

[13] The textual shape of v. 11 is highly debatable, here only *nota accusativi* has been added before the word שׁמך; see the discussion, e.g., in Mitchell Dahood, , *Psalms II. 51–100* (AB 17). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1968., 295; Hermann Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986, 377.

16a Turn to me and **be gracious to me**!
b Give your strength to **your servant**
c *and save the son of your handmaid!*
17a Show me a sign for good!
b *that those who hate me may see it, and be ashamed,*
c **for you are YHWH**, help me and comfort me.

The "poor and needy" עני ואביון take so prominent position in Psalm 86 that the identity of the servant is no question for the reader. There are many psalms forming the identity of the poor and needy; two of them are of particular interest. **Psalm 72** has massively been reworked and extrapolated by those representing the theology of the poor: terms עני and אביון both in singular and plural occur in vv. 2, 4, 12 and 13, complemented with דל in v. 13. Several analyses of the psalm suggest that beside a considerably old layer or fragments (cf. vv. 5–9, 11, 16) those particular verses (vv. 2, 4, 12–14) belong to a younger literary development.[14] The authority of the divinely legitimized king will be articulated in a specific way—his raison d'etre is now the maintenance of the socially deprived groups. Other psalms, such as Psalm 86 help us to understand that these groups are something more than just socially or economically deprived, they have a specific relation to God and to the king—or better Messiah. The position of Psalm 72 at the end of the second book of Psalms, its title לשלמה (v. 1) and its final line כלו תפלות דוד בן־ישי (v. 20) underline the connection—among others—to Psalm 86 (לדוד תפלה).[15] This connection has to belong to the very late phase of the emergence of the second and third books of Psalms.[16]

Another "Davidic" psalm with a special reference to the poor and needy is Psalm 40 close to the end of the first book of Psalms. The statement of faith ואני עני ואביון in the penultimate bicolon v. 18a supplies the psalm with a pointe[17]—everything that has been described in the psalm is meaningful since the relation of the poor and the needy to God has a certain quality;

[14] See especially Christoph Levin, "The Poor in the Old Testament: Some Observations," *Fortschreibungen, Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* (BZAW 316). Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 2010, 322–38, 335–7, and Oswald Loretz, *Psalmstudien. Kolometrie, Strophik und Theologie ausgewählter Psalmen* (BZAW 309; Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 2002), 171–214. The early dating of most of the Ps 72 by Hossfeld and Zenger (*Psalms 2*, 207–10) suffers from the too early dating of the prophetic social criticism, and the same by Martin Arneth (*"Sonne der Gerechtigkeit". Studien zur Solarisierung der Jahwe-Religion im Lichte von Psalm 72* [BZABR 1; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000], 29–39 passim)—who substantiates the important thesis of monarchic ideology behind some parts of Ps 72—does not take into account the specific profile of the poor and needy in the Psalter.

[15] Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2: A Commentary on Psalms 51-100* (Hermeneia: a Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible) (v. 2). Fortress Press, 2005, 371.

[16] Note further that יהוה in Ps 72:18 might indicate a late date for Ps 72 compared to the Elohistic Psalter 42–83.

[17] The verses 14–18 from Psalm 40 occur also as Ps 70:2–6; since the relations are complex in those parts of the Psalter, details should be left open, cf. also Psalms 38 and 71. Note that Psalms 40 and 70 are both Davidic psalms.

it turns out that the "I" (אני) of the psalm is namely the עני ואביון and the "you" (אתה) is the trustful God. Due to this pointe, it becomes obvious that those concerning themselves as ואביון עני have intervened into the canonization process of the first three books of Psalms.[18]

The conclusion is: Psalm 86 marks together with Psalm 40 and 72 the specific relation of the poor and needy to the Messianic understanding. This, in turn, is in accordance with the theological design of one of the pre-forms of the Masoretic Psalter because those psalms occur at strategically significant points. It is very likely that once there existed influential redactors, the עני ואביון, affecting single psalms as well as whole psalm blocks and being often designated by the researchers with a generic term ענוים.[19]

Whereas those calling themselves ענוים and אביונים belong to the late phase of the emergence of the first three books in the Masoretic Psalter, those designating themselves as חסידים must be even younger. A group of Chassidim in the Second temple period that had considerable and very late impact on the emergence of the Psalter has been postulated in several studies.[20] Probably the most significant parallel to be focused on in this context is Psalm 145 that has been linked to Psalm 86. This Davidic and acrostic hymn contains many aspects and phrases closely parallel to Ps 86, cf. Ps 86:8–13, 15 and Ps 145:1–2, 4, 8, 10, 18, 21.[21] Particular attention has to be paid to the middle section of Psalm 145, verses 10–13, where חסידיך are mentioned in a specific relationship to God (v. 10). No doubt that the Chasidim are the main human characters in Psalm 145. Due to the position of this psalm immediately before the final Hallel of the Psalter Pss 146–150, and its acrostic form, it has to be concluded that Ps 86:2 as a single verse and Ps 145 as a whole share a common literary

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[18] Cf. Levin ("Das Gebetbuch der Gerechten. Literargeschichtliche Beobachtungen am Psalter," in *Fortschreibungen, Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* (BZAW 316). Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 2003. 309) who regards v. 6a with ואני עני ואביון In Ps 70 as a later addition, and v. 5 even later.

[19] The thesis is old even if dated and described differently: Rahlfs, עָנִי *und* עָנָו *in den Psalmen*, 81–8, and Levin, "The Poor in the Old Testament," 331–7; cf. further the thesis of Marko Marttila, *Collective Reinterpretation in the Psalms. A Study of the Redaction History of the Psalter* (FAT II, 13; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006). The terms עָנִי and עָנָו might have originally had alternative meanings in the Psalms, but they do come close together in the designation Anawim (Rahlfs, 85–6, 89–90). An important study for understanding several facets in the history of the theology of the poor is Norbert Lohfink, *Lobgesänge der Armen. Studien zum Magnifikat, den Hodajot von Qumran und einigen späten Psalmen* (SBS 143; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1990).

[20] Levin, "Das Gebetbuch der Gerechten", 310–1; Marttila, *Collective Reinterpretation in the Psalms*, 206–17; and cf. Urmas Nõmmik, "Die Gerechtigkeitsbearbeitungen in den Psalmen. Eine Hypothese von Christoph Levin formgeschichtlich und kolometrisch überprüft," *UF* 31 (1999): 443–535, 516–7, 521–2, as well as Zenger, "Der Psalter als Buch," 46–7. Harm van Grol ("David and His *Chasidim*. Place and Function of Psalms 138–145," in *The Composition of the Book of Psalms* [ed. Erich Zenger; BETL 238; Leuven at al: Peeters, 2010, 309–37) claims in regard of Pss 138–145 that "[t]he aim of the collection is to strengthen the identity of the pious and orthodox, the *chasidim*, in their fight against the Hellenists" (p. 336).

[21] E.g., by Vorndran, *"Alle Völker werden kommen"*, *Studien zu Psalm 86* (BBB 133). Berlin: Philo, 2002. 201–3, with the difference that in his opinion, Pss 86 and 145 both belong to the "end-redaction" of the Psalter.

(redaction) layer, and this layer is related to one of the final—if not *the* final—redaction of the Psalter. The hypothesis is strengthened by the accumulation of חסידים-passages in the final Hallel (148:14; 149:1, 5, 9).[22]

If to take into consideration one more חסידים-passage in Ps 89:20, very close to Ps 86:2 and to the end of the third book of the Psalter,[23] the conclusion might be that the aim of the editors has been to build a bridge between the end of the third book and the end of the Psalter. The goal of undersigning the whole Psalter with חסידים is understandable. There likely are several reasons to interfere at the end of the third book: the ענוים have already set the standard by the connection to the Davidic-Messianic paradigm at the end of the Davidic Psalters 3–41 (cf. Ps 40) and 51–71 (cf. Ps 70 and 72), thereby subordinating also the psalms of Asaph and the Korahite psalms (cf. esp. Ps 72 and 86). Furthermore, one of the highest concentration of the numerous psalms that have been affected by the צדיקים as authors and editors[24] can be found in Psalms 31–34 and 37. The list of occurrences of the חסידים-passages now speaks for itself: in and around of צדיקים-psalms Pss 30:5; 31:24; 32:6; 37:28; in the psalms of Asaph Pss 50:5 and 79:2 (in the middle of the collection!)[25]; in and close to the Korahite psalms Pss 43:1; 85:9; 86:2 (in the middle!); 89:20; at the end of the Psalter Pss 145:10; 148:14; 149:1, 5, 9.[26] Both the theology of the righteous and the poor and the Davidic-Messianic connection are adopted through this pretentious literary operation, which raises the question of the group-character of the חסידים.

Social-Scientific perspective

Conducting oneself with the questions of identity, social and group-phenomena the scholarship on Second Temple Judaism as well the Biblical Studies have started to make use of the methods of modern cognitive and social sciences. This has resulted in social scientific

[22] Levin ("Das Gebetbuch der Gerechten," 310) considers vv. 1c, 4–5 and 9 in Psalm 149 as additions; further reasons to date Ps 149 close to the Chassidim of the 2nd century BCE have been brought by Martin Leuenberg (""…und ein zweischneidiges Schwert in ihrer Hand" (Ps 149,6). Beobachtungen zur Theologiegeschichtlichen Verortung von Ps 149," in *The Composition of the Book of Psalms*, 635–42).

[23] There is a חסידים-passage in Ps 85:9 but an addition there is not excluded.

[24] Apart from the question how massive the redaction layer is, it is difficult to deny it completely, see Levin, "Das Gebetbuch der Gerechten", and in his footsteps Nõmmik, "Die Gerechtigkeitsbearbeitungen in den Psalmen"; Marttila, *Collective Reinterpretation in the Psalms*, 205–17; cf. Loretz, *Psalmstudien*, 11–29.

[25] Ps 79 is a special case: it has been certainly reworked (cf. Levin, "Das Gebetbuch der Gerechten," 311) and is actualized also in 1Macc 7:12–17 where ἀσιδαίοι are named.

[26] Only Pss 12:2; 16:10; 18:26; 52:11; 97:10; 116:15; 132:9, 16 (in Ps 4:4 probably an error, see BHS) remain, but cannot be discussed here; at least Pss 18:22–32 and 97:10 should be considered as very young additions.

study of biblical texts or **Social-Scientific Criticism** (SSC)[27] and in using social-psychological theories connected to group and intergroup processes like **Social-Identity-Approach (SIA)**.[28] According to J. H. Elliot Social-Scientific Criticism of the Bible is that phase of the exegetical task in which the text is analyzed through the utilization of the perspectives, theory, models, and research of the social sciences as a vehicle of communication whose genre, structure, content, themes and aims are shaped by the cultural and social dynamics of the social system and the specific historical setting in which the text was produced and to which it constituted a specific response.[29] While the descriptive approach of the SSC is helpful in understanding the setting of the texts (looking from outside), the explanatory uses social theory and models (like cultural anthropology and social psychology) in order to analyze the social organization and process (looking from inside the text).

The most significant model for understanding the social identity and group identity is the Social Identity Approach. The expression is an umbrella term which nowadays refers to Henri Tajfel and John Turner's social identity theory that was mainly developed in the 1970s, to Turner's self-categorization theory developed in the middle of the 1980s, and to later adaptations of these theories.[30] According to Tajfel the social identity is defined as the "aspects of an individual's self–image that derive from the social categories to which he perceives himself as belonging".[31] Social identity "derives from individuals' knowledge of his membership of a group together with the value and emotional significance attached to the

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[27] On social-scientific criticism see *Social Scientific Models for Interpreting the Bible: Essays by the Context Group in Honor of Bruce J. Malina* (ed. Bruce John Malina and John J. Pilch; BRILL, 2001); J. H. Elliott, 'Social-scientific criticism: Perspective, process and payoff. Evil eye accusation at Galatia as illustration of the method' (HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies 67(1) 2011); *Social-scientific Old Testament Criticism* (ed David J. Chalcraft 1997); *Community, Identity, and Ideology: Social Science Approaches to the Hebrew Bible* (ed. Charles E. Carter, Charles Edward Carter,Carol L. Meyers); Petri Luomanen, Ilkka Pyysiäinen and Risto Uro, "Introduction: Social and Cognitive Perspectives in the Study of Christian Origins and Early Judaism," *Explaining Christian Origins and Early Judaism. Contributions from Cognitive and Social Science* (Biblical Interpretation Series, v. 89; ed Petri Luomanen, Ikka Pyysiäinen and Risto Uro, Leiden et al: Brill, 2007. 1–-33).

[28] On the use of social-identity-approach in biblical studies see Coleman A. Baker, "Social Identity Theory and Biblical Interpretation," in Biblical Theology Bulletin (Volume 42 Number 3, 2012, 129–38); Coleman A. Baker, „Early Christian Identity Formation: From Ethnicity and Theology to Socio-Narrative Criticism," in Currents in Biblical Research (9(2)), 2011, 228–237);

[29] J.H. Elliott, „Social-scientific criticism: Perspective, process and payoff. Evil eye accusation at Galatia as illustration of the method," in HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies, Vol 67, No 1 (2011) (http://www.hts.org.za/index.php/HTS/article/view/858/1454#footnote-4).

[30] Petri Luomanen, Ilkka Pyysiäinen and Risto Uro, "Introduction: Social and Cognitive Perspectives in the Study of Christian Origins and Early Judaism," 21.

[31] Henri Tajfel and John C. Turner, "*The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior," in Psychology of Intergroup Relation* (ed S. Worchel & W. G. Austin; Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1986, 7–24) 16.

membership.[32] The social identity approach involves social categorization and differentiation based on group membership and includes consideration of salient group norms, boundaries, and rituals. The social identity perspective suggests firstly that groups tend to play down or suppress their common points with other groups in their comparative contexts and claim that they are distinctive (us vs. them). Secondly that it is often the perceived similarity between groups that threatens the distinctiveness of the group and triggers intergroup conflict. And thirdly that social categorizations and social identities are not fixed but are always dependent on a given comparative context; if that context changes, people and groups can be categorized in a new way.[33]

The scholar who introduced the use of the social identity approach (SIA) in biblical interpretation was Philip Esler, who employed various aspects of this method in studies of the NT (especially of Galatians, Romans, and the Gospel of John). [34] This gave rise to a series of similar studies mostly by NT and Qumran scholars compared to which relatively few studies have employed SIA in the study of texts from the Hebrew Bible. [35] Hakola states that such writings as the Qumran Scrolls or early Christian sources are likely to have been written with insiders in mind and one of the most basic motives behind such writings is the enhancement of the social identity of in-group members. It is quite obvious that this has resulted in maximizing the differences between the in-group and out-groups. Self-categorization theory provides a reason for supposing that the people behind these documents shared a tendency to play down those qualities that connected their group to their contemporaries – which does not

[32] Henri Tajfel, *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1982) 63.
[33] Raimo Hakola,"Social Identities and Group Phenomena in Second Temple Period," 264.
[34] See Philip F. Esler, *Galatians* (New York: Routledge, 1998); Philip F. Esler, *Conflict and Identity in Romans: The Social Setting of Paul's Letter* (Minneapolis: Fortress 2003); Philip F. Esler, 'Ezra-Nehemiah as a Narrative of (Re-Invented) Israelite Identity', (BibInt 11: 413-26).
[35] Resulting in thorough approaches like *T&T Clark Handbook to Social Identity in the New Testament* (ed and Coleman A. Baker; Bloomsbury: T&T Clark, 2014); Anne Faulkner, „Jewish Identity and the Jerusalem Conference: Social Identity and Self. Categorization in the Early Church Communities", (ESharp. 1. http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_41174_en.pdf); Matthew J. Marohl, *Faithfulness and the Purpose of Hebrews: A Social Identity Approach* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2008); Raimo Hakola, "Social Identities and Group Phenomena in Second Temple Judaism" (2007); Juta Jokiranta "The Prototypical Teacher in the Qumran Pesharim: A Social-Identity Approach," in *Ancient Israel: The Old Testament in its Social Context* (ed Peter. F. Esler; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2006, 254–66); Juta Jokiranta, "Social Identity in the Qumran Movement: The Case of the Penal Code," in *Explaining Christian Origins and Early Judaism. Contributions from Cognitive and Social Science* (Biblical Interpretation Series, v. 89; ed Petri Luomanen, Ikka Pyysiäinen and Risto Uro, Leiden et al: Brill, 2007. 277–98); Juta Jokiranta, "Social Identity Approach: Identity-Constructing Elements in the Psalms Pesher," in *Defining Identities: We, You, and the Other in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the fifth meeting of the IOQS in Gröningen* (ed F. G. Martínez & M. Popovic; Leiden et al: Brill, 2008. 95–109); Juta Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism in the Qumran Movement* (Leiden et al: Brill, 2013); Robert A. Di Vito, „Old Testament Anthropology and the Construction of Personal Identity," in *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* (Vol. 61 Issue 2, 1999. 217–38); Jan P. Bosman, *Social Identity in Nahum: A Theological-Ethical Enquiry* (Biblical Intersections 1. Piscataway: Gorgias, 2008); Peter H.W. Lau, *Identity and Ethics in the Book of Ruth: A Social Identity Approach* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift Für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 416; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010).

prove though that these groups are as unique in their view of the world or in their way of life as they claim to be.[36] Whereas these texts represent distinctively separated groups from the main movement, OT even if incorporating views of different subgroups in its various texts, was as a whole meant to represent true Israel. So one can assume that the differences within subgroups where less distinct or rather minimized, and the main polarization was between the righteous and the wicked, Israel and nations.

The problem with dealing with the OT texts is, that there are no group-designations in OT that one could directly connect to groups known to us from texts outside OT. It is extremely hard to prove that collective designations (צדיקים, חסידים, אביונים, ענוים) present in these texts represent groups/parties. It has been already noted, that every group phenomena presupposes a social identity whereby this identity is fluid – group borders can shift, a person can belong to several groups at the same time, the identity can alter (same group with a changed ideology or content). And because social categories and social identities are not fixed but may vary from one comparative context to another, we should be cautious of interpreting all the differences in the sources as reflections of separate communities behind the documents.[37]

On the other hand as G. Schöpflin points out, whereas anything can be a boundary marker, from diet to dress codes, probably the single most important of these divides is language – groups tend to seek to reinforce their sense of self by eliminating as much ambiguity as is feasible and by reducing multiple meanings of language**.**[38] So the language can be a social clue and the linguistic/lexical markers indications of social identity, as many socio-linguistic studies have shown. Brown and Fraser for example have defined social markers by their relationship between "definable features of linguistic form" (e.g. phonological, syntactic, or lexical item) and "definable features of social context" (e.g. membership of source or target of communication) relative to "an internal context" (e.g. phonological environment or meaning).[39] Modern studies in this field point out that writing is at once an individual and cognitive process and at the same time a social and a conventional practice; style is at once a function of the writers idiosyncratic identity and at the same time a function of the social matrix which the writing and the writer are embedded; written language

[36] Raimo Hakola,"Social Identities and Group Phenomena in Second Temple Period," 265–266.
[37] Ibid., 272.
[38] George Schöpflin, The construction of identity (Paper presented at the Össterreichischer Wissenschaftstagung, Vienna, 2001), pp 4.6.
[39] Quoted in Jessica Mange, Nadia Lepastourel and Patrice Georget, „Is Your Language a Social Clue? Lexical Markers and Social Identity," in *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* (28(4) 2009, 364 –380), 365.

both reflects the writers identity and at the same time creates that identity.[40] On one hand, identifying the linguistic markers of a particular group also identifies a set of texts expressing a restricted set of ideas. This is particularly true of ideologically defined groups, but in the larger sense it is true of any cohesive group with a continuing social identity On the other hand, texts expressing the same ideas may be expressed in a variety of ways and one has to find markers persistent across a variety of texts.[41]

Identifying a group can strengthen the likelihood of a particular content hypothesis; identifying the content can strengthen the likelihood of a particular group identification.[42] This may have a complex array of linguistic components, ranging from phonological to syntactic features, but an essential part of it is evaluative language referring to us and to them, as well as language referring to properties of us and properties of them. For well-established groups with a longer history the language includes a complex set of references to heroes, leaders, victims, and artists, as well as to subgroups, key events, key dates, and key writings and key works of art, including music and games [43]

In his study about self-designations and group identity in the NT[44] Paul Trebilco points out those particular linguistic practices are a part of the shared repertoire of a group and so one crucial dimension in the construction of a community. It creates a set of shared linguistic resources including specialized terminology and linguistic routines. the social dialect or shared repertoire of language of a group Speech community or community of practice (shared practice) Group uses language to construct and maintain identity but the language impacts how the identity is understood.[45] According to Halliday „a social dialect is a dialect – a configuration of phonetic, phonological, grammatical and lexical features – that is associated with and stands as a symbol for some more or less objectively definable social group. Language actively symbolizes the social system – creating and being created. Language and identity are co-constructed.“[46] But also here one has to consider that the lines that rum between different groups and their borders did not necessarily run straight, meaning

[40] Donald L. Rubin, “Introduction: Composing Social Identity,“ in *Composing Social Identity in Written Language* (ed Donald L. Rubin; Routledge, 1995, 1–30), 3.
[41] Donald L. Rubin, “Introduction: Composing Social Identity,“ 3.
[42] Jean Mark Gawron, Dipak Gupta, Kellen Stephens, Ming-Hsiang Tsou, Brian Spitzberg and Li An, „Using Group Membership Markers for Group Identification,“ in *Proceedings of the Sixth International AAAI Conference on Weblogs and Social Media* (http://mappingideas.sdsu.edu/publications/group_identity.pdf)
[43] Jean Mark Gawron et al, „Using Group Membership Markers for Group Identification“.
[44] Paul Trebilco, Self-designations and group identity in the New Testament (Cambridge university Press, 2012).
[45] Ibid., 6–8.
[46] M. A. K. Halliday, Language as a Social Semiotic: Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning (Hodder Arnold, 1978), 159.

that the terminology they used could overlap and can therefore not be considered as an absolute marker of the identity of a certain group.

Nevertheless, if we assume the existence of several groups of scribes behind the OT texts active at a close time-range, we can also assume that these groups had „their own language", characterized by certain combinations of formal-lexical and theological markers. In order to find and describe these we have decided to combine diachronic and synchronic approach: to use form, redaction and genre criticism combined with social-science approach as while historical criticism focuses on unique and particular, the social sciences centre on the context and generalization. Under ideal circumstances this kind of study would incorporate all OT texts dated into the post-exilic period and consist of both, intratextual as well as intertextual. To our understanding the way to reach this kind of result is through individual case studies.

Psalm 86 as attestation of the groups of עניים and חסידים (?)

The last part of the paper regards the question whether texts like Ps 86 or passages like Ps 86:1b and 2 can indicate that there in fact existed religious-political groups also active in the literary process of the emergence of the Psalter. [47] The poetological analysis and redaction criticism of the Ps 86 suggest that it consist of earlier layer connected to poor and younger layer connected to the חסידים. What does it tell about the identity of the composers/editors and how does it fit into our knowledge on the groups present in the Second Temple Judaism and can Social-Identity models offered by Social Sciences shed more light into creation/preserving/re-shaping of identity in and through the text of Psalms.

Let us first take a closer look at the עניים. [48] The term Poor (עני /אביון/ דל) appears in the OT as well in economical as in theological sense. Surely the conflicts and the social change of the post-exilic time brought forth also increased polarity in the community and pauperization of the lower social strata. The poor and the humble stepped suddenly also into the arena in the Psalm literature.[49] Historical-critical analyses of the Ps 86 shows that a thin borderline can be drawn between the earlier redaction of the righteous and the later edition of the poor. The

[47] Since Rahlfs (עָנִי *und* עָנָו *in den Psalmen*), there exists a discussion whether it is a self-reference of people belonging to a certain group or not; see on discussion Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 1–59. A Commentary* (Transl. Hilton C. Oswald; Minneapolis: Ausburg, 1988), 92–5. The negative arguments have been, e.g., that the situation of actual distress lies behind lament psalms (cf. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59*, 77, 92–5; Kraus, *Psalms 60–150*, 182; against it Nõmmik, "Between Praise and Lament").

[48] Norbert Lohfink, Von der "Anawim-Partei" zur "Kirche der Armen": die bibelwissenschaftliche Ahentafel eines Hauptbegriffs der "Theologie der Befreiung," in Biblica 67,2 (1986), 153–176.

[49] Urmas Nõmmik, "Indications of Pluralism", 8.

editor describing himself as poor gives the term theological meaning by equalizing being poor with being righteous. The poor was not only the victim and the oppressed, he was also the one who feared God, a servant of God (Ps 25:12–14; 147:6,11 etc.). So one can assume an ethicization of the term – it became a religious ideal which was adapted by the literate middle-class or by part of it. At the same time it has been pointed out that the writers of the Wisdom and Psalm texts, hence, literate people, who sometimes called themselves דל, אביון and עני, could not come from the lowest strata of the society.[50] So this kind of identification must have been theologically motivated. This is shown also by the fact that in Pss 40, 86, 72 and 109 the terms are presented in theological sense, as those Pss are each presented as being a "psalm of David". Attending for the poor is one of primary functions of the king as shown in the OT, and surely the king was not poor economically. And yet here the king himself is presented as being poor. It is possible that this kind of shift can be part of a process of power-deconstruction[51] – the ideal of monarchy is replaced by the ideal of theocracy. In addition the royal psalms carry a messianic or even apocalyptic character and express the trust in the coming glorious judgment.

Another aspect to consider is the assumption that the editors of the Psalms or at least one of its layers were the Levitical singers (Asaphites, Korahites), who had been divested of any priestly privileges, who had no inheritance in the land and their livelihood and lifestyle fits the description of being "poor and needy"[52] – we have a class of poor scribes, who gave their negative situation a positive meaning. Similar idea is already to be found in Heinrich Graetz's "History of the Jews", where he identifies the ענוים (and Anwe haArets) – whom he calles the "meek" (*Sanftmütigen*) – with a circle gathered around Isaiah and claims, that among, if not the foundation of those meek were surely also the Levites, whose situation gave rise to totally new psalms characterized by the extreme trust in God and depth of soul[53]

But in Ps 86 we have also the layer of חסידים. According to Louis Jacobs many scholars are inclined to the view that in many of the psalms the Chassidim are none other than

[50] Urmas Nõmmik, "Indications of Pluralism", 5–6.

[51] See on constructing and deconstructing power in Psalms W. Dennis tucker Jr., *Constructing and Deconstructing Power in Psalms 107-150* (Society of Biblical Literature Ancient Israel and Its Literature Book 29; SBL Press, 2014).

[52] Susan E. Gillingham, "The Levites and the Editorial Composition of the Psalms," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Psalms* (ed. William P. Brown; New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014, pp. 201–13), 207–8; Levitical editing is characterised by prophetic emphasis, which has more public nature and by being David- and Temple-centered.

[53] Heinrich Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart. 2.Bd. Erste Hälfte* (Leipzig: Oskar Leiner, 1902). 119.

the men of this name who fought with the Maccabees against Antiochus (esp Ps. 149). [54] But the earliest definite references to a group of men, calling themselves חסידים, are to be found the books of the Maccabees. It is also been stated that there are Psalms (Ps 44 and 77) that refer to the events after the death of Judas Maccabeus.[55] These would mean, that the latest editorial layers in the Book of Psalms are to be dated very late and could reflect the Maccabean time – the references in both the Psalms and the book of the Maccabees to the חסידים could therefore refer to the same group (or even to the Pharisees)[56] but it is also possible that the Maccabean group grow out of an earlier group of Hasidim and gave birth to the later Pharisees and Essenes.[57]

At the very moment we can just state, that Ps 86 final layer has been edited by someone identifying himself with a group of חסידים and that the situation of חסידים reflects here danger.[58] The last statement could contextually indicate to a situation of Maccabean revolt, which could be also significant for the formation of group-identity: George Schöpflin has pointed out, that groups provide their members with a sense of security by making the world meaningful, permitting intra-collectivity communication and constructing collective forms of knowledge that allow the individual to lead a life without having constantly to make (new) sense of whatever phenomena h/s encounters.[59]

As the use and the meaning of the term חסיד vary in time, its implication in Qumran and early rabbinic literature could also shade light on it having been a group-designation. One of the key observations has been made through comparing Ps 89:20–38 and its parallel in the fragment 4QPs^{x} (4QPs89): presuming with Mika S. Pajunen that the Masoretic psalm is earlier,[60] in the Qumran fragment, the לחסידיך of Ps 89:20 have been changed into more general בחריב[ל] '[to] your chosen ones' in 4QPs^{x} 1.[61] Whether the latter is a group

[54] Louis Jacobs, "The concept of Hasid in the Biblical and Rabbinic literatures," in *Journal of Jewish Studies* 8, 3 (1957), 143–154.
[55] Emil G. Hirsch, "Psalms," in Jewish Encyclopedia. Vol. 10. New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls, 1916, 241–248. 246.
[56] "The "'Aniyim" and the "'Anawim" are the "meek" as opposed to the "Gewim" and "'Azim" (which readings must often be adopted for "Goyim" and "'Ammim"), the "proud" and "insolent." The former are the (Pharisaic) pious nationalists battling against the proud (Sadducean) violators of God's law." (Ibid.).
[57] Something that Millar Burrows pointed out already in 1946 when tracing "an unorganized puritanical tendency appearing in the hasidim of the later Psalms – the 'poor' who trust in God to deliver them – and from this group the Maccabean hasidim came". The spiritual heirs of the Maccabean Hasidim were according to him the Pharisees and particularly the Essenes (Millar Burrows, *An Outline of Biblical Theology*, (Westminster / John Knox Press 1946), pp. 151–2).
[58] Cf. Marvin E. Tate, *Psalms 51–100* (WBC 20; Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1990), 383: "Perhaps, the language in v 2 and the general tone of the content of v 14 tilts toward the physical danger of one whose life is in peril …"
[59] George Schöplin, *The Construction of Identity*, 3.
[60] Mika S. Pajunen, "4QPs^{x}: A Collective Interpretation of Psalm 89:20–38," *JBL* 133 (2014): 479–95.
[61] Ibid, 485–6, 489–90. Note also the reduction of Davidic elements in the abbreviated text of 4QPs^{x} (ibid, 491–3).

designation or not, it is important to notice that there is clear demarcation against the חסידים. It corresponds to the relatively poor appearance of the חסידים in the Qumran texts, at least compared to צדיקים or אביונים. The rabbinic literature offers various references to the חסידים הראשונים "pious men of old" or "first Hasidim", of whom it is said, that the 'pious men of old' would wait one hour before their prayers in order to direct their minds to God; they would insert the fringes to be worn on the corners of the garment as soon as three handbreadths of the garment had been woven, although the Law does not demand that these be affixed until the garment is to be worn; and they would only consort with their wives on a Wednesday in the belief that a conception on any other day might result in a birth on the Sabbath which would involve a certain amount of Sabbath desecration The same scrupulous regard displayed by these men in connection with their religious duties was shown in their sense of social responsibility.[62] The term חסידים הראשונים in itself implies that the group was no longer in existence in the tannaitic period when the Mishna was complied.

So both the poor and the Hasid in Ps 86 could refer to a group member or they could also be seen as ideal-types or prototypes, that embody the identity of a certain group, whereby a prototype does not necessarily have to be an actual or current member of the group but represents rather an ideal image of the groups character.[63] C. A. Baker points out, that in their study of why people join groups, Hogg, Hohmann, and Rivera offer a definition of an ingroup prototype: according to social identity theory, people cognitively represent social groups as fuzzy sets of attributes that define one group and distinguish it from relevant other groups. Called prototypes, these fuzzy sets not only describe the group's attributes but also, very importantly, prescribe how one should think, feel, and behave as a member of the group. Psychologically identifying with a group involves a cognitive process of categorizing oneself as a group member. The consequence of this self-categorization process is that one actually sees oneself and the world through the lens of the prototype.[64]

Conclusion

For tracing the textual markers of group-identity in the OT text, the historical critical approach is inevitable – the literary critcism and form critical as well poetological approaches point out the different layers, additions, genres etc of a text and allow us to connect specific

[62] Louis Jacobs, "The concept of Hasid in the Biblical and Rabbinic literatures," 143–154.
[63] Prototype theory itself was developed by Eleanor Rosch. Smith and Zarate refined Rosch's theory by arguing that a prototype is a representation of a person that embodies the identity of the group, but may not necessarily be an actual or current member of the group but rather an ideal image of the group's character. (Coleman A. Baker, "Social Identity Theory and Biblical Interpretation," 131–132).
[64] Coleman A. Baker, "Social Identity Theory and Biblical Interpretation," 131–132.

textual patterns to specific ideological/theological content. But in order to understand the mechanisms of identity formation, preservation and reshaping and for analyzing the social organization and process of a group of people behind the text one also needs to apply social theory and models, that enable a deeper understanding and wider interpretation of the collective identities behind the text of the OT.

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Writing and Ritual: Levels of Reality in the Comparative Method

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Proposed Focal Points for Discussion

1. How can we reconstruct ritual action from written texts? What controls must be in place?
2. How might a text influenced by a ritual action differ from a text influenced by a literary precursor?
3. Is there a native tradition of treaties and related curses from the Levant, or are the Aramaic Sefire treaty tablets merely an Aramaic 'targum' of the better attested Neo-Assyrian tradition?
4. Are there discernible differences in Neo-Assyrian cultural appropriation by vassal states (e.g. Judah) from the provincial territories (e.g. Tell Tayinat)? What are the implications for cuneiform literacy?
5. Comments on the proposed distinction between *influence* and *intertextuality*, and the classification of transmission via the ritual process by the latter category, would be much appreciated.

Introduction

It has long been noted that certain parts of the book of Deuteronomy seem to parallel, or even to translate, portions of a Neo-Assyrian treaty, 'The Succession Treaty of Esarhaddon', known as EST. This provides an important interpretative matrix for understanding the biblical book, not just in terms of literary and cultural context, but also because the discernment of parallels between Deuteronomy and EST – which was occasioned during the reign of King Esarhaddon in the seventh century – may provide an external reference point for the dating of the book of Deuteronomy. While dating the composition of Deuteronomy to the seventh century, during the reigns of King Hezekiah (2 Kgs. 18:3-6, 22; 727/715 – 698/687 BCE) and, especially, of King Josiah (2 Kgs. 22-23; 640 – 609 BCE), was at one point something of a linchpin in biblical scholarship,[1] in recent years this has become a far more controversial topic, and the tendency of some critics has been to situate this book within the exilic, or even the post-exilic period,

[1] This view is usually attributed to W.M.L. de Wette, '*Dissertatio critica-exegetica qua Deuteronomium a prioribus Pentateuchi Libris diversum, alius cuiusdam recentioris auctoris opus esse monstratum*' ['A critical-exegetical discussion which shows that Deuteronomy is a work that differs from the first books of the Pentateuch, and is the work of another, later author'] (PhD diss., University of Jena, 1805); see *idem*, *Opuscula Theologica* (Berlin: G. Reimerum, 1830), pp. 149-168. For recent evaluations of de Wette's contribution to critical scholarship, see J. Rogerson, *W.M.L. de Wette. Founder of Modern Biblical Criticism: An Intellectual Biography* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1992); H.-P. Mathys and K. Seybold, *Wilhem Martin Leberecht de Wette: Ein Universaltheologe des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Basel: Schwabe, 2001); and P.B. Harvey and B. Halpern, 'W.M.L. de Wette's "*Dissertatio Critica*…": Context and Translation', *ZABR* 14 (2008), 47-85.

instead[2] – and it seems like there will be no resolution to the problem any time soon. An external, datable point of reference is hence an attractive prospect to some scholars.

However, while there are undeniably points of similarity between Deuteronomy and EST, the exact nature of the relationship between the texts is not clear-cut. Though some scholars propose that Deuteronomy's authors utilized EST as a direct source-text, others have been quick to point out that the affinities shared between the two are also found in other treaty texts, from Akkadian, but also from Hittite materials. They argue that the treaty-like parts of Deuteronomy do not stem solely from EST, but rather are symptomatic of the genre of the treaty in the ancient Near East in more general terms. Thus parts of Deuteronomy apparently mirror EST and other treaty texts not because they were directly copied from a sole precursor such as EST, but rather because the scribes who wrote the biblical book were able to call upon a *koine* of treaty terminology that was current at that time. This debate has reached something of a stalemate in recent years. In this paper I will consider the current state of scholarship concerning the relationship of the book of Deuteronomy to EST, mapping the strengths and weaknesses associated with each hypothesis along the way. It will be proposed that the problems that these reconstructions have failed to account for, and which have resulted in the current scholarly impasse, are methodological, concerning the problem of transmission itself. This is related to both the congruency of method employed in the discernment of parallels between texts, and, as a corollary to this, the issue of historical relatedness between said texts. To rephrase this as a question: would a version of EST have been available to the authors of Deuteronomy? And if so, would the *Hebrew* scribes who wrote Deuteronomy have been able to read and to translate a *cuneiform, Akkadian* document such as EST? A negative answer would similarly negate the argument that Deuteronomy borrows specifically from EST, yet no proponent or critic of the theory has yet considered this crucial issue of bilingualism in ancient Israel, save for a few rather vague and uncritical references to the ninth century Tell Fakhariyah bilingual inscription,[3] written in both Aramaic and Akkadian, and which – without carefully

[2] See M. Brettler, 'The Copenhagen School: The Historiographical Issues', *AJS Review* 27 (2003), 1-21, for a survey of the relevant literature.

[3] 'The ability of Syro-Palestinian scribes to work in cuneiform is evident in the eighth-century bilingual inscription from Tell Fekherye in north-east Syria, with Neo-Assyrian on the front and Aramaic on the back'; B.M. Levinson, 'The Neo-Assyrian Origins of the Canon Formula in Deuteronomy 13:1', in *Scriptural Exegesis: The Shapes of Culture and the Religious Imagination, Essays in Honour of Michael Fishbane*, ed. D.A. Green and L.S. Lieber (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 25-45 (p. 41). Levinson's claim that this inscription stems from the eighth century, contra the majority opinion that situates the statue in the ninth century, will be dealt with in the course of my doctoral thesis. More recently Levinson has reiterated this position with regard to the Tell Fakhariyah inscription, adding: 'Außerdem wurde durch das neuassyrische Imperium eine Schriftgelehrtenschule im syrisch-palästinischen Raum eingerichet, in Hurzina, nicht weit

problematizing – can at best show only that some of the alphabetic Aramaic scribes from this peripheral area under direct Neo-Assyrian influence and control had mastered both languages; and at worst, the reverse of this, that cuneiform scribes had mastered the comparatively far simpler alphabetic writing system. In any case, what the fact that scribes at Tell Fakhariyah in the ninth century may have been bilingual or biscriptal[4] says for our Hebrew scribes who wrote the book of Deuteronomy several centuries later in Israel and Judah must be more carefully considered. This recognition sets the stage for a new examination of what I would deem to be the crux of the issue: the *linguistic* means of the transmission of EST to Deuteronomy. This step is the prerequisite to a study of the *cultural* means of transmission: it will be argued that treatments of this problem must encompass a far broader range of materials than hitherto considered, including texts and their accompanying ritual traditions from both the Mesopotamian and the so-called 'Levantine' treaties, with the primary aim of ascertaining whether we may characterize the relation of these texts to Deuteronomy as one of *influence* or of *intertextuality* – terminological categories which I shall introduce in order to clarify the exact nature of the problem with more precision than that of previous studies.

1. Comparative Methodologies

The problem interpreters must face when seeking to establish this Neo-Assyrian context for Deuteronomy is, in my mind, a methodological one. This can be best demonstrated with recourse to the debate which has crystallized between three of the leading voices from this debate, Joshua Berman and, working together, Bernard Levinson and Jeffrey Stackert.

Joshua Berman first considered the relevance for the ancient Near Eastern treaty tradition in relation to the study of the book of Deuteronomy in his 2008 monograph, *Created Equal: How the Bible Broke with Ancient Political Thought*.[5] However contra the majority voice in Hebrew Bible scholarship, Berman rejected the relevance of the first millennium Neo-Assyrian treaties – and hence EST – in this context, instead preferring,

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von Harran'; *idem*, 'Die neuassyrischen Ursprünge der Kanonformel in Deuteronomium 13,1', in *Viele Wege zu dem Einen: Historische Bibelkritik – Die Vitalität der Glaubensüberlieferung in der Moderne*, ed. S. Beyerle, A. Graupner, and U. Rüterswörden (Biblisch-Theologische Studen, 121; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2012), 22-59 (pp. 35-36). Like the Tell Fakhariyah inscription, what the Sultantepe Akkadian texts can tell us about bilingualism in ancient Israel and Judah must be carefully problematized before any conclusions are drawn.

[4] For this helpful neologism see W.H. van Soldt, 'Babylonian Lexical, Religious and Literary Texts and Scribal Education at Ugarit and its Implications for the Alphabetic Literary Texts', in *Ugarit: Ein ostmediterranes Kulturzentrum im Alten Orient 1: Ugarit und seine altorientalische Umwelt*, ed. M. Dietrich and O. Lowretz (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995), 171-212 (p. 186).

[5] See J. Berman, *Created Equal: How the Bible Broke with Ancient Political Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 28-46.

as with G.E. Mendenhall's classic formulation,[6] the second-millennium Hittite treaty texts as providing the most pertinent parallels to biblical law. In bringing these much earlier materials into dialogue with biblical texts, nevertheless Berman failed to provide any explicit historical contextualization for this assumption, nor any account of how these literary connections might be explained. This came, albeit to a somewhat limited degree, in a later article, 'CTH 133 and the Hittite Provenance of Deuteronomy 13', that confirmed his earlier findings.[7] Working to undermine the similarities proposed between Deuteronomy 13 and EST – and so engaging implicitly upon an attack of the scholarship of Bernard Levinson in this context, whose previous work made this case in no uncertain terms[8] – Berman instead argued that far stronger parallels existed between the text of Deuteronomy 13 and CTH 133, a treaty between Arnuwanda I of Ḫatti and a group of colonists in the region of Kizzuwatna, identified as 'the men of Išmerika'.

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[6] In 1954, George Mendenhall published an article that documented his discovery of parallels between the covenants of the Hebrew Bible with Hittite vassal treaties; G.E. Mendenhall, 'Covenant Forms in Israelite Tradition', *BA* 17 (1954), 49-76. The dual decision which governed Mendenhall's analysis was (1) the dating of the Decalogue to the time of Moses on the basis of the signature state treaties of the contemporaneous Hittite Empire (1450-1200 BCE), which (2) he believed obtained only in the latter part of the second millennium. Thus Mendenhall was able to reconstruct an interpretation of the history of Israel in terms of an original 'pure' covenant mediated by Moses and represented by the Decalogue in Exodus 20 and covenantal ceremony of Joshua 24; the decay of this Mosaic ideal under and because of the monarchy; and finally a reform and return to the pure Mosaic tradition, so the book of Deuteronomy. However *pace* Mendenhall's assumption, this form was not confined only to treaties and instructions of the second millennium: state treaties in both Akkadian and Aramaic dating from the ninth to the seventh centuries BCE clearly show that similar treaty forms were also prevalent in the first millennium. Other attempts to show correspondence between the Mosaic covenant and the Hittite treaty form include W.L. Moran, 'Moses und der Bundesschluss am Sinai', *SZ* 170 (1961/62), 120-33, who sought to answer some of the objections to such a correspondence, such as the problem that there is no placing of the covenant document in a shrine – thus he points out that the document was traditionally contained in the Ark of the Covenant which was, if not a shrine, certainly an extremely holy object. Cf. also F.C. Fensham, 'Clauses of Protection in Hittite Treaties and in the Old Testament', *VT* 13 (1963), 133-143; and the detailed studies of W. Beyerlin, *Origins and History of the Oldest Sinaitic Traditions* (trans. S. Rudman; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965); K. Baltzer, *Das Bundesformular: sein Ursprung und seine Verwendung im Alten Testament* (WMANT, 4; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1960); and M. Rose, *Der Ausschliesslichkeitsanspruch Jahwes: Deuteronomische Schultheologie und die Volksfrömmigkeit in der späten Königszeit* (BWANT, 6.6; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1975), pp. 27-33.

[7] J. Berman, 'CTH 133 and the Hittite Provenance of Deuteronomy 13', *JBL* 130 [2011], 25-44.

[8] B.M. Levinson, '"But You Shall Surely Kill Him!": The Text-Critical and Neo-Assyrian Evidence for MT Deuteronomy 13:10', in *Bundesdokument und Gesetz: Studien zum Deuteronomium*, ed. G. Braulik (HBS, 4; Freiburg: Herder, 1995), 37-63; *idem*, 'Recovering the Lost Original Meaning of ולא תכסה עליו (Deuteronomy 13:9)', *JBL* 115 (1996), 601-620; *idem*, 'Textual Criticism, Assyriology, and the History of the Interpretation of Deuteronomy 13:7a as a Test Case in Method', *JBL* 120 (2001), 211-243; *idem*, 'The Neo-Assyrian Origins of the Canon Formula in Deuteronomy 13:1'; *idem*, 'Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty as the Source for the Canon Formula in Deuteronomy 13:1', *JAOS* 130 (2010), 337-347; *idem*, 'Die neuassyrischen Ursprünge der Kanonformel in Deuteronomium 13,1'.

In a 2012 article co-authored with Jeffrey Stackert, Levinson responded specifically to these claims.[9] The accusations levelled at Berman by Levinson and Stackert are essentially three-fold:

> 1) In his aim of undermining the similarities between Deuteronomy 13 and EST, Berman is alleged to have 'largely ignore[d] the parallels between EST and Deut. 28 that were critical in the history of scholarship for generating the hypothesis of a literary connection between Deuteronomy and Neo-Assyrian texts in the first place';[10]
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> 2) Considering issues of transmission and translation, Berman is accused of offering 'no plausible historical scenario, like that offered for Deuteronomy and EST, for Israelite or Judean contact with the 15th century Hittite text he compares Deut 13. Nor does he explain the means by which an Israelite or Judean could access the Hittite language';[11] and finally
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> 3) In their article Levinson and Stackert suggest that the motivations behind Berman's interpretative strategy in utilizing second millennium texts are less than academically rigorous, referencing a blog post in which Berman stressed the potential benefits of 'allowing your [religious] agenda to drive your scholarship' in response to a self-posed question concerning the issue of scholarship informed by the Jewish dating of Moses.[12] Though not explicitly, it is suggested that Berman's research is governed by a desire to defend the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy.

With these potentially damning indictments, Levinson and Stackert dispose of Berman's contribution to the debate – though their second point might just as judiciously be levelled at their own and others' formulations of the question. (While perhaps indeed more plausible than a Hittite connection, certainly it is not incontestable that EST would

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[9] B.M. Levinson and J. Stackert, 'Between the Covenant Code and Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty', *JAJ* 3 (2012), 123-140.
[10] Ibid, p. 134.
[11] Ibid, p. 135.
[12] Ibid, p. 135, linking http://kavvanah.wordpress.com/2012/01/08/interview-with-david-m-carr-current-state-of-biblical-scholarship.

have been available to Deuteronomy's authors, nor that they could access Akkadian any more than the Hittite language.[13])

Both sides of the debate were given voice in the 2013 edition of the *Journal of Ancient Judaism*, with Berman responding to these criticisms made by Levinson and Stackert, and Levinson and Stackert in return responding to Berman. It is in this scholarly back-and-forth that I see the dilemma faced by scholars dealing with these issues most cogently represented, primarily as a problem of methodology. It was Berman who initially brought this issue to the fore, by heavily drawing upon the work of two scholars concerned with method in the comparative approach: Meir Malul's *The Comparative Method in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Legal Studies*;[14] and David Carr's 'The Many Uses of Intertextuality in Biblical Studies'.[15] Before considering Berman's appropriation of these two texts in defence of his own methodological programme, it is worth briefly recounting the agenda forwarded by each work.

1.1. *The Comparative Method in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Legal Studies*

The programmatic aim which governs Malul's methodological treatise essentially concerns only one issue: 'How does one determine whether or not there is an historical (i.e. genetic) connection between a certain biblical passage or phenomenon and its ancient Near Eastern parallel?'[16] In asking this question Malul is essentially aligning himself with the dominant trend within comparative endeavours, and which he characterizes as the 'historical comparison' approach: 'geared to drawing comparisons between societies which belong to the same cultural context or the same "historic stream."'[17] Malul characterizes the chief preliminary issues which one must establish before any 'historical comparison' may be developed as 1) the nature of connection; 2) the type of connection; 3) the test for coincidence *versus* uniqueness in determining the

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[13] While Akkadian is at least an (East) Semitic language compared to Indo-European Hittite, it would not necessarily be any more difficult for an Israelite or Judaean scribe to learn the Hittite cuneiform script than the Cuneo-Akkadian – should the opportunity have arisen.

[14] M. Malul, *The Comparative Method in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Legal Studies* (AOAT, 227; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1990).

[15] D.M. Carr, 'The Many Uses of Intertextuality in Biblical Studies: Actual and Potential', in *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010*, ed. M. Nissinen (VTSup, 148; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 505-535.

[16] Malul, *The Comparative Method in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Legal Studies*, p. v.

[17] Ibid, p. 13. Malul distinguishes the 'historical comparison' approach from that of the 'typological comparison', in aim of the discernment of parallels 'between cultures which are far apart both geographically and chronologically; in such cases it is abundantly clear than no historical connection of any kind could exist between them. The similarities and parallelisms discovered between such historically unrelated cultures are then explained on the basis of the assumption of a universally underlying spiritual unity of man' (p. 14). As biblical studies have traditionally (although not universally) favoured the former methodological programme, Malul gears his major discussion to 'historical comparison' (p. 19).

connection; and 4) the corroboration for the *possibility* of the existence of connection; devoting a chapter to the discussion of each. Thus the nature of connection:

> The relationships discovered between two or more sources from the Old Testament and the ancient Near East may be of a varied nature. The contact could be on the literary/written level or in the reality level common to both cultures. That is to say: in cases of borrowing, and assuming for the sake of argument that that Old Testament is the borrower, the question would be whether the biblical author borrowed the said phenomenon from some literary source or any other *written* social, legal or religious tradition with which he was familiar, or whether he was immersed in the life of the ancient Near Eastern culture, was influenced by it, and incorporated part of his experience into his work – the Old Testament.[18]

Thus in order to establish the nature of connection between sources, the types of evidence one has at his or her disposal must be defined: does it consist of written sources which reflect a primarily written tradition, or is it a *reality itself* which is reflected in the written medium?[19] Once this has been established, the type of connection may be considered, usually reflecting one or more of the following possibilities, so 1) a *direct connection* (that is, of direct dependence of one source upon the other); 2) a *mediated connection* (e.g. the borrower did not borrow directly from the contributor, but from a further source which stems from the contributor); 3) a *common source* (so the sources both stem from a common source which may or may not be hypothetical, depending on the survival of the relevant textual evidence); and/or 4) a *common tradition* (thus two or more sources which exhibit similar traits may, after careful scrutiny, be attributed to a common tradition, be this literary, religious, legal, historiographical, and so on).[20] These possibilities need not be mutually exclusive.

Beyond exploration of the nature and type of connection under discussion, Malul argues that this connection must be tested for 'coincidence *versus* uniqueness', asking 'are the similarities and/or differences discovered between the sources/phenomena the result of parallel developments, independent of each other and, therefore, coincidental, or do they point to an original phenomenon unique to the sources under comparison?'[21] While Malul counters that a certain uniqueness must characterize such parallel phenomenon in this context,[22] essentially any historical connection needs further

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[18] Ibid, p. 87.
[19] Ibid, p. 89.
[20] Ibid, pp. 89-91.
[21] Ibid, p. 93.
[22] See e.g. his discussion of the similarities and differences between the biblical flood account (Gen. 6-9) and the Babylonian flood stories found, with various divergences, in the Epics of Atraḫasīs and Gilgamesh, in the context of other ancient flood narratives from various parts of the world, concluding that many elements common to both stories (e.g. the warning in advance of

corroboration, bringing us to Malul's final criterion, where he asks if it is 'possible to prove the existence for the creation of a historical connection between the two cultures under comparison?'[23] What this entails is a preliminary condition to prove that the possibility of direct or indirect contact is at least fairly probable. While of course corroboration by itself does not constitute proof of connection, taken together these four criteria are the methodological tests by which any comparative scholar must hold his evidence accountable. In this way, Malul's thesis is something of a corrective to those studies which Samuel Sandmel styled as falling foul of 'parallelomania';[24] conversely, Malul's newly defined criteria (or in his own terms, 'a good methodology'[25]) also provides a counter to studies, usually of apologetic bias, where differences between allegedly related texts are emphasized to the expense of similarities, so to maintain the essential originality – if not radical difference – of the Hebrew Bible to the rest of the ancient Near East.[26] Indeed, as Malul felicitously advances, 'differences are by nature an inevitable aspect of the problem, and had they not existed, no problem would have arisen in the first place, for then the sources would have been virtually identical'![27] Thus proper treatments of parallel phenomena must take into account all possible data, both differences and similarities, as well as the wider historical context, and study them with Malul's criterion of 'coincidence *versus* uniqueness' as a principal guide.

1.2. 'The Many Uses of Intertextuality in Biblical Studies'

At several places in this outline of Malul's discussion of the comparative method, it is apparent that the scholar has moved the debate beyond any mere hypostasizing of a linear genetic relationship between two or more written texts. Malul began his study by asking why 'should the comparative method not be perceived as a research tool for comparing any two or more phenomena from the general cultural milieu of the ancient

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the coming flood, storms, water, the destruction of life and possessions, the subsiding of the water, lucky survivors, some floating rescue device such as a boat, rescue on topographically high areas, and the repopulation of the world) are in fact essential elements in any story about a flood. Other elements however, such as the episode with the birds and the inclusion of the flood story in a chain of events from the creation of the universe onward, are unique to the biblical and Babylonian tales, and as such may be taken to constitute a genetic relationship between these particular flood traditions; ibid, pp. 89-91.

[23] Ibid, p. 99.

[24] S. Sandmel, 'Parallelomania', *JBL* 81 (1962), 1-13. Sandmel defined his neologism as 'that extravagance among scholars which first overdoes the supposed similarity in passages and then proceeds to describe source and derivation as if implying literary connection flowing in an inevitable or predetermined direction.'

[25] Malul, *The Comparative Method in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Legal Studies*, p. 159.

[26] On the Babel-Bible controversy, see J.H. Tigay, 'On Evaluating Claims of Literary Borrowing', in *The Tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*, ed. M.E. Cohen, D.C. Snell, and D.B. Weisberg (Bethesda: CDL Press, 1993), 250-255 (p. 250).

[27] Malul, *The Comparative Method in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Legal Studies*, p. 124-125.

Near East?',[28] and it is clear from this and several other statements, some of which are reproduced above, that Malul conceives the comparative task to be more than a merely literary endeavour, but to encompass *reality levels* as well (thus in his discussion of the 'social, legal or religious tradition'[29] which may have proven influential, and so opening up the possibility that ritual acts, for example, could be the source of parallel phenomenon). In so doing Malul, though himself not couching this move in any such terms, could be said to be pushing at the boundaries of what is in literary criticism commonly characterized as a study of 'influence', a term suggesting a principal of linear descent between textual realities, ultimately fostering the creation of a coherent literary history, and which arguably has characterized most scholarly interactions with the 'historical comparison' approach between biblical and ancient Near Eastern texts. This characterization is not particularly surprising given the historical context in which influence studies had their genesis, arising in conjunction with the mid-eighteenth century interest in originality and genius and embedding itself within humanistic discourse during the rise of nineteenth century historicism.[30] Certain types of biblical criticism also bear the marks of such origin: so the concern of early source critics to trace theological developments through the various literary stages which apparently exist in the Pentateuch and which in some way came be seen to parallel the evolution of the critics' own theological position, so Protestantism in nineteenth century Germany. The more 'primitive' documents, J and E, and the overly legalistic D and P, are ultimately superseded by the 'superior' theological ethic of the later Classical Prophets, just as the modern day Protestant reformers had transformed contemporary Christianity. This prevalent model, which related cultural and structural 'simplicity' to evolutionary priority, can also be seen at work in biblical studies in the development of various models concerned with 'primitive mentalities' or 'corporate personalities', based on the opposition of pre-logical/logical mentality.[31] Similarly, the move from source critical theories to form critical ones may be seen in the larger context of the shift from the nineteenth century theorizing to the more synchronic intellectual paradigms of the

[28] Ibid, p. 5.
[29] Ibid, p. 87.
[30] For a historical contextualization of influence studies in literary criticism, see J. Clayton and E. Rothstein, 'Figures in the Corpus: Theories of Influence and Intertextuality', in *Influence and Intertextuality in Literary History*, ed. J. Clayton and E. Rothstein (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), pp. 3-36 (pp. 4-5), and who trace the lineage of the concept to studies such as E. Young, *Conjectures on Original Composition* (originally published in 1759; see E. Young, 'Conjectures on Original Composition in a Letter to the Author of Sir Charles Grandison', in *Critical Theory Since Plato*, ed. H. Adams [San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971], 338-347) and W. Duff, *An Essay on Original Genius* (repr.; London: Routledge, 1994 [1767]).
[31] The primary example of such an approach is H. Wheeler Robinson, *Corporate Personality in Ancient Israel* (repr.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1981 [1935]).

twentieth century and their tendency to understand phenomena through the analysis of function and form: it is thus related to both structuralist and formalist models.

This shift was also felt in literary studies; indeed, the methodological (some would argue, ideological[32]) approach which we shall next explore is in some ways the marriage of (post)structural thought to that of Russian formalism: intertextuality. In biblical studies this term already carries with it some currency. The journal *Currents in Biblical Research*, and which, as the name suggests, characterizes itself as presenting overviews of contemporary and timely trends within the discipline, has devoted an article to the subject on three occasions within the last three years alone;[33] the genesis of intertextuality within biblical studies is usually attributed to Richard Hays' *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*,[34] and since then has become an increasingly popular flash word to characterize studies concerned most often with the use of the Old Testament in the New (so Hays), or with what previous studies had characterized as 'inner biblical exegesis',[35] the use of earlier biblical (Old Testament) texts in later (Old Testament) ones. However what scholars may mean when they describe a study as 'intertextual' varies according to practitioner. Thus two of the articles published by *Currents in Biblical Research* on subsequent years disagree over the best way to characterize the term, Geoffrey Miller distinguishing between two principal approaches within biblical studies, the 'reader-oriented' and the 'author-oriented',[36] concluding that only the 'reader-oriented' approach may truly be considered to be an 'authentic application' of the theory;[37] while David Yoon disagrees, distinguishing instead between intertextual studies proper, and 'inter-textual' studies, the apparent difference here indicated by an inserted hyphen.[38] In biblical studies then, intertextuality is at risk of becoming, in Ellen van Wolde's words, 'a modern literary theoretical coat of veneer over

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[32] As indeed might be inferred by the title of J. Barton, '*Déjà Lu*: Intertextuality, Method or Theory?' in *Reading Job Intertextually*, ed. K. Dell and W. Keynes (LHB/OTS, 574; London: T. & T. Clark, 2013), 1-16.

[33] See G.D. Miller, 'Intertextuality in Old Testament Research', *CBR* 9 (2011), 283-309; D.I. Yoon, 'The Ideological Inception of Intertextuality and its Dissonance in Current Biblical Studies', *CBR* 10 (2012), 58-76; and D.A. Shaw, 'Converted Imaginations? The Reception of Richard Hay's Intertextual Method', *CBR* 11 (2013), 234-245.

[34] R. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

[35] E.g. M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (New York: Clarendon, 1985).

[36] Here Miller is following a distinction previously made by John Vassar, *Recalling a Story Once Told: An Intertextual Reading of the Psalter and the Pentateuch* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2007), p. 10, who distinguishes between a 'reader-centered' and an 'author-centered' approach; the same basic distinction is also made by P.K. Tull, 'Intertextuality and the Hebrew Scriptures', *CR:BS* 8 (2000), 59-90, albeit as 'traditionalists' and 'radical intertextualists' (p. 62), terms which are best avoided due to their value-laden implications.

[37] Miller, 'Intertextuality in Old Testament Research', p. 305.

[38] Yoon, 'The Ideological Inception of Intertextuality and its Dissonance in Current Biblical Studies', p. 74.

the comparative approach'[39] – a term which spawns manifold usages, usually with little theoretical reflection, and which each propose themselves to be the true heirs of Julia Kristeva's neologism, negating loudly the value of other interpretations.

Perhaps the best way to proceed within this intellectual battleground is with caution, appropriating only a minimal definition of the term. Initially coined by Kristeva,[40] the term 'intertextuality' derived from her reading of the work of Mikhail Bakhtin, mediated by the texts of Jacques Derrida and Jacques Lacan – in some ways then, this first use of the phrase was itself an intertextual event.[41] Bakhtin's concept of dialogism shifted linguistic analysis from the grammatical to the individual utterance, always already caught up in the context of other utterances; the focus of this approach was thus not on the individual sign but the relation of the one sign to others. For Kristeva, moving in the field of literary criticism, the conception of the literary work could then be understood as 'an *intersection of textual surfaces* rather than a *point* (a fixed meaning)'[42] – a modification of Bakhtin's theory which might yield the following definition: 'any text is constructed of a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another.'[43] In practice what this means is that in any given text there might coexist several other texts, more or less visibly to the reader; the implications of this in methodological terms is less certain – Kristeva's term constitutes more of an ideological starting point than a theoretical treatise – but essentially tasks the critic with discerning these textual relations. And biblical scholars, along with other students of the humanities, have taken up this call to arms with varied and differing results.

Where the idea has been less appropriated is in the study of ancient Near Eastern texts,[44] in the opinion of Christopher Hays a fact borne out of the 'steep

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[39] E. van Wolde, 'Trendy Intertextuality?' in *Intertextuality in Biblical Writings: Essays in Honour of Bas van Iersel*, ed. S. Draisma (Kampen: Uitgeversmaatschappij J.H. Kok, 1989), 43-49 (p. 43).

[40] First in 'Word, Dialogue, and Novel' (dated to 1966), and then in 'The Bounded Text' (1967-1967), see J. Kristeva, *Desire in Language: A Semitic Approach to Literature and Art* (trans. T. Gora, A. Jardine, and L.S. Roudiez; New York: Columbia University Press, 1980).

[41] S. Stanford Friedman, 'Weavings: Intertextuality and the (Re)Birth of the Author', in *Influence and Intertextuality in Literary History*, ed. J. Clayton and E. Rothstein (Madison: The University Of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 146-180, characterizes this interaction instead as one of 'influence', noting the gender-inflection of Kristeva's self-authorizing strategy: to propose her own theories, she presents a 'reading' of a male precursor, in actuality a re-reading in which she screens the introduction of her own ideas under the guise of the male master's authority (p. 147).

[42] Kristeva, *Desire in Language*, p. 65 (italics in original).

[43] Ibid, p. 66.

[44] Although see e.g., W.W. Hallo, 'Proverbs Quoted in Epic', in *Lingering Over Words: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran*, ed. T. Abusch, J. Huehnergard, and P. Steinkeller (HSS, 37; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 201-217; E. Weissert, 'Creating a Political Climate: Literary Allusions to Enūma Eliš in Sennacherib's Account of the Battle of Halule', in *Assyrien im Wandel der Zeiten: XXXIX Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Heidelberg 6.-10.*

philological price of entry' Assyriologists face, the narrow training of which leaves scholars unprepared to grapple with broader intellectual issues such as theoretical models drawn from literary theory.[45] This is where Carr's methodological treatise comes into play, bringing in intertextuality as a potential tool for comparative treatments of ancient Near Eastern and biblical texts. What is crucial to recognize in Carr's exploration of 'The Many Uses of Intertextuality' is his cutting through two sides of the methodological debate. As was hinted at earlier in our recourse to what Miller termed 'reader-oriented' and 'author-oriented' and Yoon labelled 'intertextual' and 'inter-textual' approaches, the dispute, at least for scholars in such traditionally historically oriented subjects as biblical studies, has crystallized into two approximate schools of thought. Broadly speaking, these schools constitute those who follow Kristeva's initial use of the term 'intertextuality',[46] and those who are more influenced by the development of this in the writings of Roland Barthes. As outlined above, Kristeva coined intertextuality to describe the ways in which each text is composed of and its meaning dependent upon a tissue of other texts; in this way intertextuality need not necessarily shift the emphasis of study from the author to the reader. Indeed, Kristeva's own move from talking about intertextuality in preference of transposition – to 'transpose' being an active, transitive verb – necessarily indicates some interest in the positionalities of writing as opposed to the response of reading: to quote Christopher Hays, 'you can transpose a text… you cannot "intertextual" it.'[47] Practitioners of an intertextual approach that is informed by such a starting point maintain interest in authorial intentionality (conscious or otherwise) and as such provide readings that are not necessarily ancillary to a diachronic reading of the texts in question. On the other hand, some studies take as their starting point a reading informed by Barthes'

Juli 1992, ed. H. Waetzoldt and H. Hauptmann (HSAO, 6; Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1997), 191-202; and S.W. Holloway, *Aššur is King! Aššur is King! Religion in the Exercise of Power in the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (CHANE, 10; Leiden: Brill, 2002), for Assyriological forays into an intertextual approach.

[45] See C.B. Hays, 'Echoes of the Ancient Near East? Intertextuality and the Comparative Study of the Old Testament', in *The Word Leaps the Gap: Essays on Scripture and Theology in Honour of Richard B. Hays*, ed. J. Ross Wagner, C. Kavin Rowe, and A.K. Grieb (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 20-43 (p. 22), partially drawing on earlier remarks made by S.W. Holloway, 'Introduction', in *Orientalism, Assyriology, and the Bible* (HBM, 10; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2006), 1-43 (p. 33).

[46] Although how far any one 'intertextual' approach can truly be said to be more 'Kristevian' than any other is negligible given she herself moved away from this term in her later writings, preferring 'transposition' as a replacement for 'intertextuality', see J. Kristeva, *Revolution in Poetic Language* (trans. M. Waller; New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), pp. 59-60.

[47] Hays, 'Echoes of the Ancient Near East?', p. 32; here Hays is appropriating Robert Alter's felicitous phrase, 'you can allude to a text, but you can't "intertextual" it'; R. Alter, *The Pleasures of Reading in an Ideological Age* (New York: Simon Schuster, 1989), p. 122.

pronouncement of 'The Death of the Author',[48] a theory of intertextuality dependent entirely upon the reader as the organizing centre of interpretation.[49] Driven by this approach, the critic might advance an intertextual reading which exists, so to speak, *outside* of history: while the former approach is necessarily bounded by what we can know (or at least reasonably hypothesize) about the actual knowledge and intentions of the author, the latter is open to readings of texts which may have no historical linkage. The particular discursive universe that shapes the interpretative understanding of a text is entirely governed by its reader.[50]

For Carr, intertextuality might better be defined in contrast to studies that orient themselves among a more traditional study of literary influence. As we have seen, the study of influence in literature as arose in the eighteenth century was essentially concerned with establishing the extent to which a given author of a text was dependent upon a prior one, primarily in terms of a linear descent in a specifically *literary* canon, and assessing how the later author had innovated beyond his precursor, usually consciously in terms of adaptations or revisions; thus in arguing such cases it was helpful to be able to establish, perhaps by means of the later author's letters, essays, or other such biographic documentation, that said author knew of the earlier work which was said to have influenced him.[51] In contrast to this binary focus, for Carr intertextuality instead looks to the multiple levels of fragments of earlier texts of all kinds, themselves composed of fragments of texts of all kinds, in an infinitely complex network of associations.[52] In this context, 'text' might be understood to transcend the boundaries of written discourse, encompassing artistic images, popular ideas about taboos and superstitions, songs, etc.[53] Moreover, these allusions need not necessarily be conscious: as authors of any given period exist within certain patterns of convention

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[48] See R. Barthes, 'The Death of the Author', in *Image-Music-Text* (trans. S. Heath; New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 142-48.

[49] 'A text is made of multiple writing, drawn from many cultures and entering into mutual relations of dialogue, parody, contestation, but there is one place where this multiplicity is focused and that place is the reader, not, as was hitherto said, the author. The reader is the space on which all the quotations that make up a writing are inscribed without any of them being lost; a text's unity lies not in its origin but in its destination. Yet this destination cannot any longer be personal: the reader is without history, biography, psychology; he is simply that *someone* who holds together in a single field all the traces by which the written text is constituted'; ibid, p. 148 (italics in original).

[50] A crystallization of this approach in biblical studies may be found in G. Aichele and G.A. Phillips, 'Introduction: Exegesis, Eisegesis, Intergesis', *Semeia* 69/70 (1995), 7-18, who aim at challenging 'the tendency among certain biblical scholars to employ intertextuality… as a restrictive tool for nailing down authorial intent and literary influence' (p. 7).

[51] Carr, 'The Many Uses of Intertextuality in Biblical Studies', p. 510.

[52] Ibid, p. 511.

[53] As noted, this insight was pre-empted by Malul, *The Comparative Method in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Legal Studies*, at e.g. pp. 5, 87, etc.

they necessarily can only understand their literary task in relation to such patterns. While Carr does suggest that a model of writing in these terms might entail a de-emphasis of authorial mastery,[54] nonetheless his given articulation of intertextuality is still complicit with a diachronic approach: the author as Carr postulates him lives within a culturally determined (and so historically contextualized) discourse of texts and realities current at the particular moment of the inception of his literary work.

By extending the parameters of an intertextual analysis beyond the merely textual, Carr moves outside the limitations of literary canon – and in turn he suggests that here we might find a useful point of comparison for biblical scholars who attempt to reconstruct relationships between texts which preceded the canonical moment. As such, contemporary biblical scholars who encounter biblical texts as part of a canon of scripture, whatever historicist intentions they may hold, fall foul of anachronism: the scriptural canon is part of the intertextual world of the *modern reader*, and not of any given *ancient author* of a scriptural text.[55] Thus for Carr it is not enough to provide answers to the question of 'what is the closest analogy to this element in the biblical canon?',[56] but to ask questions from a far broader implied cultural record. And in the case of ancient Israel, the cultural record of which we have only limited access due to the paltry textual remains which have survived antiquity and the largely oral mode of discourse that would have characterized this primarily non-literate society, this record can only ever be implied. Scholars must 'reckon with a substantial range of exclusively oral intertexts to which we lack any direct access through our written sources.'[57] This is not to say that Carr encourages scholars to posit the existence of *specific* (hypothetic) intertexts, oral or written, to which the biblical author would have had access and from which the scholar might then build arguments and reconstructions; but nevertheless biblical scholars must be aware that such texts *may* have existed and cannot therefore be discounted – it is 'risky to assume that the Hebrew Bible contains the sum total of its own intertexts.'[58]

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[54] Carr, 'The Many Uses of Intertextuality in Biblical Studies', p. 512.
[55] Ibid, p. 517.
[56] Ibid, p. 519.
[57] Ibid, p. 521. Carr had discussed the primarily oral nature of ancient literacy in an earlier publication, see D.M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
[58] Carr, 'The Many Uses of Intertextuality in Biblical Studies', p. 522; Jeffrey Tigay has made a complementary argument at scholars of ancient Near Eastern texts: Tigay accuses Assyriologists and biblical scholars alike of treating Mesopotamian literature as if it too were somehow canonical, a semi-canon which in turn might then be compared to the biblical canon. Thus he compares the Hittite and Hurrian versions of the Epic of Gilgamesh to the 'standard' (canonical?) Akkadian version, noting that the peripheral versions differ markedly from their native counterparts: nonetheless, despite these divergences it cannot be denied that the Hittite and

1.3. Malul, Carr and the Hittite Question

In Malul and Carr's methodological formulations, Berman believes himself to have found support for the interpretative strategies that governed his decision to utilize Hittite texts over Neo-Assyrian ones in his comparative effort, and argued specifically against Levinson and Stackert. With regard to Malul he says:

> For Malul, the *possibility* of influence must be demonstrated in order to admit textual similarities. By contrast, Levinson and Stackert insist on empiric epigraphic proof of influence in order to consider any parallels between second-millennium and biblical materials.[59]

And Carr: by utilizing Carr's argument for broadening the range of texts scholars may consider as possible biblical sources, Berman argues that, despite the lack of any tangible vectors of transmission, Hittite traditions may have found their way to biblical authors 'via writings that we do not have in our possession.'[60]

Yet Berman's appropriation of these previous studies is rather selective: both studies actually treat the issues currently under consideration in the course of their argumentation – although Berman fails to address or engage with this – and both dismiss out of hand what Berman would like to maintain. Malul considers Harry Hoffner's treatment of the possibility of Hittite influence upon the Old Testament.[61] While Berman deems Malul's criteria satisfied only by the 'possibility' of influence, Malul himself states that '[t]he corroboration [of the 'possibility' of contact] by itself does not constitute *proof* of the existence of connection.'[62] And certainly in the case of a Hittite influence, for Malul even the possibility has not been adequately substantiated. Thus while he praises Hoffner for beginning his study with a detailed analysis of the possibility of the existence of a connection and flow of ideas from Hittite to biblical

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Hurrian texts are the Akkadian version's intended counterpart. But if we were to hold these texts to account in the same way that, for example, the Genesis flood account has been compared to that of Gilgamesh, we would necessarily have to conclude that the differences present in each render the texts as essentially unconnected: independent crystallizations of a popular tradition. This ignores that there were multiple versions of many ancient literary texts and we have no control over which versions have survived antiquity, with an unsettling implication: how can we know which version of a tradition an ancient author may have had access to? We cannot uncritically assume that it would parallel our own version, available to us only because of an accident of archaeological discovery. Thus Tigay notes that 'an alleged relationship between a Biblical text or motif cannot be refuted simply by pointing to differences between the two': it is only through circumstantial evidence – historical context – that corroboration might be sought; see Tigay, 'On Evaluating Claims of Literary Borrowing'.

[59] Berman, 'Historicism and Its Limits', p. 307 (italics in original).

[60] Ibid, p. 306.

[61] H.A. Hoffner, Jr., 'Some Contributions of Hittology to Old Testament Study', *Tyndale Bulletin* 20 (1969), 27-55.

[62] Malul, *The Comparative Method in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Legal Studies*, p. 111 (italics in original).

traditions, ultimately Malul deems the comparative efforts which Hoffner subsequently puts forward as insufficient according to his own methodological premise: Hoffner is able to provide 'no clear proof' for this connection, and so he 'goes on to draw comparisons between the biblical phenomena and Hittite parallels without duly notifying the reader about the rationale underlying his comparison.'[63] Ultimately Malul must ask:

> If the evidence of some sort of historical tie between the Anatolian Hittite culture and the culture of Canaan and the Old Testament is basically negative, what is the significance of drawing comparison between the two unrelated cultures?[64]

While the intertextual critics of the distinctly Barthesian slant whom we earlier encountered might disagree, as Berman is essentially making a case concerning *historical* method, by virtue of this his utilization of Malul's methodological criteria to support his own interpretative strategies is significantly undermined.[65]

Carr considers the connection between Deuteronomy and EST. Though Carr's case, as Berman recognizes, is primarily formulated in favour of considering a broader network of possibilities as biblical intertexts, contra Berman's account Carr nevertheless does not deny that in some instances the relationship between certain biblical and extra-biblical texts might indeed more accurately be described in relation to a traditional understanding of influence. Carr is arguing *for* intertextuality, but in doing so it is important to recognize that he is not arguing *against* the value of influence in particular cases. Thus he argues that there is a '*specific, datable*'[66] relationship between Deuteronomy and EST, due to elements in the biblical text which can only be explained as 'unassimilated borrowings from the extra-biblical source': in the case of Deuteronomy 13, Carr finds his proof in the reference to professional dream interpreters (Deut. 13:2, 4 // EST 13:1, 3), an occupation which was likely absent from pre-exilic Judah, but was comparatively common in Mesopotamia. In the case of Deuteronomy 28, the sequence of curses in Deut. 28:27-45 and its correspondence to the sequence of the pantheon in EST §§ 39-42, as originally posited by Moshe

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[63] Ibid, p. 61.
[64] Ibid.
[65] While Berman quotes Malul's statements concerning the plausibility that second millennium materials may have influenced first millennium biblical scribes as pertaining specifically to the Hittite question, this rather misrepresents Malul's original statements, which were concerned with second millennium texts from the ancient Near East in general – and most probably Akkadian texts given the larger nature of Malul's project – and not specifically with Hittite texts; see Berman, 'Historicism and Its Limits', p. 307, quoting Malul, *The Comparative Method in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Legal Studies*, p. 109.
[66] Carr, 'The Many Uses of Intertextuality in Biblical Studies', p. 528.

Weinfeld,[67] are determined to 'clinch the case'.[68] Thus Berman is only able to maintain that Carr's methodology supports his favouring of Hittite over Neo-Assyrian parallels (and specifically those provided by EST) for the interpretation of Deuteronomy by referencing only one side of Carr's argument: intertextuality as understood by Carr may indeed open the critic up to a larger possible corpus of texts from which to discern biblical parallels, but this does not deny the reality of influence in specific cases – and Carr deems EST and Deuteronomy to constitute such a case.[69]

2. Beyond the Impasse

By accepting the cogency of the methodological statements of Malul and Carr, do we as a corollary have to accept with Malul a negative assessment for the plausibility of Hittite parallels in Deuteronomy, or with Carr a positive assessment of the 'influence' of EST upon Deuteronomy's authors? The dissenting studies which have been produced on exactly these issues as recounted above suggest that no easy consensus may be reached, and it is worth noting that neither study provides a fully encompassing treatment of the question, but rather utilizes aspects from the debate as part of their larger projects to determine and define the methodological underpinnings of the comparative approach: in Malul's own words, a 'good methodology'. What is needed is a new study of this problem utilizing the 'good methodology', and so to take from Malul the importance of establishing plausible vectors of transmission *before* engaging in a comparative analysis; and from Carr the importance of widening these vectors to include both literary and non-literary materials from a far broader corpus than has hitherto been considered. What might such an attempt look like?

2.1. Transmission and Translation: A *Linguistic* Issue

Starting with Malul's criteria of plausibility, I argue that an essential prerequisite to any treatment of this field of problems has been overlooked: crucial to the hypothesis that Deuteronomy drew on material from EST is the need for Deuteronomy's authors to have been able to read and decipher cuneiform. Scholars who have posited such a relation have, at best, tended to formulate a rather vague case for bilingualism in ancient Israel

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[67] See M. Weinfeld, 'Traces of Assyrian Treaty Formulae in Deuteronomy', *Biblica* 46 (1965), 417-427; *idem*, 'Deuteronomy: The Present State of Inquiry', *JBL* 86 (1967), 249-262 (pp. 253-254); *idem, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), pp. 59-157; and *idem*, 'The Loyalty Oath in the Ancient Near East (Hebrew)', *Shnaton* 1 (1975), 51-88 (an English translation of this may be found in *UF* 8 [1976], 379-414).

[68] Carr, 'The Many Uses of Intertextuality in Biblical Studies', p. 528.

[69] For Levinson and Stackert's critic of Berman's method, which encompasses many more issues than the ones focused on here, see 'The Limitations of Resonance', esp. pp. 311-325.

and Judah; or at worse, have avoided the issue in entirety, as if Akkadian literacy among the pre-exilic scribes of Israel and Judah is an incontestable fact, despite the scant evidence in favour of such a conclusion. A case in point can once again be illustrated by the dispute between Berman and Levinson and Stackert. Assuming that the scribes of Deuteronomy *could not* have understood and translated EST, Berman accuses Levinson and Stackert of further complicating the issue by introducing a putative local language translation of EST, presumably in Aramaic, which mediated the text to the Deuteronomic scribes, and as such building a model of transmission based upon hypothetical documents[70] – rather ironic given that he himself goes on to imagine that Hittite parallels could have reached these scribes 'via [Hittite?] writings that we do not have in our possession.'[71] In response, and betraying the assumption that the scribes of Deuteronomy *could* have understood and translated an Akkadian text, Levinson and Stackert reject this criticism, arguing that they proposed no such mediating translation – the parallels they discern between Deuteronomy and EST stem directly from an Akkadian copy of the treaty that had been available to the biblical scribes.[72] But this is much more problematic than Levinson and Stackert allow for: the situations at Tell Tayinat, where a new exemplar of EST was recently discovered,[73] and Judah (and at Israel) is actually quite different. Tell Tayinat was a planned administrative complex in an Assyrian provincial territory, while Judah a vassal state.[74] The implications of the Tell Tayinat find have yet to be properly considered by any of the proponents of this theory.

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[70] '[F]or this text [e.g. the Tell Tayinat exemplar] to buttress claims of Judahite engagement with EST, the authors must still rely on speculation that neo-Assyrian vassals held copies of EST in their capitals, and that *these were translated into their vernacular languages*'; Berman, 'Historicism and Its Limits', p. 306 (my italics).

[71] Ibid, p. 306.

[72] Levinson and Stackert, 'The Limitations of Resonance', p. 321. This same point of contention may also be discerned in the development of H.-U. Steymans' contributions, where we can actually see his move from the idea of an Akkadian – Aramaic – Hebrew process of transmission, with Aramaic translations of EST being sent to the peripheral areas under Neo-Assyrian rule (H.-U. Steymans, *Deuteronomium 28 und die adê zur Thronfolgeregelung Asarhaddons: Segen und Fluch im Alten Orient und in Israel* (OBO, 145; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1995), pp. 284-312), to a direct Akkadian – Hebrew model (see the analysis and conclusions in *idem*, 'Die neuassyrische Vertragsrhetorik der "Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon" und das Deuteronomium', in *Das Deuteronomium*, ed. G. Braulik (ÖBS, 23; Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2003), 89-152), positing that the copy of EST found at Tell Tayinat somehow proves that a copy of the text would also have been sent to Judah (*idem*, 'Deuteronomy 28 and Tell Tayinat', *Verbum et Ecclesia* 34 (2013), Art. #870).

[73] See J. Lauinger, 'Some Preliminary Thoughts on the Tablet Collection in Building XVI from Tell Tayinat', *CSMS* 6 (2011), 5-14; and *idem*, 'Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty at Tell Tayinat: Text and Commentary', *JCS* 64 (2012), 87-123.

[74] Tiglath Pileser III lists Ahaz among the kings who delivered tribute; while 2 Kgs. 16:7 claims that Ahaz sent a bribe to Assyria to win help against the Syro-Ephraimite coalition. Nathan Mastnjak has suggested that an indication that Ahaz's submission to Tiglath Pileser III should be understood in terms of a 'covenant' is suggested by Ezekiel 17, where this term is used to describe Judah's later submission to the Neo-Babylonian Empire; N. Mastnjak, 'Judah's Covenant

Thus a key part of my doctoral thesis will be to reconstruct the scribal culture of the biblical world, with specific attention paid to the question of bilingualism. As prior scholars who have attempted such a reconstruction have done so often on the basis of mapping continuity from the very early pre-Israelite literacy found in Bronze Age Canaan as depicted in the Amarna Letters, to the later traditions of the Israelite and Judahite states in the Iron Age – and so to hypothesize high levels of literacy from an early period[75] – I will start by considering the situation in this period from before the rise of the Israelite state. The crucial issue here then, will be the continuity of tradition beyond the Bronze Age collapse and into Iron I and II. Thus I will start by asking if the *Hebrew* scribes who wrote Deuteronomy could have read and translated a *cuneiform, Akkadian* document as complex and literary as EST. After this preliminary study, a second question will be posed: would a version of EST, either in original Akkadian or an Aramaic or Hebrew translation according to linguistic necessity, have been available to these scribes? In this way I will provide a full treatment of the *plausibility* for a connection between the documents, encompassing both issues of linguistic transmission and the historical relatedness of the texts in question.

2.2. Mesopotamian or Levantine? A *Cultural* Question

It is only after dealing with these preliminary issues that a comparative analysis can be advanced. However it is proposed to widen the field of analysis possibilities beyond that of just the Neo-Assyrian (so Weinfeld, Levinson, Stackert, *et al*.) or Hittite treaties (Mendenhall, Berman, etc.). Aramaic epigraphs from the first millennium, both treaties and dedicatory inscriptions, also present a tradition of curses. Although there have been several important studies which examine these Aramaic curses in comparison to curses from the prophetic corpus of the Hebrew Bible,[76] few studies have considered these

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with Assyria in Isaiah 28', *VT* 64 (2014), 465-483 (p. 481 n. 26). As the title of Mastnjak's article suggests, the author finds an additional reference to a Judaean covenant with Assyria in Isa. 28:15-18, where the 'covenant of death' is usually supposed to refer to Judah's later anti-Assyrian alliance with Egypt; Mastnjak dates this pericope earlier, arguing that Judah was a loyal vassal of Neo-Assyria.

[75] See e.g. A. Lemaire, *Les écoles et la formation de la Bible dans l'ancien Israël* (OBO, 39; Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1981); and *idem*, 'Schools and Literacy in Ancient Israel and Early Judaism', in *The Blackwell Companion to the Hebrew Bible*, ed. L. Perdue (trans. A. Niang; Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 207-212.

[76] See e.g. F.C. Fensham, 'Common Trends in Curses of the Near Eastern Treaties and *KUDURRU*-inscriptions Compared with Maledictions of Amos and Isaiah', *ZAW* 75 (1963), 155-175; D.R. Hillers, *Treaty-Curses and the Old Testament Prophets* (Biblica et Orientalia, 16; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1964); K.J. Cathcart, *Nahum in the Light of Northwest Semitic* (Biblica et Orientalia, 26; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1973), esp. pp. 110, 131, 138, 140, 149-150; and *idem*, 'Treaty-Curses and the Book of Nahum', *CBQ* 34 (1973), 179-187. On the Northwest Semitic curse tradition more generally see K.J. Cathcart, 'The Curses in Old Aramaic Inscriptions', in *Targumic and Cognate Studies: Essays in Honour of Martin McNamara*, ed. K.J. Cathcart and M.

texts when dealing with the biblical legal material, despite the obvious parallels in content. Arguably this is because unlike EST the less precisely datable Aramaic curses as found in the inscriptions of Sefire, Tell Fakhariyah, and Bûkan, provide biblical scholars with no Archimedean seventh century date with which to pin down Deuteronomy; or perhaps due to the initial observations of Delbert Hillers concerning these Aramaic curses, who supposed these to be representative of a little attested but once widespread tradition of Levantine curses, as distinct from the Mesopotamian tradition represented by EST and other Neo-Assyrian treaties, and aligning the curses found in the book of Leviticus[77] with this former (Levantine) tradition, and Deuteronomy with the latter (Mesopotamian) one.[78] On the one hand, this has proven a pervasive interpretation, to the extent that several of the commentators of the Tell Fakhariyah inscription have reconstructed a complex process of composition for that inscription, based on this distinction and dividing between parts which stem from an apparently West Semitic hand from those of an East Semitic origin.[79] By accepting Hillers' proposal, the relevance

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Maher (Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1996), 140-152; and *idem*, 'Offences and Curses in Northwest Semitic Inscriptions', in *Ritual, Religion and Reason: Studies in the Ancient World in Honour of Paolo Xella*, ed. C. Lorentz *et al*. (AOAT, 404; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2013), 243-255.

[77] E.g. Leviticus 26.

[78] Hillers, *Treaty-Curses and the Old Testament Prophets*, chpt. 3, 'Two Biblical Lists of Curses: Deuteronomy 28 and Leviticus 26'. The distinction between 'East' and 'West' Semitic curses originally goes back to observations made by S. Gervitz on the differences between the formulation of curses in Akkadian and Hebrew, see S. Gervitz, 'Curse Motifs in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East' (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1959); *idem*, 'West Semitic Curses and the Problem of the Origins of Hebrew Law', *VT* 59 (1961), 137-158; and idem, 'Curse', in *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, 4 vols., ed. G.A. Buttrick (Nashville: Abingdon, 1962), 1: 749-750. Gervitz was followed in this distinction by W. Schottroff, *Der altisraelitische Fluchspruch* (WMANT, 30; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neuckirchener, 1969), pp. 25-68, who developed these observations to argue that Israel possessed a unique curse tradition that reflected their nomadic origins. This division between East and West Semitic curses has become something of a truism in the literature, but it is worth noting that the primary concern that drove both Gervitz and Schottroff was to stress the uniqueness of the biblical tradition in the face of an ancient Near Eastern context. On the Babel-Bible controversy, see fn. 26, above.

[79] The apparently double aspect of the Tell Fakhariyah inscription was noted already in the *editio princeps* (A. Abou-Assaf, P. Bordreuil, A.R. Millard, *La Statue de Tell Fekherye et son inscription bilingue assyro-arameénne* [Paris: A.D.P.F., 1982], p. 68, following their original statement in P. Bordreuil, A.R. Millard, A. Abou-Assaf, 'La Statue de Tell Fekheryé: la première inscription bilingue assyro-araméenne', *CRAI* 125 [1981], 640-655 [p. 647]), and most subsequent commentators have also pointed out the apparently composite character of the text, see J.C. Greenfield and A. Shaffer, 'Reflections on the Assyrian-Aramaic Bilingual from Tell Fakhariyeh', *Maarav* 3 (1982), 137-175 (p. 158); S.A. Kaufman, 'Reflections on the Assyrian-Aramaic Bilingual from Tell Fakhariyeh', *Maarav* 3 (1982), 137-175 (p. 158); A.R. Millard and P. Bordreuil, 'A Statue from Syria with Assyrian and Aramaic Inscriptions', *BA* 42 (1982), 135-141 (p. 137); J.C. Greenfield and A. Shaffer, 'Notes on the Akkadian-Aramaic Bilingual Statue from Tell-Fekherye', *Iraq* 45 (1983), 109-116 (p. 109); E. Peuch, 'Review of *La Statue de Tell Fekherye et son inscription bilingue assyro-arameénne*, by A. Abou-Assaf, P. Bordreuil, A.R. Millard', *RB* 90 (1983), 594-596 (p. 594); F.M. Fales, 'La double bilinguisme de la statue de Tell Fekherye', *Syria* 3 (1985), 233-250; J.C. Greenfield and A. Shaffer, 'Notes on the Curse Formulae of the Tell Fekherye Inscription', *RB* 92 (1985), 47-59 (p. 49); V. Sasson, 'The Aramaic Text of the Tell Fakhiryah Assyrian-Aramaic Bilingual Inscription', *ZAW* 97 (1985), 86-103 (p. 87); E. Lipiński, 'The Bilingual Inscription from

of these 'Levantine' curses for interpreting the curses that in Deuteronomy are distinctly 'Mesopotamian' in flavour is a somewhat negligible endeavour. However on the other hand the principal interpretative strategy among a large body of the interpreters of the Sefire inscriptions sees these read in light of that very 'Mesopotamian' tradition, playing up the similarities found therein to Neo-Assyrian treaties.[80] Thus there seems to be indecision among critics as to whether these Aramaic curse texts should be considered representative of a native tradition, or if they are merely a West Semitic appropriation of an East Semitic formulation – it seems that there is no current consensus as to how these Aramaic texts should be understood.

Despite Hillers' initial proposal, it is apparent that striking parallels do exist between the Aramaic curses and Deuteronomy, and between the Aramaic curses and EST. This suggests that the nature of the tradition itself needs reconsidering. I will explore the extant Aramaic curses and the question of the West Semitic 'Levantine' origins of this tradition, separable from the East Semitic (Mesopotamian) Akkadian tradition. Did an Aramaic tradition of curses and, related to this, of treaty formation, circulate in the Levant? And if so, do the curses present in Deuteronomy present a stronger affinity with Mesopotamian or Levantine cultural texts?

In asking this latter question, a comparison of all available traditions will be undertaken. However, appropriating Carr's insights for the comparative endeavour, I will ask more from our texts than merely the reconstruction of genetic relationships understood in linear and binary terms. Thus the possibility that parallels, rather than indicating a process of purely *literary* transmission, actually indicate a relation in levels of *reality* will be considered. It is noteworthy in this context that the Sefire text incorporates a ritual performance into its description of the treaty's ratification,

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Tell Fekherye', in *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomasticons II* (OLA, 57; Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Department Oriëntalistiek Leuven, 1994), 15-82 (p. 33).

[80] This can be seen in the debate between scholars who interpret the Sefire treaties as 'vassal treaties' and those who consider them to be 'parity treaties' – and so to take the Mesopotamian treaty tradition as the *ultima ratio* by which these Aramaic texts should be judged. On the interpretation of the Sefire inscriptions as vassal treaties, see for example A. Dupont-Sommer and J. Starcky, 'Une inscription araméenne inédite de Sfiré', *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 13 (1956), 23-41 (pp. 36-38); J.A. Fitzmyer, 'The Aramaic Suzerainty Treaty from Sefire in the Museum of Beirut', *CBQ* 20 (1958), 444-476; V. Korošec, 'Quelques traités de l'époque néo-assyrienne', *Romanitas* 3 (1961), 261-277; D.J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant: A Study in Form in the Ancient Oriental Documents and in the Old Testament* (Analecta Biblica, 21; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1963), pp. 62-67; *idem*, *Treaty and Covenant: A Study in Form in the Ancient Oriental Documents and in the Old Testament* (rev. 2nd ed.; Analecta Biblica, 21A; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1978), pp. 99-105; J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire* (1st ed.; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1967), pp. 162-165; and *idem*, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire* (2nd ed.; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1995), pp. 121-124. Considering the inscriptions to be parity treaties are M. Noth, 'Der historische Hintergrund der Inschriften von Sefire', *ZDPV* 77 (1961), 118-172 (pp. 138-145); and H. Donner and W. Röllig, *KAI* II, p. 271.

including the burning of wax figurines, the breaking of weapons, and the cutting of animals into two parts[81] – particularly instructive given that the chapter which immediately proceeds the body of curses in Deuteronomy 28, chpt. 27, seems also to imply a context of ritual oath performance. Could ritual performance provide an alternative model to that provided by the transcription or copying of literary texts for the transmission of these curses? In looking for the source of parallel phenomena beyond the merely literary, I will be attempting an analysis that has been informed by Carr's distinction between *intertextuality* and *influence*. By this it is not implied to understand the relationship between Deuteronomy and these texts as purely intertextual – as we saw in our brief review of Carr's formulation of the problem, the appropriation of the term 'intertextuality' from literary theory need not necessarily negate the value of 'influence' to describe some textual relationships, and Carr himself deemed the case of Deuteronomy and EST to be a good example of this. Thus 'intertextual' will be used to describe the complex network of associations which exist between our sources, and which the author was largely unaware of as he unconsciously drew from traditional discourse in the construction of his text, be this found in the levels of literature or reality. Ultimately the process of transmission from this tradition will be largely unreconstructable, and so rather than attempting to provide insights into the dating or process of composition of Deuteronomy, as previous studies who have compared the biblical book to EST has so often attempted, I will have a more modest aim: the reconstruction not of the date or process of composition behind Deuteronomy, but of the traditions behind and therefore the cultural context of Deuteronomy's authors. Anything more than this in terms of identifying actual literary precursors goes beyond that which is determinable from the bounds of what shall be characterized here as an *intertextual* relationship between texts.

Alternatively, *influence* will be reserved to describe such cases where this process of transmission *is* reconstructable, in the form of evidence of parallels which may *only* be explained by a theory of the *specific, datable* influence of one text upon another. Only in such cases may we then posit insights into the dating and composition of the book of Deuteronomy. Thus this study will approach our texts with a specific question: can the relationship between the observable parallel phenomena here found be best described in terms of *intertextuality* – or *influence*? By introducing these terminological categories into the debate, we can be more precise than ever before when characterizing the relationships between apparently related texts. In this way, my thesis study hopes to provide a new access to an old problem, the nature of the parallels

[81] Sefire 1A:3b-40.

between Deuteronomy and the ancient Near Eastern treaty tradition, and moreover to provide something of a counter to previous studies which have sought correspondences between biblical and Akkadian texts, heedless of the implications that this may bear upon the linguistic and cultural situation of the biblical authors in question.

Abbreviations

AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
CBQ	*Catholic Bible Quarterly*
CBR	*Currents in Biblical Research*
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CSMS	*Journal of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies*
CRAI	*Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*
CR:BS	*Currents in Research: Biblical Studies*
HSAO	Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
JAJ	*Journal of Ancient Judaism*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
KAI	H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* (5th rev. ed.; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002)
LHB/OTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
ÖBS	Österreichische Biblische Studien
RB	*Révue Biblique*

SZ	*Stimmen der Zeit*
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSupp	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
ZABR	*Zeitschrift für Altorientlische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*

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בטח:

Review of Scholarly Literature and Scope for Further Research in the Psalms

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בטח is a significant root in the Hebrew Bible, occurring 182 times (118 times in verb form). The Psalter enjoys pride of place with 52 occurrences (almost 29% of all occurrences and over 38% of verb occurrences), followed by Isaiah, Jeremiah, Proverbs, Ezekiel, Job and 2 Kings (with 26, 23, 18, 14, 10, and 10 occurrences respectively). The remaining instances are scattered over several other books of the HB.[1] The high number of occurrences of the root בטח in the Psalter and its relative absence from the Pentateuch and Historical Books in comparison with prophetic and worship texts has been observed, but a comprehensive study of this root at the scale of the Psalter has not yet been completed.

Before the value of such a study is considered, scholarly literature on this term will be reviewed. Data has been collected from dictionaries, lexica, Old Testament theologies, monographs, articles and commentaries, and is therefore somewhat disparate. It has been organized as follows: etymology, meaning, Septuagint translation, synonymy, historical development and theological dimensions.

Review of Scholarly Literature

בטח appears to have an uncomplicated meaning: trust. What is more, at first glance, the sense of בטח does not appear to be the object of explicit scholarly disagreement. However, a survey of the issues raised in examining the suggested definitions and history of development for בטח and how they are informed by other factors such as synonymy and the witness of ancient versions reveals that consensus on its meaning remains elusive. In fact, scholarly *approaches* to defining בטח differ widely, yielding contradictory and incomplete pictures of this term.

[1] Judges (7), Deuteronomy (4), Leviticus (3), Hosea (2), Micah (2), Zephaniah (2), Genesis (1), 1 Samuel (1), 1 Kings (1), 1 Chronicles (1), 2 Chronicles (1), Ecclesiastes (1), Amos (1), Habakkuk (1) and Zechariah (1).

Etymology

The etymology of the root בטח is contested. Paucity of evidence from cognate languages is noted in several resources,[2] amounting to the presence of the root in the Amarna Letters,[3] in a sixth century Phoenician letter,[4] as well as in personal names in the Elephantine Papyri[5] and one of the Lachish ostraca.[6] The bulk of the discussion therefore revolves around the Arabic, with three proposed original meanings: (1) "to be reliable" from "to be taut, firm" based on the Arabic *bāṭeḥ* (pregnant mare)[7]; (2) "to throw oneself or

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[2] Erhard Gerstenberger, "בטח *bṭḥ* to trust," in *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament*, vol. 1, trans. *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament* by Mark E. Biddle, eds. Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1997), 226-227, notes the absence of the term in Aramaic "apart from a few borrowings from the Hebrew" and mentions its Akkadian equivalents (the roots *rḥṣ/rahúāṣu* and *tkl/takālu*). Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, M. E. J. Richardson, and Johann Jakob Stamm, eds., *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, trans. Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 120, specify that the root is attested only in Jewish Aramaic of the Babylonian tradition based on Emil G. Kraeling, ed., *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1953), 187, who states concerning Papyrus 5, Plate XIX, 4, line 17, where the spelling of the personal name מבטחיה is changed to מפטח, that it "suggests that the writers did not know Hebrew […], and that the root בטח did not exist in Aramaic."

[3] William L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 233–234: "You are the Sun who comes forth over me, and a brazen wall set up for him, and because of the powerful arm: *nu-uḫ-ti* (I am at rest): *ba-ṭì-i-ti* (I am confident). I indeed said to the Sun, the father of the king, my lord, 'When shall I see the face of the king, my lord?'" (EA 147:56). However, Alfred Jepsen, *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, vol. 2, trans. *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* by John T. Willis, eds. G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, Heinz-Josef Fabry (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1977), 88, states that this word has not been absolutely established to be a cognate of the Hebrew root בטח.

[4] Herbert Donner and Wolfgang Röllig, *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inscriften*, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1971), 12, Band I: Texte, 12 (paragraph 50, line 5). As noted by Gerstenberger, *TLOT*, 226-227, the context in which בטח appears in the letter is damaged and not completely clear; it may mean "security, guarantee."

[5] Several phrases that include a personal name derived from the root בטח are cited in Arthur Cowley, ed., *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), 295: מבטח ברת מחסה in 8^{36} (460 BC); מבטחיה pr. n. in $22^{25\ 68,\ 4}$ (419 BC) and מבטחיה ברת מחסיה in 8^{2} (460 BC); $9^{3.7.10.12}$ (460 BC); $14^{2.14}$ (441 BC) 20^{3} (420 BC) $25^{3.7}$ (416 BC) $28^{3.5.6}$ (411 BC) and also in $15^{3.32}$ as מפטיח, which is taken as equivalent of מבטחיה, see quote from Kraeling in footnote 2.

[6] The root appears in the first Lachish letter in a personal name as well: מבטחיהו בן ירמיהו, see Sandra Landis Gogel, *A Grammar of Epigraphic Hebrew*, vol. 23 SBL Resources for Biblical Study, ed. Marvin A. Sweeney (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1998), 415.

[7] *HALOT*, 120.

one's cares on any one" from "to throw one down on his back/face" based on the Arabic *baṭaḥa* (to thrown down)[8]; (3) "self-confidence" from "strength, greatness" based on the Arabic *batiʿa* (to be strong).[9] Many resources do not discuss the etymological debate surrounding בטח; basic meanings (1) and (2) constitute the standard options, one of which is usually put forward without justification.[10] This lack of scholarly consensus on either attempt to trace בטח to a "physical-concrete root meaning" is highlighted in *TLOT*.[11]

The validity of basic meanings (1) and (2) has been disputed, while basic meaning (3) has not been widely endorsed. Basic meaning (1), "to be taut, firm," proposed by Koehler, has been criticized for its subjectivity in making tautness or firmness the key notion retained in בטח from the pregnant mare and the melons (אבטיח) in Numbers 11:5 (which could be argued to derive from the same root).[12] Indeed, other notions such as "becoming

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[8] E. Kautzsch, ed., *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, trans. *Lexicon Manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum in Veteris Testamenti Libros* by A. E. Cowley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), 112, followed by Francis Brown, Samuel Rolles Driver, and Charles Augustus Briggs, eds. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), 105, who add "to lie extended on the ground" based on the Arabic اِنْـبَطَحَ (*'inbaṭaḥa*) to further substantiate this meaning.

[9] Chaim Rabin, "Three Hebrew Terms from the Realm of Social Psychology" in *Supplement to Vetus Testamentum*, vol. 16 (1967), 225-228. Gerstenberger, *TLOT*, 227, seems to be the only scholar to mention potential basic meaning (3) based on the article by Rabin.

[10] *HALOT*, 120, clearly chooses (1); BDB, 105, clearly chooses (2); *Gesenius*, 112, suggests perhaps (2) and John N. Oswalt, "בָּטַח" in *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*, ed. R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer Jr., and Bruce K. Waltke (Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1999), 101, cautiously mentions (1). Only Gerstenberger, *TLOT,* 227, mentions all three possible original meanings (without indicating a choice). Jepsen, *TDOT*, 88-89, the only one to discuss his choice, criticizes (1) without completely casting it aside, but clearly prefers (2). He argues that basic meaning (2) may be confirmed by the use of the verbs שׁכב (to lie down, to take rest) and רבץ (to lie down) together with לבטח (in safety) in Job 11:18, Hosea 2:20 and Isaiah 14:30 (89).

Aside from some lexical aids, the etymology of בטח is seldom discussed, though it is sometimes mentioned in passing, e.g., Pirim Hugger, *Jahwe meine Zuflucht: Gehalt und Theologie des 91. Psalms* (Münsterschwarzach: Vier Tuerme, 1971), 127, footnote 80.

[11] Gerstenberger, *TLOT*, 226.

[12] That the word used for melons in Numbers 11:5 is from the same root as בטח (trust) is debatable. This reference was not included in the total number of occurrences referenced in the introduction as per Gerstenberger, *TLOT*, 226ff., and others.

round" or "growing" could equally be inferred.[13] Basic meaning (2), "to throw down," has also been met with criticism because "the Arabic active verb, as applied to humans, always implies force" and the examples given to substantiate this option are connected to violence, which would not align with the idea originally proposed by Heinrich Fleischer that the link may have been "to stretch out without a care in the world," paralleled by the French phrase *se reposer sur quelqu'un.*[14]

Chaim Rabin's proposal for basic meaning (3), "to be strong," seems more intricate than the previous two because it requires more explanatory steps. Attempting to trace the full development of בטח from the supposed original meaning "to be strong," Rabin first summarizes the meaning of several words based on the corresponding Arabic root: "strongly built," "tall," and "fat," and hypothesizes that the general sense of strength and size evolved to that of self-reliance.[15] Next, he mentions the issue of opposite prepositions taken by the Arabic and Hebrew terms: While the Arabic verb takes *'alā* (against), the Hebrew takes ב (with, in), yielding "to be self-reliant with the help of," which he compares with האמין ב, "to feel safe or certain with the help of" and therefore "to have faith in."[16] Finally, regarding inconsistencies in spelling between the proposed Arabic root and בטח, Rabin argues that "the non-emphatic *t* in Arabic can be accounted for by the numerous

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[13] Jepsen, *TDOT*, 88. Hugger, *Jahwe*, 127, also criticizes this option: "Der Analogiebeweis einer solch möglichen Entwicklung aus anderen Spachen ist überflüssig." He prefers basic meaning (2), which he postulates was spiritualized in Hebrew as סָמַךְ was also (from "to support oneself on" to "to trust in").

[14] See Rabin, "Three Hebrew Terms," 225-26, footnote 3, where he comments on the examples given by Dozy, *Supplément I*, 93. Rabin reports that Fleischer's idea appeared in the eleventh edition of Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch* (1890) from handwritten notes in the margin of his copy, which were then quoted in BDB.

[15] Rabin, "Three Hebrew Terms," 226-7.

[16] Rabin, "Three Hebrew Terms," 227.

cases where the opposition emphatic/non-emphatic is neutralized in the neighbourhood of a labial. Interchange between final *ḥ* and ʿ occurs also in other roots."[17]

Perhaps the more complex explanations required for basic meaning (3) account for the fact that it has not been as readily adopted as basic meanings (1) and (2) in lexical aids and other resources.[18] Thus the etymology of בטח remains undetermined,[19] a riddle still unanswered and unlikely to be solved unless new evidence is discovered.

Meaning

A disparity of meaning can be observed in the various definitions offered for בטח. As is to be expected, definitions of the verb בטח vary in precision.[20] They may be as simple and

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[17] Rabin, "Three Hebrew Terms," 227. He also discusses the question of homonymous roots and mentions a potential connection by semantic processes at early stages, nevertheless noting the difficulty of finding a way to connect all three (or potentially four) meanings, 227-28.

[18] Another original meaning has been proposed, though not explicitly, by Artur Weiser "πιστεύω, πίστις, πιστός, πιστόω, ἄπιστος, ἀπιστέω, ἀπιστία, ὀλιγόπιστος, ὀλιγοπιστα," in vol. 6, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament,* trans. *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament,* eds. Gerhard Kittel, Geoffrey W. Bromiley, and Gerhard Friedrich (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964), 191, based on the wording of the older passage Judges 18:7, 27, where the "basic meaning is still clearly discernible in the abs. use" and בטח would therefore simply mean "to be in a state of security." Weiser seems to be asserting that there was a shift in meaning from an objective state to a subjective feeling so that בטח came to mean "to feel secure on the basis of" or "to ground one's security on." Weiser is alone in making this assertion, although others also refer to derivatives of בטח in their analysis of the root.

[19] The meaning given to the second בטח root reflects the choice made regarding the original meaning of the first root. Thus, Gesenius, 112, the BDB, 105, and *TWOT*, 102, indicate a second בטח root for which they do not give the meaning but from which אבטיח (watermelon) is supposed to be derived (unique occurrence in Num 11:5). In contrast, Allan M. Harman, "בָּטַח (bāṭaḥ II)," in *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology & Exegesis*, vol. 1, ed. Willem VanGemeren (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1997), 649, David J. Clines, ed., *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, vol. 2 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 1995), 141 and *HALOT*, 120, assume a second בטח root "to fall down/lie down/to fall to (or on) the ground" which is associated with Jeremiah 12:5 and Proverbs 14:16 (*TLOT* and *HALOT*) as well as Job 12:6 (*HALOT*). Gerstenberger, *TLOT*, 227, points out that the meaning "to fall to the ground" postulated for Jeremiah 12:5 and Proverbs 14:16, may be taken as the basic meaning, or as a second בטח root.

[20] Only definitions given to the verb forms of the root בטח will be discussed here, since they are more prevalent than its derivatives, accounting for 118 of 182, or about 65% of all occurrences, and since the definitions given to substantives of the root show uniformity across resources. Moreover, only the meanings of Qal verb forms of בטח will be addressed, since the Hiphil counts only 5 instances (against 113 for the Qal).

general as "trust,"[21] "trust, rely on"[22] or "trust, have confidence/be confident."[23] Yet other definitions bring in further shades of meaning: "trust; be full of confidence, feel safe,"[24] "trust in, feel safe, be confident, careless,"[25] or "in einem Gefühl der Sicherheit sein, in ungestörter Sorglosigkeit leben."[26] These fuller definitions feature an understanding of בטח pointing to the subjective realm of feelings. This sense may be clearly drawn out in accompanying comments and explanations, yet variation in the degree of emphasis on the subjectivity inherent in בטח can be seen as well. On the one hand, assertions can be moderate: "Although *bāṭaḥ* can mean simply 'believe' (i.e. Ps. 78.22), in most cases the word has the connotation of inner security and trust."[27] On the other hand, they can isolate this aspect and make it the primary one: "Die Wurzel bṭḥ fungiert im Hebräischen als reines Psychologikum; konkreter Gebrauch ist als sekundär zu werten."[28] More radically, the kind of "trust and feeling of personal security" identified in בטח can be described with terms such as: "einer frei schwebenden Seifenblase gleichend, die beim ersten Windhauch platzt."[29]

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[21] Preuss, *OT Theology*, 165.

[22] John W. Olley, "'Trust in the Lord:' Hezekiah, Kings and Isaiah" in *Tyndale Bulletin* 50, no. 1 (1999), 59.

[23] *DCH*, 140 and BDB, 105.

[24] R. W. L. Moberly, "בָּטַח (bāṭaḥ I)," in *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology & Exegesis*, vol. 1, ed. Willem VanGemeren (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1997), 644.

[25] *TWOT*, 101.

[26] Hugger, *Jahwe*, 127.

[27] Jerome F. D. Creach, *Yahweh as Refuge and the Editing of the Hebrew Psalter*, vol. 217 Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 32.

[28] Hugger, *Jahwe*, 127. Hugger, 127-32, emphasizes the subjective side of בטח. All scholars do not go as far, however. For instance, Weiser, *TDNT*, 191, recognizes the subjective meaning of בטח, but translates it "to feel secure on the basis of," equating it to "to ground one's security on," which can be understood as substantially more "concrete" than Hugger's comments would allow.

[29] Hans Wildberger. *Jahwe und sein Volk: Gesammelte Aufsätze zum Alten Testament* (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1979), 181. Wildberger contrasts אמן ("Glaube, als tragfähiges, kostbares Fundament, auf dem

Although all scholars acknowledge the subjective side of the verb בטח (albeit to varying degrees), some also point to a more "objective" meaning for trusting as an act of volition, stressing the decision and the act of relying on someone or something, or at least to a meaning that is not strictly formulated in terms of subjective feelings. For instance, Gerstenberger underscores that בטח is "not just a stative verb" but that it "also expresses the beginning of the act of trust."[30] Preuss seems to go in the same direction, stating that בטח "can describe the act of trust as well as trust itself."[31]

Other resources yet seem to accept this potential duality, with definitions such as: "to feel secure, be unconcerned," **or** "to rely on something or someone"[32]; "to be secure, to fear nothing for oneself" **or** "to confide in any one, to set one's hope and confidence upon any one."[33] Still, definitions of בטח pointing to subjectivity outnumber the "action-oriented" ones, as well as the ones which, at least implicitly, recognize both aspects. The degree of subjectivity or of an action-oriented stance in בטח certainly deserves to be explored further.

Moreover, a variation in perspective can also be superimposed on this polarity of meanings. Namely, בטח can either be regarded as a highly relational term or not.[34] According to Moberly, trust expresses what should be "central in people's relationship with God,"[35] and Hugger comments that "בטח kennzeichnet das Verhältnis zwischen Vater und

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gründend der wahrhaft Fromme in der Stunde der Erprobung durchhält") with בטח, חסה and נסתר, which he states may appear to have the same sense but lack the added association with justice and righteousness found in אמן. Klaus Seybold, *Introducing the Psalms*, trans. *Die Psalmen, Eine Einführung* by R. Graeme Dunphy (London: A & C Black, 1990), 145, argues that בטח expresses a state, and characterizes it as a "psychological statement." Seybold proposes that it indicates "a fixed and definite attitude, something quite undramatic" and "static abiding in a deep-seated confidence."

[30] Gerstenberger, *TLOT*, 228.

[31] Preuss, *OT Theology*, 165.

[32] Jepsen, *TDOT*, 88. According to Jepsen, the meaning "to rely on something or someone" applies when the reason for the security is specified.

[33] Gesenius, 112.

[34] Not all authors comment on this question.

Kind."[36] In contrast, Weiser regards בטח as expressing "state rather than relation."[37] Yet even he, so keen on denying בטח the relational dimension he sees in אמן, also acknowledges that בטח "has taken on the significance of a term of relationship" in late prophetic texts, Wisdom literature and the Psalms.[38] The issue of the extent to which בטח reflects a relational meaning thus also deserves further reflection.

Septuagint Translation

Scholars tend to support their line of argumentation on the meaning and theological import of בטח with the choices made by the translators of the Septuagint. For instance, Jepsen notes an ambivalence in the use of בטח since it can convey "a false security" as well as "the idea of complete security in God alone," which he argues is reflected in the Septuagint, where it is predominantly rendered *πεποιθέναι* when negative, but *ἐλπίζω* when its sense corresponds to relying on God.[39]

Oswalt also argues regarding the scope of meaning of בטח:

> It is significant that the LXX never translates this word with πιστευω "believe in" but with ελπιζω "to hope," in the positive sense "to rely on God" or πειφομαι "to be persuaded," for the negative notion for relying on what turns out to be deceptive. This would seem to indicate that *bāṭaḥ* does not connote that full-orbed intellectual and volitional response to revelation which is involved in "faith," rather stressing the feeling of being safe or secure. Likewise, all the derivatives have the same meaning "to feel secure," "be unconcerned."[40]

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[35] Moberly, *NIDOTTE*, 644. Preuss, *OT Theology*, 166, also cites Erhard Gerstenberger, *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, vol. 1, eds. Ernst Jenni unter Mitarbeit von Claus Westermann (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1971), col. 303, to state that "there is always a relationship in view to which trust directs itself."

[36] Hugger, *Jahwe*, 130.

[37] Weiser, *TDNT*, 191: "Even where בְּ, עַל or אֶל is added to denote the author or means of security, בטח in distinction from הֶאֱמִין expresses the state rather than the relation."

[38] Weiser, *TDNT*, 192.

[39] Even, as Jepsen, *TDOT*, 88-91, underscores, within one psalm: cf. Ps 115:8-11, where בטח is rendered *pepoithótes* in v. 8 and *elpízein* in vv. 9, 10 and 11. Jepsen understands the negative sense he describes as "characteristic of בטח."

These observations, as well as others based on the Septuagint translation of בטח (such as its close link to the concept of hope) may prove to be correct.[41] However, whether בטח is "ambivalent" or can connote "full-orbed intellectual and volitional response to revelation" should not be determined on the basis of Septuagint translations (especially on the basis of an argument from silence), but primarily on a comprehensive semantic study of this term in the HB.

Synonymy

The question of the synonymy of בטח also bears on (or perhaps reflects?) the position scholars hold on both its meaning and theological importance.[42] If they do indicate a synonym for בטח,[43] they most often choose חסה and/or אמן.[44] חסה receives better overall endorsement as synonym of בטח.[45] Yet more significantly, the degree of overlap (or contrast) with אמן which they recognize determines the theological significance they are willing to grant בטח.[46] Other synonyms are mentioned (as such or implicitly), varying

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[40] Oswalt, *TWOT*, 101.

[41] E.g., Creach, *Yahweh*, 33, and Walther Zimmerli, *Man and His Hope in the Old Testament*, trans. *Der Mensch und seine Hoffnung im alten Testament*, vol. 20, Studies in Biblical Theology (London: SCM Press, 1971), 9, both underscore the close link between trust and hope; see comments and quote in footnote 62.

[42] The question of synonymy sometimes intersects with observations based on the Septuagint translation, see footnote 62.

[43] Sometimes none is given; sometimes, other roots are offered for comparison without being called synonyms, e.g.: Gesenius, 112: גָּלַל (commit) based on Ps 22:9.

[44] E.g., Gerstenberger, *TLOT*, 230.

[45] A light contrast is sometimes drawn between בטח and חסה; e.g., Hugger, *Jahwe*, 130, recognizes the closeness of the terms, but also avers that חסה is dynamic (conditional upon a situation of need), whereas בטח is static (applicable in all situations of life). Seybold, *Introducing*, 145, also sees בטח as less dynamic and active than חסה. Creach, *Yahweh*, 23, proposes that בטח and חסה came to lose their distinctiveness of meaning in late psalmody and treats them largely as synonyms. Oswalt, *TWOT*, 101, describes בטח and חסה as the "two words used in the OT to express trust or reliance upon."

[46] *DCH,* 140, cites אמן as a synonym to בטח as does Albert Arnold Anderson, *The Book of Psalms*, vol. 2, *Psalms 73-150,* New Century Bible Commentaries (London: Oliphant, 1972), 567. Hugger, *Jahwe*, 131-32,

widely from one resource to the next: שׁקט, שׁאן,[47] שׁען,[48] קוה, דבק, סמך,[49] יחל, and חכה.[50] Such a spectrum of potential synonyms looks promising for helping to define the semantic field of בטח.

Historical Development

Although few attempts are made to reconstruct the historical development of the root בטח, they are also used to support a particular understanding of its meaning. Hugger supposes that "Erst eine Beteudungsvertiefung im innermenschlichen Bereich machte das Wort kultfähig. Bei aller Vorsicht in der Auswertung der Statistik können wir sagen, daß die lehrende Tätigkeit der Propheten und Weisen es war, die in בטח eine Möglichkeit fand, die Mensch-Gott-Beziehung auszusagen."[51] He also further hypothesizes: "Waren es vielleicht erst die vorexilischen Propheten und (von ihnen beeinflußt) die Weisen, die בטח

considers that "Die Bedeutungsgrenze zwischen beiden Wörtern ist ebenso fließend wie zwischen 'Glauben' und 'Vertrauen': für den Hebräer is dies phänomenologisch dasselbe." David Bostock, *A Portrayal of Trust: The Theme of Faith in the Hezekiah Narratives* (Waynesboro, GA: Paternoster, 2006), 14, sees "substantial synonymity between the two words." Preuss, *OT Theology*, vol. 2, 165-66, contrasts בטח with אמן. Weiser, *TDNT*, 192-93, does also. Admittedly, Weiser's focus is on comparing the various "faith roots" of the OT, namely בטח, חסה, קוה, אמן, יחל, and חכה in his discussion on the use of πιστεύω (and other words in πιστ-) in the Septuagint and the New Testament. Nevertheless, even in the context of his and Preuss' argumentations, some measure of synonymy/overlap is implied between בטח and אמן, even if it is cast more broadly than in other resources. However, Wildberger, *Jahwe*, 181, sees an artificial parallel between אמן and בטח, and draws a sharp contrast between them.

[47] *DCH*, 140. Creach, *Yahweh*, 66, also describes שׁקט as a term "close in meaning" to בטח.

[48] Allan Harman, "שָׁעַן (šāʿan)" in *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*, vol. 4, 202, comments that it "has the general meaning of leaning on something or someone, but in contexts dealing with persons it moves into the semantic field of relying on or *trusting in*" [italics added]. The Index of Semantic Fields, *NIDOTTE*, vol. 5, 202, also implies it is viewed as synonym of בטח (i.e., both בטח and שׁען are given under the semantic field for 'trust').

[49] Gerstenberger, *TLOT*, 230, under "synonymous usage" with בטח in the Psalter.

[50] Weiser, *TDNT*, 193-94 and Creach, *Yahweh*, 37 and 77. Creach makes a case for both בטח and קוה being very close in meaning to חסה, stating that "the terminology listed here seems to have amalgamated into a virtual symphony of communication of Yahweh as protector and to express the confessions and descriptions of those who rely on Yahweh's refuge." The main focus of his study remains on חסה, but he also describes בטח, קוה and יחל as "verbs associated most closely" in the sense of "synonymous."

[51] Hugger, *Jahwe*, 131.

als geeigneten Terminus der Mensch-Gott-Beziehung erkannten und in die religiöse Sprache Israels einführten?"[52]

Weiser provides a more thorough discussion on the historical development of בטח, although his primary interest is not in this root *per se* but in a comparison between אמן and the other "faith roots" of the Old Testament.[53] He endeavors to show how בטח evolved from the basic meaning "to be in a state of security" (objective state) to "to feel secure on the basis of" (stressing subjective feeling), to finally extend into the "sphere of meaning in the direction of assimilation to הֶאֱמִין" to the point where virtually no distinction can be made between בטח and הֶאֱמִין"[54] He attributes this supposed change in the meaning of בטח to the influence of Isaiah:

> The emphasis which Isaiah placed on the word and concept [הֶאֱמִין] was never lost again in the further history of the usage. *From this period there dates in essentials the strongly qualitative influence of the meaning of* הֶאֱמִין *on the other stems which religious speech used for the attitude of man to God*. […] the meaning of the stems בטח, חסה, קוה, יחל, חכה, which originally was very limited, expanded along the lines of הֶאֱמִין in expression of the exclusive personal relation between man and God.[55]

Weiser then presupposes that the text of Isaiah influenced the Psalms. Yet the question of which text predates the other is debated. It has been argued that at least some psalms predate the text of Isaiah and that *the latter* was influenced by the former.[56] Weiser

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[52] Hugger, *Jahwe*, 131.

[53] In looking at the OT background for πιστεύω, Weiser primarily investigates אמן, which he argues better represents the essential, basic concept of OT faith than the other faith roots (which include בטח as well as חסה, קוה, יחל, and חכה, although Weiser discusses בטח more extensively). However, the purpose of his research is not to simply study and compare the various "faith roots" of the OT, or to see to what degree they are synonymous, but to explain the use of πιστεύω in the Septuagint and in the NT. His analysis is conducted from the standpoint of a NT concept of faith, and with a heavy emphasis on the use of אמן and בטח in Isaiah (especially in 7:9, 28:16 and 30:15).

[54] Weiser, *TDNT*, 192.

[55] Weiser, *TDNT*, 190, italics added.

[56] E.g., John Kenneth Kuntz, *The People of Ancient Israel: An Introduction to Old Testament Literature, History & Thought* (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1974), 419, states that many psalms appear to predate the postexilic era and J. Todd Hibbard, *Intertextuality in Isaiah 24-27* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 96, proposes that "the Isaianic author seems to have found in Psalm 118 language and ideas that have informed his hymnic response to God's eschatological victory."

does note the comprehensive use of בטח in the sense of האמין (the more "eminently relational" term of the two) in the Psalms to the point that it "almost completely crowds out the latter," but his contention that this meaning of בטח comes through the linguistic influence of Isaiah warrants closer scrutiny.[57]

Theological Dimensions

Scholarly literature centering on בטח is relatively scarce, but a handful of monographs and articles do contribute significant material on the theological weight of בטח, and point to helpful directions through which to pursue an investigation of this root.

The only monograph found to focus extensively on the term בטח is *A Portrayal of Trust*, a narrative-critical study of 2 Kings 18-20 by David Bostock. His conclusion is that בטח, the *leitmotif* of the main narrative, is used to positively and uniquely characterize Hezekiah, its central figure, as a man of faith.[58] He also observes a link between this faith and divine deliverance.[59] John Olley comments on the same in an article on the use of בטח in the HB, with special attention to 2 Kings, Isaiah and Psalms, noting that in 2 Kings 18-20, "the root נצל occurs ten times, matching the occurrences of בטח."[60] Hence a connection between בטח and deliverance has been explored, though not in the Psalter.

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[57] Weiser, *TDNT,* 192.

[58] Bostock, *Portrayal*, 205 and 210-12.

[59] Bostock, *Portrayal*, 214. See also Moberly's entry in *NIDOTTE*, in which he argues for a definite connection trust and deliverance (646-48).

[60] Olley, "Trust in the Lord", 64. Olley states regarding the meaning of בטח in Isaiah: "when one looks at the 'trust' passages in Isaiah and asks what it means to 'trust YHWH' or to enjoy living in a situation of 'trust and confidence', attention is overwhelmingly on the worship of YHWH alone, with a humility that recognises dependence on him and that is linked with a life of doing what is right and just" (68). The connection of these themes to בטח could be true in the Psalter as well. Olley notes the objects of בטח and the various contexts in which it is used in the Psalms when referring to YHWH, but his main focus bears on establishing whether בטח is associated with "either the Davidic covenant or 'protection of Zion theology'" (71).

Jerome Creach has written on the role of חסה and its wordfield, which includes בטח, in the final editing of the Psalter. He sees in most instances of בטח the connotation of inner security and "spiritual" trust.[61] As other scholars also do, Creach highlights the strong note of hope in בטח.[62] He also indicates a relationship between the righteous and the חסה wordfield,[63] and suggests that the latter played a role in the final editing of the Psalter, especially in Books I-III, yielding an arrangement that encourages dependence of the righteous on YHWH.[64] He concludes with an invitation to further theological study in the Psalter on the ideas expressed by the חסה wordfield and "the host of related terms."[65]

Christoph Markschies has written an article analyzing the role of trust in the individual psalms of lament.[66] Based on features of Psalm 31 (in which בטח occurs twice),

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[61] Creach, *Yahweh*, 31-32.

[62] Creach, *Yahweh*, 23 and 33-34, proposes, resting on evidence from the Septuagint, that בטח and חסה came to mean something like "to hope" and comments on the close meanings of קוה and יחל to בטח based on the same kind of evidence. Zimmerli, *Man and His Hope*, 9, also remarks on the Septuagint translation of בטח and the close link between trust and hope. He notes that the Septuagint translates derivatives of the root בטח with *elpis* twenty-seven times, and makes the following assertion:

> The translators of the Septuagint have found statements of hope primarily where the thought is of trust and refuge in God. They therefore agree in describing as decisive and most important that aspect of hope which involves the moment of personal surrender. 'Hope' is not in the first place a situation of tension toward the future, a wish or the indication of a goal that one awaits with tension – it is above all, and the Septuagint emphasizes this very strongly, a situation of surrender and trust […].

See also Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalms 2: A Commentary on Psalms 51-100* vol. 2 Hermeneia—A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible, trans. *Die Psalmen*, vol. 2 by Linda M. Maloney, ed. Klaus Baltzer (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2005), 429; 1971), 9; Seybold, *Introducing*, 147; Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1992), 159.

[63] Creach, *Yahweh,* 122. See also Gordon J. Wenham, *Psalms as Torah: Reading Biblical Song Ethically* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2012), 150, who states regarding the righteous: "Three different verbs are used to characterize this stance of dependence: *yārē'* ("fear"), *bāṭaḥ* ("trust"), and *ḥāsâ* ("take refuge")."

[64] Creach, *Yahweh*, 122-124.

[65] Creach, *Yahweh*, 126.

[66] Christoph Markschies, "'Ich aber vertraue auf dich, Herr!' – Vertrauensäußerungen als Grundmotiv in den Klageliedern des Einzelnen" in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 103, 3 (1991), 386-398.

he argues that the centrality of trust in these psalms has not been properly acknowledged, and that it is their foundational theme, not just one among others, and as such characterizes them as "*zielgerichtetes Vertrauensparadigma*."[67] His focus remains on demonstrating this, however, and he does not analyze the root בטח semantically or theologically.[68]

As for commentators, their inclinations regarding the spectrum of views on the meaning of בטח alluded to above surface as they comment on various verses.[69] They all mention the theme of trust,[70] some underscoring its presence or prevalence in specific psalms, especially those in which the root בטח is used.[71] Many of them, reflecting on the use of בטח in the Psalter or specific psalms, routinely describe it as a formal element of the

[67] Markschies, "Ich aber vertraue auf dich," 391-396 asserts that this is why the expression of trust can appear in any part of a psalm of lament (beginning, end, within the request, or after it). His argument rests on the framing function of expressions of trust in Psalm 31 and on how they are bound with the prayer in formulation and argumentation.

[68] Several articles have been written on text-critical, reception-historical, structural and interpretive issues for various psalms featuring בטח, with seemingly limited interest in the theme of trust or the lexemes associated with it (for instance, Alec Basson, "'You are my rock and fortress'. Refuge Metaphors in Psalm 31: A Perspective from Cognitive Metaphor Theory" in *Acta Theologica* 25, 2 (2005), 1-17). Other examples include Pierre Auffret, "Que se rassure votre cœur! Étude structurelle du Psaume 31" in *Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico* 19 (2002), 59-76 and Léo Laberge, "A Literary Analysis of Psalm 31" in *Église et Théologie* 16, 2 (1985), 147-168. Both scholars note the presence of the theme of trust in Psalm 31 several times in their articles, but their focus remains squarely on other issues. Laberge in particular notes that the expressions of confidence are an "important element" of v. 2-5 and are found in verses 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 15, 16, 20, 22, 23 (150), and that "the important verb *bṭḥty*" is used in v. 15, which serves as a hinge in Psalm 31 (161), but does not elaborate further.

[69] E.g., James Luther Mays, *Psalms*, Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching (Louisville, KY: John Knox Press, 1994), 86, implies trust is relational.

[70] E.g., Mays, *Psalms,* uses the word "trust" to describe the content of the psalms no less than 345 times in his commentary.

[71] E.g., Walter Brueggemann and William H. Bellinger, Jr., *Psalms* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 253-54, point to trust as underlying both structure and movement in Psalm 56. For Psalm 31, they duly note the "alternation of petition and confession of trust" and affirm that "the expressions of trust color the psalm with a sense of confidence in God" (156).

psalms of lament,[72] perhaps a response to a priestly oracle to the petitioner,[73] and reflective of a feeling of security.[74] Thus the psalmist expresses feeling secure in YHWH in the context of a difficult situation as part of a liturgical process, anticipating as it were a positive answer to prayer. Still, although many commentators do discuss trust (often in limited fashion), or even the term בטח, few explicitly acknowledge its overall significance.[75]

Review of Scholarly Literature: Concluding Remarks

To summarize, the etymology of בטח has been the object of much speculation; a close scrutiny of its definitions unveils diverging perspectives on both the degree of subjectivity and the relational nature of its meaning; arguments on its scope of meaning seem predominantly based on its Septuagint translation; its synonymy is unsettled; its history of development requires more research, and the scope of its theological dimensions remains largely unexplored in the Psalter. Scholarly literature on בטח thus appears fragmented.

What is more, the issues raised in current scholarship on both the meaning and theological import of בטח (as well as the proposed answers!) vary significantly from one resource to the next. Even the *kind* of issues that are raised displays considerable diversity, undoubtedly owing to the various points of departure chosen to investigate בטח. The choice of these terms of analysis provides a focus as well as an overarching principle by which

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[72] E.g., Erhard Gerstenberger, *Psalms Part 1: With an Introduction to Cultic Poetry*, vol. 14 The Forms of the Old Testament Literature (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1988), 244 and 256, who speaks of "formulaic expressions of confidence" and confidence that "must be articulated liturgically."

[73] E.g., Hermann Gunkel and Joachim Begrich, *Introduction to Psalms*, trans. *Einleitung in die Psalmen: die Gattungen der religiosen Lyrik Israels* by James D. Nogalski (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998), 125; Joachim Begrich, "Das priesterliche Heilsorakel," in *Zeitschrift fur die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 52 (1934), 81-92; Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology: The Theology of Israel's Historical Traditions*, vol. 1 (London: SCM Press, 1975), 401; Claus Westermann, *Praise and Lament in the Psalms* trans. *Lob und Klagen in die Psalmen* by Keith R. Crim and Richard N. Soulen (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1981), 65-70, as well as Brueggemann and Bellinger, Jr., *Psalms*, 117.

[74] E.g., Seybold, Introducing, 145.

[75] Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 429, label בטח a "theologically loaded" term.

data can be organized, such as statistics (*TLOT*), key passages (*NIDOTTE*), usage (*TDOT, TDNT*), grammatical features (BDB), or individual psalms or passages (commentaries or monographs). Yet these different points of departure also lead to distinct conclusions, confirming that the picture of בטח that emerges out of each of them remains incomplete.[76]

Within this rough and inconsistent sketch of בטח, the greatest divide lies between the scholars who, so to speak, examine this term for its own sake, and those who do so only in relation to another one. The former (e.g., Gerstenberger, Moberly, and Zimmerli) allow for greater theological import.[77] The latter (e.g., Weiser, Preuss and Wildberger) all discuss the meaning and connotations of בטח in passing, in order to draw a contrast with אמן.[78] It is not

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[76] Statistics focuses on forms separately, first verbs and then derivatives, often with a further subdivision in grammatical categories (such as participles, perfect and imperfect; see Hugger, *Jahwe*, 128-9) and sometimes highlighting the role of a particular part of speech (see Gerstenberger, *TLOT*, 228). Derivatives are not discussed as much as verbal forms, but are used as supportive evidence (see quote from Oswalt, *TWOT*, 101 on pages 8-9 under section titled Septuagint Translation; see also Hugger, *Jahwe*, 127, who affirms: "Die Wurzel bṭḥ fungiert im Hebräischen als reines Psychologikum; konkreter Gebrauch ist als sekundär zu werten […] Das Nomen בֶּטַח ist die Verobjektivierung dieses Psychologikums; das 'Sich sicher fühlen' wird als etwas Objektives nach außen projisiert: 'Sicherheit'").

Classification according to usage may draw out negative versus positive meanings (see Jepsen, *TDOT*, 88-91, who finds three categories of usage: (1) security that is taken for granted, (2) false security, (3) security in God). Usage can also bring to light a shift in meaning brought about by the specification of a reason for trust (from "to feel secure" to "to rely on something or someone," cf. Jepsen, *TDOT*, 88). This type of categorization can also focus on the contrasts brought on by religious and profane usages (see Weiser, *TDNT*, 191-2).

Finally, only BDB, 105, postulates varying shades of meaning depending on the preposition with which בטח is used (with בְּ, trust in; with עַל, trust or rely upon; with אֶל, trust to), and so adopts grammatical features as terms of analysis. Rabin, "Three Hebrew Terms," 225, also proposes a specific meaning with בְּ ("to rely on, trust in") and *HALOT* as well as *Gesenius* use prepositions to organise their material. Gerstenberger, *TLOT*, 228, also notes that "as a rule one states the basis or direction of this feeling of security, esp. through prepositional usages."

N.B.: Some resources adopt more than one sorting system; e.g., *TDOT* (Etymology/Forms; Meaning, based on observations from the Septuagint, and Usage), *TWOT* (discussion on etymology and Septuagint translation followed by theological remarks based on usage) and Hugger, *Jahwe*, first considers grammatical categories (under "Form Analysis") and then usage with things and people vs. God (under "Content Analysis").

[77] See Moberly, *NIDOTTE,* 644ff. and Gerstenberger, *TLOT,* 226-230. Some who discuss בטח in the context of other types of studies tend to point in the direction of theological importance as well, though may not comment on this particular issue, e.g., Creach, *Yahweh* and Bostock, *Portrayal.* Rabin, "Three Hebrew Terms," discusses only the etymology of בטח and therefore does not comment on its potential "quality" or theological significance.

[78] Their conclusions vary. For Preuss, *OT Theology*, 160 and Weiser, *TDNT*, 191-92, בטח fundamentally differs from אמן because it can take other objects than God. Weiser sees further contrasts noted throughout

surprising, considering their angle, that these scholars should place בטח in what can only be described as a "lower category" of faith terms that implies superficiality in meaning.[79] While such studies and comparisons are worthwhile, they cannot, because of their inherent bias, investigate the same kind of questions, or go to the same depth in their investigation of בטח as a study that seeks to look for the meaning and theological significance of this root.

In truth, many authors who have discussed בטח have done so with other foci in mind than providing an in-depth survey of its use, function or importance either in the HB or in the Psalter, and have – with few exceptions -- made little more than occasional remarks about its semantic field. Often, works dealing with בטח or even the theme of trust, do so only on the periphery of a reflection on the theme of refuge.[80] Even when trust as a theme or the root בטח are discussed, the perspective is almost always that of individual psalms rather than the Psalter, or of individual passages rather than the whole of the HB.[81]

In a way, a review of current scholarship on בטח elicits more questions than it answers, and highlights both the need and the potential for further research on this term. Is it a stative or an active verb? In other words, does it primarily reflect inner emotional state/transformation or concrete action/application? Is it inherently "ambivalent" in meaning? Is it relational? What are its synonyms? Does it have a specific connection to righteousness (or other themes)? As Jepsen aptly states, only usage in the Hebrew Bible

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this survey. For Wildberger, *Jahwe*, 181, בטח is unlike אמן because justice and righteousness are not imperatively associated with it. Others, such as Creach and Wenham, make the opposite assertion, cf. footnote 63.

[79] Weiser, *TDNT*, 190, states that the meaning of the stems בטח, חסה, קוה, יחל, חכה, which "originally was very limited," expanded under the "strongly qualitative influence of the meaning of הֶאֱמִין" and ascribes "qualitative preeminence" to the latter (196).

[80] E.g., William P. Brown, *Seeing the Psalms: A Theology of Metaphor* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), 30: "In sum, 'refuge' is a foundational metaphor or schema in the Psalter […] The object of deep longing, refuge is emblematic of the person who places complete trust in God."

[81] E.g., 2 Kings 18.

can form the basis of a semantic study on this term, and allow the beginning of an answer to these and other relevant questions on בטח.[82]

[82] Jepsen, *TDOT*, 88. More technical questions also surface, such as: Does the specification of a reason for trust bring about a shift in its meaning? (see Jepsen, *TDOT*, 88). How does prepositional usage bear on the meaning of בטח? (see BDB, 105; Rabin, "Three Hebrew Terms," 225 and Gerstenberger, *TLOT*, 228). What can we learn from the contrasts brought on by religious and profane usages? (see Weiser, *TDNT*, 191-92).

Scope for Further Research: Value of a Study of בטח in the Psalter

This review of scholarly literature on בטח has brought to light the need for a systematic study of this term. Since such a great number of occurrences is found in the Psalms (52 of 182 total instances, including 45 of 118 in verb form), a sustained focus on the Psalter seems desirable. Before considering how the text of the Psalms may help in answering some of the questions raised in the literature review, a brief overview of the distribution of בטח in the Psalms will be given, which should suffice to illustrate the kind of questions that may emerge in this context and show how much promise the Psalter holds for an analysis of בטח.

The 52 occurrences of בטח in the Psalter are found in 36 psalms,[83] 31 of which "of the individual."[84] Their distribution is as follows:

	Number of occurrences
Book I	23
Book II	12
Book III	4
Book IV	1
Book V	12

Genre[85]	Number of occurrences
Complaint	25 in 17 psalms
Wisdom	9 in 6 psalms
Hymns	8 in 7 psalms
Thanksgiving	4 in 3 psalms
Confidence	4 in 3 psalms

[83] Twenty-two are ascribed to David, three to the sons of Korah and one to Asaph; ten are not ascribed. Multiple instances are found in 11 psalms: Pss 4 (two); 22 (four); 31 (two); 37 (two); 40 (two); 52 (two); 56 (three); 62 (two); 78 (two); 115 (four) and 118 (two).

[84] There are eight occurrences of בטח in five psalms categorized as "communal" vs. 44 in 31 psalms labelled "of the individual" by Gerstenberger, *Psalms Part 1*: Pss 25; 33; 44; 115 and 146. Gunkel, *Psalms*, 122-23, strongly advocates the view that these psalms are individual, i.e., that the "I" represents the poet. Others take a different approach, e.g., Stephen J. L. Croft, *The Identity of the Individual in the Psalms*, vol. 44 Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1987). This categorization is mentioned here for the sole purpose of illustrating distribution, though this question will be discussed further in this research project.

[85] Classification of psalms by genre varies among scholars. To illustrate distribution from this angle, were included as per Gerstenberger, *Psalms Part 1*: as **lament**, Pss 9; 13; 22; 25; 26; 27; 28; 31; 40; 41; 44; 52; 55; 56; 71; 86 and 143; as **wisdom**, Pss 37; 49; 62; 78; 91 and 119 (described as "instruction", "homily" or similar terminology); as **hymns**, Pss 33; 65; 84; 112; 115; 135 and 146 (Ps 112, included along with hymns here, is classified as "acrostic felicitation"); as **thanksgiving**, Pss 21; 32 and 118 (Ps 9 is described as both thanksgiving and complaint) and as psalms of **confidence**, Pss 4; 16 and 125.

The root is featured in several psalms in which the theme of trust permeates the text or plays a key or pivotal role (e.g., Pss 27; 31; 56), and in others where it is less central (e.g., Ps 112) or even secondary (e.g., Pss 49; 78). Yet it is absent from psalms in which trust is arguably the central theme (e.g., Pss 23; 131).

These patterns of distribution raise several questions: What contexts does בטח prefer? How can the proportion of psalms "of the individual" in which it occurs best be explained? How should its social dimension be understood?[86] Why are nearly half of all occurrences of בטח in the Psalter found in complaint psalms and so few in psalms "of confidence"?[87] What then does it communicate of the psalmist's relationship to the deity? In short, what does בטח accomplish for the psalmist, or what function does it fulfil within psalms and within the Psalter?

A focus on the Psalter will lay a foundation for answering these questions, but should also speak to the issues raised in the literature review, not only because of the strong representation of the root in the Psalms, but also because they provide an abundance of relevant contextual material. For instance, numerous terms are used in parallel with it בטח in the Psalter, which may shed welcome light on its synonymy: חסה (Ps 118:8-9), זעק (Ps 22:6), סמך (Ps 112:9), גלל (Ps 37:5), אמן (Ps 78:22), קוה (Ps 25:3), יחל (Ps 119:43) and כסה (Ps 143:6).[88]

As to the description of בטח as a formal element of the psalms of lament, it is inherently attached to psalmic material. Nonetheless, and regardless of whether בטח is

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[86] See Ps 40:4 and collective calls to trust, e.g., Ps 62:9.

[87] To formulate one aspect of this last question more specifically, is it as central and foundational to the psalms of lament (as opposed to being merely a formal part of it), as Markschies, "Ich aber vertraue auf dich," 387, asserts? After all, the psalmists did feel free to sometimes leave aside any confession of trust, see for instance Pss 69 and 88.

[88] In the Psalter the most explicit antonym to בטח is ירא (Ps 56:4-5, 12); elsewhere it is contrasted with פחד (Is 12:2) and מוט (Ps 125:1). Only DCH, 140, indicates an antonym: פחד.

both formal and anticipatory, the psalms of lament are too general and substantial a contextual entity through which to define this term.[89] Nor can a description of the function of בטח be confined to the psalms of lament, since it appears in other types of psalms as well. Thus perspective on its meaning and function should be broadened. Perhaps more promising, since they are not bound to psalm types, are the insights (so far neglected), that can be brought to its meaning by the various themes frequently appearing alongside this term, which include divine deliverance, affliction, enemies, the presence of God, righteousness, hope and praise/thanksgiving.[90]

The connections between בטח and these themes should allow for a fruitful exploration of its theological dimensions, especially considering that its use in the book of Psalms invites trust in YHWH alone, excluding all other objects of trust, whether people, things or circumstances, and makes it "an eminently theological term."[91]

The Psalter should also allow greater comprehension of the relational dimension of בטח, since in many psalms, it does seem to describe one of the ways in which people can and ought to relate to YHWH.[92] In addition, the text of the Psalms may help to reformulate the

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[89] Psalmic expressions of trust may well be couched in formulaic language, yet could be seen as anticipatory or reflective elements, which would affect how they are to be understood. H. G. M. Williamson, "Reading the Lament Psalms Backwards" in *A God So Near*, eds. Brent A. Strawn and Nancy R. Bowen (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 3-15, challenges the common assumption that the setting of the laments is the suffering (usually described first) and that the thanksgiving (usually formulated last) looks forward in faith.

[90] E.g., deliverance: Ps 78:22; 13:6; enemies: Ps 71:4-5; 112:7-8; righteousness: Ps 4:6; 37:1-6; presence of God: Ps 16:7-11; 27:3-4; affliction: Ps 86:1-2; 9:10-11. N.B.: Over 66% of בטח verb forms are found in contexts with explicit reference to enemies and/or deliverance.

These connections may be mentioned (often implicitly) as part of a discussion on a specific psalm: e.g., for righteousness in Psalm 26, see Craig C. Broyles, *The Conflict of Faith and Experience in the Psalms: A Form-Critical and Theological Study*, vol. 52 Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 49–50. However, the dimensions that these themes, as a whole and/or independently, may bring to the semantic field of בטח has not been systematically examined. Moberly, *NIDOTTE*, 646, does highlight the connection between בטח and deliverance.

[91] Gerstenberger, *TLOT*, 229.

[92] Moberly, *NIDOTTE*, 644.

assumption or generalization that בטח consistently connotes a feeling of security,[93] since it can be used in contexts clearly communicating more urgency in the midst of personal distress than peaceful inner confidence (e.g., Ps 31:10-19; 86:1-7). Moreover, it can also be associated with actions (e.g., Ps 4:6; 26:1; 143:8) and character (e.g., 84:12-13; 125). Thus collocations and patterns of usage in the Psalms may assist in uncovering a broader and richer semantic field for בטח than is usually recognized.

Furthermore, the degrees of subjectivity and of relationship inherent in בטח as referred to above concern more than its semantic field, especially in the Psalms. Indeed, they bear directly on its theological significance, since the subjects of בטח are people and its main object is YHWH.[94] What is at stake is nothing less than to what extent or even whether בטח intersects with the broader concept of biblical faith.[95] Moberly and others portray בטח as a full-fledged part of it, but several scholars do not.[96] Does it, as Gerstenberger resolutely states, almost always refer to "a process at the foundation of existence"?[97] Or should it be accorded no such weight? It is hoped that a study directed at defining the semantic field and theological weight of בטח in the Psalter would lead to a fuller

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[93] Note the context and the translation of בטח in the *New American Standard Bible*: "Though a host encamp against me, My heart will not fear; Though war arise against me, In spite of this I shall be confident" (Ps 27:3). Scholars sometimes make indirect remarks that point in the opposite direction, e.g., Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms*, 158: "Yet, wherever trust and certainty based on Yahweh's help in the past are the dominant attitude, the one praying does not reach a place of calmness or of stagnant belief."

[94] Sometimes בטח takes another object than YHWH (person, thing or circumstance); in this case it is almost always used negatively (e.g., Ps 44:7). Most occurrences of בטח in the Psalms take YHWH as object.

[95] Weiser, Preuss and Wildberger see האמין as representative of this concept and use it as a standard by which to gauge other roots.

[96] See Moberly, *NIDOTTE*, 644. Gerstenberger, *TLOT*, 230, writes about the theological usage of בטח: "This evidence means that Israelite tradition recognizes and demands an absolute, exclusive devotion to Yahweh; this trust in Yahweh includes *hope* of salvation (Job 11:18) and *faith* in the God of the fathers (Psa 22:4f.)," contra Preuss, *OT Theology*, 165-67, Weiser, *TDNT,* 191-92, and Wildberger, *Jahwe*, 180-81.

[97] Gerstenberger, *TLOT*, 228.

appreciation of the contribution of this meaningful term to the literary and religious landscape of the Psalter and of the HB.

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"Precative perfect", other "non-past" uses of *qatal*, and the development of Hebrew *weqataltí*

Proposed focal points for the discussion: How to describe the meaning of the Hebrew verbal forms. Arguments against the relative temporal interpretation. Are there cases of supposed non-past qatal that cannot be explained in this framework? The role of stress in the development of the Hebrew verbal system, specifically weqataltí: Arguments for and against?

Introduction

Huge quantities of paper and printing ink have been spent through the years by scholars trying to solve what Leslie McFall called the "enigma of the Hebrew verbal system".[1] Still, there seems to be no consensus regarding the fundamental characterization of the verbal forms or the way the system developed. Scholars disagree about the description of the forms as primarily aspectual, temporal or modal as well as about the functioning of the so-called consecutive system, the way it developed and how to categorize the forms with and without preposed *waw*.

In this paper, I will focus on the so-called consecutive forms, which are arguably the most characteristic trait of the Hebrew verbal system as found in (most parts of) the Old Testament. The primary topic will be the form *weqataltí*, i.e. the so-called consecutive perfect, which is used for indicating different shades of non-past meaning, as opposed to the simple *qatal* with past meaning.[2] The overall aim of the paper is to examine the way *weqataltí* developed. In order to explore the connection between this form and the simple *qatal*, I will take a look at supposed non-past functions of simple *qatal*, aiming to show that there are no persuasive instances of such usages, which leads to the conclusion that *weqataltí* is not simply a *qatal* with a preposed *waw*. Neither is there any evidence that *weqataltí* is the continuation of any Proto-Semitic form with specifically future or modal meaning. Rather, it is the result of a special analogical development within Hebrew—a

[1] Leslie McFall, *The Enigma of the Hebrew Verbal System: Solutions from Ewald to the Present Day* (Sheffield: The Almond Press, 1982).
[2] I generally use the purely descriptive terms for the verbal forms, e.g., *qatal*, *yiqtol*, *wayyiqtol*, *weqatal*/*weqataltí* instead of perfect, imperfect, consecutive imperfect, consecutive perfect.

development in which (I will argue) the distinctive stress pattern of the verbal forms probably played a significant role. As part of the argument, the general character of the system will be discussed—I will argue that a relative temporal view is better capable of explaining the attested uses than an aspectual or modal approach.

The terms "consecutive" and "conversive"

The most characteristic trait of the verbal system in Biblical Hebrew is the so-called consecutive or converted system—the fact that the simple forms *qatal* and *yiqtol* systematically interchange with the forms with preposed *waw*, *wayyiqtol* and *weqataltí*. Nothing quite like this is known from the other Semitic languages.[3]

As a first observation, it should be said that the designation "consecutive" is misleading. Obviously, since *wayyiqtol* and *weqataltí* begin with *waw*, "and", a degree of consecutive meaning is often present, but this is due to the *waw* itself, which can have all the shades of meaning that "and" is always capable of having, i.e. simple addition, connection, temporal succession etc. The *waw*-forms, however, do not necessarily continue a preceding verbal form, but rather contribute their own meaning to the context. They are found at the start of an utterance without necessarily continuing anything in the preceding sentences. We can even have an entire book beginning with a *wayyiqtol*: Lev, Num, Josh, Judg, Ruth, 1 Sam, 2 Sam, 2 Kgs, Ezek, Jonah, Esth, 2 Chr.[4] There are also instances where a *weqataltí* is the first part of a non-past segment coming right after a past context, e.g.:

Gen 26:22: כִּי־עַתָּה הִרְחִיב יְהוָה לָנוּ וּפָרִינוּ בָּאָרֶץ, or

[3] Some scholars have argued that the system as found in BH is an artificial creation that was never part of the real, spoken language. E.g., Sasson has claimed that *wayyiqtol* is a purely literary construction, which was originally developed "for recounting heroic, war-related, mythic, or national epic drama". He considers the form to be "pretentious by its very nature" and "simply […] not a practical, day-to-day linguistic tool; not even in written form", Victor Sasson, "Some Observations on the Use and Original Purpose of the *Waw* Consecutive in Old Aramaic and Biblical Hebrew" *VT* 47,1 (1997): 111–127 (122–123). The fact is, however, that the ancient Hebrew inscriptions has the same fundamental verbal system as the one used in the OT, even in seemingly trivial texts about matters such as a field worker's lost piece of clothing (Meṣad Ḥashavyahu 1). The main difference is really the frequency of the various forms, since an inscription of the types we have usually does not need the long series of *waw*-connected verbal forms that we see in the OT. Of course, any kind of writing is a departure from pure spoken language, but the idea that the inscriptions use a purely literary style of language seems an unfounded assumption, since it would necessitate a high level of influence from a body of literature, which must in this case have existed at a very early date and have been known by the people who wrote the inscriptions. At the same time, there is nothing decidedly artificial about the system—there are many phenomena in the languages of the world that people from another linguistic background would find strange, but that does not mean that they are artificial or "made up" specifically for a literary purpose.

[4] In some of these cases, of course, the division into books is only secondary, as the narrative clearly continues straight on from the end of the preceding book.

Judg 13:3: הִנֵּה־נָ֣א אַתְּ־עֲקָרָ֗ה וְלֹ֤א יָלַ֙דְתְּ֙ וְהָרִ֣ית וְיָלַ֔דְתְּ בֵּֽן׃[5]

What about the term "conversive"? This is the way medieval scholars described the system with the designation וְ הַפּוּךְ. Superficially, this is a good synchronic description, as it seems that the addition of the *waw* changes a *qatal*, which usually expresses something in the past, to a non-past, and a *yiqtol*, which usually has non-past meaning, to a past tense. However, concerning the *wayyiqtol*, the introduction of comparative Semitic linguistics, especially the use of evidence from Akkadian, has led to the abandonment of this view. It is now clear that the *yiqtol*-part of *wayyiqtol* is not the same as the simple *yiqtol*, but rather the reflex of a Proto-Semitic past tense form **yáqtul*, which is also continued by the ordinary past tense form in Akkadian (*iprus*).[6] The simple *yiqtol*, on the other hand, is the descendant of an earlier **yaqtulu*, while the specifically jussive *yiqtol* (in a shortened form where possible) comes from a Proto-Semitic **yaqtúl*.[7] Thus, when looking at the historical development, there is really no "conversion" taking place. When it comes to *weqataltí*, however, the question is a bit more complicated.

The background of *qatal*

Some scholars have argued that the *qatal*-part of *weqataltí* comes from an ancestral form different from that of the simple *qatal*. Thus, Driver says that there were two forms in Proto-Semitic, a western **qatál* with a past meaning, reflected in the Hebrew simple *qatal*, and an eastern **qátil* with future meaning, which is reflected in *weqataltí*. The fact that Hebrew has both forms is explained by

[5] Cf., e.g., Longacre's characterization of *weqataltí* as "*backbone structures*" in "predictive, procedural, and instructional discourses", "in their own right and not consecutive on other preceding verb forms", Robert E. Longacre, "*Weqatal* Forms in Biblical Hebrew Prose", in *Biblical Hebrew and Discourse Linguistics* (ed. Robert D. Bergen; Dallas, Texas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1994), 50–98 (51).

[6] Cf. Søren Holst, *Verbs and War Scroll: Studies in the Hebrew Verbal System and the Qumran War Scroll* (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2008), 48, who notes that this recognition of the double origin of Hebrew *yiqtol* and *wayyiqtol* is "now one of the few things on which there is almost general consensus in Hebrew studies". There are relics of **yáqtul* in most other Semitic languages, usually in very restricted use. A few forms corresponding to the Hebrew *wayyiqtol* are attested in Aramaic and South Arabian inscriptions, and many more on the Moabite Meša^{c}-stone. Note that when talking about Akkadian forms, it is customary to use the root *PRS*, and not *QTL* as in Hebrew and other languages.

[7] The question of the stress in **yáqtul* as opposed to jussive **yaqtúl* is controversial and will be considered in more detail below (p. 17). Another controversial issue, which I will not deal with in this paper, is the specific origin of the **yaqtulu* form. In Akkadian (and Ethiopic and modern South Arabian) the non-past tense is expressed with a form with doubled middle radical (Akkadian *iparras*, Ethiopic *yəqattəl*). Some scholars consider this a Proto-Semitic form, in which case **yaqtulu* would be an innovation in Central Semitic, probably containing the subordinating marker *-u*, which is also found on the Akkadian subjunctive (see, e.g., Edward Lipiński, *Semitic Languages: Outline of a Comparative Grammar* (Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 343 and 352). Others would argue that **yaqtulu* is the original non-past form and that the use of the doubled form in this function is a secondary development (e.g., N. J. C. Kouwenberg, *The Akkadian Verb and its Semitic Background* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2010) and T. David Andersen, "The Evolution of the Hebrew Verbal System", *ZAH* 13,1 (2000): 1–66.).

his idea that Hebrew is a mixed language having both western and eastern traits.[8] The whole idea of Hebrew as a "Mischsprache" has rightly been discredited,[9] and the assumption of a special East Semitic/Akkadian form with specific future meaning has no basis in the verbal system of Akkadian, or anywhere else.

The origin of Hebrew *qatal* can be traced to West Semitic **qatala*, whose ancestor is a Proto-Semitic nominal form used with personal endings, corresponding to the Akkadian stative or permansive, *parsāku*. This form never has a future meaning as such, but is rather atemporal, since it is basically a conjugated verbal adjective.[10] In fact, Akkadian statives can also be formed from ordinary nouns and adjectives, with the sense that the subject "is" or "was" what is signified by the noun or adjective, and as such they are outside of the temporal system of the proper verbal forms. When statives are formed from verbal adjectives, they express a (past or present or future) condition or state as a result of a preceding action. This is in most cases a passive state in connection with active-transitive roots, a resultative state in connection with active-intransitive roots, and a descriptive state in connection with adjectival roots.[11]

This type of usage is well-known from Hebrew and other West Semitic languages in a restricted group of verbs, the so-called stative verbs (e.g. adjectival verbs like כָּבֵד, or verbs like יָדַע and עָמַד), where *qatal* can have a present tense function, reflecting the original atemporal character of the Proto-Semitic nominal construction. In most verbs, however, a significant development took place. While there are several problems in connection with the details of the form itself,[12] the general development seems to be clear: An atemporal, originally nominal construction developed into a real

[8] Godfrey R. Driver, "Some Uses of *Qtl* in the Semitic Languages", in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Semitic Studies* (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1969), 49–64 (49–50). On Hebrew as a "Mischsprache", cf. Hans Bauer and Pontus Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965), 19 (§2j).
[9] Cf. McFall, *The Enigma* (n. 1 above), 141.
[10] The verbal adjective has the form *parVs*, typically with *i* in the second syllable, less often with *u* or *a*. The vowel, however, only appears in the third person singular, where there is no ending, while in the other persons it is syncopated before the personal endings: 3sm *-Ø*, 3sf *-at*, 3pm *-ū* and 3pf *–ā*. The remaining persons look like short forms of the personal pronouns with a connective *-ā-* (*-āku*, *-āta*, *-āti*, *-ānu*, *-ātunu*, *-ātina*).
[11] Cf. John Huehnergard, *A Grammar of Akkadian* (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1997), 27 and 221.
[12] The form must be reconstructed as **qatala* for West Semitic, while it is most often *qatil* in Akkadian. The problems include the final *-a* in 3sm, that must be reconstructed for West Semitic, but which is not there in Akkadian, and the long connecting *ā*-vowel before the personal endings in Akkadian, which is not present in the western languages, unless one sees the *-ō-* of certain Hebrew roots (II-gem., II-w) as a relic of this formation, cf. Harris Birkeland, *Akzent und Vokalismus im Althebräischen, mit Beiträgen zur vergleichenden semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Oslo: Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo, i kommisjon hos Jacob Dybwad, 1940), 109. Furthermore, the vowel in the second syllable is problematic. In Akkadian it is mostly *i*, but in the West Semitic transitive type it is typically *a*. This is not the place for all the details of the various explanations.

verbal form in the West Semitic languages, with a relative past tense meaning.[13] Nowhere in this process is there a form with an explicit non-past meaning as attested in the Hebrew *weqataltí*.

The meaning of *weqataltí* and its interchange with *yiqtol*

Weqataltí is used with all the shades of meaning that the simple *yiqtol* has. In fact, the two forms must be said to be two different expressions of the same semantics, and the same can be said about the relation between *qatal* and *wayyiqtol*. The only differences can be attributed to the presence of the conjunction "and" in the *waw*-forms and the different context-induced shades of meaning derived from this and the corresponding difference of position in the sentence. The determining factor for choosing between *yiqtol* and *weqataltí* (and between *qatal* and *wayyiqtol*) is not the inner meaning of the forms, but rather the position of the verb in the sentence. In the ordinary flow of discourse, the verb comes first, and if a need is felt for an "and", then the *waw*-forms are used.[14] If, for any reason, something else is put forward in the sentence, e.g., if a new subject is introduced, an object or adverb is emphasized, or the author just wants some variation in his way of expressing himself, then the simple forms are used. Thus, it is perhaps best seen as a question of stylistics.[15]

A relative temporal view of the verbal system

The way to describe the basic meaning of *qatal*/*wayyiqtol* and *yiqtol*/*weqataltí* has been the subject of much debate in the history of research. Today, some sort of aspectual view is probably the dominant one among scholars, but others have argued for a modal or temporal view.[16] Since it is not possible to give any kind of comprehensive overview of all the different approaches here, I will

[13] In a small set of verbs in Akkadian, this development is also attested, most often with verbs with the general meaning "to hold", "get a hold of" etc. Thus, in a verb like *maḫārum* "receive", the stative functions as an "ordinary present perfect"—"he has received, accepted", Michael B. Rowton, "The Use of the Permansive in Classic Babylonian", *JNES* 21,4 (1962): 233–303 (243). As for the description of the meaning of the form in West Semitic as relative past, see further below.

[14] It should be noted that Hebrew and other Semitic languages make much more frequent use of coordinated sentences than, e.g., English. Thus, quite often, we find cases of *waw* which are from the translational viewpoint "superfluous". Thus, the apodosis of a conditional sentence may be introduced by *waw*, and in some cases with a preposed adverbial expression, a *waw*-form of a verb is still used, e.g. Gen 22:4 or Exod 16:6.

[15] Cf. Holst, *Verbs and War Scroll* (n. 6 above), 127–128.

[16] The notion of time and whether a given event or situation is finished or ongoing, or whether it is possible, necessary, wished for, demanded etc., are real-world phenomena which every language presumably has the capability to express in some way. Thus, both temporal, aspectual and modal shades of meaning must be present in all languages, and the three notions are often closely interconnected. The question here, however, is to decide the basic meaning *grammatically* expressed by the verbal forms as such, as opposed to notions that are derived from context, adverbial expressions etc. Thus, when it is argued that Hebrew has a system of relative tenses, it does not mean that it is incapable of expressing aspect or modality – it only means that this is the best way to describe the fundamental notion expressed by the opposition *qatal*/*wayyiqtol* vs. *yiqtol*/*weqataltí*.

simply give a few critical remarks about the aspectual and modal interpretations and shortly sketch a view of the system as primarily expressing relative tense.[17]

A major objection to an aspectual view, which takes the difference between *qatal* and *yiqtol* to be one of perfective (i.e. complete, punctual events seen as a whole) vs. imperfective (i.e., incomplete, continuous etc.) aspect, is the fact that this distinction seems to play no specific role in most of the instances of the forms.[18] Thus, a *qatal* might express something that was an unfinished, continuous situation in the past, and a *yiqtol* might signify an event in the future that must be considered a single, punctual, instantaneous act. The first fact might not be a problem for an aspectual view, since it is often the case that what is arguably the unmarked member of an opposition can encompass the meaning of its marked counterpart.[19] The second fact, however, throws serious doubt on the appropriateness of the term aspect as the description of the basic category in the verbal system. In most cases, it is a much more obvious approach to describe the notions expressed as simply past vs. future. An indication of this is given by the cases where we have the same verbs in *qatal* and *yiqtol* in the same passage.

In Josh 3:7, e.g., Yahweh gives the promise: כַּאֲשֶׁר הָיִיתִי עִם־מֹשֶׁה אֶהְיֶה עִמָּךְ. Presumably, both the situations described have the same continuous character, the only difference being that the one with Moses happened in the past, and the one with Joshua will happen in the future.

Similarly, in Josh 11:6 we have a command or prediction from Yahweh with two *yiqtol*s,[20] followed in v. 9 by a description of the actual event with the same two verbs in *qatal*. Aspectually, the events implied in the *yiqtol*s as well as in the *qatal*s must be seen as instantaneous, single acts, so the opposition *yiqtol* vs. *qatal* here is hardly one of aspect, but rather tense or mood.

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[17] For a comprehensive guide to the early history of research, see McFall, *The Enigma* (n. 1 above), and for the later developments e.g., Holst, *Verbs and War Scroll* (n. 6 above).

[18] The distinction between perfective and imperfective is usually referred to as viewpoint aspect, cf. Comrie's definition: "[A]spects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation", Bernard Comrie, *Aspect* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 3. Cf. also, e.g., D. N. Shankara Bhat, *The Prominence of Tense, Aspect and Mood* (Studies in Language Companion Series 49; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1990), 44–45. He mentions other types of aspectual distinctions, viz. the ones distinguishing different phases of events (beginning, progression, results etc.) and the ones representing various quantificational aspects of an event (happening once, many times, habitually etc.). A term often used in connection with aspect is *Aktionsart*, which may be understood to designate some of the other types of aspectual distinctions mentioned. Often it is seen as distinct from aspect by being lexicalized as opposed to grammatically marked, cf. Comrie, *Aspect*, 6–7, n. 4. However, this distinction is not always made. In Hebrew, such notions are typically part of the meaning of the different stems/*binyanim*.

[19] Comrie, *Aspect* (n. 18 above), 112.

[20] It is often difficult to decide between command and prediction, especially when God is the speaker.

Another objection to the aspectual view is the fact that the Hebrew system is not very similar to other verbal systems considered aspectual. E.g., in classical Greek or modern Russian the aspectual systems exist side by side with temporal distinctions, whereas in Hebrew we only have the one opposition between *qatal*/*wayyiqtol* and *yiqtol*/*weqataltí*. Some scholars have argued that, for this reason, it makes no sense to call the Hebrew system aspectual.[21]

As indicated in connection with the example from Josh 11 above, there is often a certain modal shade of meaning in the *yiqtol*. This has led some scholars to the idea that the basic distinction is one of mood. On this view, the *qatal* can be termed realis and *yiqtol* irrealis. There are some problems with an approach like this, however. First of all, the terms realis and irrealis are not very felicitous, since sentences with a counterfactual sense (what is normally called irrealis) use *qatal*, and not *yiqtol*. Secondly, there are many instances of "pure" futures without any modal meaning—a fact which has led some scholars to the view that future is always a type of modality.[22] These are not decisive arguments against modality as the primary category—however, a third point throws more doubt on the idea: The existence in Hebrew of a specific modal system, i.e. a specific set of modal forms used for the explicit marking of volitive modality (cohortative, imperative, jussive).[23] Therefore, this is hardly the meaning of the opposition *yiqtol* vs. *qatal*. While it is clear that modal shades of meaning are often expressed by *yiqtol*/*weqataltí*, this is likely to be an implication from the context and not the basic content of the forms themselves.

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[21] Cf. Frank R. Blake, "The Hebrew Waw Conversive", *JBL* 63,3 (1944): 271–295 (273). Further, cf. Jerzy Kuryłowicz, *Studies in Semitic Grammar and Metrics* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1972), and Jan Joosten, "Do the Finite Verbal Forms in Biblical Hebrew Express Aspect?", *JANES* 29 (2002): 49–70 (51). Other scholars, however, argue the exact opposite, i.e. that aspect is a more fundamental distinction than tense. Cf. John A. Cook, "The Finite Verbal Forms in Biblical Hebrew Do Express Aspect", *JANES* 30 (2006): 21–35 (25), who bases himself on Joan L. Bybee and Östen Dahl, "The Creation of Tense and Aspect Systems in the Languages of the World", *Studies in Language* 13 (1989): 51–103. In fact, Bybee and Dahl talk about nine languages out of 18 in their survey having the basic distinction perfective vs. imperfective—and out of these nine, seven also have a past vs. non-past distinction. Thus, the similarity to Hebrew *with only one kind of basic opposition* is very limited, and it is very difficult to see how such statistics can be used as any kind of argument for or against anything when it comes to actually analyzing a particular language. In general, the use of typological evidence as arguments in the analysis of a specific language is fraught with difficulties, including the basic circularity of the argumentation: Typological surveys like the ones made by Bybee and others are based on existing descriptions of languages, while the results from the surveys are often used to "correct" such descriptions. In many cases, the description of a feature in a language is hotly debated (e.g., the Hebrew verbs), which means that it is impossible to decide which view should be used as input for a typological survey. Furthermore, only a fraction of the languages spoken through history has been scientifically described.

[22] Cf. Bhat, *The Prominence* (n. 18 above), 176: "But several linguists have argued that the concept is at least partly modal in nature because, according to them, future, unlike past or present, is necessarily speculative".

[23] The cohortative is a lengthened form of the *yiqtol* in the first person, whereas the jussive is in some cases a special shortened form of the *yiqtol*. In most cases, the root is not capable of making this distinction. However, there is a strong tendency for jussive forms to be placed first in the sentence, and this goes for the form *weyiqtol* as well, which is most often to be understood as an explicitly modal form. Cf., e.g., Alviero Niccacci, *The Syntax of the Verb in Classical Hebrew Prose* (trans. W. G. E. Watson; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 76, 77 and 88–89.

The temporal interpretation of the system is also problematic—as long as it is understood in an absolute manner. Clearly, both basic forms of the system can be used in any time frame, which makes the understanding of *qatal* as an absolute past tense (always signifying simple past, "he killed") impossible. Thus, a relative temporal interpretation is necessary.[24]

On this view, the basic function of the forms is to indicate whether the event expressed by the verb happened before (*qatal*/*wayyiqtol*) or not-before (*yiqtol*/*weqataltí*) relative to a point of time indicated by the context. A *qatal* can signify anything that is anterior to something else, e.g. in a future context a future perfect ("he will have done"), and a *yiqtol* can signify anything that is not anterior, i.e. either contemporaneous or posterior to the context. This also includes occurrences in the past, i.e. simultaneity with a past context, e.g., durativity, habituality or iterativity.

In this connection, it is very important to recognize the fact that Hebrew only has the two basic forms *qatal*/*wayyiqtol* vs. *yiqtol*/*weqataltí*. Whereas languages like English or most other Germanic languages with a larger repertoire of verbal forms can express the exact time of an occurrence more precisely through the use of specific relative tense forms, this is not possible in Hebrew. Since English, e.g., has separate forms for expressing both absolute and relative times, like "I did, I have done, I had done, I will do, I will have done" etc., the system as such can be called absolute. In Hebrew, on the contrary, there are no specific relative tenses, and the distinction between relative and absolute tense is not expressed by morphological means in Hebrew. Therefore, the forms can be used both in an absolute and a relative way (speaking from the point of view of English or similar languages), i.e. a *qatal* is always interpretable as simple past as well as present or past perfect etc. Hence, the *system as such* is called relative.[25]

[24] Relative tense is also called *taxis*. On absolute vs. relative tense as well as a general introduction to tense as such, cf., e.g., Bernard Comrie, *Tense* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). Bhat prefers the terms "deictic" and "non-deitic" tense instead of absolute and relative (Bhat, *The Prominence* (n. 18 above), 14). Proponents of an analysis of Hebrew along the lines of relative temporality include Rogland, Gropp, and Kuryłowicz.

[25] If the relative temporal view of the system is accepted, the so-called stative verbs mentioned above should probably be interpreted in this framework as well. In the *qatal*, these verbs can have the present tense stative sense ("I know", "I am old"), but they can also be treated like non-stative verbs with a past meaning, either in a stative or eventive sense ("I knew or came to know", "I was old or became old"), cf. Paul Joüon and Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Rome: Editrice Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 2006), 332,§112b. One could assume that when **qatala* developed into a tense form in the West Semitic languages, the relics of the originally atemporal nominal construction were reanalyzed as part of the newly developed system, and thus reinterpreted as derived from, e.g., "I have become old", "I have come to know" etc., even though this is not their origin. In this way, the connection between stative and fientive verbs is basically the same as that between the present perfect and the simple past function of the *qatal* form in general.

Supposed non-past uses of *qatal*

This view of the semantics of the basic opposition in the verbal system potentially faces some severe difficulties when confronted with certain interpretations of specific sentences in the OT. There are instances where *qatal* forms are translated as present or absolute future or in a modal sense, like a *yiqtol*, at least in the translations proposed by some scholars. If they are right, it is highly problematic for any view of the language that sees the basic opposition as one of tense. Furthermore, if the simple *qatal* can be used with these functions, it would be an argument in favour of *weqataltí* being a continuation of this usage.

As it turns out, however, all these supposed non-past uses of *qatal* can be interpreted differently. It can be shown that none of these cases poses any threat to the relative temporal view of the system, and since this is the case, another explanation for the development of the Hebrew *weqataltí* must be sought. Here I will first look at the major groups of alleged non-past uses of *qatal*.

"Precative perfect"

This is a usage of *qatal* that allegedly signifies prayers, commands, wishes etc.[26] A few examples from a proponent of the existence of this type of *qatal* in the OT follow:

Ps 22:22. הוֹשִׁיעֵנִי מִפִּי אַרְיֵה וּמִקַּרְנֵי רֵמִים **עֲנִיתָנִי**. "Rescue me from the mouth of the lions; **save/may you save me** from the horns of the wild oxen".[27]

Ps 71:3. הֱיֵה לִי לְצוּר מָעוֹן לָבוֹא תָּמִיד **צִוִּיתָ** לְהוֹשִׁיעֵנִי כִּי־סַלְעִי וּמְצוּדָתִי אָתָּה. "Be my rock of refuge, to which I can always go; **command** to save me, for you are my rock and my fortress".[28]

Ps 7:7. קוּמָה יְהוָה בְּאַפֶּךָ הִנָּשֵׂא בְּעַבְרוֹת צוֹרְרָי וְעוּרָה אֵלַי מִשְׁפָּט **צִוִּיתָ**. "Arise, O LORD, in your anger; rise up against the rage of my enemies. Awake, my God; **decree** justice".[29]

[26] Several scholars have argued for or against this usage, cf. the recent treatment by Alexander Andrason, "An Optative Indicative? A Real Factual Past? Toward a Cognitive-Typological Approach to the Precative Qatal", *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 13/article 4 (2013): 1–41. As an introduction to his own defence of the existence of the precative use of *qatal*, he gives a good overview of previous research.
[27] Ibid., 10.
[28] Ibid., 11.
[29] Ibid.

Ps 31:6. בְּיָדְךָ אַפְקִיד רוּחִי **פָּדִיתָ** אוֹתִי יְהוָה אֵל אֱמֶת. "Into your hand I commit my spirit; **may you redeem** me! O lord, faithful God".[30]

Ps 10:16. יְהוָה מֶלֶךְ עוֹלָם וָעֶד **אָבְדוּ** גוֹיִם מֵאַרְצוֹ. "The LORD is King for ever and ever; the nations **may perish** from his land".[31]

As can be seen, all these examples are from the Psalms, and that is in fact the case with the majority of the proposed instances. In total, Andrason has 18 cases, of which he considers 12 to be the most evident and convincing.[32] Often, he bases his precative interpretation on the fact that an overt deontic form, e.g. an imperative, precedes the form in question, but in other "very sporadic and still controversial examples", there is no preceding modal form, and then the precative interpretation stems from "the meaning of the whole situation".[33] However, the fact is that "the meaning of the whole situation" is seldom completely clear-cut, and that is the problem with the entire assumption of a precative *qatal*, also in the instances with preceding modal forms. Since most of the cases occur in poetry, we need to consider the general style of biblical poetry, especially the tendency to switch between different temporal planes. Alviero Niccacci has argued for the same basic verbal system in poetry and prose, explaining the differences by pointing to the fact that poetry conveys its meaning through "segments of information in parallelism", rather than in a continuous temporal sequence.[34] This segmental style includes, on the one hand, a limited use of syntactic markers (definite article, object markers, relative pronouns), and on the other hand, a tendency to shift between different actors and settings, including temporal frame. When we encounter a *qatal*, we should first try to make sense of the passage by reading the form as it is usually read in other cases, i.e. as a past tense or a present perfect—we should respect "the verbal forms for what they are and try to interpret them accordingly, even when one finds abrupt transitions".[35]

Such transitions can be explained as parallelism between a *qatal* of a stative verb or a present perfect use of a *qatal* of a fientive verb on the one hand, and a *yiqtol* of a fientive verb on the other hand, all of which can be used in a present time frame. Alternatively, we can have a real switch between hope or prayers for the future and statements about what has happened in the past, God's

[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid., 14.
[32] Ibid., n. 13.
[33] Ibid., 11.
[34] Alviero Niccacci, "An Integrated Verb System for Biblical Hebrew Prose and Poetry", in *Congress Volume Ljubljana 2007* (ed. A. Lemaire; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 99–127 (114).
[35] Ibid., 117.

previous acts of mercy etc. In poetry or songs, this kind of shift of reference is not unexpected. The opposite view is of course possible—that there is an entirely different grammatical system in poetry. This, however, needs to be argued, and not just assumed. If we can understand the texts without proposing very rare uses of forms, then we ought to consider this first.

With this approach, all the passages quoted above can be explained without recourse to the dubious category of precative *qatal*. In Ps 22:22, instead of reading the two halves of the verse as parallel, עֲנִיתָנִי can be understood as a separate exclamation ("you have answered me!"—cf., e.g., the authorized Danish version). This would mark a turning point in the poem from a description of the troubles faced by the psalmist to praise of God for his help.[36]

In Ps 71:3, צִוִּיתָ can be read as part of what Driver calls a "concealed" relative clause describing the צוּר מָעוֹן.[37] Another possibility is simply taking it as a short independent sentence, in which case it would be a statement of the fact that the ultimate salvation of the psalmist has been decreed by Yahweh a long time ago. There are other instances of a similar type of interweaving of past events and the present/future in this psalm (vv. 5–6 "from my youth" and 17 "from the womb"). In Ps 7:7, something similar may be the case. We can understand מִשְׁפָּט צִוִּיתָ as an independent sentence with a present perfect interpretation, stating that God has decreed justice long ago. Alternatively, we can follow Driver, who sees this as another case of a "concealed" relative clause.[38]

In Ps 31:6, it is also possible to see the verb (פָּדִיתָ) as an expression of a previous act of God, stressing the belief of the Psalmist that he is among the redeemed, no matter how hard he suffers in the present. There are other instances of such previous events as part of the present prayers in vv. 8–9. In Ps 10:16, we can detect a clear break in the structure of the poem in v. 16 with a declaration about the way Yahweh is king, as opposed to the second person forms in vv. 14–15 and 17. Thus,

[36] Of course, this would entail disregarding the masoretic accents.
[37] Driver, "Some Uses of *Qtl*" (n. 8 above), 55. He translates: "be thou to me a rock of help, (to which) ever thou hast bidden me come that thou mayst save me".
[38] Ibid., "thou who dost command", though with a general present tense verb. The LXX also renders this as a relative clause, but with an aorist verb; also, the antecedent of the relative clause is different from the one in Driver's proposal (ἐν προστάγματι ᾧ ἐνετείλω).

there is no reason to let the imperatives and jussives influence the interpretation of the *qatal* form, which can be rendered as "the nations have perished from his land".[39]

The same kinds of explanation fit all the other proposed cases of precative *qatal*, and the conclusion must be that, while a precative reading often does make sense, the same goes for the non-precative reading. Since it is possible to understand all the cases as instances of the ordinary relative past meaning of *qatal*, it seems unnecessary to claim the existence of a very restricted use of the form, with a meaning that is the exact opposite of the meaning found in the vast majority of occurrences of the same form.

"Prophetic perfect", "gnomic perfect", "performative perfect"

These three groups of supposed non-past uses of *qatal* have been treated convincingly by Rogland.[40] He finds that the so-called "prophetic perfect", i.e. *qatal* used as a real future tense, can be interpreted as ordinary past tense, either a past relative to a future reference point (future perfect), or as a regular past event, or sometimes things seen in a vision or dream.[41] If the author wants to give the impression that he has seen the events in a vision, it makes sense to render them in the past tense, since the vision is past, even though the content is future. In short, there is no need to assume a special future usage of *qatal*, but rather this is a case of a stylistically determined use of ordinary past tense.

The "gnomic perfect" is a use of *qatal* to express general statements, usually in proverbs and sayings. Again, according to Rogland, there is no need to interpret this as a non-past use of *qatal* as such. Rather, this usage should be understood as "the report of a particular, and often extraordinary, experience or observation", or as generalizations from the way "things have typically occurred in the past".[42]

The explanation offered by Rogland for the "performative perfect" (i.e. actions which are performed through the utterance itself, like "I hereby give you…") is not very clear. He simply calls it a

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[39] It is not necessary to identify the גּוֹיִם from v. 16 with the evil and godless people who are the focus of the preceding part of the psalm. If the גּוֹיִם are foreign peoples thought to have been eradicated from the land in the past, this might serve as a good basis for the belief that Yahweh will also deal with the interior enemies, the wicked in his own people. In the LXX, the form is rendered as a plural imperative, which could be the intention of the Hebrew consonantal text as well. In this case, גּוֹיִם would be a vocative, understood to be people living in Yahweh's land in the present.
[40] Max Rogland, *Alleged Non-Past Uses of Qatal in Classical Hebrew* (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2003).
[41] Ibid., 131.
[42] Ibid.

convention without any consequence for the analysis of *qatal*.[43] However, considering the fact that Hebrew only has a very restricted set of forms to choose from, the *qatal* is probably the most obvious choice for the expression of a performative utterance. The participle would stress the event as ongoing and the *yiqtol* would have future and/or modal implications, while the *qatal* is well suited to represent something that has occurred right now through the speech event itself.

The evidence from other Semitic languages

Andrason uses the supposed occurrence of "precative perfect" in other Semitic languages to argue for the existence of this usage in Hebrew.[44] In fact, such a usage *is* attested in some of the languages (Arabic is the best example), while in others the evidence is more problematic. In Ugaritic, e.g., scholars are deeply divided over the proposed instances, while in classical Ethiopic, the latest treatment of the matter concludes that there is no such use of the form in question.[45]

Firstly, the fact that there is such a usage, at least in some related languages, does not constitute any kind of argument for the existence of the same usage in Hebrew. The evidence merely suggests that it would not be odd if we could find such a usage in Hebrew, and it might be expected that there actually was one at some stage of the language. However, whether or not this usage is actually there in the Hebrew texts at our disposal, must be decided by an analysis of these texts, and not by exterior arguments. Secondly, in the languages where the precative use is attested, it is very restricted, and in many cases the precative meaning clearly derives from different particles used in connection with the form, rather than from the verbal form itself.[46] This is especially clear in Akkadian where the precative particle *lū* is always present when this meaning is intended.[47] This particle is used with the stative, just as it is used with adjectives and nouns in general. In the West Semitic languages, where **qatala* developed into a real verbal form with relative past tense

[43] Ibid., 126.
[44] Andrason, "Precative" (n. 26 above), 15–18.
[45] On Ugaritic, cf. Josef Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2000), 726, who argues for a "volitivische Nuance" in the Ugaritic equivalent of Hebrew *qatal*, vs. Dennis Pardee, review of Josef Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik*, *AfO* 50 (2203/2004; online version): 1–404 (361), who states: "One must conclude there may not be a single case of /QTLa/ used as a volitive in Ugaritic". On Ethiopic, cf. August Dillmann, *Ethiopic Grammar: Second Edition Enlarged and Improved (1899) by Carl Bezold* (trans. J. A. Crichton; London: Williams & Norgate, 1907), 520 (§199e), who finds a few instances of the precative use, vs. Stefan Weninger, *Das Verbalsystem des Altäthiopischen: Eine Untersuchung seiner Verwendung und Funktion unter Berücksichtigung des Interferenzproblems* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), 102, who argues that Dillmann's examples should be understood as ordinary past tense.
[46] Cf. Driver's conclusion: "[…] restricted for the most part to stereotyped expressions (in which it commonly, though not always, stands at the head of the clause) and decreases in frequency as time goes on […]", Driver, "Some Uses of *Qtl*" (n. 8 above), 52.
[47] E.g. *lū dannātunu*, "may you be strong".

meaning, the question is how to connect the precative meaning attested in some languages with the general past tense usage. Several scholars have argued that the precative usage can be derived from the hypothetical or irrealis use of **qatala*, which is attested in all the West Semitic languages, and which is attributable to a stage of development where the form had already developed the past tense meaning.[48] Thus, while the precative use of the form with stative/intransitive verbs might be seen as a relic from the stage attested in Akkadian, the transitive/active usage could have evolved from an unreal/hypothetical line of thought, e.g., originally, "would that God would bless…".

Regarding the development of Hebrew *weqataltí*, the evidence seems clear: Neither in Hebrew itself nor in the related languages is there any sign of *qatal* or its cognates ever having an actual future tense and/or modal meaning as such. The next question is: What about equivalents of the composite form in other languages? Is there any evidence of a use of *waw* plus a form corresponding to Hebrew *qatal* with a meaning similar to the Hebrew one in other Semitic languages?

In all West Semitic languages, the forms developed from **qatala* can be used in conditional sentences—including in contexts that would be more naturally rendered by future tense forms in a language like English. However, in the Semitic languages, the idea seems to be that the condition (the protasis) is past relative to the consequence (the apodosis), and thus a relative past tense form can be used. The fact that Akkadian does not use the stative in such sentences, but rather the past tense forms available in its own grammatical system, supports this analysis. In some of the languages, the use of **qatala* in conditional contexts has been extended so that the form can also be used in the apodosis, which can in some cases be introduced by *waw*, and in this case we seem to be close to a future sense. This use, however, is clearly determined by a distinct syntactic environment where the future sense derives from the conditional particles and is not inherent in the form itself.[49] In contrast, the Hebrew *weqataltí* is not restricted to conditional sentences or other specific contexts, but rather determines the context with its own future/modal meaning. The only languages where we might find a usage corresponding at least a little more closely to the Hebrew system, is Amarna Canaanite and possibly Phoenician. These languages are, of course, among the ones most

[48] Cf. Dillmann, *Ethiopic* (n. 45 above), 520 (§199e), Carl Brockelmann, *Syrische Grammatik, mit Paradigmen, Literatur, Chrestomathie und Glossar* (Leipzig: Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1965), 112 (§208), and Bruce K. Waltke and Michael O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 494 (§30.5.4.c.). The connection between irrealis and past tense forms is known from many languages.
[49] Cf., on the situation in classical Arabic, Wolfgang Reuschel, *Aspekt und Tempus in der Sprache des Korans* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1996), 22 and 172.

closely related to Hebrew, so this situation is not unexpected.[50] At least in the Amarna letters, we seem to have some instances of a use similar to the one in Hebrew, outside of clearly conditional contexts, and Moran states that we have here "an early stage of the far more developed Hebrew usage".[51]

Summing up this overview of the evidence, which has by necessity only touched upon the most significant points, I will refer to Smith's conclusions that the basis from which the Hebrew *weqataltí* developed was most likely the use of the ancestor of *qatal* in conditional sentences,[52] and that the Hebrew system as such is "an inner Hebrew development".[53] To the latter point, however, Moran's observation about the beginnings of the development in Amarna Canaanite should be added.[54]

The analogical development

Following this, it seems to be clear that some kind of analogical development must be assumed as the background for Hebrew *weqataltí*, possibly beginning already in the pre-Hebrew Canaanite stage of the language, but only having its full effect on the overall functioning of the verbal system in Hebrew itself. Such an analogical explanation has been defended by several scholars.[55] The general idea is that *weqataltí* developed as a new part of a system that already included the relationship between simple *yiqtol*, *wayyiqtol* and *qatal*. However, exactly how this development could take place is a complicated matter. Contrary to the widespread assumption that the special final stress in *weqataltí* in the first and second person singular in several types of verbs is a late

[50] Much of the evidence is interpretable in different ways, and the same goes for supposed future tense instances of *waw* plus *qatal* in Ugaritic. See the detailed discussions in Mark S. Smith, *The Origins and Development of the Waw-Consecutive* (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1991), 8–12.
[51] William L. Moran, "The Hebrew Language in its Northwest Semitic Background", in *Amarna Studies: Collected Writings* (ed. John Huehnergard and Shlomo Izre'el; Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 216; repr. from *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Allbright* (ed. G. Ernest Wright; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1961).
[52] Smith, *The Origins* (n. 50 above), 14.
[53] Ibid., 14–15.
[54] The extent of this use in the Canaanite language reflected in the Amarna letters is impossible to ascertain. If we had a corpus of texts in this language comparable to the OT, the similarity to the Hebrew usage might be much clearer. The same can be said about other Canaanite languages like Moabite, Ammonite and Edomite. While the Moabite Meša^{c}-stone contains many examples of a form corresponding to Hebrew *wayyiqtol*, the preserved texts in these languages do not allow us to draw any conclusions about the development of *weqataltí*.
[55] Andersen, who opposes the analogical explanation, gives a long list of proponents of the idea, Andersen, "The Evolution" (n. 7 above), 33: Ewald, S. R. Driver, Bergsträsser, Blake, Hetzron, Fenton, Buth, Sáenz-Badillos and Smith. Smith himself also mentions Joüon, Finley, Lawton and Williams (Smith, *The Origins* (n. 50 above), 6). Other scholars defending a variation of this view are Birkeland, Bobzin, Gruntfest and Holst.

development, I will argue for a version of the analogical view that includes the stress as a major part of the development.[56]

An argument often used in favour of the idea that the position of the stress is late and artificial is the long vowel in the first syllable, both in simple *qatal* and *weqataltí*.[57] Since this is an instance of the so-called pretonic lengthening, it follows that the stress must have been on the second *-a-* at that time—if it had been on the final syllable, the result should have been the un-attested *uqtaltí*. However, since we have already stated that the whole development is an analogical one, i.e. a new creation in the history of Hebrew based on other parts of the system, there is nothing odd about assuming that the vowel length was taken over from the simple *qatal*. Anyway, there is no evidence that the pretonic lengthening must necessarily be a young development. Therefore, there is no need to assume that the final stress must be so late that it was never a part of the real spoken language.[58] In Birkeland's words, it can be assumed that "die eigentümliche Form einer linguistischen Realität entspricht".[59] Since the final stress is only observed in a restricted number of forms, one could argue that this is in fact an indication that it represents a relic of an old, possibly originally more widespread phenomenon from the real history of the language. Bauer and Leander argue that if the stress position was a late, artificial invention for readings in the synagogue, like Brockelmann suggested, there is no reason why the distinction was not made in every person and in all types of verbs.[60] In fact, the occurrence of final stress is restricted to the first and second person, and it does not occur with some types of verbs, e.g. III-h, in pause or often before another stressed syllable in the following word (*nesiga*).

McFall uses this state of affairs to argue that the stress does not signify any difference in meaning between non-past *weqataltí* and simple past *weqatálti*.[61] He claims that there are cases of *weqataltí*

[56] Brockelmann thought that the difference in stress was a product of "der künstlichen Synagogenaussprache", Carl Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen II* (Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1913), 150. Similarly, Ernest J. Revell, "Stress and the *Waw* 'Consecutive' in Biblical Hebrew", *JAOS* 104,3 (1984): 437–444. The opposite view is expressed in Birkeland, *Akzent und Vokalismus* (n. 12 above).
[57] In the standard designations used here, the length of the vowel is not indicated. More precise designations would be *qāṭal*, *qāṭálti*, *wəqāṭaltí* etc.
[58] Another argument, put forward by Revell, is that the stress movement must be later than the retraction of stress caused by a following stressed syllable in the next word (*nesiga*)—a development which, according to Revell, had not yet occurred in Qumran Hebrew, thus indicating that the stress distinction was not made there (Revell, "Stress and the *Waw* 'Consecutive'" (n. 56 above), 439–440). However, the arguments for this view are hardly convincing. The Qumran material does not tell us anything about *nesiga*, which in any case must be probably assumed to have been in effect for a long period of time.
[59] Birkeland, *Akzent und Vokalismus* (n. 12 above), 72.
[60] Bauer and Leander, *Historische Grammatik* (n. 8 above), 313 (§42z).
[61] McFall, *The Enigma* (n. 1 above), appendix 2, 189–210.

having simple past meaning and cases of *weqatálti* having future meaning. However, many of his future *weqatálti*s can be explained either by the phonetics of the roots themselves (by being III-h etc.) or by their position in the sentence (pause or *nesiga*). Others are actually preterital. Regarding his supposed examples of *weqataltí*s with preterital meaning, all of these are in fact ordinary non-past *weqataltí*s.[62] McFall further argues that a trait which marks a distinction in meaning, but which only does so sometimes, is absurd.[63] Such a situation, however, is extremely common in many languages, including in other parts of the Hebrew system itself, e.g. the gender distinction is neutralized in pause in certain pronominal forms (לְךָ, בְּךָ).

Thus, there is no reason to disregard the stress when treating these verbal forms. In fact, the attempts at explaining the development of *weqataltí* without considering the stress pattern tend to be rather vague. E.g., Smith explicitly states at the outset that he will not address the question of the morphology itself,[64] and this approach leaves him with only the general idea of an "inner Hebrew development", without further explanation.[65] Contrary to this, Birkeland describes the development of *weqataltí* to a real, new category with a specific meaning marked by a special stress as an analogy based on the entire system, including the stress. Thus, just like the simple *qatal* (with stress on the penultimate syllable in the second and first person singular forms) interchanges with *wayyiqtol* (also with penultimate stress in some forms), so *weqataltí* (with final stress) enters into the same kind of interchange with the simple *yiqtol* (also with final stress).[66]

The statement that *wayyiqtol* had penultimate stress, of course, touches on another issue over which scholars are divided. Birkeland assumes that *wayyiqtol* and the jussive had the same ancestor, with penultimate stress (**yáqtul*). However, Hetzron has argued—in my opinion, convincingly, though all the details cannot be presented here—that Proto-Semitic made a distinction between a past **yáqtul* and a jussive **yaqtúl*.[67]

There is good reason for assuming a general penultimate stress in at least one stage of Proto-Semitic, so the odd thing here is really the presumed final stress in the jussive, which is not given

[62] Cf. also Ernest J. Revell, "The Conditioning of Stress Position in Waw Consecutive Perfect Forms in Biblical Hebrew", *HAR* 9 (1985): 277–300 (278–279).
[63] McFall, *The Enigma* (n. 1 above), 194.
[64] Smith, *The Origin* (n. 50 above), xi.
[65] Ibid., 15.
[66] Birkeland, *Akzent und Vokalismus* (n. 12 above), 72.
[67] Robert Hetzron, "The Evidence for Perfect **Y'aqtul* and Jussive **Yaqt'ul* in Proto-Semitic" *JSS* 14,1 (1969): 1–21.

any real explanation by Hetzron.[68] Thus, to improve on Hetzron's fine observations, one could point to the fact that the imperative in Proto-Semitic was probably **qtul*, and having only one syllable, this of course carried the stress (**qtúl*). The consonant cluster was resolved in different ways in the different languages, e.g., with Arabic adding a vowel in front of the first consonant. Hebrew (and other languages) added the supporting vowel between the two consonants (**qutúl* > קְטֹל), thus creating a form with an exceptional final stress.[69] This final stress in a form with a very clear semantic content could be the pattern after which the final stress in the jussive developed, and later, *weqataltí* entered the same group of forms.[70]

Thus, there seems to be a connection between the final stress in the imperative, the jussive and *weqataltí*. Furthermore, when Hebrew lost the final short vowels, more forms with final stress and non-past/modal meaning developed (e.g., תִּקְטֹל < **taqtúlu*), whereas the second singular form of the corresponding *qatal* kept the stress on the penultimate syllable presumably because that syllable was a closed one followed by an open one (*qatálta*), even when the language experienced a general shift to final stress.[71] At the same time, the non-final stress was also present in *wayyiqtol*, in some cases being protected by a specific phonetic environment against the general movement of the stress to the final syllable. Hence, there was a correspondence between stress and meaning.[72]

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[68] Another point in Hetzron's article that deserves elaboration is the development of the *wa-* with doubling of the initial consonant in *wayyiqtol*. Hetzron assumes that this is not really an "and", but rather a reduced form of the verb **hawaya* "to be" (with **way*+C- > *waCC-*). However, Birkeland has a better explanation that sees the development as a purely phonetic one. On this view, *waCC-* is a result of the ordinary Hebrew pretonic lengthening, or rather the "gleichwertige Vortonverdoppelung", Birkeland, *Akzent und Vokalismus* (n. 12 above), 71. A sequence of short vowel plus double consonant is also in other cases the equivalent of long vowel plus single consonant. In the later development of Hebrew, the stress moved in most cases towards the end of words, and only stayed on the non-final syllables under specific phonetic circumstances. In this way, the special form of the *waw* would in most cases be left as the only marker of the past tense meaning, since the rest of the form would be the same whether it came from **yáqtul*, **yaqtúl* or **yaqtulu*. However, if the jussive also originally had the stress on the prefix, the same phonetic development would have happened there, and there would be no reason whatsoever for making the special *waCC*-form a marker for only the past tense form. Thus, if one adopts this explanation of *waCC-*, it could be a further argument in favour of Hetzron's position that there was an early distinction between past **yáqtul* and jussive **yaqtúl*.

[69] Of course, it should be noted that at this period, all the words that at a later stage would have final stress still had the original final vowels of the case endings etc. (the later דְּבָר with final stress comes from an earlier **dabáru*).

[70] Cf. Gerard Janssens, *Studies in Hebrew Historical Linguistics Based on Origen's Secunda* (Leuven: Peeters, 1982), 52, for similar ideas—he, however, assumes that the original imperative had two syllables. On the general idea, cf., e.g., also Blake, who sees the stress specifically in *weyiqtol*-forms as the reason for the stress movement in *weqataltí*, Frank R. Blake, "The Hebrew Waw Conversive", *JBL* 63,3 (1944): 271–295 (284).

[71] One could point to a further instance of stress marking a semantic difference of the same type. In II-w verbs, the *qatal* in the third feminine singular has penultimate stress as opposed to the participle in the feminine singular. This distinction, of course, goes back to an original regularity with both forms having at one time had penultimate stress, the participle, however, with a case ending that later disappeared, i.e. **qāmátu* > קָמָה, while the *qatal* was **qā́mat* > קָמָה.

[72] Some scholars have seen a form of iconicity here with the final stress pointing forward into the future, and the non-final stress pointing back into the past, cf. Mcfall, *The Enigma* (n. 1 above), 48. It must be noted that a lot of levelling

When the language developed a general final stress on all forms that were not protected by their specific phonetic environment (like first and second singular *qatal*, *wayyiqtol*s of certain roots etc.), there was no longer any distinction between original **yáqtul*, **yaqtúl* and **yaqtulu*. The entire form *wayyiqtol* with *waw* plus doubling of the initial consonant became the marker of past meaning. Consequently, whenever an initial "and" was not needed, it became difficult to use the descendent of **yáqtul*, as one would have done at an earlier stage of the language, since it would now be liable to be interpreted as a non-past form. Instead, one would have to use the alternative, younger past tense form *qatal*—and in this way, the characteristic interchange of *wayyiqtol* and *qatal* became obligatory. From this basis, and given the fact that *wayyiqtol* differed from simple *yiqtol* in both meaning, and often in the stress, the next step could be to introduce a similar interchange between *yiqtol* and *weqataltí*, differing from simple *qatal* both in meaning, and (where phonetically possible) in the position of the stress.[73]

Conclusions

Summing up, historically speaking, there is no question of a "conversion" between simple *yiqtol* and *wayyiqtol*, since they derive from different backgrounds. However, if one looks at the situation synchronically, there is indeed the clear impression of "conversion". This perceived relation between the forms must have been a factor in the development of *weqataltí*, where, in fact, a "conversion" does take place, since it has been shown, 1) that *weqataltí* and simple *qatal* do not express the same meaning, and 2) there is no evidence for an ancestor of *qatal* or *weqataltí* with a

has taken place, and the stress distinctions are only relics. Thus, in III-h the jussive can show a reduced form with loss of the final radical and stress on the prefix like in *wayyiqtol*. I would argue that this is the result of a perceived similarity between the jussive and *wayyiqtol*, which could have originated in II-w, where both forms would experience a reduction of the long interior vowel as a result of its being in a closed syllable, as opposed to the open syllable in the original **yaqtulu*.

[73] As stated above (p. 16–17), *weqataltí* as a non-past form is opposed to *weqatálti*, which is used in more or less scattered instances in the OT with a simple past tense meaning, presumably as the equivalent of a *wayyiqtol*. Of course, the difference in stress can only be seen in the first and second person singular, and only in certain roots under specific circumstances. Thus, penultimate stress in *weqatálti* can be caused by different types of pausal phenomena, the presence of an immediately following stressed syllable in the next word, or the structure of the root itself—apart from signifying past tense meaning. However, when one leaves out all the cases with possible interference from the environment, there is still a list of ca. 16 instances in the entire OT with a clear link between penultimate stress and past meaning. There are, of course, many more cases of *weqatal*s that are unable to express the distinction in stress, though still with simple past meaning—and significantly, there are no instances where a form with final stress needs to be interpreted as simple past. As is well known, the simple past type of *weqatal* replaced the *wayyiqtol* as the way to express past tense in a continuous narrative in the later phase of the language attested in the rabbinic literature. Exactly how this later development took place, including the extent of the use of simple past tense *weqatal*s in the OT, is outside the scope of this paper, but it is a question that I will treat in detail as part of my project.

specific non-past/modal meaning. Thus, the development can be described as a sort of analogical conversion of the simple *qatal*.

The starting point, as noted above, was probably the use of the ancestor of *qatal* in conditional environments. Specifically, there already were instances of *waw* plus the precursor of *qatal* as the apodosis of a conditional sentence. In these cases, any non-past notions derive from the conditional surroundings, while in Hebrew (possibly with the first beginnings attested at a pre-Hebrew stage), this usage was turned into a new separate verbal form, with a specific meaning including a special form when allowed by the phonetic environment. Thus, both the inherited background and the special analogical development should be taken into account when explaining the origins of the form.

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The Slaying of Sisera: Hermeneutics at the intersection between poetry and prose

Introduction

In Judges 4 and 5 we find accounts of the slaying of Sisera at the hands of a Kenite woman named Jael. This paper will focus in detail on Judges 4.17-22 and 5.24-30. Having more than one account of the same event is not uncommon in the Hebrew bible, however, unlike passages such the wife-sister stories (Genesis 12.10-20, 20.1-18 and 26.1-17) or the burials of Joshua (Joshua 24 and Judges 2.6) the passages concerning the slaughter of Sisera in Judges 4.17-22 and 5.24-30 are not double narratives[1] they are 'twice-used songs'.[2] Judges 4 recounts events in prose, Judges 5 recalls them through 'poetry' and the vast majority of scholars have proceeded to analyze them using genre-related methodologies. [3]

Developments in the study of folkloristics have opened up new methods of analysis for prose texts previously thought to have had 'oral roots'. Having addressed (1) Questions relating to form and classification and (2) Questions concerning composition, and transmission, folklorists have gone on to address (3) Questions of meaning, function, and context.[4] This has not been the case with the study of Hebrew poetry, whilst form, classification, composition, and transmission have been explored, little has been done to explore the hermeneutical implications of a poem's 'oral roots '. By comparatively examining Judges 4.17-22 and 5.24-30 as multi-forms this paper asks the question; Can hermeneutical developments in the inter-discipline of folkloristics, be applied to biblical literature traditionally classified as 'poetry'?

Questions concerning the relationship between Judges 4 and 5 have been of much interest to biblical scholars and subsequently, numerous sets of

[1] Aulikki Nahkola, *Double Narratives in the Old Testament: The Foundations of Method in Biblical Criticism* (Berlin ; New York: Walter de Gruyter & Co, 2001), p. 1.
[2] Terry Giles, *Twice Used Songs : Performance Criticism of the Songs of Ancient Israel* (Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson Publishers, 2009).
[3] James W. Watts, *Psalm and Story : Inset Hymns in Hebrew Narrative*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament. Supplement Series ; 139 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992); Steven Weitzman, *Song and Story in Biblical Narrative : The History of a Literary Convention in Ancient Israel*, Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997); Hans-Peter Mathys, *Dichter und Beter : Theologen aus spätalttestamentlicher Zeit*, Orbis biblicus et orientalis ; 132 (Freiburg, Schweiz: Universitätsverlag ; Göttingen, 1994).
[4] See Susan Niditch, *A Prelude to Biblical Folklore : Underdogs and Tricksters* (Urbana, Ill: University of Illinois Press, 2000).

comparative analyses have been conducted. Much of this analyses has tended to center on questions of dependency and as Charles Echols[5] notes, scholarly opinion on this matter falls into five categories: (1) the poem is dependent upon the narrative (2) the narrative is dependent upon the poem (3) the poem and the narrative derive from different traditions (4) the poem and the narrative derive from the same tradition and, (5) the literary relationship is impossible to determine. An approach informed by folkloristics suggests another option in that (6) as multi-forms, the narrative and the poem should be treated as equally valid performances.[6]

To approach Judges 4.17-22 and 5.24-30 as multiforms is to approach the texts with a different set of assumptions to those who view them as variants or different versions of the same set of events. According to Foley 'mulitforms take various shapes… depending on the particular phraseological or narrative context in which they appear'[7], each occurrence of a multiform represents a fresh performance or an act of re-creation. As such, approaches informed by folkloristics do not seek an original 'Ur form', assume a vector of influence, or situate it within strict genre-related categories such as poetry or prose for doing so is viewed as potentially damaging.

> 'Oral traditional forms are situated in part within a set of associations and expectations *formally extrinsic* but *metonymically intrinsic* to their experience as works of verbal art. To ignore the immanent context is to force situated words out of their natural significative settings – obviously a crippling and artistically violent reorientation; the result might well parallel the dysfunction occasioned by forcing a novel into another generic category, unrelated literary tradition, for the purpose of (mis)reading its situated signals' [8]

Rather, this approach seeks to meet each multiform on its own terms by identifying its constituent elements and seeking to understand them in light of their underlying traditions.

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[5] Charles L. Echols, *'Tell Me, O Muse' : The Song of Deborah (Judges 5) in the Light of Heroic Poetry*, Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies ; 487 (New York ; London: T&T Clark International, 2008). pp. 95-96
[6] Niditch, *A Prelude to Biblical Folklore*. p. 23
[7] J. M. Foley, *Singer of Tales in Performance*, First Edition edition (Bloomington: John Wiley & Sons, 1995), p. 2.
[8] ibid. pp.xi-xii

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Methodological Considerations

To suggest that Judges 4 and 5 ought to be treated as multiforms is not to suggest that questions concerning origins and dependency are irrelevant, rather, folklorists acknowledge that in many instances the pursuit of these questions are 'fruitless' in that they often to lead inconclusive results.[9] This would also appear to be the case in Judges 4 and 5 where vast disagreement concerning matters of dependency led Echols and others to conclude that the literary relationship between Judges 4 and 5 is 'impossible to determine', furthermore in terms of origins, debates concerning their source critical assignments have still not been resolved.[10] This is not to say that folkloristic approaches fail to engage questions of origin and dependency, rather, they act as a critique of them. This has especially been the case when it comes to biblical literature and questions of oral origins. Whilst some suggest that Judges 5, 4 and many other passages may well have had oral origins, folkloristic approaches proceed on the premise that in the absence of first hand evidence, oral origins can be hypothesized but not proven. Studies concerning the orality of prose texts proceed on unproven hypotheses largely influenced by Herman Gunkel who suggested that the narratives in the book of Genesis initially existed as oral saga, which were written down at a later date.[11,12] In the case of Hebrew poetry an application of Oral-formulaic analyses of the Psalms by Robert Cully demonstrated that on questions of oral composition there is not enough material in the poetic corpus to draw any firm conclusions.[13]

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[9] Niditch, *A Prelude to Biblical Folklore*, p. 23.

[10] 'One theory connects the framework with Pentateuchal (or Hexateucal) sources namely J,E and D, while a second theory attributes it to the Deuteronomistic Historian(s) (Dtr). A third acknowledges differences between the story and the framework, but credits both to a single author.' See Echols. p.96

[11] Hermann Gunkel, *Genesis* (Macon, Ga: Mercer University Press, 1997). and Hermann Gunkel, *The Folktale in the Old Testament* (New York: Bloomsbury 3PL, 2015). pp. 29-35

[12] There has also been much debate concerning the existence of national Israelite epic. Some have argued for Frank Moore Cross, *From Epic to Canon : History and Literature in Ancient Israel* (Baltimore ; London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998). Others have concluded the opposite, See Shemaryahu Talmon, 'The "Comparative Method" in Biblical Interpretation', *Vetus Testamentum*, 29 (1978), 320–56; Nahum M. Sarna, 'Epic Substratum in the Prose of Job', *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 76 (1957), 13–25.

[13] Hermann Gunkel, *The Folktale in the Old Testament* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2015).A full treatment of this can be found in Robert C. Culley, *Oral Formulaic Language in the Biblical Psalms* (University of Toronto Press, 1967). And to a lesser extent see William Whallon, 'Formulaic Poetry in the Old Testament', *Comparative Literature*, 15 (1963), 1–14; William Whallon,

Nevertheless, the similarities between many biblical texts and oral literature are hard to ignore. In Hebrew prose and poetry key indicators of oral literature such as archaisms, repetition, and formulaic structures are commonplace[14] Furthermore, scholarship informed by ethnographic[15], oral-formulaic[16] and folkloristic approaches are increasingly noting that the stylized register[17] in which much traditional Hebrew literature operates imbues the texts with qualities characteristic of both oral literature, and observable oral traditional performances.[18] The quest to prove a text's oral provenance is increasingly giving way to the need to appreciate the style, shape and register in which the text is operating. Subsequently, in folkloristics there has been a movement away from describing such texts as oral to describing them as 'traditional'.[19]

It is important to note that the move from describing texts as oral to traditional is not simply an exercise in semantics. Traditionality embraces the understanding that the texts at hand may have never had oral antecedents, and instead asserts that whether texts such as Judges 4.17-22 and 5.24-30 have oral roots or not, they function in traditional ways, making use of cultural forms, idioms, and communicative patterns, all of which are features that the oral methodologies adopted by folklorists are adept at picking out.

Formula, Character, and Context : Studies in Homeric, Old English, and Old Testament Poetry., Center for Hellenic Studies (Washington, D.C.). Publications (Washington: Center for Hellenic Studies; distributed by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass, 1969).

[14] Wilfred G. E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry : A Guide to Its Techniques*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament. Supplement Series, 26, 2nd ed (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1986). pp 74-75

[15] Note particularly Richard Bauman, 'Verbal Art as Performance', *American Anthropologist*, 77 (1975), 290–311; and Dennis Tedlock, *The Spoken Word and the Work of Interpretation*, University of Pennsylvania Publications in Conduct and Communication (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983).

[16] First published in 1960 this work by Lord initiated a spate of comparative extensions. Following it's publication oral-formulaic theory came to be applied to a vast array of 'oral-derived' literatures. Albert Bates Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature ; 24, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 2000); J. M. Foley. And applied within Old Testament studies. See for example William R. Watters, *Formula Criticism and the Poetry of the Old Testament*, Beihefte Zur Zeitschrift Für Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 138 (Mouton de Gruyter: Berlin, 1976).

[17] Register here is defined as the special language used by the performer to perform his work and by audiences to see read and hear them. For a more detailed definition See John Miles Foley, *How to Read an Oral Poem* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002). pp. 114-117 In relation to biblical texts see 'Redaction History: Voices' in Susan Niditch, *Judges*, Reprint edition (London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2011), p. 8–13.

[18] Susan Niditch, *Folklore and the Hebrew Bible*, Reprint edition (Eugene, Or: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2004). pp 9-12

[19] Niditch, *A Prelude to Biblical Folklore*. pp xvii

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> "To describe biblical literature as traditional is to notice its repeated patterns of thought, content, and language, traceable to no single originator, recurring within individual works, in different works of the same period, and in works of varying periods. It is to speak of cultural and literary assumptions shared by composers and intended audiences, participants in the biblical process."[20]

As we approach Judges 4.17-22 and 5.24-30, it is necessary for us to explore the extent to which the two passages display traditional features by highlighting the presence of the formulae, patterns, and parallelisms that form a key part of the shared communicative heritage of the Hebrews and the ancient Near East (ANE). In traditional literature, traditional forms and formulaic structures manifest themselves in different ways and on a number of different levels. Researchers in folkloristics have a number of structuralist tools that they employ to chart out the various levels and contours in which traditionality occurs.[21] After examining traditionality on a textual level, this paper will further explore the traditionality of Judges 4.17-22 and 5.24-30 through the use of an overlay map. As well as allowing for further comparative analyses, this will enable a fuller appreciation of how the various elements in the text interact with each other and metonymically resonate with the underlying tradition.[22] There are different approaches to the creation of an overlay map, we will approach ours by asking of Judges 4.17-21 and Judges 5.24-30 three questions:

1. Overarching Structure – *What is the overarching structure of the account? Is there a plot sequence or story-pattern? If so, what is it?* In traditional literature narratives often follow traditional

[20] ibid.

[21] J. M. Foley, *Singer of Tales* pp. 1–10.

[22] This approach is largely influenced by reader-response criticism. note particularly Hans Robert Jauss' work on 'Horizons of Expectations' in Hans Robert Jauss, 'Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory', in *New Directions in Literary History*, ed. by Ralph Cohen (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974). And Wolfgang Iser's work on 'gaps of indeterminacy' in Wolfgang Iser, 'Indeterminacy and the Reader's Response in Prose Fiction', in *Aspects of Narrative: Selected Papers from the English Institute*, ed. by J. Hillis Miller, Selected Papers from the English Institute (New York ; London: Columbia University Press, 1971). John Foley in his concept of 'Immanent Art' further develops these ideas for application within the context of oral/traditional works where he suggests that textual features such as formulae, and patterns, would have evoked traditional fields of meaning in the minds of their original readers/audiences. As modern readers/audiences, in order to appreciate these traditional resonances we must immerse ourselves in the tradition behind the text as much as possible. See John Miles Foley, *Immanent Art : From Structure to Meaning in Traditional Oral Epic* (Bloomington, Ind: Indiana University Press, 1991).

sequences, which if known by the audience and signaled in the text create certain expectations. For example a pattern common to Hebrew and ANE literature is Victory-enthronement pattern which once signaled creates the expectation that the story's hero will ultimately go on to victory.[23]

2. Typological features – *Are there any motifs that resonate strongly with Hebrew or other ANE themes?* In traditional literature some of the formulae, patterns, idioms etc. function as metaphors bringing to the text broader traditional resonances not encompassed in their immediate lexical definitions. In other words formulae, patterns and repetition can function as metaphors representing a greater whole.
3. Unique Elements – *On the textual level, are any there any significant details that occur in one passage and not the other?* Although texts may recount the same events they may also possess important differences.

Traditionality in Judges 4.17-21.

17 Now Sisera had fled away on foot to the tent of Jael wife of Heber the Kenite; for there
was peace between King Jabin of Hazor and the clan of Heber the Kenite. 18 Jael came out
to meet Sisera, and said to him, "Turn aside, my lord, turn aside to me; have no fear." So
he turned aside to her into the tent, and she covered him with a rug. 19 Then he said to
her, "Please give me a little water to drink; for I am thirsty." So she opened a skin of milk
and gave him a drink and covered him. 20 He said to her, "Stand at the entrance of the tent,
and if anybody comes and asks you, 'Is anyone here?' say, 'No.' " 21 But Jael wife of Heber
took a tent peg, and took a hammer in her hand, and went softly to him and drove the peg
into his temple, until it went down into the ground—he was lying fast asleep from
weariness—and he died. 22 Then, as Barak came in pursuit of Sisera, Jael went out to meet
him, and said to him, "Come, and I will show you the man whom you are seeking." So he
went into her tent; and there was Sisera lying dead, with the tent peg in his temple. [24]

In Judges 4.17-21 we encounter, in narrative prose, the flight of Sisera. Sisera is heading to the tent of Jael for sanctuary, a fact emphasized by the texts formulaic description of Jael as the wife of Heber the Kenite and a further epithet outlining the fact that King Jabin and the Clan of Heber were at peace. The image

[23] Susan Niditch, *Oral World and Written Word : Ancient Israelite Literature*, Library of Ancient Israel (London: SPCK, 1997). pp. 21-24
[24] Unless otherwise stated all texts will be taken from the NRSV

of Jael's tent as a place of sanctuary is emphasized by the fact that Jael תצא 'came out'[25] to meet him, and deepened by three repetitions of the phrase סורה 'Turn aside' twice from Jael and once from the narrator. Twice Jael is described as תכס 'covering' Sisera, and having given him sanctuary in her tent, she goes beyond satisfying his thirst by giving him milk instead of water. The terseness of Sisera's command to עמד 'stand' guard is juxtaposed with the softness of Jael's footsteps[26] and as she takes up the hammer and tent peg , the illusion of her hospitality is shattered as she drives it into his temple, an act the narrator echoes at the arrival of Barak.

Traditionality in Judges 5.24-30.

24 "Most blessed of women be Jael,
the wife of Heber the Kenite,
of tent-dwelling women most blessed.
25 He asked water and she gave him milk,
she brought him curds in a lordly bowl.
26 She put her hand to the tent peg
and her right hand to the workmen's mallet;
she struck Sisera a blow,
she crushed his head,
she shattered and pierced his temple.
27 He sank, he fell,
he lay still at her feet;
at her feet he sank, he fell;
where he sank, there he fell dead.

28 "Out of the window she peered,
the mother of Sisera gazed through the lattice:
'Why is his chariot so long in coming?
Why tarry the hoofbeats of his chariots?'
29 Her wisest ladies make answer,
indeed, she answers the question herself:
30 'Are they not finding and dividing the spoil?—
A girl or two for every man;
spoil of dyed stuffs for Sisera,
spoil of dyed stuffs embroidered,
two pieces of dyed work embroidered for my neck as spoil?'

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[25] The use of the verb יצא 'to go out' in the Hebrew bible has been the subject of much debate, some suggest that in going out to meet Sisera Jael's behaviour is unbecoming of a woman living in her time. Terry L. Brensinger, *Judges* (Herald Press, 1999), p. 66. Nonetheless, most view her actions from the perspective that she was following norms and extending hospitality. Trent C. Butler, *Judges*, Word Biblical Commentary (Nashville, Tenn.) (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2009).
[26] For some this scene is filled with sexual imagery Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Poetry* (New York: Basic Books, 1985). However, in Judges 4, sexuality appears to be of 'secondary' concern, the major emphasis is on the slaying of Sisera. We are well advised by Lindars of the danger of scholars overfilling this passage with sexual imagery. See Barnabas Lindars, *Judges 1-5 : A New Translation and Commentary* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995).

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Judges 5.24-30 is highly stylized, flush with formulae, patterns, repetition and parallelisms. The account begins with praise to Jael the tent dwelling woman twice repeating the fact that she is תברך 'most blessed' and, with the usual formulaic epithet introduces her as the wife of Heber the Kenite. Jael's gifting of milk instead of water is emphasized through parallelism which builds upon the imagery of milk by extending it to include the בספל אדירים הקרבה חמאה 'curds in a lordly bowl'. After the parallelism of hospitality a shift occurs from image of the 'lordly bowl' to the 'tent peg'. The word ידה 'hand' is repeated twice, emphasizing Jael's equipping of herself for action, the second repetition of 'hand' notes that it is with her ימין 'right hand', The hand traditionally associated with power and authority that she picks up the workman's mallet.

Immediately after Jael's equipping four verbs; הלמה 'struck', מחקה 'crushed', מחצ 'shattered' and, חלף 'pierced' are used within parallelisms emphasizing her hammering of Sisera's head. Closely following is a densely formulaic passage in which Sisera's death is emphasized seven times כרה 'sank' x 3, נפל 'fell' x3, שכב 'lay still'[27] x 1. In addition, perhaps euphemistically[28] it is twice repeated that he died at Jael's רגליה 'feet'. The account then shifts to the mother of Sisera who is pictured as looking for the return of her son's רכב 'chariot' x 2, her longing is emphasized through a series of 4 questions further framed by the use of parallelisms, the fourfold repetition of שלל 'spoil' and the twofold repetition of רקמה 'dyed stuffs' in parallel with צבע 'embroidered works' emphasize her unfortunate assumption that Sisera has won when in fact he is dead.

[27] In the context of this verse it is interesting to note one of the other meanings of שכב which is to have sexual intercourse.

[28] Schneider emphasizes the importance of the sexuality of women in the book of Judges Tammi J. Schneider, *Judges*, Berit Olam (Collegeville, Minn: Liturgical Press, 2000). And Jackson in Judges 4 and 5 suggests sexuality as being an important contributor to the the 'trickster motif. See 'Deborah and Jael' in Melissa A. Jackson, *Comedy and Feminist Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible [electronic Resource] : A Subversive Collaboration*, Oxford Scholarship Online (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

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Overlay Map

When applied to Judges 4.17-21 and Judges 5.24-30, the above questions concerning overarching structure, typological features and uniqueness produce the following results.

	Judges 4.17-21	Judges 5.24-30
Overarching Structure	1. Sisera fleeing 2. Sisera offered hospitality 3. Jael decieves Sisera 4. Sisera dies 5. Barak arrives to find Sisera Dead	1. Jael is praised 2. Sisera offered hospitality 3. Jael decieves Sisera 4. Sisera dies 5. Sisera's Mother awaits his return
Typological Features	1. Hospitality 2. Cleverness/Trickery	1. Hospitality 2. Cleverness/Trickery 3. The Temptress 4. The Right Hand 5. Awaiting the return of the Hero
Uniqueness	1. Heber is at peace with King Jabin 2. Jael invites Sisera into her tent 3. Jael hides Sisera 4. Sisera asks Jael to stand guard 5. Sisera asleep 6. Barak	1. Bowl of Curds 2. Jael's Feet 3. Sisera's Mother

The overarching structure of Judges 4.17-21 and Judges 5.24-30 is almost the same, reinforcing the earlier suggestion that the two passages are recounting the same set of events. The only major differences in the plot occur at the beginning and the end. Judges 4.17 begins with Sisera fleeing, whereas Judges 5.21 begins by praising Jael. At the end of the two accounts Judges 4.21 portrays the arrival of Barak who finds Sisera Dead, and Judges 5.28-30 ends with the mother of Sisera waiting in expectation. In this instance we don't immediately detect the presence of a common traditional story-pattern such as the victory-enthronement pattern but this may be due to the fact that in both Judges 4 and 5 we are considering only a portion of the overall accounts.

Having already noted that Judges 5 contains a higher level of traditionality than Judges 4, a particularly interesting feature highlighted by the of the overlay map is the fact that Judges 5 also contains a higher number of typological features. Both passages signal notions of hospitality and cleverness/trickery. There are many customs and traditions when it comes to ANE culture, yet one of the most prevalent expressions of ANE culture is that of Hospitality and the understanding that guests should be treated well.[29] In both accounts Jael first shown to be hospitable or at least keeps up the appearance of such.[30] In many traditional literatures such as the Anancy stories from the Caribbean and West Africa, Cleverness/ trickery is admired and is a tool used by the underdogs to overcome their more powerful opponents.[31] It has been suggested that this story 'partakes of the traditional motif of "the fist in the iron glove" '.[32] Whilst this could be true, conceptually it still falls within the realms of cleverness/trickery.[33] Commander Sisera is more powerful than Jael, yet it is by Jael that commander Sisera is overcome not through strength but by guile.

[29] See 'Hospitality' in T. Desmond Alexander and Brian S. Rosner, *New Dictionary of Biblical Theology*, IVP Reference Collection (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 2000), pp. 561–563.
[30] Bal suggests that the giving of milk instead of water was not an act of gracious hospitality, that milk would've been more readily available. *Anti-Covenant: Counter-Reading Women's Lives in the Hebrew Bible*, ed. by Mieke Bal (Sheffield: Almond, 1989). However, a reading similar to Yee who characterizes Jael's hospitality as guerilla warfare seems more appropriate. Gale A. Yee, *Judges and Method : New Approaches in Biblical Studies* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995).
[31]Niditch, *A Prelude to Biblical Folklore*. pp. xv - xvi
[32] Niditch, *Judges*, p. 76.
[33] William Bernard McCarthy, 'Lang, Lang May the Ladies Stand: A Ballad Motif in the Book of Judges', *Acta Ethnographica Hungarica*, 47 (2002), 7–18.

Euphemistic references to Jael's feet in Judges 5 connote another traditional type, the temptress, who like Delilah -*later on in the book of Judges*- employs her wiles to luring her victim to his ultimate death.[34] As stated earlier the ANE context is one in which the 'right hand' is associated with might and power, thus Jael's striking of Sisera is likely to have been understood as being carried out with power and might. The final type in Judges 5 is a common epic motif not just limited to the ANE, that of the tragedy of 'the woman who anxiously waits for the return of the hero who has already died.'[35] In this instance it is Sisera's mother who is pictured as waiting, with the mention of latticework subtly suggesting that she waits in a courtly setting.[36]

Judges 5 might have a higher number of typological features but of the two multiforms Judges 4 has a higher level of specificity, including a number of additional details concerning the plot that we don't find in judges 5. For example ,in Judges 4 we are given a reason as to why Sisera went to Jael's tent, the husband of Jael's husband was at peace with king Jabin. A fact that makes Sisera appear all the more unsuspecting, and Jael all the more cunning. It's a similar situation with the other unique elements to Judges 4, each one adds more detail to plot. Judges 4 also contains unique elements which have less to do with progressing the plot and more to do with the building of key traditional resonances, such as the 'bowl of curds' which contributes to the hospitality typology, Jael's 'feet' which connote the temptress type, and Sisera's 'mother', who summons the motif of the woman awaiting the return of the hero who is already dead.

[34] On this point Schnieder sees the sexuality of women as playing an important role throughout the book of judges. See Schneider. p 93 In any case, reference to sexuality in judges 5 is much clearer in that the text speaks of 'feet', a known euphemism. Niditch, *Judges*, p. 81. In judges 4 there are no such direct references. Whilst we are advised of the danger of assuming too much of, and reading to much into singular words and phrases. See James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961). The highly stylized nature of this account would appear to lend itself more to metaphorical associations.
[35] See further discussion in Niditch, *Judges*. pp. 81-82 And on 'hero affection' in traditional literature more generally John Miles Foley, *Immanent Art*. pp. 77-78
[36] Niditch, *Judges*. p.82

Towards a Conclusion

Our folkloristic analysis of Judges 4.17-21 and Judges 5.24-30 as multi-forms has revealed a number of interesting points for reflection. Traditional scholarship approaches Judges 4 and 5 under the assumption that they are both of different genres, prose and poetry. Subsequently, the scholarly tendency has been to subject them to different hermeneutical frameworks. In this instance we have placed both Judges 4.17-21 and Judges 5.24-30 within the same hermeneutical framework and found that the texts appear to operate in similar ways. Both use traditional devices, albeit to varying degrees. This feeds into the ongoing poetry vs prose debate, for rather than demonstrating that Judges 4.17-21 and Judges 5.24-30 are fundamentally different types of literature as many have taken them to be, our analyses suggests this may not be the case. Indeed that which has traditionally been perceived as fundamental differences between Judges 4 and 5 may simply be down to the fact that one multi-form is just a more stylized than the other. Niditch asserts that in traditional-style literature the line between poetry and prose is not a clear one, and in this instance her assertion appears to be well informed.[37]

An interesting detail brought out by the overlay map is that whilst the more stylized Judges 5.24-30 allowed for greater traditional resonances particularly in the form of types, the less stylized version in Judges 4.17-21 allowed for a greater level of specificity. Indeed without Judges 4 we might be left with questions such as how did Sisera end up in Jael's tent? And, why was Sisera killed in the first place? Likewise in the absence of Judges 5 we would be left without some of the traditional resonances heightened by style and awakened more directly through typology. As works in-and-of-themselves Judges 4.17-21 and Judges 5.24-30 provide us with similar accounts of the events that took place, but when both are taken together the story of Deborah is experienced in a richer, more nuanced way. Perhaps this is the reason why canonically Judges 4 and 5 they appear together? Work in this area and, more particularly the literary dynamics of 'twice used songs' has already been initiated, but perhaps an approach premised more on traditionality would make a valuable contribution to the discussion?

[37] Niditch, *A Prelude to Biblical Folklore*, p. 14.

The folkloristic approach is one that views texts such as Judges 4 and Judges 5 as unified traditional works. Whilst, as we've seen in Judges 4.17-21 and Judges 5.24-30, differences in areas such as style, patterns, and formulae exist. These are viewed as more aesthetic features intentionally used by the creator of that particular multi-form for emotive and artistic effect. This represents a challenge to traditional approaches such as source-criticism and tradition-historical criticism where such differences are often seen as evidencing the presence of other redactors/editors, or the interaction/amalgamation of different traditions. In light of folkloristic assumptions concerning unity, and the fact that while some source-critical approaches to Judges 4 and 5 argue for single authorship, others don't[38] , a folkloristic approach to Judges 4 and 5 as a whole would likely set the scene for interesting critical discussions concerning the nature of the texts as whole.

In conclusion, approaching the slaying of Sisera as a multiform has produced a number of interesting results and raised a number of interesting questions. More investigation is needed, perhaps extending this analysis to Judges 4 and 5 as whole, or examining another 'twice used song' such the crossing of the Red Sea in Exodus 14 and 15 might be a good place to start.

[38] Echols. *Judges* pp. 95-96

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ON THE VERGE OF TEXTUAL, LITERARY, AND REDACTION CRITICISM: THE CASE OF 2 KINGS 17:7

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PREFACE

The paper deals with methodological questions on the interrelationship between textual, literary, and redaction criticism. The methodological discussion is illustrated with the study of verse 2 Kings 17:7. I would be happy to discuss especially the practical portion of the paper, namely the analysis of the verse in question and the argumentation (its validity, relevancy, etc.) there provided. All ideas concerning the "three literary differences" are welcome: are there counter-arguments? Are they literary variants at all? Can you come up with a theory why La[115] has secondarily become what it now is?

Methodological overview

In the search for "documented evidence"

My research deals with the redactional and recensional activity in 2 Kings 17. This chapter contains significant literary/redaction critical problems that have seen numerous solutions in the modern research. Maybe the most interesting trait of this research has been, however, the lack of the use of textual criticism, and the evidence of other textual witnesses. Even some of the most influential literary critical and redaction critical theories concerning the textual evolution of Kings have been proposed almost solely on the basis of the Masoretic text (MT). There are, however, certain questions to be raised about this approach when discerning these often highly problematic texts and their witnesses.

The biggest reason to doubt this sort of methodology is the re-emergence[1] of the appreciation of the so-called "documented evidence" of the evolution of different textual witnesses in the recent research. In the wake of the findings of the Dead Sea Scrolls, it has become evident that this empirical evidence has to be taken into account on an even larger scale: all textual evidence has to be now assessed on its own terms, without any presumptions about the priority of certain text forms. Thus there is a high demand for text-critical assessment of the evidence.

The methodological problems – or possibilities – do not end here, however. The need for new evaluation of the textual evidence also has its impact on the *redaction-critical* theories of Kings. If it can be shown, for example, that at least in some passages the MT seems to reflect a textual stage posterior to that of the Septuagint (LXX), for instance, this would in turn necessitate a reassessment of the redactional theories concerning the said passage as well.[2] Or,

[1] The reason I call this phenomenon a "re-emergence" of the appreciation of said evidence is that still at the end of the 19th century and in early 20th century it was more or less customary to take into account at least the Greek and Syriac variants of the texts, and sometimes also the available Latin variants. This can also be seen in the fact that after such eminent commentaries as those of Immanuel Benzinger (1899), Charles Fox Burney (1903), and Bernhard Stade (1904), to name a few, there have not been any modern text-critical commentaries written on the books of Kings. Some modern commentaries, such as the ones by Mordechai Cogan, Simon DeVries, or Marvin Sweeney, make minimal use of the textual evidence provided by the Septuagint.

[2] This sort of methodology is called for also by Jan Joosten, "Hebrew Bible/Old Testament," 5. His criticism about the textual evidence not being taken enough into account when discussing redaction history of Hebrew Bible is

if the passage in question is integral to the foundations of said theories, a reassessment of the whole redactional picture of Kings might be in order.[3] The establishment of the most ancient text is not hereby only a purely theoretical matter of textual preferentiality, but it also has much more far-reaching consequences.

While taking heed of textual evidence may shake some methods or theories, it can also be used to support others. Some literary critical findings and theories highlighting the stratified nature of the texts have often been criticized for their overly theoretical nature. While it has often been argued that the "higher" literary and "lower" textual criticisms should be kept apart,[4] this division is somewhat artificial. These two can in fact be beneficial for each other: while textual findings can be used to back up literary critical models, literary criticism has much to give to the methodology of textual criticism as well. It has been rightly suggested that in a text with such a complex textual and literary history as the Hebrew Bible these two methods are in fact inseparable.[5] Despite its significance to the research, this kind of methodological discussion has been surprisingly scant.[6]

Therefore, when we find a notable difference between different witnesses, the first question to be posed should be whether or not the difference can be explained by an accidental *textual* process (copying mistake, etc.). If there are no clear signs of accidental change, we may proceed to take note of the possible *literary* ramifications of this difference: does the difference change the logic of the narrative, for instance? Oftentimes this is indeed the case: a challenging narrative logic is simply eased by a correction. The case is even clearer if the portrayed ideology/theology or function of the narrative changes with the difference: we are probably dealing with a literary variant, and, with significantly large variants, probably even differing *editions* of the text.[7]

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correct, but at the same time not completely justified: most of the scholars working on either field (or even both) are not even yet aware of all the textual material at our possession. In the case of Kings this is largely due to the fact that there is still no critical edition available of neither Greek nor Hebrew text. There is also another reason for caution: as practically all the redaction critical models have been constructed on the basis of MT, it is only natural that they would not seem to work as well with the text of LXX, which may end up in circular reasoning.

[3] Especially some passages and formulaic notices often determined as "deuteronomistic" may be in the need of reassessment. In the words of Philippe Hugo, "Text History as Research Tool," 16: "…text history enters into dialogue with redaction criticism on two levels. Firstly, the establishment of the most ancient textual form immediately leads us to reexamine certain conclusions of the redactional analysis. The primitive or later character of certain terms, formulas or verses …, as well as the attributions of certain rhetorical or theological expressions to some Deuteronomistic or post-Deuteronomistic redactors, is sometimes contradicted by the textual witness... Then, on the level of the comparison of literary forms, text history is methodologically close to redaction criticism."

[4] Thus Natalio Fernández, *Scribes and Translators*, 37: "In my opinion there is a danger in our days not only of combining different methods of low and high criticism, but of confusing them also even in terminology... Only in a few cases when we dispose of abundant material... can we catch a glimpse of the real text history."

[5] Often conventional text-critical arguments alone won't be able to offer an unambiguous solution to the textual differences between different textual witnesses, but quite the contrary. The same goes for purely literary critical arguments as well. The interesting part is that when used *together*, these two methods actually seem to complement each other instead of contradicting the findings of one another.

[6] This methodological framework and its study is one of the main interests of the Team "Literary Criticism in the Light of Documented Evidence" of the Academy of Finland Centre of Excellence "Changes in Sacred Texts and Traditions" [http://blogs.helsinki.fi/sacredtexts/teams/litcrit/].

[7] Julio Trebolle, "Textual Criticism and the Literary Structure," 76–7: "Textual variants...pile up at the junctures of the literary units… When two pericopae get yuxtaposed or when one is introduced inside the other, their text undergoes an adaptation... Therefore after having the analyzed the variants according to their typology (omission,

Where to find this "documented evidence," and what good is it for in the case of 2 Kings 17?

As already mentioned, the original translation of Septuagint, or the so called "Old Greek" (OG), is the most important textual witness and variant when compared to MT. In the case of 2 Kings there is a catch, however: here the OG text has been subjected to the so-called *kaige*-revision.[8] The main trait of *kaige* is that it strives to conform the Greek text to that of MT in a very literal manner. This means that the most Greek manuscripts of 2 Kings give usually not the readings of OG, but those of MT.

A partial solution to this problem is the Lucianic or Antiochian text (*L*),[9] which often retains the OG text, or at least one very close to it (proto-Lucianic text). *L* also has some notable sequential differences with the majority text of LXX.[10] Even *L*, however, is not that simple a witness: it actually bears traits of three different recensions (Lucianic, Hexaplaric, and *kaige*).[11] While the Lucianic and Hexaplaric influences van be quite easily recognized and filtered off, the problem of *kaige* in *L* remains. When *L* agrees with the rest of the Greek manuscript tradition (LXX^{rel}), we have no way of knowing whether this was the OG reading or just later adaptation towards MT.

This is where the further translations of LXX into other languages come into picture. Of these the most important are the Old Latin (OL) witnesses. The OL manuscript of most interest to 2 Kings 17 is the fragmentary *Codex Vindobonensis* (La^{115}), which has however not received too much attention in the research.[12] The translation technique of this manuscript is very literal, and its Greek base text or "*Vorlage*" from which it was translated seems to have been very close

additions, transpositions, etc.), it is necessary to assess them according to the function they accomplish in the context." However, the cautions of Andrés Piquer, "Oxford Hebrew Bible Edition," 237–8 n.30, should be here heeded: "Of course, the main problem lies in determining whether these elements were part of an 'edition' in the strict sense of the word or shorter single-instance glosses-changes introduced later in a given edition. An answer to this question requires, of course, isolating and analyzing similar tendencies throughout the whole book." Considering the isolating of these tendencies "throughout the whole book," the research is only at the very beginning of this task.

[8] In the books of Kings the *kaige*-portion consists of 1 Kings 1:1–2:11 and 22–2 Kings. The name "kaige" comes from the idiosyncratic rendition of Hebrew " וגם " as "και γε" in Greek.

[9] This text-type can in 2 Kings be found in manuscripts 19´-82-93-108-127 and 700 (*L*-700). Antiochian text-type has also influenced greatly some other manuscripts, most notably 158 and 460.

[10] Most of these differences are found in 2 Kings. Sometimes there are other witnesses coinciding with *L*, but mostly it has these differences alone. For example, *L* is the only witness to not give Jehoshaphat's regnal narrative in 1 Kings 22:41–51; it also has notable sequential differences in 2 Kings 13–14. However, the big plus of *L* in 10:36+ (Ahazyah's regnal narrative), for instance, is supported by an Old Latin witness La^{M}.

[11] See on the Lucianic recension Sebastian Brock, *Recensions of the Septuagint*. That *L* also contains features of *kaige* has been disputed, but this is pretty clear even in 2 Kings 17:19, 41, where *L* gives attestations of the famous phrase "και γε" itself.

[12] See on the fragmentary state of this palimpsest in the edition of the codex by Bonifatius Fischer et al., "Palimpsestus Vindobonensis," 20–2. Only about 9% of the text of Kings is now extant. In addition to already scarce research, most of the studies on the manuscript have been written in languages other than English.

to the OG text.[13] Therefore it is a valuable witness for textual criticism, for when *L* and La^{115} coincide with their readings, we can be fairly sure, that the reading is very old and reliable.[14]

However, this manuscript has one highly peculiar trait: it has (preserves?) some *transpositions* of textual units that are nowhere else recorded.[15] One of these transpositions happens in 2 Kings 17: the verses 9(–14?)[16] and 15–19 are transposed with each other. When we take into account the fact that in 1–2 Kings there actually are quite a few sequential differences like this between MT and LXX (of which some can be seen in La^{115} as well),[17] the question arises: could La^{115} have here preserved an OG order (and text) of the narratives? If the answer is yes, could this OG text have further repercussions on the textual history of the Kings? In the case of 2 Kings 17, the answer to both seems to be positive.

Brief review of redactional theories of 2 Kings 17

There are multitudes of different theories concerning the redactional picture and textual growth of 2 Kings 17. Most often the chapter is split into four main portions (in verses 1–6, 7–23, 24–33, and 34–41), which, in turn, are theorized to contain materials from different periods.[18] Of these portions the one consisting of verses 7–23 has been subject of most debate, as its contents are notably disorganized and seem to at points even contradict itself.[19] It happens to be the most interesting one for this paper as well, as verse 7, usually as a whole, is almost always seen to form a redactional stratum (often labeled "exilic") with some other verses of the passage.[20]

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[13] Trebolle, "Textual Criticism and the Literary Structure," 56. However, the text of La^{115} has been very little studied, and the possible limitations of using it as an OG witness are not yet completely clear. According to Tuukka Kauhanen, *Proto-Lucianic Problem*, 164, the manuscript may have caught some sporadic Lucianic contamination, but is overall a quite good witness. La^{115} may not be completely exempt from *kaige* readings either; see Trebolle, "Textos "Kaige"," 199–200.

[14] However, the cautions of Kauhanen, "Septuagint in the West," 1–2, have to be kept in mind: as La^{115} as a manuscript postdates the Lucianic recension, an agreement between *L* and La^{115} does not yet, as such, ensure an OG reading.

[15] These are 2 Kings 13:14–21 (the death narrative of Elisha), which is in La^{115} found after 2 Kings 10:30, and the situation of 2 Kings 17. See for the Elisha narrative Matthieu Richelle, "Revisiting 2 Kings 13:14–21." Additionally, La^{115} *may* have had the whole chapter 2 Kings 16 in a different location (most probably after chapter 17), as it is now lacking after 15:38.

[16] The preserved text of La^{115} breaks off after the verse 9bα. Therefore it is impossible to say whether or not the codex had originally the rest of the chapter, or even any of the other verses of the unit 9-14 in it. As Trebolle, "2 Kings 17,2-23," 215 n. 7, notes, this was however "quite likely" so. As the verse 9 can be found in the text, it is quite safe to assume that at least some of the verses 10–14 were also located after it. Thus also Piquer, "Oxford Hebrew Bible Edition," 239.

[17] Good examples of these are in 1 Kings the so-called "Miscellanies I and II" in 2:35a-o and 2:46a-l, differing Jeroboam narrative in 12:24a-z, transposition of Jehoshaphat narrative of 22:41–51 to 16:28a-h, transposition of chapters 20 and 21 with each other; in 2 Kings transposition of Joram's regnal formulae 3:1–3 to 1:18a-d may be the most notable one. Because of *kaige* revision in 2 Kings, not that many differences can be found in most manuscripts here. La^{115} has of these 1 Kings 12:24a-z and 16:28a-h.

[18] The verses 1–2 are often seen separate from 3–6, which are in turn seen to consist of two different strata in verses 3–4 and 5–6. Verses 24–33 are often seen to consist of two strata as well, 24–28 and 29–34a(+41), while verses 34b–40 are separated as their own unit.

[19] Juha Pakkala, *Intolerant Monolatry*, 167, notes accordingly: "This passage shows that the most central texts in the DH have been heavily and extensively edited, and that the oldest text forms only a marginal proportion of the final text."

[20] See the table of Trebolle, "2 Kings 17,2-23," 224–5, for a comprehensive overview of different scholars and their opinions on verses 7–23. Most often verses 7–17/8 are seen to form a stratum of their own, while 19–20 are usually seen as later additions. Verses 21–23 are usually seen as constituting the most ancient material in the

These theories, as purely literary and redaction critical theories often do, have differed substantially from each other: something that is pre-exilic for one seems to be post-exilic for other.

However, as already emphasized in the methodological overview, these theories have been constructed almost solely on MT. The extant Septuagint witnesses have in this case been of little help, of course, as they almost completely conform to MT readings. However, if we were to discover an OG witness completely differing from the text of MT verse 7, we would have to ask, whether or not the OG reading preceded here the one in MT. If this indeed was the case, this would force us to reconsider the redactional theories concerning the chapter as well.

The problems of verse 7 in the light of earlier methodological discussion

Perhaps the biggest individual textual problems in the whole chapter 2 Kings 17 are located in and in the immediate vicinity of verse 7. Here we have not only two, but three vastly differing textual forms of the same verse. While MT/LXX^{rel} and La^{115} give almost totally differing forms of the text from each other, *L* seems to give a sort of amalgam of these two, mostly coinciding and harmonized with the MT. The readings of La^{115} are especially interesting, as they are not only valuable and challenging text-critically, but seem to point out that its text is here at a completely different *compositional* state (be it older or younger) when compared to all other witnesses. And indeed: after verse 7 La^{115} first omits/greatly shortens verse 8 and then reverses the order of the verses 15–19 and 9(–14$^{?}$).

Why does La^{115} differ so much from the other witnesses? Accidentally or deliberately?

Even though there have already been some attempts to tackle the textual and literary challenges of La^{115} in chapter 17, there has not been that much discussion about the possibility that the large differences in the text could be due to an accidental mistake in the copying process. While the literary critical arguments already posited for the originality of La^{115} have certainly been at least partly successful to show the originality of some of the readings, it has to be ensured, that these readings have not only secondarily come to resemble an "original" textual state.[21] Only after this can we posit literary critical explanations to the differences between the text forms.

passage. For verse 7, only a minority of scholars see it in any way suspicious. It is interesting to see, that most of the time scholars have indeed seen a break in the narrative around the verse 19/20. This is supported by La^{115} as well. However, a possible break of La^{115} between verses 14 and 15 has practically never occurred to literary critics.

[21] The originality of La^{115}'s text and composition in this verse has been asserted especially by Julio Trebolle and Adrian Schenker. However, their discussions of the verse in question are very brief and do not seem to give enough thought to the different text-critical problems of the verse.

MT 17:6b–8a	LXX Rahlfs[22] 17:6b–8a	LXX^{L} 17:6b–8a	La^{115} 17:6b–8*
וַיֶּגֶל אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל אַשּׁוּרָה...	καὶ ἀπῴκισεν τὸν Ισραηλ εἰς Ασσυρίους...	καὶ ἀπῴκισεν βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων τὸν Ισραηλ εἰς Ασσυρίους... …ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης.	et transmigravit rex assyriorum Israel assyrios… …usque in hunc diem
וַיְהִי כִּי־ חָטְאוּ	καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτι ἥμαρτον	καὶ ἐγένετο ὀργὴ κυρίου ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραήλ, διότι ἥμαρτον	 quia propter omnes exacerbationes quibus exacerbauerunt
בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם הַמַּעֲלֶה אֹתָם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם מִתַּחַת יַד פַּרְעֹה מֶלֶךְ־מִצְרָיִם	οἱ υἱοὶ Ισραηλ τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ αὐτῶν τῷ ἀναγαγόντι αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ὑποκάτωθεν χειρὸς Φαραω βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου	οἱ υἱοὶ Ισραηλ Κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ αὐτῶν τῷ ἀναγαγόντι αὐτοὺς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ὑποκάτωθεν χειρὸς Φαραω βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἡμέρας ἀνήγαγεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης	 dom[inum] ex qua die eduxit patres eorum ex aegypto et usq[ue] in hunc diem
וַיִּירְאוּ אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים	καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν θεοὺς ἑτέρους	καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν θεοὺς ἑτέρους	
וַיֵּלְכוּ בְּחֻקּוֹת הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר הוֹרִישׁ יְהוָה מִפְּנֵי בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν τοῖς δικαιώμασιν τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὧν ἐξῆρεν κύριος ἀπὸ προσώπου υἱῶν Ισραηλ...	καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν τοῖς δικαιώμασι τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὧν ἐξῆρε κύριος ἀπὸ προσώπου τῶν υἱῶν Ισραηλ...	non custodierunt precepta d[o]mi[ni] d[e]i patrum suorum
7 ἐγένετο] +οργη κυριου επι τον ισραηλ *L*-700 328 158 460 | ὅτι] διοτι *L*-700 460; οτε *O CII* $^{-328}$ 121 *o s* 707^{s} | τῷ 1°] et κυρίῳ tr *L*-700 125d 246f 381o 158 244 460 | ἀναγαγόντι] αγαγοντι 19΄-700 74-134; εξαγαγοντι 460 | ἐκ γῆς] εξ *L*-700 460 | βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου] >125; + αφ ης ημερας (> 328) ανηγαγεν (ηγαγες 19; ηγαγεν 108) αυτους και (> 328 158) εως της ημερας ταυτης 328 *L*-700 158 460			
8a ἐθνῶν] θεων 82 | κύριος] >127			

Translations[23]

6b And he exiled Israel to Assyria…	6b And the king of Assyrians exiled Israel to Assyrians… …until this day.	6b And the king of Assyrians exiled Israel to Assyrians… …until this day,
7 And happened, because the sons of Israel sinned against Yahweh, who had brought them up from the land of Egypt, from under the hand of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and they feared other gods.	7 And happened the wrath of Lord over the Israel, because the sons of Israel sinned against Lord their god, who had led them up from Egypt, from under the hand of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, from the day he brought them up and until this day, and they feared other gods.	7 because of all the provocations with which they provoked the Lord, from the day he led their fathers from Egypt and until this day.
8a And they walked in the customs of the nations whom Yahweh drove out before the sons of Israel...	8a And they walked in the statutes of the nations, whom Lord took out from before the sons of Israel…	8* They did not keep the commandments of Lord, the god of their fathers.

The first thing that strikes the reader is the brevity of La^{115} when compared with MT and especially *L*. The verb "and it happened" is left out, as is the long epithet of Yahweh, and the

[22] The apparatus is made on the basis of the of Rahlfs' text. The readings of the Greek manuscripts have been taken from the preliminary critical apparatus for the forthcoming Göttingen edition of Kings with the kind consent of the editors, Julio Trebolle and Pablo Torijano.

[23] MT and LXX Rahlfs have been combined in the first column, as they give practically the same text.

notion "and they feared other gods." The idea of "because they sinned" is given in a completely differing wording: "because of all the provocations with which they provoked." Intriguingly, La[115] also adds two brief notices at the end of the verse: "since the day he led out their fathers from Egypt," with somewhat same content as the epithet in MT, and "and until this day."

There are three possible explanations for the text of La[115]. Firstly, the text may be simply a fabrication by a Latin copyist, caused partly or fully by a corruption in the stage of textual transmission.[24] Secondly, La[115] may attest here a Greek *Vorlage*, which in turn is either 1) the OG, or 2) later fabrication, as in the first option.[25] Third option, a yet completely unknown Hebrew *Vorlage* as the basis of the reading (either directly or via unknown Greek source), is also possible, but highly unlikely and will not be further addressed here.

There is a possibility, that the whole verse 7 was at some point dropped because of a *homoioteleuton* from the και 1° to another και 1° in the beginning of verse 8, 9, or 15, depending on the original composition. This could also explain why the verse 8 seems to be, at least partly, lacking in La[115]: it was simply omitted by parablepsis along with verse 7.[26] Later the apparent(?) lack of a linking verse or two between the units of 1–6 and 9(-14[?]) or 15–19 could have prompted a copyist to add, more or less independently of other sources, some quite formulaic text between the units to create a smoother shift from one narrative unit to another.

This loss of verse or two could also explain the transposing of the two later units (9(–14[?]) and 15–19), or perhaps the transposition itself was the cause for the loss of the verse(s). The actions could have taken place either in Greek or Latin transmission. In this case, then, the difference would be due to both initial accidental omission and later deliberate insertions. However, the exact mechanics of these theorized changes are hard to trace back. There does not seem to be found any exact reason for the transposition of 9(–14[?]) and 15–19 even if verse(s) 7(–8) were omitted. Correspondingly, in the case of the transposition happening first, the modification of the hinge-verse 8 would be completely understandable, but why would verse 7 be changed this radically as well?

Indeed, when the text of verse 7 of La[115] is examined on its own, it becomes quickly clear, that it consists mostly of quite formulaic "stock phrases." It would not be impossible to imagine, that a later redactor had simply added these to a partly or even completely lacking verse(s) 7(–8) in an attempt to reconstruct them. Such phrases as "provocations, with which provoked

[24] Here it may be mentioned, that La[115] has in verses 7–8 no affiliation whatsoever with the text of Vulgate ("[7]*factum est enim cum peccassent filii Israhel Domino Deo suo qui eduxerat eos de terra Aegypti de manu Pharaonis regis Aegypti coluerunt deos alienos* [8]*et ambulaverunt iuxta ritum gentium quas consumpserat Dominus in conspectu filiorum Israhel et regum Israhel quia similiter fecerant*").

[25] It needs to be stressed that by no means are these differences in text attributable to the OG translator(s) of the book. As the translation technique in Kings is very literal, the translators would have kept the text as close to the original as possible. See Emanuel Tov, "Three Strange Books," 372–4.

[26] At least some text certainly *seems* to be lacking in verse 8*, when the text is compared with MT. However, when the verse 8* is seen in the larger compositional picture of La[115], this idea of accidental omission becomes doubtful.

(Yahweh),"[27] "from the day they/their fathers were led from Egypt,"[28] and "until this day"[29] would be possible for even a late Greek or Latin copyist to find and utilize in the passage.[30]

However, the copyist seems to have had at least some sort of vestiges of the passage left, as the subject matter of his additions is strikingly similar to that of MT/LXX^{rel}/*L*. The idea that in the case of verse 7a the copyist would have worked *ex nihilo* does not seem preferable, as there would have been nothing in the text to hint the copyist of the subject matter of verses 7–8: a causal construction,[31] a mention about leaving Egypt/epithet of Yahweh, and the mention of (not) following (Yahweh's) statutes. It is also hard to reconstruct how these hypothetical vestiges would have been born (by accidental mistakes?), as in the text there seem to be no major possibilities for haplography.[32] Maybe in this case the copied manuscript was in poor shape physically, omitting some words/phrases, but even in this case the accidental emergence of the text form would be hard to explain. Therefore, a different *Vorlage* becomes a viable alternative to the problem.

Moreover, when the text of La^{115} is compared with the Antiochian text, it becomes evident that the text of La^{115} has here at least some roots in an older Greek *Vorlage*: as the two phrases "from the day they (*L*)/their fathers (La^{115}) were led (from Egypt)" and "and until this day" are both found at the end of the verse in the Antiochian text and the manuscripts 328 158 460, the base text of La^{115} seems to have been proto-Lucianic (and thus probably going back to OG).[33] Therefore, La^{115} does not seem to be simply making its text up – at least not completely. While the latter part of the verse is firmly rooted in Greek *Vorlage*, the first part may still be kept suspect.[34] However, a textual reason, rather than a possible literary reason for the difference, starts to seem unlikely.

Lastly it should also be noted, that the retroversion of the verse 7a in La^{115} into Greek and further into Hebrew is possible, despite the pessimistic statements of Trebolle and Piquer.[35] In

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[27] See for this phrase 1 Kings 15:30, 21:22, and 2 Kings 23:26

[28] See 1 Sam 8:8; 2 Sam 7:6; 1 Kings 8:16; Jer 7:25; and especially 2 Kings 21:15 for the phrase(s).

[29] This phrase can be found in many places in the books of Kings alone, but most importantly 3 more times even in the chapter 17, verses 23, 33/34, and 41.

[30] In fact, Alfred Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 254, argues that the plus of *L* ("from the day he brought them and until this day") in verse 7 was due to Lucian's addition from 1 Sam 8:6 or 2 Sam 7:6.

[31] In this case the copier may have used the example of the parallel passage 2 Kings 18:12 in his reconstruction. However, one could expect more of the language of the parallel passage to have seeped in here, especially if the verse 7 was somehow damaged in its transmission and supplemented on the basis of 18:12.

[32] This is especially the case with the Greek text. However, possibly at the translation process of OG, or even in its Hebrew *Vorlage*, one could argue that a homoioteleuton mistake happened between the words " וַיְהִי " and " לַיהוָה ," dropping the beginning of the verse. Maybe at the same time a similar mistake happened from a " מִצְרַיִם " to another, dropping also the latter part of the verse that was later supplemented. At the later stage of Greek transmission the verse would then have been brought back into conformity with MT. While this is possible, it does not seem too likely.

[33] Trebolle, "2 Kings 17, 2-23," 219 n.10; Piquer, "Oxford Hebrew Bible Edition," 241 n.38.

[34] It is a possibility, that 115* was indeed translated from a proto-Lucianic text, that was then somehow corrupted and later intra-Latinistically supplemented. However, it is again hard to reconstruct the mechanism behind this corruption, and even more so the posited original proto-Lucianic text in 115*.

[35] According to Trebolle, "2 Kings 17, 2-23," 223 n.15: "It is not possible to reconstruct the beginning of the *protasis* (v. 7) following LXX^{L} and OL." Piquer, "Oxford Hebrew Bible Edition," 241 n.38: "…the Latin text may not be exempt of paraphrastic elements." However, Adrian Schenker, *Textgeschichte*, 147, is much more hopeful: "Nichts nötigt zur Annahme, der lateinische Text könnte nicht auf einer hebräischen Textbasis beruhen. Alles lässt sich auf die entsprechenden hebräischen Wendungen zurückführen."

Greek the sentence may have been the following: "(ανθ' ων) παντα τα παροργισματα οις παρωργισαν τον κυριον." As for this sort of Hebrew causal construction, where the verb comes only at the end of the sentence, there is an almost word-for-word parallel in 2 Kings 23:26.[36] The Hebrew *Vorlage* may have thus read " על כל הכעסים אשר הכעיסו את יהוה ."

Conclusions to text-critical remarks

As we have seen, the textual situation of verse 7 is quite complex. The notable differences between La[115] and MT/LXX can certainly be theorized to have been introduced in the copying process, especially in the case of the first part of the verse. The changes in text may have taken place in either Greek or Latin transmission (technically, if we take La[115] to represent the OG, the corruption could have happened already in its Hebrew *Vorlage*), but there is no exact method to ascertain in which one.

However, there seems to be no certain textual reason why the text would have become as "corrupt" as can be now seen. There seem to be no possibilities for major (or even minor) haplography in Greek or Latin stage, and a reconstruction of the process of corruption is problematic without somewhat hypothetical theories (a physically rundown manuscript?). Therefore, a supposition of a differing Greek *Vorlage* (which, in turn, would practically be OG or at least a proto-Lucianic text) for La[115] is possible, even preferable.[37] The text was not a product of a mere corruption and/or later correction. This is underlined by the notion that at least the latter part of the verse ("from the day they were led from Egypt and until this day") has a proto-Lucianic basis, as the same exact text is found in both *L* and La[115]. A retroversion of the whole verse from Latin to Greek and further to Hebrew is also possible, and thus there are no problems of methodology on this front. As textual reasons for the differences seem anything but certain, a literary critical assessment of the verse is methodologically justified.

Methodologically this is, admittedly, always debatable. The biggest question concerns the probability of the textual reasons (corruption, etc.) for the change: how high or low should we set the bar for accepting purely textual reasoning on the text? The "minimalist" faction of text critics would probably in the case of verse 7 dismiss the Latin witness on the basis of the discussion presented in this paper. The "maximalist" faction of literary critics, on the other hand, does not always even take into account the possible textual reasons for the change. A sort of middle ground would be to first consider the possible textual possibilities, and assess their probabilities. If after this the situation is unclear or in a "50–50" state, literary critical arguments may be taken into account. In most of the cases the textual reasons can never be completely ruled out, but at some point of the probability scale we have to start asking: is the change really purely textual? In this case, I would say, the situation is unclear enough for us to take into account literary critical arguments.

As we thus seem to be dealing with two different literary variants, or even *editions* of the text, text-critical means are alone insufficient to make the final call about the history of the text.

[36] 2 Kings 23:26: (" אַךְ לֹא־שָׁב יְהוָה מֵחֲרוֹן אַפּוֹ הַגָּדוֹל אֲשֶׁר־חָרָה אַפּוֹ בִּיהוּדָה **עַל כָּל־הַכְּעָסִים אֲשֶׁר הִכְעִיסוֹ מְנַשֶּׁה** ").

[37] Piquer, "Oxford Hebrew Bible Edition," 242, asserts:"…here it is quite probable that the Latin materials are witnesses of The Old Greek, and ultimately of a differently-structured Hebrew redaction…" The "Lagardean principle" (the text farthest from MT may be equated with the OG) works also for the preferentiality of La[115].

In cases like this, only literary critical means may help us onwards with the search for the reasons of change and ultimately the original textual form.

Literary criticism of verse 7

There are three important literary variants in the verse that may help us find the answer to the question of the most original form, and the textual history, of the text. Firstly we can note that there is a case of *Wiederaufnahme* in the OG tradition ("[6b] ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης …[7b] ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης") that is missing from MT. Secondly, the grammatically hard and long debated beginning construct of MT's verse 7 ("וַיְהִי כִּי ") may have further literary critical repercussions. Thirdly, the peculiar formula "and they feared other gods" of MT and its absence in La[115] may even lead us to reconsider some of the posited redactional models of the chapter.

Resumptive repetition of "until this day"

Firstly it is important to note that the phrase "until this day" in verses 6bβ[38] and 7b creates in both *L* and La[115] a *Wiederaufnahme*, which encloses the material in verse 7.[39] This is most probably an OG feature, reflecting its Hebrew *Vorlage*, as it would be quite unlikely for a Greek or Latin copyist to add material using this technique.[40] Thus, if some sort of corruption happened in the text of verse 7, the later supplication of its text by this *Wiederaufnahme* was most probably already made in Hebrew. It is good to note, that this remark is possible regardless of the origins of the beginning of the verse in La[115]: OG seems to have had the repetition of "until this day" here in any case.

In MT both of these notices are missing. According to Richelle, whenever there is a notable transposition of a textual unit and a *Wiederaufnahme* to be found in some of the textual tradition(s), it is probable that the disappearing repetition is due to later redaction.[41] The lack of the two notices "until this day" relieves redundancy and makes the text run smoother. Here the lack of these clear transitional elements in MT seems thus to indicate lateness of its text, rather than the opposite.[42]

In the context of La[115]'s differing composition of verses 9–18, this case of *Wiederaufnahme* emphasizes even more clearly how its composition and growth was most probably originally

[38] There are also a few other reasons to consider this phrase original here. Firstly, this phrase is used in the chapter 3 times in MT and 5 times in *L* (and twice in La[115], coinciding with *L*) marking shifts from a narrative units to another. This seems to be its function here as well: the historical narrative of verses 3–6 switches to the "homiletic" part of the chapter beginning from the verse 7. Therefore, considering its structurally fitting position at the hinge-point of differing narrative units, and the fact that this phrase is also found at the end of the verse 17:23b, which seems to form a *Wiederaufnahme* with verse 6b, the originality of this phrase seems here most likely. In addition, the parallel passage of 1 Chron 5:26 also gives this phrase.

[39] This phenomenon has also been very briefly addressed by Trebolle, "La Caida," 150 n. 23.

[40] If one wants to argue for this to have happened, it needs to be asked, why the "vestiges" of verse 8* in La[115] are then left out of the *Wiederaufnahme*. Were there two different (Latin) hands at work here?

[41] Richelle, "In Search of Intentional Omissions," 15: "Maybe this could provide, in some cases at least, a criterion to detect an omission: the textual witness preserving the *Wiederaufnahme* has a good chance of reflecting an earlier stage of the text."

[42] The possibility of a *Wiederaufnahme* in the original account actually allows us to posit one more possibility of an accidental omission in the textual transmission: possibly there happened a homoioteleuton not in Greek, but instead in MT between the two notices of "until this day," which prompted a new edition of the verse.

done by just adding different narrative units "one block at a time" to the text.[43] Even if we were to take some of these blocks away, the text would not be rendered incomprehensible. Only when these blocks are brought into conformity with each other would problems arise with this procedure. This relative independence of different narrative units will come into play with the next literary difference.

"And it happened, because…" – What exactly happened?

The problems of MT's beginning construct " וַיְהִי כִּי " have been long noted,[44] and as it now stands it seems to create grammatical problems. Usually this construct means "and it happened, *when*,"[45] but this temporal understanding can hardly be the meaning here. Instead, the construct may be understood to refer to the *preceding* clause, namely verse 6: "and *this* (i.e. the deportation of Israel) happened, because..."[46] In this kind of use it would, however, be abnormal.[47] The verb, which begins here a completely new sentence, is here rather unnecessary and intruding.

On the other hand, the perfectly fine and harmonizing reading of *L* ("And became the wrath of Yahweh over Israel, because…") has often been argued to have been born out of this puzzling construction.[48] However, there is a thematic link between *L* and La[115]: Yahweh is furious. There is also similarity between the words "ὀργή" and *exacerbaverunt* (most probably from verb παροργίζειν). In this way, the plus of *L* would not be completely "perverted" and haphazard. On the other hand, the idea of Yahweh's wrath may simply have been taken from either the verse 18 or 20, being therefore completely recensional. However, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the plus of *L* reflects indirectly an earlier stratum of the text.

Another, and possibly the most popular, interpretation for the verb " וַיְהִי " is to read it as a protasis to an apodosis in the verse 18: "[7] and it happened, [because…], [18] *that* Yahweh was/became angry."[49] This sort of understanding has its problems as well, as this 10 verses long

[43] This same phenomenon can be witnessed in the verse 17:4a as well, where there is a similar case of *Wiederaufnahme* in the OG (*L* and La[115]) tradition. The fact that MT seems to give in verses 3–6 the latest streamlined stage of the text only adds suspicions about the verse 7 as well. See for verses 17:3–6 the treatment of Trebolle, "La Caida." This way of literary growth by *Wiederaufnahmen* is evident in the latter parts of the chapter as well, also in MT; see Mordechai Cogan, "Israel in Exile," 40–2.

[44] Otto Thenius, *Könige*, 384; Immanuel Benzinger, *Könige*, 174.

[45] Karl Bähr, *Kings*, 184, sees this as the preferable reading. The minority Greek reading of "οτε" in manuscripts *O CII*[-328] 121 *o s* 707[s] may be here noted as possible evidence for this interpretation, although this is probably just a case of copying mistake (itacism).

[46] The construction is read this way by John Gray, *Kings*, 587 n. 1: "the subject of way[e]hî in MT is apparently the fact of the collapse of Israel stated in v.6, but the verb demands a more direct subject"; Gwilym Jones, *Kings*, 548; Volkmar Fritz, *Zweite Buch der Könige*, 95; T.R. Hobbs, *2 Kings*, 221, 231; Anthony Campbell & Mark O'Brien, *Unfolding*, 441.

[47] Richard Nelson, *Double Redaction*, 55: "way[e]hî kî as a retrospective causal clause … would be completely anomalous." Also Iain Provan, *Hezekiah*, 71: "No justification exists from the syntax for … retrospective causal clause."

[48] The words of James Montgomery, *Kings*, 478, may be the most well-known: "S[L] found rhetorical difficulty, and expanded with "and the Lord's anger was against Israel (because)" – 'superior,' says Burney – but not original!" See also Bernhard Stade, *Kings*, 262: "S[L] with scribal expansion from v. 18"; and Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 278 n.10. None of them, however, take into account the reading of La[115].

[49] Thus, for example, Nelson, *Double redaction*, 55; Mordechai Cogan & Hayim Tadmor, *Kings*, 204; Trebolle, "2 Kings 17,2-23," 222; Bob Becking, *Ondergang*, 169; Thenius, *Könige*, 384; Montgomery, *Kings*, 468; Bähr, *Kings*, 184–5; Provan, *Hezekiah*, 71.

verbal construction would hardly be original either.[50] According to Provan, the original sentence consisted of 7aβ and 18a, in-between which was then added 10 verses of sins of Israel.[51]

The construct with its multiple possible interpretations may be seen as a *lectio difficilior*, which is eased by the other two versions in two different ways: the Antiochian text would have taken the road to add a subject to the verb, while 115* (the original translation of La^{115}) would have just omitted the puzzling verb altogether. Positing this 10 verse long protasis seems to make sense of the larger syntax of MT verses 7–18.

Unlike in MT/LXX, in La^{115} the main clause of verse 7 can be found in the preceding verse, as it does not have this puzzling verb. The text of La^{115} forms a direct continuum with the preceding verse 6 (^{6b}*et transmigravit rex assyriorum israel assyrios*…^{7}*quia propter omnes exacerbationes*… "and the king of Assyrians transported Israel to Assyria…because of all the provocations…"). It is noteworthy that there is no need for any kind of apodosis in La^{115}: verse 7 can be seen as syntactically independent from the following narrative(s) and only clarifying the reason of Israel's exile in verse 6.[52]

The lack of need for an apodosis, in fact, may be one of the most important indicators of La^{115}'s possible older age: while MT has a long and tedious, but nevertheless coherent, syntactical construct of 10 verses in 7–18 encompassing all the possible sins of Israel, La^{115} does not seem as concerned about the mutual coherence of its text blocks. The words of Schenker are here due:

> It is likely that a narrative form, careless about coherence beyond the boundaries of its own unit, is more original than another which cares about the logical coherence of a number of stories unified only by the same hero protagonist.[53]

Even though here Schenker talks about the coherence of narrative logic between different chapters that contain the Elijah stories, the general point stands the same. If indeed the text block of verse 7, enclosed by the *Wiederaufnahme* in *L*/La^{115}, is to be seen as constituting an (additional) unit of its own, separate from the following narrative units, it is more likely that the text with more coherence between these different units has been born later through

[50] Trebolle, "2 Kings 17,2-23," 222: "Such long *apodoses* are usually due to insertion of interpolations that lenghten a sentence that was much shorter than the present text." Norman Snaith, *Kings*, 280: "a very unlikely Hebrew construction"; Provan, *Hezekiah*, 71: "It is much more likely that the form of 2 Kings 17:7–18 is the result of insertion into an already existing sentence, than that an author would have composed it from the start in this way." One could ask, why the subject of this construction could not be Yahweh already in the verse 13 ("7 and it happened, [because…], 13 that Yahweh warned Israel and Judah…"); Becking, *Ondergang*, 169, notes about this accordingly: "Zij [that is, de "lange bijzin," TT] wordt onderbroken door vers 13 en in 14 weer opgenomen."

[51] Provan, *Hezekiah*, 72. On the basis of MT/LXX this supposition is well-founded, but it runs understandably into problems with the composition of La^{115}.

[52] For some reason Trebolle, "2 Kings 17,2-23," 222–5, seems to surmise the La^{115} to also have a protasis-apodosis structure as in MT. It is possible to interpret its text this way, but this is a somewhat awkward reading of its text. However we may read verse 7 of La^{115}, Trebolle's overall argument remains nevertheless convincing.

[53] Schenker, "What Do Scribes," 284. However, as Percy Van Keulen, *Two Versions*, 20, notes, the argument of narrative logic alone is often reversible: the greater literary coherence may be seen as showing more original state of the text contra more illogical one, while the one with less coherence may be seen as simply literary *lectio difficilior*. Thus this argument alone is rarely enough when assuming literary changes. See on the "reversible arguments" Schenker, "Man bittet um das Gegenargument!"

redactional processes.[54] While verse 7 in La^{115} is not syntactically and explicitly connected to the long listing of Israel's sins, the text of MT may have been reformed in a way that allows the reading of verses 7–18 (which are, furthermore, evidently composed of two text blocks of 8/9-14 and 15–18) as one big unity.

The fact that this has been done syntactically somewhat awkwardly, and that there are further textual hints of redaction in the text of MT/LXX/La^{115} in verses 17:8–23,[55] only highlights this notion even more. Hence the notion of Provan is true in a way that MT does indeed "interpolate" the narrative between verses 7aβ and 18a, or rather create a frame surrounding it. However, this construct is not part of the original composition of the chapter, but evidences later redaction.

The opposite is of course also possible, namely that the textual coherence is here knowingly lessened, but the text usually tends to get more harmonized with itself than the contrary. This can be seen even better and becomes even clearer with the third literary difference between the versions, as MT seems to make its textual blocks of the whole chapter even more unified.

"Fearing other gods"

It is also worth noting what else is not found in La^{115}. The ending notice of verse 7b in MT, "וַיִּירְאוּ אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים" ("and they feared other gods"), is missing.[56] It is also oddly placed in *L*, given only at the very end of the verse, after the "aberrant" OG notice "from the day he led them/their fathers from Egypt and until this day." One could expect the sentence to be given in *L* in its apparent context of verse 7a, as in MT/LXX^{rel}. The mention does not seem to have been part of the proto-Lucianic stratum of the Antiochian text, but rather reflects later adaptation towards MT.

The phrase "to (not) fear *other* gods" appears in the Hebrew Bible only in 2 Kings 17:7, 35, 37, 38.[57] Thus it seems, that this mention in MT verse 7 is actually tightly linked to the end of the chapter. The mention here seems to work as a sort of "key" to the chapter and its interpretation, as this is the first sin mentioned: the destruction of Israel was first and foremost due to Israelites' sin of idolatry.[58] In the same way, the epithet in the verse 7 MT ("Yahweh, their god, who brought them out of the land of Egypt"[59]), is almost verbatim the same as is

[54] Here, as well, it is good to see the parallel phenomenon in the preceding verses 2 Kings 17:3–4: while the OG version of the narrative seems quite uninterested of its greater narrative coherence, giving almost self-contradicting information, MT smooths the logic of the overall narrative logic of the passage.

[55] See Trebolle, "2 Kings 17,2-23."

[56] Here it is again possible that the phrase (in Latin possibly *et timuerunt deos alienos*) was simply omitted by a homoioteleuton from a "καί" or *et* to another. In this case, however, one would expect the word *et* to begin the sentence in verse 8*, which it does not. This makes the homoioteleuton argument more unlikely, albeit not impossible. The most probable option is that this phrase was not a part of the OG text.

[57] This idea is also found in Judges 6:10, though in a bit differing wording ("do not fear the god(s) of Amorites"). Also, the idea of "fearing Yahweh" appears first time in chapter 17 in verse 17:25, after which it is recurrent until the end of the chapter. This contextually new use of 'fear' as synonym for serving God(s) may indicate different redactional stratum from the text of verses 1–23, where it is not otherwise used.

[58] Thus also Gary Knoppers, "Cutheans or Children of Jacob?" 235: "The thrice-repeated admonition not to worship other deities (17.35, 37, 38) … is key to the author's message…"; and Ernst Würthwein, *Könige: 1. Kön. 17–2.Kön. 25*, 396: "Eine erste DtrN-Schicht (V. 7–12*.18) stellt den *Fremdgötterdienst*...in den Vordergrund." This is especially noticeable, when the sentence is read as explicatory ("the sons of Israel sinned against Yahweh… by (the means of) fearing other gods"), as do Cogan & Tadmor, *II Kings*, 203.

[59] The continuing phrase, "from *under* the hand of (Pharaoh, king of Egypt)" is somewhat rare and is also here used in an unusual sense, as the usual oppressor of the phrase "from under the hand of" is not a person (as also in

found in verse 36a ("Yahweh (+ their God *L*), who brought you out of the land of Egypt"). This anchors the beginning of the "homily" part of the chapter with the end of it in MT. [60] In La^{115} the link is not nearly as refined and clear. Additionally, according to Rösel, the rare phrase "sons of Israel sinned against Yahweh" is only used here in Kings, which adds to the peculiarity of MT's language here.[61]

When compared to MT, the respective reading of the verse 7 in La^{115} is quite vague and ambiguous: the exile is due to nonspecific "provocations," not specifically because of idolatry, "fearing other gods." This is especially the case if the mysterious "וַיְהִי כִּי" is read as constituting a protasis to verse 18: the sin of Israel is given in excruciating 10 verse long detail. The OG mention of "from the days he led their fathers from Egypt" only adds to this generality of Israel's sin, as it alludes to even days before the monarchies and the golden calves of Jeroboam.[62] This may be seen to take away some of the Israelites' blame, as already the common ancestors of both Israel and Judah provoked Yahweh – the specific sin(s) of Israel did in this case not begin with the apostasy of Jeroboam. At the same time an indirect reference to Judah as a sinner is made. In MT this reading is impossible, as the mention about Egypt is in Yahweh's formulaic epithet, and the sinners ("sons of Israel")[63] are clearly explicated.

From ideological perspective, then, it would seem odd for the text to evolve from the clear cut condemnation of (sons of) Israel in MT to the more lenient and vague interpretation of Israel's sin in La^{115}, in which Judah can also be seen to take part.[64] It is also more conceivable that a more general statement would be made more specified, than the opposite. Here we have a literary difference, which seems to hint at the greater antiquity of La^{115}'s reading. The notice about fearing other gods seems to be a very late addition to verse 7.[65]

In addition, many scholars have also noted in MT a neatly constructed allusion to the Decalogue (Deut. 5:6–7): even though Yahweh, who brought them from Egypt (5:6/17:7a),

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Exodus 18:10; and 2 Chron 21:10 (probably late invention of the Chronicler)), but a country (2 Kings 8:20, 22; 13:5, and 2 Chron 21:8, 10). There is also once again a possibility of a *Wiederaufnahme* here as well in MT ("land of Egypt… king of Egypt"). It is notable that the text encompassed by the repetition is indeed the subject matter not found in La^{115}, unlike the guidance out of Egypt.

[60] Pauline Viviano, "2 Kings 17," 550, also finds a ring construction in verse 7 of MT, emphasizing its carefully structured unity.

[61] Hartmut Rösel, "Why 2 Kings 17," 88–9.

[62] Schenker, "Cause de la Chute," 156, 166–7; idem, *Textgeschichte*, 147.

[63] There has been discussion about the interpretation of the term "sons of Israel," found in this chapter from verses 17:7–9, 22, 24. Some scholars see this as a reference to just "Israelites" (Gray, *Kings*, 587–9), while others interpret the term to include both the people of Israel and Judah (Becking, *Ondergang*, 240). Mark Brettler, "Ideology, History, and Theology," 273, even sees this as referring to Judah alone. Here in La^{115} there is however no ambiguity on the subject of the verse, as it carries over from verse 6 (Israel). It is possible, that the confusing interpretation of the subjects in MT (Israel or Judah, or both) in the verses 7–23 is due to the transposition of the two units 9–(14?) and 15–18. The term may also be of redactional interest, as La^{115} lacks this term in both verses 7 and 8. The unit 15–19 only refers to "Israel" and "Judah," and "their fathers."

[64] This is also the opinion of Schenker, "Cause de la Chute," 167. It is indeed possible, that this (implied) inclusion of Judah to the sinners was actually the original intention of the redactions of the chapter, and that this was only later changed to the condemnation of solely Israelites. There are some hints to this direction; see, for example, Provan, *Hezekiah*, 70–3.

[65] Erik Eynikel, *Reform*, 94, comes to the same conclusion from purely redaction critical viewpoints: "…part of a very late post-dtr addition."

commands Israel not to have other gods (5:7), they in 2 Kings 17:7b "fear" them nonetheless.[66] This neatly formed allusion to Decalogue is, once again, mostly missing from La[115].

Literary critical conclusions

In conclusion, the MT seems to give in verse 7 a later text than is to be found in La[115]. This can be shown by considering the three literary variants between the texts. The fact that the OG tradition has a *Wiederaufnahme* while MT does not seems to imply the older age of OG. MT, unlike La[115], seems also to be more concerned about including all the possible explicated sins of Israel inside one big syntactical unit, while La[115] has already Israel's *ancestors* commit quite vague "provocations" against Yahweh. In this respect MT seems to present a later text as well. Thirdly the fact that MT has a formulaic sentence found elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible only at the end of the chapter 17 ("fear (not) other gods") seems to point to a unifying tendency in MT between different narrative units or blocks in the chapter.

Thus, the somewhat crude state of La[115], when compared with MT, can be explained in two ways: either it portrays the text as it was before extensive redaction, or it has been redacted itself, possibly because of corruption in transmission process, as already stated. In this case, on the basis of literary critical arguments, it seems more likely that this crude state of La[115], and ultimately, OG, should indeed be seen as the more original edition of the verse.

Redactional picture of the passage on the basis of textual and literary criticism

In the redactional theories the MT form of verse 7 practically always seen as reflecting the original form of the passage, and as a result of this the verse is mostly seen to form an organic unity with the verses after it. However, this hinge-verse and its surroundings have clearly been redacted over and over in the course of time. Text-critical material allows us to see, that MT might actually witness the latest stage of this redactional history.

As the verse 7 lies at the hinge-point of different literary units, the textual problems of such a verse come as no surprise. The importance of the verse 7 in the composition of this chapter is noteworthy: this is the verse that starts the long string of "homiletic" additions to the preceding "historical" narrative. Thus it is only to be expected, that this important verse was subjected to successive redactions, spawning new textual traditions. The vastly differing textual traditions only highlight this notion, giving us also evidence of this supposition. However, what the textual and literary critical approach does also highlight is the possible age of these redactional changes: if the modifications happened during the centuries between the translation of Septuagint and final formation of MT, for example, the latest redaction is indeed post-exilic, to say the least.

The two completely differing editions (MT and La[115]) of the verse seem to indicate, that the original text of chapter 17 ended with the notion of "until this day" in verse 6.[67] The interesting part is that like most of the added material in the chapter, verse 7 was probably also originally

[66] Klaus Fricke, *Zweite Buch von den Königen*, 227; Hobbs, *Kings*, 231; Becking, *Ondergang*, 182; Martin Rehm, *Zweite Buch der Könige*, 169. It may be noted, that prior to this in Deut. 4 Israelites are called "sons of Israel."

[67] This is also the opinion of Trebolle, "2 Kings 17,2-23," 223, and many others. The fact that this notion also ends the textual blocks of verses 24–33 and 34–41 (ending thus still the whole chapter with this phrase!) only adds to this conclusion.

added via the technique of *Wiederaufnahme*. There are a few possibilities for the relative dating of this addition in the context of the chapter: 1) the addition was made before any others, only clarifying the information of verse 6; 2) either one or both of the units of 9(–14?) and 15–19 were already present, and verse 7 was added as a kind of bridge between the historical and homiletic materials; 3) the verse was added between 6 and some of the other units in the chapter. Of these the second option seems most probable, as verse 7 of La[115] seems to allude to the coming "provocations," though it does not explicate them.

At a quite late date the text seems to have been redacted to the version we now see in MT. This seems to be substantiated by the fact that the phrase "fear (not) other gods," which is missing in La[115], is characteristic to the later part of the chapter (17:34b–40). This section is often considered late addition to the chapter (or at least later than 7–23)[68] and seems to indicate, that the ultimate redaction of the verse 7 in MT happened either with or after the addition of these verses. It may even be, that the redaction of verse 7 was made the very last, after other changes, in touch with the final redaction process of 17:34b–41.

Magnar Kartveit, with many others, proposes that the unit 17:35–40 is read as a repetition of 7-23.[69] While this for most part is true, the text-critical evidence seems to indicate, that the direction may have in some cases been the opposite as well: some passages of the text of verses 7–23 may have been redacted even later on the basis of 24–41 to make the overall narrative more uniform as a whole. Gary Knoppers sees the exceptional use of the verb "to fear" in this chapter in MT exactly as a "sign of unity in the chapter as a whole."[70] When such unifying traits as found in verse 7 of MT are found in such considerably redacted chapters as this one, this "unity" seems however more suspicious than original.

Quite often the redaction history of 2 Kings 17 is seen as a somewhat straightforward process: different narrative units have been simply added after (or inside) one another, and this may or may not prompt textual adjusting at the hinge-points of the narratives. It is not that often suggested that the phrases and ideas of the new narratives could have also prompted adjusting in the text of the older narratives as well. Of course, this sort of textual zigzagging would be both vulnerable to circular reasoning and hard to prove with only literary or redaction critical methods.

However, when the documented textual evidence is taken into account, the possible history of the (mostly very late) redaction can in some cases be inferred. This also seems to be the case with the verse 2 Kings 17:7.

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[68] Thus Eynikel, *Reform*, 94; Magnar Kartveit, "The Date," 44; Charles Fox Burney, *Kings*, 333; Stade, "Anmerkungen zu 2 Kö. 15-21," 167–9; Gray, *Kings*, 597; Nelson, *Double Redaction*, 64; Würthwein, *Könige: 1. Kön. 17–2.Kön. 25*, 398, 401; Campbell & O'Brien, *Unfolding*, 446. However, on the opposing opinion, see Thenius, *Könige*, 379 ("7–23 und 33–41 vom verarbeiter"); Cogan & Tadmor, *II Kings*, 213–14; Steven McKenzie, *Chronicler's Use*, 195–6. The reason to believe this to be a late addition comes from its attitude towards the foreign immigrants: as opposed to the preceding narrative (verses 25–33), where the foreign immigrants are told to have "feared Yahweh" along with their own gods, verses 34–40 tell us that "they did *not* fear Yahweh." This seems to form a late clarification to the preceding narrative. Also, some of the linguistic traits of this passage come clearly from Late Biblical Hebrew; see Kartveit, "The Date," 34–7.

[69] Kartveit, "The Date," 41.

[70] Knoppers, "Cutheans or Children of Jacob?" 235 n.35.

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PRACTICE OF WISDOM IN PHILO'S TEXTS

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Dear all,

This presentation pertains to my postdoctoral project on embodied wisdom in late second temple Judaism. In particular, I wish to examine different types of exercises that constitute the sages' way of life. I have previously worked with the Hebrew material, but now I want to expand my study to cover a couple of diaspora authors as well. This represents my first attempt to deal with Philo. The latter half of the paper is less developed at the moment, and I need to work on the different spiritual exercises in more detail. I also apologise for the somewhat sparse bibliographical references; I finished the paper under circumstances where I did not have access to the library. I look forward to a vivid discussion. In particular, I would like to hear your opinions about the structure of the paper (it may grow into a chapter of a book later), and the section on the lists of spiritual exercises in the Philonic corpus.

Best wishes, Elisa

The aim of this paper is to examine how Philo of Alexandria depicts the practice of wisdom and the training and cultivation of a person towards being a philosopher (*filosofos*), a lover of wisdom, and eventually the figure of a sage (*sofos*) who possesses wisdom. While Pierre Hadot's view of ancient philosophy as a way of life has been used in studies on early Christian schools,[1] I will apply it to Philo's texts. Drawing on Hadot's notion of philosophy as a way of life, and the central role of spiritual exercises in this philosophical lifestyle, I will argue that for Philo true wisdom is to be embodied in everyday life, and its performance is imagined as entailing constant practice.

WHAT IS ANCIENT PHILOSOPHY?

The etymology of the term "philosophy," the love of wisdom, expresses the essence of philosophy to the ancient people.[2] Ancient philosophy has been associated with attributes such as an art of living, attitude, lifestyle, medicine for soul, and divine delight. Drawing particularly on Stoic writers (Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, Seneca), Pierre Hadot has argued that its aim was to train for wisdom, which was regarded as a mode of being, but the purpose was not only to acquire a mindset of theoretical reflection. Philosophy was "a lived exercise" to be practiced, which provided the

[1] Judith L. Kovacs, "Divine Pedagogy and the Gnostic Teacher according to Clement of Alexandria," *JECS* 9 (2001): 3–25; Ismo Dunderberg, *Beyond Gnosticism: Myth, Lifestyle, and Society in the School of Valentinus* (New York: CUP, 2008).

[2] Pierre Hadot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life: Spiritual Exercises from Socrates to Foucault* (ed. Arnold I. Davidson; trans. Michael Chase; Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 265.

seekers and lovers of wisdom with a method of living.[3] The philosophical act was essentially situated on the level of self and of being rather than being limited to the cognitive level.[4]

The practice of philosophy consisted of spiritual exercises which prepared the person to live and die well. These involved, for example, self-mastery, askesis, dialogue, writing, concentration on the present, self-awareness, examination of the conscience, exercise of death, contemplation of the sage, and contemplation of nature. Interestingly, the philosophical discourse was an integral part of the lifestyle, but still one exercise rather than the only bedrock of philosophy. Different schools had different therapeutic methods, but all the exercises were to modify the practicing subject,[5] to the extent that they caused "a profound transformation of the individual's mode of seeing and being."[6]

The ancient sources do not contain systematic presentations of the theory and techniques of spiritual exercises, apart from a brief treatise written by Musonius Rufus, the Roman Stoic philosopher.[7] Yet there are frequent references to spiritual exercises in the texts from the Hellenistic and Roman eras, and the most comprehensive consecutive lists appear in Philo's corpus.[8] Before analysing them, let us discuss how Philo locates the pursuit of wisdom in relation to other educational aspirations.

THE PLACE OF WISDOM IN PHILO'S PEDAGOGICAL PROGRAMME

The Stages of Education

For Philo, the purpose of education is to produce good life. The rational nature of human beings inclines towards cultivation (*Somn*. 1.106–107), which enables people "not only to live, but also to live well" (*Spec*. 2.229). *Paideia*, designating both the process of education and its end result,[9] represents a "light of the soul." It may require efforts such as travelling overseas (*Abr*. 65), but the motifs for educating oneself should not be selfish or instrumental; a good person "labours to acquire what is good for the sake of the good itself" (*Leg.* 3.167).

In principle, education involves two or three stages. On the first level, the question is about basic

[3] Pierre Hadot, *What is Ancient Philosophy?* (trans. Michael Chase; Cambridge: Belknapp, 2002), 220.
[4] Hadot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life*, 83.
[5] Hadot, *What is Ancient Philosophy?*, 6, 175, 177, 188–211, 230.
[6] Hadot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life*, 83.
[7] Hadot, *What is Ancient Philosophy?*, 188–89.
[8] Hadot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life*, 83–84.
[9] Alan Mendelson, *Secular Education in Philo of Alexandria* (MHUC 7; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1982), 1.

training.[10] Philo refers to *enkyklios paideia*, the key concept of Greek pedagogy, which denotes a cycle of subjects that prepared the pupil to take his place in society and served as symbols for Greek culture and civilisation.[11] In post-classical times, it was associated with the four subjects of quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music),[12] and the literary arts of trivium (grammar, rhetoric, dialectic).[13] Philo also describes *enkyklios paideia* as containing grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, geometry, arithmetic, music, and astronomy (esp. *Congr*. 11, 15–18, 74–77).[14]

The interest in *enkyklios paideia* is not surprising since propaedeutic instruction was appreciated in various Hellenistic schools,[15] and Alexandria was a major cultural centre in Philo's time; the city had gymnasia as well as the mouseion and the library which gathered intelligentsia.[16] The Jews seem to have taken part in the activities of these institutions, regardless of the dangers and lures of assimilation of which they were aware.[17] Even so, the elementary studies were only an initial step in the path towards wisdom.[18] Philo describes them as the simple, milky food of infancy (*Agr*. 9; *Congr*. 19), a sweet fragrance to the soul (*Sacr*. 44), and the beginning of virtue (*Fug*. 183).

Some pupils continued to the second stage of *filosofia*. Like the Stoics, Philo presents philosophy as the pursuit of wisdom, which involves the knowledge of things divine, human, and their causes.[19] Physical training produces a healthy and elegant appearance, whereas philosophy – like arts, mathematics, and music – can elevate the mind to a higher level. Different parts of education

[10] The term *propaideia* was first presented by Plato (*Republic* vii, 536d) in the context of preparation for dialectics.
[11] There is no unambiguous definition for *enkyklios paideia*, since there was no fixed curriculum in antiquity. Yet literacy, grammar, literature, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music were commonly addressed in the Hellenistic education; Erkki Koskenniemi, "Philo and Classical Education," in *Reading Philo: A Handbook to Philo of Alexandria* (ed. Torrey Seland; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014), 102–28, esp. 104–5, 110–11. Here it is necessary to correct those older views according to which there was a unified system of education in the Greco-Roman era; see Henri-Irénée Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans lántiquité* (Paris: Seuil, 1948). For a re-evaluation, see Yun Lee Too, "Introduction," in *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity* (ed. Yun Lee Too; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 1–21.
[12] The importance of these was first discussed by Plato, *Republic* vii, 523a–c, 532c.
[13] Mendelson, *Secular Education*, xxiv.
[14] For a point of comparison, see especially Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* 1.10.1. For a more detailed treatment of the subjects in Philo, see Mendelson, *Secular Education*, 4–24.
[15] All Stoics stressed the significance of *enkyklios paideia* since Chrysippus (3rd century B.C.E.). However, the Cynics, Skeptics, and partly Epicureans did not agree about its usefulness; Hent de Vries, "Philosophia ancilla theologiae: Allegory and Ascension in Philo's *On Mating with the Preliminary Studies* 1," *BCT* 5/3 (2014): 41.1–41.19, esp. 41.2.
[16] For these institutions, see P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (3 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 1:312–35.
[17] Koskenniemi, "Philo and Classical Education," 112–19.
[18] Even so, Mendelson argues that the encyclical studies are not only a stepping-stone to philosophy, but have "inherent spiritual value" and part of Philo's theology. Philo tried to make these disciplines compatible with the divine and offer encyclical studies as a common ground between the Greek and the Jewish worlds; idem, *Secular Education*, xxiv, 83.
[19] Compare Cicero, *De Officiis* 2; Seneca, *Epistulae Morales* 89.5; Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Mathematicos* 9.13 (SVF II 36); Gregory E. Sterling, "Philosophy as the Handmaid of Wisdom: Philosophy in the Exegetical Traditions of Alexandrian Jews," in *Religiöse Philosophie und philosophische Religion der frühen Kaiserzeit* (ed. Rainer Hirsch-Luipold, Herwig Görgemanns and Michael von Albrecht; STAC 51; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 67–98, esp. 95.

complement each other (e.g., *Spec*. 2.230). Physical exercises are necessary, Philo claims, but not adequate. Unlike an athlete, "the philosopher ... cares for that which is alive within him, namely his soul, and disregards his body which is dead" (*Leg*. 3.72).

The pedagogical climax is the achievement of wisdom (*sofia*) which requires desire and devotion (*Opif*. 77).[20] Those who are capable of doing so are called sages (*sofoi*). Even so, the higher stages of education – the states of seeking and having wisdom – may intermingle.[21] The main distinction is to be made between *propaideia*, the study of letters and literature, and *paideia*, the pursuit of virtue. Philo explains that "as the encyclical branches of education contribute to the proper comprehension of philosophy, so also does philosophy aid in the acquisition of wisdom." Encylical studies are the "handmaidens of philosophy," like philosophy is the "handmaiden of wisdom." (*Congr.* 79.)

Philo allegorises this order in his treatment of the Hagar and Sarah story, presented in *On Mating with the Preliminary Studies*. The interpretation echoes the ancient allegorical readings of Penelope in Homer: the suitors who desired Penelope could not win her and had to contend themselves with her maids (*Odysseia* 12).[22] Philo applies this to the sphere of education: Hagar symbolises encyclical studies, while Sarah represents virtue (*aretē*), wisdom (*sofia*), and prudence (*fronēsis*).[23] Abraham had to take Hagar before he could conceive a child with his legitimate wife Sarah (*Congr*. 23–24). The underlying argument is that Jews can attend encyclical training, presented by the foreign Hagar (*Congr*. 22), because it ultimately serves the practice of true Jewish philosophy, the union with Sarah (*Cong*. 74–76, 80). Like Penelope's suitors, those who cannot attain the higher goal, whether Penelope or philosophy, should still take *enkyklios paideia*,[24] which can be compared to the time of pregnancy preceding the practice of proper philosophy (*Congr*. 145). Even so, the

[20] According to Philo, the human wisdom has both divine and natural origin; see Mendelson, *Secular Education*, 182.
[21] E.g., philosophy is regarded as the way to salvation without separate reference to attaining wisdom in *Gig*. 14; the "sublime philosophy" seems to represent meditative and mystic gestation of the soul of an individual.
[22] See the following statement, possibly by Gorgias of Leontini from the fifth century B.C.E.: "Those who neglect philosophy and spend their time on ordinary studies are like the Suitors who desired Penelope but slept with her maids." From Kathleen Freeman, *Ancilla to the Pre-Socratic Philosophers: A Complete Translation of the Fragments in Diels* (Cambridge: HUP, 1957), 139. Later on, see Pseudo-Plutrach, *De liberis educandis* 7D: "And it was a clever saying of Bion, the philosopher, that, just as the suitors, not being able to approach Penelope, consorted with her maid-servants, so also do those who are not able to attain to philosophy wear themselves to a shadow over the other kinds of education which have no value." From *Plutarch's Moralia in Fourteen Volumes* (trans. F.C. Babbitt; LCL; Cambridge: HUP; London: Heinemann, 1927), 1:35.
[23] The matriarch represents feminine virtues which Philo believes to have masculine powers (cf. *Fug*. 50–52). Elsewhere, he mentions that Sarah is born from the father, a feature shared with Athena (*Ebr*. 60–61); Carlos Lévy, "Philo's Ethics," in *The Cambridge Companion to Philo* (ed. Adam Kamesar; Cambridge: CUP, 2009), 146–71.
[24] E.g., Mendelson, *Secular Education*, 67; Borgen, *Philo of Alexandria*, 163.

basic can be misleading if the handmaids' charms lead into neglecting philosophy (*Congr*. 77–78), or if it is pursued for the sake of achieving pleasure and influence (*Leg*. 3.167).[25]

This programme of Philo, a member of a wealthy Alexandrian family, probably resulted from his participation in the institutions meant for the upper class youth.[26] Apart from Jewish scriptures and customs,[27] Philo was learned in the Greek curriculum. He was acquainted with Homer, historians, poets, and even Attic law, as well as mathematics, astronomy, rhetoric, and music.[28] He undertook significant philosophical studies and stood in the "tradition of the imperial era" as for his own input.[29] Philo regarded himself as one of those who seek wisdom and practise philosophy, but barely as an actual sage (*sofos*). The self-presentation is modest; Philo states in passing that he belongs to the imperfect in contrast to the wise and perfect ones (*Leg*. 3.207).

The Difficulty of Attaining Wisdom

Philo's modesty is not surprising, considering the difficulty of achieving wisdom in the Greek tradition. He states that wisdom never closes her school (*Prob*. 13), and refers to various exemplary people: the Greek sages, the Magi in Persia, the Indian gymnosophists, and some Essenes in Palestine and Syria (*Prob*. 72–96). Yet, the highest wisdom is rarely attained and the wise are nearly "unable to exist" (*Mut*. 34–38). The latter are not even aware of their perfection (*Agr*. 161).[30]

The difficulty of attaining wisdom should not stop one from aspiring to it. Even if only a few proceed to the higher intellectual level, they have a task to represent a "spark of wisdom" in their cities so that "virtue may not become utterly extinguished, and so be entirely extirpated from our race" (*Spec*. 2.47). If all people became "lovers of wisdom," Philo claims, "then all the cities would

[25] Peder Borgen, *Philo of Alexandria: An Exegete for his Time* (NTSup 86; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 163–64.
[26] It is somewhat debated whether the autobiographical account in *Congr*. 74–76 reflects Philo's own education, but this seems plausible; Mendelson, *Secular Education*, 25–26.
[27] For the Sabbath "schools" and philosophising on Sabbath, see *Opif*. 128; *Mos*. 2.216; *Spec*. 2.62.
[28] John M.G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan* (323 BCE – 117 CE) (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), 160. For Philo on education, see esp. *Congr*. 74–76; 142; *Prov*. 2.44–46; *Spec*. 2.230.
[29] Koskenniemi, "Philo and Classical Education," 125. Philo's basic intellectual position can be identified as Middle Platonism; see John M. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists 80 B.C. to A.D. 220* (Ithaca: CUP, 1977), 139–83. However, he makes use of different philosophical traditions in an eclectic manner, although this eclecticism should not be understood naively as non-systematic dabbling but rather as the reception of various Greek philosophical ideas; Jaap Mansfeld, "Philosophy in the Service of Scripture: Philo's Exegetical Strategies," in *The Question of "Eclecticism": Studies in Later Greek Philosophy* (ed. John M. Dillon and A. A. Long; HCS; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 70–102, esp. 73–74.
[30] The sages' true homeland is not on the earth but in virtue (*Virt*. 190) or heaven (*Conf*. 77–78). Hence, the soul of a wise person is a "copy of heaven" (*Her*. 88).

be full of happiness, being wholly free from all the things which are the causes of pain or fear, and full of all those which produce joy and cheerfulness" (*Spec.* 2.48). Philosophers bear all that befall them with noble courage (*Prob*. 24), but philosophy may also bring about a state of ecstasy.[31]

The portrayal of the sage is even more idealised: he is nearly superhuman. The calm and peaceful mind of a wise person is superior to other human beings, yet inferior to God. The sage is "on the borders" insofar as he is neither God nor a human being, but connected to the former due to his virtue and to the latter due to his humanity (*Somn*. 2.229–230). This portrait is virtually identical with the Stoic view, which emphasises the emotional and ethical perfection of a wise person.[32] For example, *Sobr*. 56–57 echoes the famous paradoxes attributed to the sage by the Stoics.[33]

Several sections share further parallels with Stoic authors such as Seneca, Marcus Aurelius, and Epictetus.[34] The sage embodies virtue (*Congr*. 69–70), behaves virtuously without being commanded to do so (*Leg*. 3.144), and does nothing against his intention (*Prob*. 97). His mind embraces and investigates the cosmos (*Spec.* 2.45), as well as being free due to right reason (*Prob*. 45–46). The sage is not attached to the mortal body but lives like a sojourner in it (*QG* 4.74). He attains simplicity (*Migr*. 153), loves solitude (*Abr*. 23; *Spec*. 2.44), and shows harmony between words and deeds (*Post*. 88); if he seems to speak false, the impression is only seeming (*QG* 4.204; cf. *Cher*. 15). The wise person fulfills the ideal of *apatheia*, a state of serenity where the mind is not disturbed with passions, since he despises fear, pain, cowardice, and death.[35] He avoids unnecessary danger (*Somn*. 2.83–85) and is prepared for whatever fortune might bring (*Spec.* 2.46).[36]

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[31] See *Migr*. 35. This passage recalls Socrates' speech about the divine possession and madness that comes from the Muses; see Plato, *Phaedrus* 245A; H. Gregory Snyder, *Teachers and Texts in the Ancient World: Philosophers, Jews and Christians* (RFCC; London: Routledge, 2000), 130–31.

[32] In the Stoic vocabulary, those who only strive towards virtue are called *prokoptontes* as opposed to the *sofoi*; Mendelson, *Secular Education*, 47. Philo also presents a typology of the classes of human beings (e.g., *Gig*. 60–61): the god-born (sages by birth such as Isaac and Moses), the heaven-born (those in progress towards perfection), and the earth-born (the hedonistic people); ibid., 51–59.

[33] On the Stoic paradoxes, see SVF 3.591, 594, 599; David Winston, "Sage and Super-Sage in Philo of Alexandria," in *The Ancestral Philosophy: Hellenistic Philosophy in Second Temple Judaism. Essays of David Winston* (ed. Gregory E. Sterling; BJS 331; SPM 4; Providence: Brown Judaic Studies, 2001), 171–80, esp. 171.

[34] Most of the following references have been discussed by Winston, "Sage and Super-Sage," 171–77.

[35] E.g., *Det*. 46; *Prob*. 21, 30; *Migr*. 67; *Congr*. 36. For the concept of *apatheia*, see *Leg*. 2.100, 102; 3.129, 131; *Plant*. 98; *Abr*. 257. For its role in Philo's thought, see David Winston, *Philo of Alexandria: The Contemplative Life, the Giants, and Selections* (CWS; New York: Paulist, 1981), 30–32.

[36] In addition to these parallels detected by Winston, Philo imagines the sage as a king as like the Stoics do; see *Migr*. 197; *Mut*. 152; *Sobr*. 57; *Somn*. 2.244. For the sage-king, see R. Brouwer, *The Stoic Sage: The Early Stoics on Wisdom, Sagehood and Socrates* (Cambridge: CUP, 2014), 59–60.

Eventually, the wise person attains perfection and becomes godlike.[37] In particular, this is true of Moses, the Jewish sage par excellence, who reached the summit of philosophy (*Opif*. 8) and is a *paradeigma* to be emulated (*Virt*. 51; *Mos*. 1.158–159). Moses is a godlike prophet and friend of God who is capable of perfect rationality to the extent that his bodily sensations do not produce lower impulses and desires. Here, Philo's description even transcends the Stoic view, unfamiliar with the idea of the complete absence of passion.[38] Apart from Moses, the three patriarchs – Abraham, Jacob, and Isaac – represent wisdom and virtue to be followed by the Jews of Philo's own time.[39] Jacob is particularly relevant regarding spiritual exercises.

PRACTICE OF WISDOM: A LIFE FILLED WITH EXERCISES

It has been observed that philosophy means "a wise manner of living" for Philo. This is visible, for example, in his treatment of the cynic philosopher Diogenes of Sinope and Theodorus the Atheist. Even if Philo disagrees with them in some respects, he speaks positively of the latter and admires the wit and courage of Diogenes, presenting him even as a model for his audience (*Prob*. 121–131).[40] Philo states that the practisers of wisdom live in a blameless manner (*Spec*. 2.44), and refers to the members of the cynic school "who chose to practise the same mode of life" (*Plant*. 151). Sophists, on the other hand, speak well but neglect action (*Congr*. 67). They do not count as philosophers, for dignified language must be "followed by consistent practice of suitable actions" (*Mos*. 2.130). True philosophers do not cease to look for virtue,[41] which can be acquired through nature, instruction, or practice (*Abr*. 52–54). Virtue requires constant exercise, and even sages need to consolidate it. Like a plaster placed on the wall must become solid, thus the souls of the perfect ones are to be strengthened "by continual study and incessant practice" (*Agr*. 160).

[37] See *Fug*. 168; *Prob*. 43; *Migr*. 128–130. As for the godlike status of the sage, Philo elsewhere notes that perfection belongs to God alone, apparently reflecting a tension between his Jewish faith and Greek philosophy (*Her*. 121; *Fug*. 172; *Mut*. 181–185), as pointed out by Levy, "Philo's Ethics," 151.

[38] On Moses' perfection, see esp. *Leg*. 3.129; *Sacr*. 8; *Migr*. 67; *Mos*. 1.155–156, 158; further discussion in Winston, "Sage and Super-Sage," 177–80.

[39] E.g., *Gig*. 62; *Mut*. 12; *Somn*. 1.168; *Abr*. 4, 52–54. For the imitation of Moses, Isaac, and Abraham, see Mendelson, *Secular Education*, 62–65.

[40] Koskenniemi, "Philo and Classical Education," 125.

[41] Note that Philo's view of virtue is generally Stoic. Philo mentions the Platonic idea of the unity of virtue, often addressed by the Stoics (*Mos*. 2.7); he holds that virtue is both practical and theoretical, requiring reflection as well as action (*Leg*. 1.57). Furthermore, Philo shows his erudition by comparing goodness to the river which runs from Eden – a symbol for God's wisdom – to water the paradise. The cardinal virtues – prudence (*fronēsis*), temperance (*sōfrosynē*), courage (*andreia*), and justice (*dikaiosynē*) – stand for the four branches that flow off this river. (*Leg*. 1.63–64.) The virtue of temperance is similar to self-control (*enkrateia*), known from Stoicism and highly regarded by Philo; Levy, "Philo's Ethics," 150–51. For the cardinal virtues, see Plato, *Republic* 443E; 4 Macc 1:18–19:1.

Philo's input for the view of philosophy as a way of life is significant because two lists of spiritual exercises appear in his works. These display, in the words of Hadot, "a fairly comprehensive panorama of Stoico-Platonic inspired philosophical therapeutics."[42] They may not include all exercises promoted by Philo, but provide crucial insights into how he imagined wise life. Philo's tendency to examine philosophical ideas through scriptural exegesis applies to these lists as well. The first one occurs in *Who Is the Heir of Divine Things?*, in a context where Philo analyses the characters of Jacob and Esau (*Her*. 252–253):[43]

> (252) Incidentally in the story of Jacob and Esau there are thoughts well worthy of our admiration. Esau, though he has the knowledge needed for the case, is ever hunted and supplanted, because he has acquired his skill not to do good but harm, and moreover is never quick or zealous in his hunting. Jacob hunts passion not through learning, but moved to it by nature, and brings the game to the tester (*tō dokimastē*) who will decide whether it will stand the test. For this purpose the tester will eat of all that he brings. (253) For all the elements of discipline (*tēs askēseōs*) are food fit for eating, investigation (*zētēsis*), examination (*skepsis*), reading (*anagnōsis*), listening (*akroasis*), attention (*prosokhē*), self-mastery (*enkrateia*), and indifference to indifferent things (*hē exadiaforēsis tōn adiaforōn*). Of all these the tester naturally eats samples only, not the whole. For the practiser must have his proper food left to him, like prizes for his efforts.

Philo's apparent appreciation of Jacob is not suprising since this is not the only place where he contrasts Jacob and Esau, and presents Esau in a negative light as a symbol for foolishness, wickedness, and passion.[44] The fact that Esau gave up his rights as the first-born (Gen 25:29–34) demonstrates that he always lacked temperance and was a slave of the belly (*QG* 4.168). Here, Philo refers to the second incident where the younger brother received the rights of the firstborn. According to Gen 27:1–29, Isaac asked Esau to hunt and bring games for him in order to receive the fatherly blessing, but with the help of Rebecca, Jacob prepared food for father Isaac to be eaten and was thus able to receive the blessing meant for Esau.

In his interpretation, Philo implies Jacob's superior way of life as a factor that explains the distribution of blessing. He juxtaposes Esau, who was a skillful hunter (cf. Gen 25:27) but did not succeed because he had acquired his skill in order to harm, and the peaceful Jacob (cf. Gen 25:27) who specifically hunted for the undesirable passion (*pathos*). Jacob undertook various sorts of discipline and brought these "games" to the "tester" – i.e., father Isaac – to be examined in order to know whether they can be eaten, i.e., whether they contribute to virtue. Blessing was granted to the

[42] Hadot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life*, 84.

[43] The text is, with minor modifications, from *Philo with an English Translation in Eleven Volumes* (trans. F.H. Colson and G.H. Whitaker; LCL; London: Heinemann; Cambridge: HUP, 1929–1962), 4:410–413.

[44] For Esau, see also *Leg*. 2.59; 3.2, 88; *Sacr*. 17, 81, 120, 135; *Det*. 45; *Ebr*. 9; Sobr. 26; *Migr*. 153; *Congr*. 54, 61, 175; *Fug*. 4, 23, 39, 42, 43; *Mut*. 230; *QG* 4.161, 163, 166, 169, 174, 206.

younger brother whose "game" in life included the practice of a number of spiritual exercises.

The second list, found in *The Allegories of the Laws*, pertains to Jacob's time spent at his uncle's place where he had escaped due to Esau's resentment (Gen 27:1–46). Philo states that it was appropriate of Jacob to secretly flee from Laban (cf. Gen 31:20–21), for Laban was subject to thoughts that rise from outward senses, and one should rather escape than become a slave of such (*Leg*. 3.16–17).[45] Thereafter, Philo proceeds to discuss how Jacob's mind could control passions and train itself to attain virtue through various exercises (*Leg*. 3.18–19):[46]

> (18) Now (let us ask) why, as though Jacob were not aware that Laban was a Syrian, does he [Moses] say, "Jacob concealed himself from Laban the Syrian" (cf. Gen 31:20[47])? In this likewise there is a point not without pertinence. For "Syria" means "Highlands." Jacob, therefore, the mind in training, when he sees passion (*pathos*) grovelling low before him, awaits its onset calculating that he will master it by force, but when it is seen to be lofty, stately, weighty, the first to run away is the mind in training, followed by all his belongings, beings portions of his discipline (*tēs askēseōs*), readings (*anagnōseis*), meditations (*meletai*), therapies (*therapeiai*), remembrance of good things (*tōn kalōn mnēmai*), self-mastery (*enkrateia*), and accomplishments of duties (*tōn kathēkontōn energeiai*); he crosses the river of objects of sense, that swamps and drowns the soul under the flood of the passions, and, when he has crossed it, sets his face for the lofty high-land, the principle of perfect virtue: (19) "for he set his face towards the mountain of Gilead." The meaning of this name is "migration of witness"; for God caused the soul to migrate from the passions that are represented by Laban, and bore witness to it how greatly to its advantage and benefit its removal was, and let it on away from the evil things that render the soul low and grovelling up to the height and greatness of virtue.

In Gen 31:1–3, Jacob is said to escape from Laban due to a divine command after Laban and his sons were not favourable to him. Philo traces a philosophical motif behind the flight: Laban represents passions that are hostile to the soul, and the divine will is that the soul migrates from such (cf. *Leg*. 3.22).[48] Jacob, the mind in training (*ho nous ho askētēs*), escaped Laban with "all his belongings," i.e., his spiritual exercises. On this way to virtue, Jacob crossed the flood of passions and saw the mountain of Gilead (cf. Gen 31:22–25). In Philo's explanation, Moses referred to Laban specifically as the Syrian because Syria stands for highland, a symbol for perfect virtue, which Jacob was about to achieve.

These accounts comply with Philo's goal to offer an allegorical reading of Genesis in the form of a

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[45] In general, Laban represents a materialistic person lacking education for Philo (*Fug*. 8–9).

[46] The text is, with minor modifications, from *Philo with an English Translation in Eleven Volumes*, 1:312–313.

[47] The Hebrew text reads literally "Jacob stole (*gnb*) the heart/mind of Laban the Aramean" (וַיִּגְנֹב יַעֲקֹב, אֶת-לֵב לָבָן הָאֲרַמִּי), apparently meaning misleading, while the Septuagint translates the verb "concealed" and replaces "Aramean" with "Syrian" (ἔκρυψεν δὲ Ιακωβ Λαβαν τὸν Σύρον).

[48] Interestingly, this is not Jacob's first flight related to the avoidance of passions: in Philo's view, Rebekkah advised Jacob to flee to Laban in the first place because of Esau's anger, i.e., in order not to confront this negative passion (*Fug*. 23–24; cf. Gen 27:42).

more advanced, even somewhat esoteric teaching.[49] Moreover, they align with his view that virtue requires practice, associated specifically with Jacob.[50] The lists of exercises that constitute the philosophical life are partially overlapping; discipline, self-mastery, and reading are mentioned in both. William Lamb notes that the lists engage both intellect and imagination.[51] They indeed offer a good portrait of how wisdom is to be embodied, and many are central concepts in Philo's thought. I cannot do more than offer a brief overview within the limits of this paper. After considering the basis of embodied wisdom, *askēsis*, I will discuss the exercises in three groups. The first and second set pertain to practice and contemplation respectively; many of these carry specifically Stoic echoes. The third group of intellectual exercises seems to be characterised by Jewish tones as well.

Discipline (*askēsis*), mentioned as an umbrella category ahead of both lists, marks wise life. In the context of ancient philosophy, the concept of *askēsis* refers not only to asceticism but to the practise of spiritual exercises more broadly.[52] Philo states that a good person displays discipline; it serves as a means to attain wisdom, virtue, and perfection,[53] improves one's natural qualities (*Prov*. 2.16), and belongs to infants like wisdom belongs to full-grown men (*Mig*. 46). Discipline may emerge via temperance, self-restraint, frugality, abstinence, and avoidance of luxury.[54]

The first group of rather practical exercises – all familiar from Stoicism – involves self-mastery, therapies, accomplishment of duties, and indifference to indifferent things. They are interrelated insofar as each orients outwards from the practising subject and aims at creating habits.[55]

Self-mastery (*enkrateia*) is a central Stoic virtue, and a key concept for Philo. He describes *enkrateia* as the foundation on which the soul rests (*Contempl*. 34). It may be hated by people (*Her*. 48), but features the virtuous.[56] Self-mastery is not possible if passion dwells in the soul (*Her*. 254). Thus, the wise emigrate from pleasure to self-mastery,[57] the most wholesome sweetmeat (*Spec*. 1.175) to be attained via *enkyklios paideia* (*Her*. 274; *Mut*. 229) and philosophy (*Congr*. 80). The path to *enkrateia* is up hill and laborious, but more advantageous than easier roads (*Spec*. 4.112).

[49] On the style and audience of *Allegorical Commentary*, see James R. Royse, "The Works of Philo," in *The Cambridge Companion to Philo*, 32–64, esp. 33, 38–45.
[50] E.g., *Sobr*. 65; *Conf*. 69–70; *Congr*. 35–36; *Mut*. 12, 88; *Somn*. 1.120–126, 168–171; *Abr*. 52–53; *Ios*. 26.
[51] William R.S. Lamb, *Scripture: A Guide for the Perplexed* (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2013), 178–79.
[52] Hadot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life*, 82. For different concepts of *askēsis* in Greek schools, see idem, *What is Ancient Philosophy?*, 189–90.
[53] On wisdom, see *Praem*. 51; on virtue, see *Leg*. 3.135; *Det*. 10; *Congr*. 35; *Somn*. 1.167, 169; *Abr*. 52–54; *Ios*. 1; and on perfection, see *Gig*. 26; *Conf*. 181; *Praem*. 65.
[54] See *Spec*. 4.99, 101; *Hypoth*. 7.11. The Therapeutae devote the whole day to discipline (*Contempl*. 28).
[55] On the practical exercises, see Hadot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life*, 86.
[56] *Mos*. 2.185; *QG* 4.172. See also the virtue lists in *Sacr*. 27; *Mos*. 1.154.
[57] *Abr*. 24; cf. *Virt*. 180; *Ios*. 153.

Self-mastery is beneficial for all affairs of life (*Ios*. 55), bringing health and strength (*Legat*. 14). It opposes desire (*Spec*. 1.149–150), tortures greediness (*Abr*. 104), repels evils (*Agr*. 98), and is attended by frugality, moderation, and simplicity.[58] God shows favour to those with *enkrateia* (*Praem*. 116), and it belongs to life in accordance with the sacred law (*Virt*. 127). Closely related are therapies (*therapeiai*). Although the Greek term could denote acts of worship, it probably designates the therapy of passions, seen as threatening the soul (*QG* 2.57), in these contexts that enumerate spiritual exercises.[59] The Stoics emphasised the need to control passions,[60] and Philo similarly repeats that philosophy prepares one to master them.[61]

Philo mentions the accomplishments of duties (*tōn kathēkontōn energeiai*) only here, albeit he refers to the philosophers' notion of *kathēkonta* elsewhere (*Leg*. 1.56).[62] The term marks proper behaviour and appropriate actions in Stoic moral philosophy, and it has been linked especially with Zeno of Citium (340–265 B.C.E.), the founder of Stoicism.[63] The Stoic idea is that all beings should act in accordance with their nature: all human beings must perform *kathēkonta*, while sages are capable of *katorthōmata*, i.e., the acts of a virtuous person.[64] The performance of duties pertains to another statement of Philo that concerns right attitude and behaviour. Philo says that the sage shows, as a result of training his mind, indifference to indifferent things (*hē exadiaforēsis tōn adiaforōn*).[65] This is a Stoic element because the *adiafora* things represent morally neutral objects of pursuit (e.g., honour, pleasure, power, and wealth) that are neither good nor bad in themselves, thus forming a category between virtues and vices, in Stoicism.[66]

Secondly, the contemplative aspect of philosophical life emerges through the exercises of

[58] *Opif*. 164; *Spec*. 1.173; *Praem*. 100. It should be displayed in both language and appetites (*Spec*. 2.195). In the case of the Essenes, self-mastery leads into acting towards one another with equality (*Hypoth*. 7.11; 11.14).
[59] Cf. *Spec*. 1.191, 197, 230; 2.17; Hadot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life*, 111.
[60] In particular, see Martha C. Nussbaum, *The Therapy of Desires: Theory and Practice in Hellenistic Ethics* (MCLNS 2; Princeton: PUP, 1994).
[61] In particular, four negative passions – pleasure, appetite/lust, grief/mental pain, and fear – harm one's mind (*Her*. 267–270), but the excellent ones can resist them due to divine reason and being training in philosophy (e.g., *Congr*. 80; *Mig*. 210–211; *Spec*. 2.46). People who have been able to resist passions include, e.g., Abraham and Moses (*Leg*. 3.131–135; *Mig*. 67; *Abr*. 256–257). For discussion on the passions, see Levy, "Philo's Ethics," 154–64.
[62] Moreover, he explains that both the good and the wicked may perform duties (*QG* 4.211), but their proper implementation is not coincidence, like in the case of the wicked; it should follow action that arises from a dutiful character (*Leg*. 3.210). Things contrary to duty may also be done in the spirit of duty (*Cher*. 14–15).
[63] On Zeno's school founded around 300 B.C.E., see Hadot, *What is Ancient Philosophy?*, 100–1, 126–39.
[64] Matthew Sharpe, "Stoic Virtue Ethics," in *The Handbook of Virtue Ethics* (ed. Stan van Hooft et al.; Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2014), 28–41, esp. 33–34.
[65] The exercise of demonstrating indifference to indifferent things is elsewhere in the Philonic corpus attributed to a wise (*Spec*. 2.46) and virtuous (*Prob*. 60–61, 83) person. On indifferent things, see also *Fug*. 152.
[66] E.g., Scott Rubarth, "Stoic Philosophy of Mind," in *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy: A Peer-reviwed Academic Resource*. Online: http://www.iep.utm.edu/stoicmind/

investigation, examination, attention, meditations, and remembrance of good things.

The mind of a wise person inclines towards investigation (*zētēsis*), which is a frequent concept in Greek philosophy.[67] Some people investigate the nature of things out of desire to be nourished by the food of the soul (*Plant*. 79), while others who lack desire for inquiry debase their reason (*Fug*. 121). Once Philo states that philosophy arises from inquiries into cosmos (*Opif*. 54). While all inquiries are elegant and philosophical in character, God's investigation is particularly delightful (*Fug*. 141). Another related exercise is examination (*skepsis*), the philosophical attitude of accepting the human limitations in gaining knowledge.[68] Philo mentions that *skepsis* may concern God (*Fug*. 141) or, say, Socrates' philosophical study (*Somn*. 1.58).

Some of the contemplative exercises are more explicitly Stoic. Attention (*prosokhē*) – which in Philo's view arises from knowledge and can bring the intellect to perfection (*Cher*. 102)[69] – is a fundamental component in the "Stoic spiritual attitude," and refers to introspection, vigilance, and presence of mind.[70] The Stoics stress that attention to oneself and the present moment is to be constantly renewed.[71] Somewhat similarly, the wise person is devoted to meditations (*meletai*), the purpose of which is, according to the Stoics, to control a person's inner discourse and contribute to its coherence.[72] Philo states that wisdom requires long meditation but brings real advantage to the intellect (*Cher*. 9). The soul's training presumes continual meditation (*Sacr*. 85; *Congr*. 24) even in the case of the perfect ones (*Agr*. 160). These ponderings, planted to the mortal by God (*Plant*. 31), produce ornaments of soul and can destroy things that harm it (*Leg*. 3.22). Finally, the remembrance of good things (*tōn kalōn mnēmai*) is known as a Stoic practise.[73] Philo uses the exact phrase only here, but gives a fair amount of attention to remembrance, the most nourishing fruit of the soul (*Migr*. 205), which is a means to keep good things alive (*Migr*. 16).[74]

The final two exercises – listening (*akroasis*) and reading (*anagnōsis*) – are intellectual and can

[67] The tradition begins with Socrates' inquiries that are described in Plato's dialogues; see, e.g., Eleni Kechagia, "Philosophy in Plutarch's Table Talk: In Jest or in Earnest?," in *The Philosopher's Banquet: Plutarch's Table Talk in the Intellectual Culture of the Roman Empire* (ed. Frieda Klotz and Katerina Olkonomopoulou; Oxford: OUP, 2011), 77–104, esp. 81.

[68] The concept characterises much of Hellenistic philosophy, including but not being limited to the skeptics' thought. See, e.g., Harald Thorsrud, "Ancient Greek Scepticism," in *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy: A Peer-reviwed Academic Resource*. Online: http://www.iep.utm.edu/skepanci/#SH2c

[69] For *prosokhē* as a virtue, see *Sacr*. 27; *Her*. 10, 13; *Somn*. 2.37; *Spec*. 2.62.

[70] Hadot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life*, 84–85.

[71] Hadot, *What is Ancient Philosophy?*, 138.

[72] Hadot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life*, 85.

[73] Julie Piering, "Stoic Ethics and Totality in Light of Levinasian Alterity," in *Levinas and the Ancients* (ed. Brian Schroeder and Silvia Benso; SCT; Bloomington: IUP, 2008), 144–64, esp. 154.

[74] In particular, God's remembrance is the beginning and the end of good things (*Migr*. 56).

refer to the practises of Greek schools,[75] but Philo seems to grant some Jewish flavour to the spiritual training achieved by the means of them. He mentions *anagnōsis* only in these two accounts. The sparse evidence makes the interpretation difficult, but Philo's other interest in reading – especially regarding the Therapeutae who read, study, and listen to the scriptures – suggests that he may have meant such an activity while composing the list. Also, *akroasis* does not always denote a particular exercise, but it may do so, for example, when it pertains to sacred scriptures (*Ebr*. 213) and sacred words (*Mut*. 210). The one who desires knowledge is further said to hasten to listen and look at the doors of the sages' houses (*QE* 2.13). Hence, listening and reading are not exhausted by but carry Jewish connotations in Philo's thought.

Overall, Philo imagines wise life in largely Stoic terms, but adds some Jewish colour. While he projects the promoted exercises to Jacob, their contemporary fulfillment is imagined in *On the Contemplative Life*, which examines the life of an ascetic Jewish community living in Mareotic lake near Alexandria. Regardless of whether the account is utopian or not, the actions of the Therapeutae embody ideal philosophy. The group designation can stand for "worshippers" or "healers." The Therapeutae heal the soul (*Contempl*. 2), the immortal part of a person, and cultivate it for the sake of wisdom (*Contempl*. 68). They seek a mystic vision of God and lead a life of tranquillity.[76]

The group's association with spiritual training is explicit, for Philo says that the Therapeutae devote the whole day to *askēsis* (*Contempl*. 28). Apart from renouncing property and rejecting family as well as city life (*Contempl*. 13–20), the core of their lifestyle is constituted by prayer, study of scriptures, and sabbath meetings (*Contempl*. 25–33). Furthermore, moderation in eating, housing, and clothing is relevant (*Contempl*. 34–39). The Therapeutae also organise banquets and festive symposia, but unlike the opulent pagan counterparts, these are contemplative and serve their desire for wisdom, being followed by a nocturnal vigil with harmonious chant (*Contempl*. 40–89).

In conclusion, the figure of Jacob stands for a mindful attitude and readiness to exercise. His appreciation is most natural because, in Philo's view, a life devoted to contemplation is the most excellent of three options – the contemplative, active, and pleasurable ways of life (*QG* 4.47).[77] In general, the sage admires "a life of peace and tranquillity" (*Spec*. 2.44–45). He loves humankind, but longs for solitude and stays mostly at home, in order to avoid wickedness embraced by the

[75] See Hadot's observations that mostly concern reading in *Philosophy as a Way of Life*, 86, 113–14.
[76] Winston, *Philo of Alexandria*, 41. Especially the allegorical exegesis evokes a mystical ascent; Scott D. Mackie, "Seeing God in Philo of Alexandria: Means, Methods, and Mysticism," *JSJ* 43 (2012): 147–79, esp. 167–68.
[77] In Philo's view, wise life is dedicated to peace and contemplation, while wicked life involves the excitement of crowds and love of business; life-in-progress is between these two as it demonstrates movement towards the contemplative form of life. Yet, *Fug*. 36–38 states that it is appropriate of practical life to precede contemplative one.

"chief multitude." Alternatively, the sage wishes to dwell in the countryside in the company of "the most virtuous of all mankind ... whose virtues the records which are left of them keep alive, in poems and in prose, histories by which the soul is naturally improved and led on to perfection" (*Abr*. 22–23). This skill of the wise to "provide their souls with wings" makes them true cosmopolites; the world is their city and all people dedicated to wisdom its citizens (*Spec*. 2.45).[78]

CONCLUSIONS

In Philo's pedagogigal programme, which imitates contemporary Greek education, studies begin with *enkyklios paideia* that prepares one to proceed to the higher level of philosophical education. Philosophy means the pursuit of wisdom, although a few alone are capable of achieving it and becoming sages. In essence, philosophy constitutes a way of life and its implementation involves spiritual exercises that form the character of the subject. The practice of philosophy does not belong to Greeks alone, but it is intended for Jews as well, although they should adapt it to meet their own needs regarding, for example, the integration of scripture into the spiritual training.[79]

[78] For the cosmopolitan ideal in Stoicism, see, e.g., John Sellars, "Stoic Cosmopolitanism and Zeno's *Republic*," *History of Political Thought* 28/1 (2007): 1–29.

[79] Note that Judaism was described as a philosophy, or Jewish groups as philosophers, by several ancient Jews such as Artapanus, Aristobulus, Pseudo-Aristeas, Philo, and Josephus. Regarding Philo, see *Somn*. 2.127; *Mos*. 2.216; *Virt.* 65; *Prob.* 75–91, esp. 88; *Contempl*. 2, 16, 28; *Legat*. 156, 245. See Steve Mason, "*Philosophiai*: Graeco-Roman, Judean and Christian," in *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World* (ed. John S. Kloppenborg and Stephen G. Wilson; London: Routledge, 1996), 31–58; Joan E. Taylor, *Jewish Woman Philosophers of First-Century Alexandria: Philo's 'Therapeutae' Reconsidered* (Oxford: OUP, 2003), 105–25.

Why not Bless the Lord?

On Pss (145) 146–150 as a Concluding Doxology to the MT 'Book' of Psalms



Introduction

It is a long held view that the last five psalms of the MT 'Book' of Psalms constitute somewhat of a concluding doxology, intended to close the entire collection.[1] Going under the designation "little Hallel," or sometimes the "concluding Hallel," it is brought together by, not least, shared Hallelujah frameworks. In recent research, however, it has been suggested, not only that their placement is intentional, but also that a clear progression of thought can be observed in the use of similar themes and shared vocabulary.[2] Generally identified is both a theme of praise of YHWH as king and creator, as well as a progression from the single individual in Ps 146 to the entire creation (or perhaps even cosmos) in Ps 150. According to, e.g., Erich Zenger, the intentionality of the juxtaposition is seen not least in the fact that an "impressive dramaturgy" is uncovered as "each succeeding [psalm] takes up and develops a motif or theme addressed at the end of the preceding psalm."[3] In this view, these psalms are furthermore placed in the mouth of David, as he is the one mentioned in the superscription of Ps 145.[4] Consequently, Ps 145 constitutes an important psalm, as it is often argued to both conclude the Davidic sequence Pss 138–145, perhaps even Pss 1–145, as well as in some way introduce the final doxology (Pss 146–150).

Now, although it is quite clear that the five or six psalms constitute some sort of a final doxology to the sequence of psalms now known as the MT 'Book' of Psalms, the second assertion, that they are to be understood as intentionally juxtaposed to develop certain themes, needs some additional consideration. Such suggestions are not always argued convincingly, and hence, I will, in this paper, attempt to inquire into the issue. For a discussion of the function of these psalms to be fruitful, several aspects need to be brought up. First, it would be important to analyze each of the six psalms mentioned (Pss [145] 146–150) with an eye to possible signs of intentional juxtaposition and redactional additions. Then, it would be important to discuss the suggested notion of Pss (145) 146–150 constituting some kind of *Gesamttext*, and last, one would have to address the function of the use of the Hallelujah framework. As I have provided detailed analyses of the psalms elsewhere,[5] this paper will focus on the last two aspects as the following.

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1. See, e.g., Wilson 1985; Miller 1998; Zenger 1998a; Zenger 2003; Kratz 2013, et. al.
2. Several of these suggestions trace back to Wilson 1985, see e.g. deClaissé-Walford 1997, 99, but prominent in the discussion is also Zenger (see, e.g., Zenger 1997). Cf. Leuenberger 2004, 360–64; Millard 1994, 144–5.
3. Quote from Hossfeld & Zenger 2011, 605, although first in Zenger 1997. See also Zenger 1998b, 39; Zenger 1999, 118; cf. Ballhorn 2004, 355–6; Millard 1994, 145.
4. So Zenger 1998b, 40; cf. Wilson 1993, 74; Ballhorn 2004, 288–9.
5. See my dissertation.

Psalms (145) 146–150 as a Collection

As stated above, Pss (145) 146–150 have not only increasingly been considered an intentionally compiled collection, such an understanding has also been accompanied with the notion of a *Gesamttext*, a "composition" in the singular.[6] So put, each psalm is supposed, not only to relate in some way to the psalms to which it is juxtaposed, but also to carry on its themes, almost evoking the notion of a developing plot. Considering their place in the MT 'Book' of Psalms, some have regarded them almost as an epilogue,[7] with Ps 145 as an "ouverture"[8] and Ps 150 as "klangvollem 'Schlussstein'."[9] Hence, they also relate back to Pss 1–2 and thus effect the overall shape and perception of the now finalized MT 'Book' of Psalms.[10] In such a line of argument, one can, e.g., speak of Ps 146 as the "response of David himself to the first half of Ps 145:21,"[11] or that in Ps 147, Israel and Jerusalem join the chorus, followed by the joining of angels in Ps 148, only to revert back to the people in Ps 149, leading to the final Ps 150 "toward which the whole hallel has been building."[12] This, and similar readings have been proposed by several scholars (with various views on the unfolding of themes), and prominent in these discussion has been Zenger, who understands practically every verbatim overlap between these psalms as indicative of the intentionality of the juxtaposition, with suggested additions of vv. 1–11 to Ps 147 and v. 14 to Ps 148 as the clearest examples. In his view, the psalms are concentrically arranged around Ps 148 to "develop" a (eschatological) "program" centered on the "bringing-to-perfection of creation and history" by YHWH, Lord and king.[13]

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6. See the use of the term composition in Hossfeld & Zenger 2011, 606; cf. Leuenberger 2004, 360.
7. So Zenger 1997, 13.
8. So Mays 2011, 439.
9. So Janowski 2010, 305.
10. Cf. Wilson 1986, 87; Millard 1994, 144–5; Kim 2008, 146.
11. Hossfeld & Zenger 2011, 606. The notion of the (servant) David as fictive speaker, thus reshaping the notion of kingship is proposed by many.
12. Wilson 1985, 193–4. deClaissé-Walford, Jacobson, & Tanner 2014, 994 even speaks of the 'Book' of Pslams having a "theme" (sg.), and regards Ps 145 as a summary statement of it.
13. Hossfeld & Zenger 2011, 41; cf. Zenger 1997, 18; Leuenberger 2004, 362–3. Similar views on the focus on the kingship of YHWH has been argued by many. It was one of the major points made by Gerald Wilson as he argued that the very shape of the MT 'Book' of Psalms reached its climax here, as it indicated that trust was to be put in YHWH, the eternal king (Pss 90–150), rather than in failing human princes (Pss 2–89, see, e.g., Wilson 1985, 228). See also, e.g., Ballhorn 2004.

The approach represented by this brief overview is, however, quite problematic, for a number of reasons. For one, there is an often-recurrent failure to evaluate verbatim overlaps, but more urgent is that *arguments* for intentional juxtaposition are not always properly distinguished from *readings* proceeding from the argued notion of a *Gesamttext*. I will attempt to illustrate this below, but first, it will be important to survey the artifactual remains of Pss 145–150, as such an inquiry might reveal clues as to how these psalms were perceived, arranged, and used, at least in late second temple times.

Psalms Scrolls and the Septuagint

Looking first at the psalms scrolls from the Judean desert, parts of Pss (145) 146–150 are possibly found on a total of four scrolls, and interestingly, only one of these preserve them in a sequence likely congruent with the Masoretic arrangement.

Turning first to 4Q86 (4QPs^{d}), this scroll, dating to the mid-first century BCE, preserves three psalms.[14] While the identification of the first (possibly Ps 106) is still under debate,[15] the second is possible to reconstruct as Ps 147, and the last is likely to be Ps 104. Hence, the scroll places Ps 147 in a sequence different from the one found in the MT 'Book' of Psalms. This is also the case in the next example, 4Q87 (4QPs^{e}, mid-first century CE). This manuscript contains some 20+ psalms, but the reconstruction of the contents is not straightforward. Flint, for one, has argued that the scroll likely contains a sequence overlapping with psalms from 11Q5 (11QPs^{a}),[16] and hence reconstructed Ps 118 before Ps 104:1, Ps 147 in between Ps 104 and Ps 105 and lastly identified the Hallelujah following Ps 105, with Ps 146, rather than with Ps 106. Consequently, the sequence would read 118→104 [→147→] 105→146. Other scholars have chosen a more cautious approach, stating that Flint's argument can be neither confirmed, nor refuted,[17] although e.g. Lange has suggested that it might be a representative of 11Q5, although not an identical copy.[18] For my purposes here, it suffice to note that if correct, it would preserve Pss 146 and 147 in a sequence different from the Masoretic one. Evidently, this is then also be case with the sequence found in 11Q5. Here, Pss 145; 148 and 149–150 are also found, all in sequences different from the MT 'Book' of Psalms. While Ps 145 is found in a somewhat reworked

14. For the dating, see Skehan, Ulrich, & Flint 2003b, 64. Cf. Jain 2012, 73.
15. For a good discussion of the options, see Jain 2012, 73.
16. Flint 1997, 160–64. The arguments are repeated in Skehan, Ulrich, & Flint 2003c, e.g. p. 76.
17. So Jain 2012, 86. Cf. also Dahmen 2003, 52–9, Fabry 1998, 142.
18. Lange 2009, 382–3.

form between an extract from Ps 118 (vv. 1, 15–16, 8–9, ?, 29[?]) and Ps 154,[19] Ps 148 is placed between Ps 146 and Ps 121. Finally, although Pss 149–150 are found together, they follow after Ps 143 and precede a composition commonly designated as the "Hymn to the Creator." Hence, these sequences are all at odds with the MT 'Book' of Psalms.

Now, this need not be interpreted as if a Masoretic-like sequence was unheard of, rather, such a sequence might well have been known, as is seen in the last scroll featuring parts of Pss (145) 146–150. The actual scroll is found in Masada, designated Mas1f (MasPs^{b}), and dates to the last half-century BCE.[20] As reconstructed, it is argued to have originally contained a collection in a size comparable to the MT 'Book' of Psalms, and as for its contents, almost the entire Ps 150 is to be found, as well as remains of two words from Ps 147:18–19. Noting that Ps 150 is placed at the very end of the scroll, the following reconstruction has been proposed: 147→148→149→150→End of scroll.[21]

What, then, do these scrolls indicate as to the notion of Pss (145) 146–150 as a collection? First, it might be argued that Pss (145) 146–150 does not seem to have existed as some independent collection. Rather, they are treated as psalms with their own integrity, possible to arrange and rearrange in various constellations. If so, it could indicate that the primary context for interpreting any of Pss 145–150 would in fact not be their MT *Sitz in der Literatur*, although it is a bit to soon to draw any final conclusions on the matter.

Additional pieces of the puzzle are also found in the LXX. As the psalms are here divided differently (MT Ps 147 is divided into two compositions, LXX Pss 146 and 147), one might argue that the chiastic understanding proposed by, e.g., Zenger is quite compromised. Similarly, the proposed functions of the psalms in relation to the rest of the MT 'Book' of Psalms would also be cast in a different light by the inclusion of Ps 151.[22] Ultimately, I would argue that what this all shows is that the notion of a *Gesamttext* should not be presupposed in a discussion of these psalms, but has to be convincingly demonstrated. Hence, I now turn to an examination of arguments regularly proposed for such a notion.

19. Some scholars interprets the verses of Ps 118 as a separate composition, a "Catena," while other regard it as belonging to the preceding Ps 136, due to e.g. the fact that there is no spacing between the two (so e.g. Flint 1997, 191; cf. Lange 2009, 399).
20. Talmon 1999, 92. See also Lange 2009, 405; Jain 2012, 178.
21. See Talmon 1999, 91, 96.
22. Apart from the LXX, one could also have mentioned the Syriac collections, or the various divisions of psalms observed throughout the medieval manuscripts.

Four Critical Observations

To illustrate the often-intertwined presuppositions of and actual arguments for a *Gesamttext*, I have chosen to quote a part of Zenger's discussion of the integrality of Ps 149 in the sequence Pss 146–150.[23] In this fairly extensive quote, I have italicized and underlined the main arguments presented, in an attempt to differentiate between them. While italics demarcate arguments that could serve as the foundation for establishing intentional juxtaposition, the underlined parts reveal both presuppositions and readings emanating from such presuppositions. The latter should, consequently, not be regarded as arguments for a *Gesamttext*, but as results of such an understanding.

> For one thing, Psalm 149 is, within the five-part composition of Psalms 146–150, the Zion-theology counterpart to Psalm 147, with which it *shares multiple keywords and motifs* (cf. תהלה, "praise": 149:1; 147:1; reference to Israel: 149:2; 147:2, 19; children of Zion: 149:2; 147:12–13; בכבור [sic] זמר, "play on the lyre": 149:3; 147:7; ענוים, "poor": 149:4; 147:6; רצה, "take delight in": 149:4; 147:10; משפט, "justice, judgment": 149:9; 147:19–20; judgment/disempowerment of the powerful: 149:8; 147:10). Psalms 147 and 149 also stand out within the composition of Psalms 146–150 because both have multiple verbs for "praise," while Psalms 146, 148 and 150 concentrate (almost exclusively) on the verb הלל for "praise." In addition, Psalm 149 is the dramaturgically necessary transition from Psalms 146–148 to Psalm 150: Psalms 146–148 propose the vision of the restoration of the universal world order that is then celebrated in Psalm 150; Psalm 149 celebrates Israel as YHWH's instrument for this restoration. The close connection between Psalms 149 and 150 is underscored by a number of *keyword references* (במחול בתף וכנור, "with round dances, with tambourine and with lyre": 149:3; 150:3–4; אל, "El/God": 149:6, 150:1) Psalm 150 in a sense describes the result of the intervention of YHWH proposed in Psalm 149 on behalf of Israel and, through Israel, on behalf of the nations–with the very purpose of establishing the universal royal rule that is programmatically proposed in psalm 145 and longed for in Ps 146:10.[24]

If my analysis is somewhat to the point, the actual basis for regarding Pss 146–150 as *Gesamttext* is far less impressive than what first might have been suspected. Ultimately, it rests on the identification of keywords, and it would thus be of utmost importance that each proposed verbatim overlap was carefully evaluated in its own right, with a focus on the probability of each term being used to create

23. The discussion is a response to an argument proposed by Leuenberger 2004, 355–8 that Ps 149 is to be considered a later insertion. For a detailed discussion of keywords throughout Pss 146–150, see Leuenberger 2004, 346–60.

24. Hossfeld & Zenger 2011, 653 (italics and underlinings mine). To this, Zenger would also add additional arguments, not least the resemblance between Ps 149 and Ps 148:14bc. See also Zenger 1997, 15–6.

a unified text. Looking briefly at the keywords suggested above, it becomes quite clear that many of them cannot be considered as constituting firm links between the psalms, simply because that they are either too common, or used in quite different contexts, but more importantly, there is an often overlooked problem with such an identification of keywords. Looking at the various ways these psalms are found throughout the psalms scrolls, one would find similar examples of keywords between Pss (145) 146–150 and the psalms to which they are juxtaposed, that is, with psalms with which they are not juxtaposed in the MT 'Book' of Psalms. Is it therefore to be believed that they are also meant to constitute a *Gesamttext* in all of these instances? I would rather argue that it indicates that the presupposition of a *Gesamttext* is probably unwarranted. This does not, however, necessarily mean that keywords have not played an important role in the act of juxtaposition, only that the purpose of such juxtaposition need not be the creation of a larger composition. Nevertheless, as I have shown in my analysis of Pss (145) 146–150, there is at least one clear case of deliberate addition made to bring two psalms closer together, namely Ps 148:14bc (cf. Ps 149, and esp. 11Q5 Ps 149:9bc).[25] As I argued there, it is probably to be seen as a later insertion to Ps 148, although not necessarily related to neither Pss 146–147, 150, nor the Hallelujah frameworks.

A second observation as to problems raised by presuppositions of a *Gesamttext*, more specifically the notion of a *lectio continua* with the superscription of Ps 145 (and v. 21) as an interpretive key, is the reading of Pss 146–150 (or at least Ps 146) as speaking 'in the voice of David' and thus effectuating the 'laying down of his crown'.[26] Proceeding from such a notion, the reading attempts to account for the fact that David is nowhere to be found throughout Pss 146–150, while at the same time being mentioned in Ps 145:1. However, if such a presupposition is questioned, one need not consider the superscription of Ps 145 as relating to anything else than Ps 145 itself. If so, the reading would no longer be necessary, and rather open up for a different perception on the relation between the six psalms. That Davidic kingship is not mentioned would still be significant, but not in relation to an intentional, synchronicly presented development.

Third, Zenger proposes some arguments for assigning Ps 145 to a different hand than the redaction of Pss 146–150: 1) "the concentration on Zion/Jerusalem and on the role of the children of Zion/Israel in bringing about YHWH's royal rule;" 2) "the sharpening of the "enemy images" and the punishment of the mighty of the earth; 3) "the absence of the 'David figure'."[27] So expressed, they are fairly general, but more importantly, if applied similarly to Pss 146–150, they would indicate that not all of these psalms come from the same redaction either,

25. See my dissertation.

26. For this expression, see Ballhorn 2004, 317; see also Wilson 1985, 226; Millard 1994, 145; deClaissé-Walford 1997, 100.

27. Hossfeld & Zenger 2011, 7.

a fact that would contradict his claims elsewhere. Looking at these psalms, it is clear that Ps 148, e.g., lacks no. 2, while Ps 150 lacks both no. 1 and no. 2.[28] A close reading of the psalms has, furthermore, shown that each psalm has a slightly different take on these issues than the other. Hence, it does not seem as if there is much indicating that these psalms were intended to be read as a *Gesamttext*, nor that the primary interpretive context for these psalms would be demarcated to MT Pss 146–150.

Turning to the last observation, I would suggest that the reading of Pss (145) 146–150 as a (unified) conclusion to the MT 'Book' of Psalms has lead to a somewhat unwarranted stress of certain themes possibly present also in Pss 1–2, as they are argued to either correspond, or having been reshaped in some way.[29] Most apparent is perhaps the focus on Torah (Ps 1), and on messianic expectations (Ps 2). Although several of Pss (145) 146–150 feature some kind of statute (Ps 147:19–20; 148:6b) or written ordinance (Ps 149:9a) the actual word - תורה - is never used (as it is in Ps 1). In fact, it is not used in any of the psalms "after" Ps 119. Furthermore, the action described is never to "meditate" (as in Ps 1), the referents of the statues and ordinances are often obscure (with Ps 147:19–20 as the possible exception), and the very last psalm, which would constitute an essential psalm from a framework perspective, does not share any of these features. Rather, the focus is quite different, so that the suggestion by Zenger that Pss 146–150 depicts "ein Israel der Armen bzw. der Hasidim, die gerade in der Bedrängnis ihre Kraft in JHWH suchen und finden – im Gehorsam zur Tora und im Rezitieren der Psalmen,"[30] becomes rather implausible. If the ones responsible for adding the last psalms had in fact intended such an interpretation, there would certainly have been better ways to make this clear. As for the relating of Ps 149 to Ps 2, both do focus on similar issues, but their understanding of the role of the king and Israel, respectively, is quite different.[31]

Thus, it would be reasonable to posit that Pss 1–2 and Pss (145) 146–150 in fact do not belong to the same stages of formation of the MT 'Book' of Psalms.[32] Furthermore, Pss (145) 146–150 do not seem to have been intended as a "dialogue partner" to Pss 1–2, at least not as a collection. If a connection between psalms is to be made, it is rather on the level of the individual psalms, as is probable for, e.g. Ps 149, but in this specific case, more texts than Ps 2 come into play. Consequently, one could perhaps suggest that Pss (145) 146–150 were added, not primarily as to relate to the contents of Pss 1–2, but to provide a concluding

28. Strictly speaking, there is no 'Davidic figure' in Ps 145 either.

29. See, e.g, Ballhorn 2004, 341: "Wenn das Schlußhallel ein symmetrisches Gegenstück zum 'Portal des Psalters', zu Ps 1f., wäre, dann dürfte dieses Thema keinesfalls fehlen." Cf. Millard 1994, 145.

30. Zenger 1997, 19.

31. Cf. Millard 1994, 145.

32. Cf. Seybold 1990, 23; Ballhorn 2004, 343; Weiser 1962, 841.

doxology to a collection, focusing, as was common to doxologies, on the very God that was to be praised.

In sum then, if proceeding from these four examples, as well as the psalms scrolls surveyed above, a reasonable conclusion might be that, although Pss (145) 146–150 seem to function as a final doxology in the MT 'Book' of Psalms, there is no actual warrant for the notion of a *Gesamttext*. Consequently, it would follow that they were probably not composed, nor reshaped for their "current place" in the MT 'Book' of Psalms, but rather existed as independent psalms before included therein.[33] Hence, while similar vocabulary and other features might have provided reasons for why these psalms were juxtaposed, and even though the very act of juxtaposition evokes a larger interpretive context for these compositions, it does not mean that they were intended to be appropriated as a unified text.

This said, the most apparent indication of Pss (145) 146–150 being understood as a collection, or at least that some deliberate additions have been made to them, is still to be inquired into, namely the use of the piel imperative of הלל, to which I now turn.

33. Although in some cases, it might have been the case, cf. Ps 148:14bc.

Hallelujah Frameworks

A brief look at the occurrences of Hallelujah in the MT 'Book' of Psalms might give a quite fuzzy impression, at least if compared with the LXX. While a Hallelujah is attested at various places throughout (MT) Pss 104–106; 111–117; 135 and 146–150, LXX has a more coherent handling of the term, as it is always used as a superscription (save for the occurrence at the end of Ps 150). Often generally understood as later additions, possibly tracing back to the same redaction, thus having little to do with the actual psalm, there are several occurrences where they might in fact be integral to the psalm, thus calling for a more careful analysis of each occurrence.[34]

Starting with the occurrences of the piel imperative of הלל, it is noteworthy that throughout the Hebrew Bible, the form is found 52 times, of which only two(!) are outside the MT 'Book' of Psalms (Jer 20:13; Jer 31:7), and only one(!) outside psalms with a clear Hallelujah framework (Ps 22:24). The rest (49) are found in Pss 104; 105; 106; 111; 112; 113; 115; 116; 117; 135; 146; 147; 148; 149 and 150. Of these, it is mostly found either at the beginning or at the end of the psalm, but in six psalms, it is also attested in the "body" of the psalm (Pss 113; 135; 146; 147; 148; 150). Noteworthy is that 30(!) of the occurrences are throughout Pss 146–150. Proceeding from these observations, I will now attempt to briefly inquire into the question of whether the Hallelujah frameworks attested throughout the psalms mentioned above are to be considered as later additions or rather as integral to the psalm.

A Brief Walkthrough

Starting with the first occurrence, Ps 104 has a Hallelujah in the last verse, following after the exhortation "Bless YHWH, O my soul" (ברכי נפשי את־יהוה).[35] Since this expression is found verbatim only in Pss 103:1, 2, 22 and Ps 104:1 in the Hebrew Bible, thus forming clear *inclusios* around both these psalms, and since Ps 103 does not have any Hallelujah, it is likely secondary to Ps 104.[36] In Ps 105, it is also attested in the last line (v. 45),[37] after a final bicolon. As it stands, it is not integrated syntactically in the psalm, and probably to be considered sec-

34. A similar point is made by Gerstenberger 2001, 447.

35. The Hallelujah is found in this place in MT and 11Q5 (the line is not preseved in 4Q86). LXX rather attaches it as a superscription to Ps 105.

36. Cf. Zenger 1998a, 77, footnote 2; Allen 2002, 48.

37. So MT. It is probably to be reconstructed in 4Q87 and 11Q5. LXX rather attaches it as a superscription to Ps 106.

ondary, although the matter is somewhat inconclusive. Then, as suggested in my analysis of Ps 106,[38] the Hallelujah of Ps 106:1 is probably a later addition, as it precedes a phrase often placed first (cf., e.g., Pss 107:1; 118:1; 136:1) while the one occurring in the ברך-doxology (vv. 48) might rather have been integral to it (cf. 1 Chr 16:36).[39]

The next attestation of the expression is in Ps 111, where it occurs in v. 1.[40] Since the psalm is an acrostic, it is clearly secondary, although "praise" (תהלה) also occurs in the last verse. This is likely also the case in the acrostic Ps 112, where it is placed first in a similar fashion (v. 1).[41] In Ps 113, it occurs as a frame.[42] Here, the first occurrence (v. 1) might be seen as part of the introducing exhortations to praise, extending throughout the first three verses, with v. 1 using הלל in the piel imperative thrice (הללו יה הללו עבדי יהוה הללו את־שם יהוה), although the matter is somewhat inconclusive. The final Hallelujah is, however, probably secondary, possibly originally attached to Ps 114, as it is otherwise the only psalm within a longer series of psalms without a Hallelujah. If so, it would clearly be secondary to Ps 114, as the psalm features distinctly parallel statements throughout.

Turning to Ps 115, it concludes with a Hallelujah in v. 18.[43] Here, it is not necessarily an addition, as it fits quite neatly with the final verses (cf. esp. the use of the short form יה in vv. 17 and 18, and the similarities to Ps 106:48). In Ps 116, however, it is likely secondary, as it falls outside the parallelism of v. 19.[44] Lastly, the very short Ps 117 is permeated with praise, making the final Hallelujah (v. 2b) a fitting component, relating to call to praise of v. 1.[45]

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38. See my dissertation.
39. So MT. They are not attested in the DSS, except for possibly v. 48 in 4Q86 (see above, p. 4). LXX has a Hallelujah in v. 1 only, and transfers the final Hallelujah to Ps 107. What I call ברך doxology are those doxologies often intepreted as "book-dividers," attested in Pss 41:14; 72:18–19; 89:53 and 106:48.
40. So MT. The psalm is not attested in the DSS. LXX agrees with MT.
41. So MT. In 4Q98f it was either not present, or attested on a separate line.
42. So MT. 4Q84 probably attests the Hallelujah of v. 1, written on a separate line, although the identification is not "absolutely fixed" (Skehan, Ulrich, & Flint 2003a, 43). LXX attests a Hallelujah in v. 1, but transfers the one in v. 9 to Ps 114.
43. In LXX, the psalm is joined with Ps 114 (the transition between the two psalms is the only one in the sequence Pss 111–118 not featuring a Hallelujah), and the concluding Hallelujah is transfered to the following psalm. 4Q87 partly preserves the final Hallelujah and thus agrees with MT. It is also reconstructed in 11Q8.
44. So MT. LXX transfers it to the next psalm. V. 19 is attested in 4Q84, where a Hallelujah is possibly reconstructed (Flint 1997, 129).
45. So MT. LXX transfers the final Hallelujah to the next psalm. The psalm is not attested in the DSS.

Apart from these occurrences, a Hallelujah also features in psalms I have discussed elsewhere.[46] First, in Ps 135, I have suggested that the Hallelujah of v. 1 could have been integrated, as it forms part of an initial fivefold exhortation to praise (vv. 1–3). It is also understood to be part of the psalm itself in the version found in 11Q5, where v. 1 is reversed (הללו עבדי יהוה הללו את שם יהוה הללו יה). The occurrence in the last verse would, however, be a later addition, as it comes after a fivefold exhortation to bless (ברך).

Last, as for Pss 146–150, all but Ps 147:1 and Ps 150:6 would possibly have been later additions. In Ps 147:1, it is probably syntactically embedded in v. 1 (this is also seen in the LXX version, which adds yet another Hallelujah as a superscription), and as for Ps 150:6 it could possibly be understood as integral, as it would form a bicolon with v. 6a. It is possible that it is understood in such a way in the LXX as well, as it is the only occurrence of a Hallelujah at the end of a psalm.

In sum, then, it seems as if most of the attested Hallelujahs are secondary, although not all might be. Being a first, tentative sketch of a more nuanced approach to the issue, the following suggestions have been made:

> Hallelujah was probably (with various degrees of certainty) added to Pss 104:35; 105:45; 106:1; 111:1; 112:1; 113:9 (or to Ps 114:1); 116:19; 135:21; 146:1, 10; 147:20; 148:1, 14; 149:1, 9 and 150:1.
>
> Hallelujah was possibly integral to Pss 106:48; 113:1; 115:18; 117:2; 135:1; 147:1 and 150:6.

Putting the Pieces Together

If the suggestions above are tenable, several interesting features present themselves. First, no Davidic psalm has a Hallelujah, although one of them has תהלה (Ps 145). Secondly, it should be noted that a Hallelujah is only added to psalms without any other superscription. Third, Hallelujahs are used so that frameworks are created around Pss 106, 135 and 146–150, and fourth, the seemingly random addition of Hallelujahs in the sequence of Pss 111–117 might have its explanation in the already existing Hallelujahs. In all, it seems as if the addition of Hallelujahs presupposes Masoretic-like sequences, and if correct, the following scenario could perhaps be proposed.[47]

Starting with Pss 104–106, I have suggested elsewhere that the addition of a Hallelujah to Ps 106:1 was possibly done to separate it further from its "twin" Ps

46. See my dissertation.

47. The argument by Barré 1983, that Hallelujah was originally used as inclusion only (to Pss 105, 106, 111, 113, 116, 118, 135, and 146–150) is no longer tenable, due to new evidence provided by the scrolls uncovered since the publication of the article.

107, and thus create a somewhat more distinct juncture after the fourth ברך-doxology. Such a suggestion gains further support when noting that Hallelujahs were also added to Pss 104 and 105. This was not necessarily done based on an understanding of Ps 104 as a part of a 'group', but perhaps rather to supply a Hallelujah to psalms preceding Ps 106 that were without a title (Ps 103 is attributed to David). Then, as it comes to the sequence with Ps 111ff, Hallelujahs were possibly added to complement the three existing ones (Pss 113:1; 115:18; 117:2). As Ps 115 and 117 featured a Hallelujah in the last verse, so was a Hallelujah added at the bottom of Ps 116, that is, between Pss 116 and 117, and since Ps 113 featured a Hallelujah in the first verse, Hallelujahs were added to the first verse of Ps 111 and before Ps 112 (Ps 110 is attributed to David), that is, in between Ps 111 and 112. The notion that Hallelujahs were added *between* psalms could then account for the addition of the Hallelujah now counted as part of Ps 113, as it would originally have been placed in between Pss 113 and 114. If so, Pss 114 and 115 were also probably considered a single psalm (cf. LXX).[48] As with Ps 106, Ps 135 was probably provided with a final Hallelujah to create a framework separating it from Ps 136, and frameworks were lastly established around the five last psalms to create the final Hallel.

Admittedly, such additions would make most sense if the sequence of psalms to which the Hallelujahs were added was close to the MT 'Book' of Psalms, so that the effect of these additions would have been that, apart from Ps 135, three sequences of psalms with Hallelujahs at each intersection were created. The additions could be illustrated as the following (Ps = Psalm number; Sp = Superscript; Sb = Subscript. A filled box indicates that a Hallelujah is attested):[49]

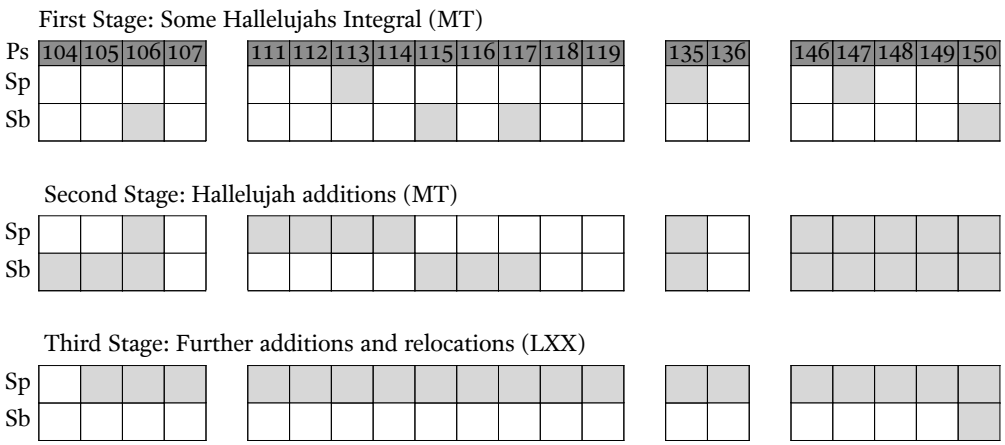


Table 1: Adding Hallelujahs

48. For some reason, MT does not supply Pss 118 and 119 with Hallelujahs, but as shown in Table 1, LXX seems to continue these additions so that LXX Pss 117 and 118 are both provided with Hallelujahs.
49. The DSS generally agree with MT, for the exact occurrences, see my dissertation.

Although somewhat speculative in detail, the major strokes of this suggestion would indicate that prior to these additions, the MT 'Book' of Psalms could hardly have been perceived as a *Sefer Tehillim*, as Hallelujahs were then only rarely attested. However, having made the additions, as well as having juxtaposed Pss (145) 146–150 into a final Hallel, such a perception of the collection would make much more sense. In fact, it would be reasonable to assume that this title in fact depends on such a formative stage.[50] Furthermore, the specific use of Hallelujah sketched above would possibly result in them being understood as similar kinds of compositions, thus likely to have been transmitted together in various constellations, as is also seen throughout the psalms scrolls, most notably in 11Q5. Ultimately, since Hallelujahs are added to the compositions attested in the psalms scrolls, it could indicate that this formative stage preceded the Qumran period.

So, if these frameworks possibly belong to the final formative stages, it would also be appropriate to say something about how they might relate to the ברך-doxologies mentioned occasionally throughout this paper (Ps 41:14; 72:18–19; 89:53; 106:48), as they are often suggested to belong to the latter stages of the formation of the MT 'Book' of Psalms, dividing the collection into five parts. The focus of this paper being Pss 145–150, it is notable that a possible clue to this issue is found in Ps 145, to which I now turn.

Stages Intertwined

Psalm 145 is an acrostic with several interesting features, but for my purposes, vv. 1–3 and 21 emanate as highly relevant.[51] Starting with the superscription in v. 1, Ps 145 reads תהלה לדוד ("A *Tehillah* of David"). As such, it is somewhat unusual, and this has to do with the first term - תהלה. Although it occurs some 30 times in the MT 'Book' of Psalms,[52] it is attested only here as superscription, and interestingly, it occurs also in v. 21 (תהלת), thus creating somewhat of an *inclusio*.[53] In fact, there are several similarities between vv. 1–2 and v. 21. Consider the following (v. 3 included, similarities underlined):

50. That the title is in some way dependent upon Pss 146–150 (or at least Ps 150) is regularly suggested (see, e.g., Miller 1986, 15; Miller 1998, 108; cf. Mays 2011, 451; Seybold 1990, 13, 15–6).

51. For a good discussion of various features of the psalm, see Kratz 2004; Kratz 2012.

52. Pss 9:15; 22:4, 26; 33:1; 34:2; 35:28; 40:4; 48:11; 51:17; 65:2; 66:2, 8; 71:6, 8, 14; 78:4; 79:13; 100:4; 102:22; 106:2, 12, 47; 109:1; 111:10; 119:171; 145:1, 21; 147:1; 148:14; 149:1.

53. Cf. Goldingay 2008, 698.

תהלה לדוד	1a	A Tehillah of David
ארוממך אלוהי המלך	1b	I will exalt you, my God the king,
ואברכה שמך לעולם ועד	1c	and bless your name forever and ever.
בכל־יום אברכך	2a	Every day I will bless you,
ואהללה שמך לעולם ועד	2b	and praise your name forever and ever.
גדול יהוה ומהלל מאד	3a	Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised,
ולגדלתו אין חקר	3b	his greatness is unsearchable.
תהלת יהוה ידבר־פי	21a	My mouth will speak the praise of the Lord,
ויברך כל־בשר שם קדשו לעולם ועד	21b	and all flesh will bless his holy name forever and ever.

As seen here, there seems to be a juxtaposition of ברך with הלל to such an extent that it could perhaps be argued to be deliberate, seen not least the exact repetition of 1c in 2b, save for the verb used. Where 1c uses ברך, 2b features הלל. Furthermore, תהלה is repeated in v. 1a and 21a, while ברך is used in the final colon in 21b. Counting a total number of occurrences of the two roots, ברך is used four times throughout the psalm (1c, 2a, 10b, and 21b), which is also the number of occurrences of הלל (1a, 2b, 3a, 21a).

Looking more broadly at these terms throughout the Hebrew Bible, it is to be seen that they are very seldom juxtaposed in the same verse. In fact, they are only found together in a total of 14 verses, and if excluding the two verses where הלל is used in the sense of "boasting" (Jer 4:2; Ps 10:3), and those instances where הלל is found as a הללו־יה frame (Ps 104:35; 106:48 = 1 Chr 16:36; Ps 115:18; 135:21), only 7 occurrences remain (Ps 34:1; 66:8; 100:4; 145:1, 2, 21; Neh 9:5), three of which are in Ps 145. Hence, it would perhaps not be far fetched to see the use of these two terms in Ps 145 as intentional.[54]

Now, it has been suggested that Ps 145 once concluded a 'Book' of Psalms, that is, either prior to the addition of Pss 146–150, or together with them, and that the concluding v. 21 functioned as a final doxology.[55] Some even suggest that it should be read *in par* with the ברך-doxologies.[56] Although possible, I

54. Hossfeld & Zenger 2011, 596 also suggest that the use made of ידה in v. 20a is a "deliberate change owing to the keyword character of ידה in the fifth Davidic Psalter," but from the perspective of the psalm, such a proposal is difficult to assess, and the use made of יהד is perhaps better seen in context of many other words used throughout the psalm to call for praise of YHWH, none repeated as much as 4 times (e.g. ידה, רנן, ספר נבע, אמר, דבר, שיח, שבח, נגד, רום cf. the list in Ballhorn 2004, 285).

55. Wilson 1985, 225–6 described the psalm to stand as the "climax" of the fifth 'book', and argued that the position of the psalm in 11Q5, together with the added refrain enforced such a conclusion. Cf. Zenger 1998b, 30; Cha 2006, 170; Miller 1998, 105; Brueggemann & Bellinger Jr 2014, 605; deClaissé-Walford, Jacobson, & Tanner 2014, 990.

56. So Zenger 1998b, 30.

would rather suggest that Ps 145 combines the ברך-doxologies with a הלל-framework so that the latter eventually gains the 'upper hand'.[57] So put, it would belong to a different phase of the formation of the MT 'Book' of Psalms, as compared to the ברך-doxologies, and the possible awareness of these doxologies would imply such a phase would be a later one. Consequently, the fact that both ברך and הלל are juxtaposed under the superscription תהלה could imply that the intention was to relate the previous structuring doxologies to a new formative stage, which would ultimately be developed in full in Pss 146–150. Put differently, Ps 145 seems to be both aware of, and transforming, the (earlier) ברך-doxologies. This is also noted by Ballhorn as follows:

> Es kann nicht geleugnet werden, daß das in Ps 145, inbesondere in v.1f.21, enthaltene semantische Material in hohem Maße jenem der drei buchabschließenden Schlußdoxologien in Ps 41,14; 72,18f.; 89,53; sowie jener in Ps 106,48 entspricht: אמת / אמן, עולם, אלהים, יי, ברך. Darüber hinaus sind noch einige weitere semantische Übereinstimmungen mit der stark erweiterten Schlußdoxologie in Ps 72,18f. zu verzeichnen: כבוד, שם, נפלואת. Allerdings gibt es mehrere Hinweise, daß Ps 145 sich nicht auf derselben Textebene wie die Doxologien der ersten vier Bücher befindet.[58]

Consequently, it would seem reasonable to posit that Ps 145 relates to the ברך-doxologies, although not itself being part of the same formative stage. As compared to the central features of the ברך-doxologies, Ps 145 attests no ברך in Qal passive participle (although it features in the repeated line added to the version of Ps 145 found in 11Q5), it has a different עולם formula (Ps 145 adds ועד, cf. also the repeated line in 11Q5),[59] and it does not end with אמן.[60] If these observations are to the point, one could perhaps argue that Ps 145 was added to a collection of psalms together with Pss 146–150, and that these psalms, as they were placed last, provided a slightly new perception of the collection. It would no longer primarily be a 'book' of prayers (תפלה, Ps 72:20) divided by ברך-doxologies, but a 'book' of praises (תהלים).

57. Cf. Ballhorn 2004, 296.

58. Ballhorn 2004, 294.

59. Cf. Miller 1998, 106.

60. The fact that no Amen is present would not, however, provide a major problem, as it would perhaps have been removed, so that the fivefold division was kept. Thus, there is no need to interpret a possible omission as indicating that the psalm is "open-ended" (so Zenger 1998b, 30; cf. Zenger 1998a, 89). Worth noting could also be that even in those places where some overlap could be observed, there is also variation. Cf., e.g., Ps 145:21b (שם קדשו) with Ps 72:19 (שם כבודו).

Conclusions

Throughout this paper, I have attempted to inquire into the question of the possible function of Pss (145) 146–150 as a final doxology to the MT 'Book' of Psalms. This was done in two steps. In the first part, I discussed the idea of Pss (145) 146–150 being understood as a *Gesamttext* and suggested that such an idea was unfounded as it lacked support, both in the texts themselves, but also in the artifactual remains (the psalms scrolls). Although shared vocabulary likely provided a basis for juxtaposition, the purpose for such a juxtaposition seems not to have been to create a unified text with developing themes, but merely to connect several psalms into a final Hallel. Hence, the context of interpretation should not be seen as primarily demarcated to Pss (145) 146–150.

I then turned to the actual use of Hallelujah and suggested that, if taking into consideration the possibility that some were in fact integral to the psalm, an interesting pattern of addition could be detected and that ultimately, the additions of Hallelujah to psalms, as well as the placing of Pss (145) 146–150 at the end of the (MT) sequence would provide the basis for its received title - the *Sefer Tehillim*. Consequently, the designation would be dependent upon this stage of formation, and the fact that Hallelujahs are present throughout the psalms scrolls would perhaps indicate that this formative stage preceded the Qumran period. Furthermore, this formative stage was to be understood as distinct from the addition of the ברך-doxologies, as was seen in the juxtaposition of הלל with ברך in Ps 145.

In sum, it would be warranted to speak of Pss (145) 146–150 as a final Hallel to the MT 'Book' of Psalms, very much in line with numerous other doxologies throughout the Ancient Near East, but it would then be important to recognize that this does not imply that the five or six psalms had been composed with such a function in view, nor that their placement in the MT sequence implied that this was their primary *Sitz in der Literatur*. As seen throughout the psalms scrolls, other types of arrangement were possible, and this fact should at least warrant for some caution when suggesting themes and plots on the basis of observed shared vocabulary. Nonetheless, observations as to vocabulary indicated a distinction between the formative stages marked by ברך-doxologies and הלל-frameworks respectively. Hence the title of this paper. The final exhortation of the MT 'Book' of Psalms is no longer to bless YHWH (ברוך יהוה), but complemented with a new one: Let everything that breathes praise YHWH, Hallelujah (Ps 150:6).

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Synchronic and Diachronic Readings on Jeremiah Scroll

Abstract

This paper challenges the assumptions that there is a dichotomy between synchronic and diachronic approaches, arguing that the exegetical process involves a dynamic interaction between both. The paper attempts to propose a methodology which combines both approaches in the reading of Jeremiah scroll. In the conclusion the paper points to promising benefits of multidisciplinary dialogue and collaboration between different areas of expertise.

1. Introduction

The emergence of new literary theories alongside social scientific methods have brought significant contributions to the field of biblical studies shedding new lights to biblical hermeneutics. Despite the plurality of these methods they clearly share a tendency of reading texts synchronically in contrast to the diachronic approaches, which has been dominant in the field of biblical studies for over a century.

At this point, perhaps, it is necessary a clarification regarding the terms synchronic and diachronic. Barr points out that the origins of this distinction between these two terms goes back to F. de Saussure in 1916 who proposed the study of language in the present moment in static state reading the text as a photography.[1] However, the use of the term synchronic in biblical studies has been applied only in a metaphorical sense to refer to a holistic/structural approach in which the text(s) is/are considered in its/their final form(s) in contrast to a compositional/redactional perspective which aims to examine the growing process of the text(s).[2] In this sense,

[1] James Barr, "The Synchronic, the Diachronic and the Historical: A Triangular Relationship?" in *Synchronic or Diachronic? A Debate on Method in Old Testament Exegesis.* Edited by Johannes C. de Moor (Leiden, NL: E. J. Brill, 1995), 1-3.

[2] See Barr, "Synchronic," 9; Jacob Hoftijzer, "Holistic or Compositional Approach? Linguistic Remarks to the Problem," in *Synchronic or Diachronic? A Debate on Method in Old Testament Exegesis.* Edited by Johannes C. de Moor (Leiden, NL: E. J. Brill, 1995), 98-9; Lawson G. Stone, "Redaction Criticism: Whence, Whiter, and Why? Or, Going Beyond Source and Form Criticism Without Leaving Them Behind," in *A Biblical Itinerary: In Search of Method, Form and Contend:*

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one might say that biblical studies is going through a phase of transformation from "historical" to "literary" paradigm. Thus, occasionally it is possible to detect certain "dichotomy" between the diachronic approaches based on the old traditional historical critical methods and the newer literary critical approaches.[3] Such contrast can be easily noticed in two diametrically polar approaches applied to Jeremiah's scroll, both published in in the same year 1986, in which Carroll departs from a "synchronic" perspective considering the text as literature whilst Holladay adopts a "diachronic" approach reflecting on historical biographical approach.[4]

The use of inverted commas for selected word in the paragraph above is not a mere accident as such polarity seems unnecessary considering that biblical exegesis involves a dynamic process which alternates between synchronic and diachronic approaches. In this sense, this dichotomy reflects more an optical illusion rather than the reality of the exegetical process in itself. In addition, a pure literary reading sounds more like a fallacy considering that any reading is placed in a historical location.[5] A strict literary reading completely detached from a historical investigation would naturally result in one imposing his/her self-projections on the text, which would inevitably result into a completely different text.

Essays in Honor of George W. Coats. Edited by Eugene E. Carpenter (JSOTS Sup. 240; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 77-8 and Hans M. Barstad, "What Prophets Do. Reflections on Past Reality in the Book of Jeremiah," in *Prophecies in the Book of Jeremiah.* Edited by Hans M. Barstad and Reinhard G. Kratz (BZAW 388; Berlin, DL: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 14-5.

[3] Stone, "Redaction," 78.

[4] Robert, P. Carroll, *Jeremiah* (OTL; London: SCM Press, 1986) and William L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1986).

[5] Barr challenges the misassumption which attributes synchronic approach as a-historical investigation, and argues that any reading, even in its final form, departs from a historical specific period. For Barr, even following the Saussurean synchronic proposal, which is "the study of the language in the present moment", would inevitably lead the reader to look "at the synchronic state of language in the past". In this sense, Barr argues that the question lies on the length of time, which at the end of the day ends up reinforcing the 'historical critical' methods (see Barr, "Synchronic," 2-5). Likewise, Hoftijzer rightly holds that despite the fact that "the text is an entity which can have its own character," it does not mean that they can be completely taken from its environment (see Hoftijzer, "Holistic," 99). Even Fishbane is aware of the compositional process behind the text of the Hebrew Bible, and does not deny the importance of familiarity with the conventions embedded in the biblical text (see Michael Fischbane, *Biblical Text and Texture: A Literary Reading of Selected Texts* (Oxford: One World, 1998), xi-iv).

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Hence the objective of this paper is to challenge the premise that synchronic and diachronic approaches are completely independent from each other. This paper will attempt to develop a methodology which combines synchronic and diachronic methods to the reading of Jeremiah scroll.

2. Developing a Methodology that Mediates Synchronic and Diachronic Approaches

Any methodology should draw conclusions from the data itself instead of drawing conclusions from the philosophical assumptions behind its methodology.[6] Nevertheless, the case of Jeremiah scroll seems more complex as it survived into two versions (LXX-Jer and MT-Jer) which differ significantly from each other in terms of length and arrangement, and any historically responsible research on Jeremiah's scroll needs to address this evidence.[7] Another complicating factor is the findings to the Judean Desert, which can be dated sometime between early and middle 200 BCE, and the importance of the Qumran manuscript is that they confirm

[6] Barr makes a fair point saying that even the traditional historical critical methods were never completely diachronic as they had to start from the available synchronic data (see Barr, "Synchronic," 10-11. As Tov argues, "exegetical activity is based on a text or texts and can only proceed if the nature of that text has been determined," hence the importance of textual criticism cf. Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (3rd edition Revised and Expanded; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, Press, 2012), 3. For Glanz, part of the plurality Old Testament exegetical methods is based on different philosophical presuppositions behind each method; however, he observes that there is a lack of criticism regarding the pragmatic choices which are primarily based on the functionality of selected methods. Glanz argues that this pragmatism reveals unconscious subjectivity, which gives the philosophical assumptions priority before the data (see Oliver Glanz, *Understanding Participant-Reference Shifts in the Book of Jeremiah: A Study of Exegetical Method and Its Consequences for Interpretation of Referential Incoherence*, (Studia Semitica Neerlandica; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 1-3.

[7] MT is approximately 1/7 longer than LXX, and it rearranges the oracles against the nations at the end whilst the LXX presents them in the middle. Moreover, there are variations in the order of the nations in both versions cf. Emanuel Tov, "Literary History of the Book of Jeremiah in Light of Its Textual History," *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (SBL Sup VT; Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999), 363 and Hermann-Josef Stipp, *Das masoretische und alexandrinische Sondergut des Jeremiabuches: Texgeschitlicher Rang, Eigenarten, Triebkräfte* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 136; Freiburg, SW: Universitäsverlag/Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1994), 1.

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the existence of a short text of Jeremiah's scroll, though they are not identical to LXX-Jer.[8]

The debate on the nature of LXX-Jer and MT-Jer has lasted for over a century, and the proposals vary from suggestions in which considered that these two versions reflect two editions of the Jeremiah's scroll to the view that LXX-Jer represents an abridged text of MT-Jer; however, Janzen advanced the discussion based on Qumran evidence and concluded that LXX-Jer represents an older text than MT-Jer.[9] Since then, it is almost a consensus amongst Jeremiah scholars that LXX-Jer reflects an earlier edition of MT-Jer. In this regard, Bogaert refers to LXX-Jer and MT-Jer respectively as *rédactions* A and B.[10] In the same manner, Tov assigns the *Vorlagen* behind LXX-Jer and MT-Jer correspondingly as editions I and II, advancing Janzen's findings and suggesting that textual criticism can be used as an important tool to assess the literary history of Jeremiah scroll.[11] McKane applies this important material evidence to track down the growing process of Jeremiah's scroll in his rolling *corpus* proposal.[12]

[8] Tov, "Literary," 363-84.
[9] See J. Gerald Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah* (Harvard Semitic Monographs 6; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 1-9.
[10] Bogaert points out that the second redaction intends to "canonize" the prophet attributing him as the author of the scroll whilst the first redaction gives more space to Baruch cf. P.-M. Bogaert, "De Baruch à Jérémie. Les Deux Rédactions Conservées du Livre de Jérémie," in *Le Livre de Jérémie: Le Prophète et Son Milieu Les Oracles et Leur Transmission*. Edited by P.-M. Bogaert (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium LIV; Leuven, BG: Leuven University Press, 1997), 168-73.
[11] See Emanuel Tov, "Some Aspects of the Textual and Literary History of the Book of Jeremiah," in *Le Livre de Jérémie: Le Prophète et Son Milieu Les Oracles et Leur Transmission.* Edited by P.-M. Bogaert (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium LIV; Leuven, BG: Leuven University Press, 1997), 168-73; Emanuel Tov, "Exegetical Notes on the Hebrew Vorlage of the Septuagint of Jeremiah 27 (34)," in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (SBL Sup VT; Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999), 315-32 and Tov, "Literary," 363-84.
[12] William McKane, *Jeremiah* vol. 1 (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1986), l-liii.

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According to Tov, textual criticism provides information for the history of the transmission of the text, but also for the literary growth as well.[13] So far what has been demonstrated here is that cross compared synchronic data (except Qumran, which is fragmentary) between Jer-LXX, MT-Jer and Qumran provides physical evidence for diachronic approach.

For instance, MT-Jer 2:1-2 reads:

[a] [וַיְהִי דְבַר־יְהוָה אֵלַי לֵאמֹר׃]
[b] [הָלֹךְ וְקָרָאתָ בְּאָזְנֵי יְרוּשָׁלִַם לֵאמֹר]
[c] כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה
[d] זָכַרְתִּי לָךְ
[e] חֶסֶד נְעוּרַיִךְ
[f] אַהֲבַת כְּלוּלֹתָיִךְ לֶכְתֵּךְ **אַחֲרַי**
[g] [בַּמִּדְבָּר בְּאֶרֶץ לֹא זְרוּעָה׃]

By contrast, LXX-Jer 2:2 reads:

[a] καὶ εἶπεν
[b] τάδε λέγει κύριος
[c] εμνήσθην ἐλέους νεότητός σου
[d] καὶ ἀγάπης τελειώσεώς σου
[e] τοῦ ἐξακολουθῆσαί σε **τῷ ἁγίῳ ισραηλ**
[f] [λέγει κύριος]

The nature of the expansions in MT-Jer varies, in some cases reflect the addition of headings (e.g., lines *a* and *b* ויהי דבר־יהוה אלי לאמר הלך וקראת באזני ירושלם לאמר) whilst in other occurrences might be just repetition of other sections.[14] Still in other instances, it may represent addition of new verses and sections which can either derive from the context (e.g., line *g* במדבר בארץ לא זרועה), or can be additional new information.[15] However, other variations between MT-Jer and LXX-Jer, such as lines *d*, *e* and *f* in which the Hebrew presents a sequence of four 2FS whilst the Greek joins *c* and *d* in one single sentence.

[13] Tov, *Textual*, 1-2.
[14] See Tov, "Aspects," pp. 152-3 and Tov, "Literary," 365-7.
[15] See Tov, "Aspects," pp. 153-7, 161-3 and Tov, "Literary," 367-71.

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On the other hand, transmission history of the text can also be employed for a synchronic reading of Jeremiah's scroll. In some instances, differences between MT-Jer and LXX-Jer do not reflect expansion character, but they are related to the translator interpretation of his/her *Vorlage*[16] (e.g., LXX-Jer interpreted כלולתיך as τελειωσεως σου and אחרי was rendered as του εξακολουθησαι σε τω αγιω ισραηλ). In some case, LXX-Jer is longer than MT-Jer (e.g., line *g* λεγει κυριος) which suggests that it also might have suffered expansion through its own transmission history. Thus, to some extent, LXX-Jer as literary entity shifts from literary growth to the realm of reception history, which is the translation of the first edition of Jeremiah scroll into Greek.

Like Qumran manuscripts, LXX-Jer as an ancient translation can also be dated to *c.* 200 BCE somewhere in Egypt, considering that the Prophetic writings were familiar to Ben Sirach's grandson.[17] Although the MT-Jer reflects older traditions from Palestine and Babylon, the text now available reflects much younger medieval manuscripts combined from different sources (Aleppo Codex 924 CE and Leningrad 1009 CE).[18] Based on material evidence, one can develop a synchronic reading of Jeremiah's scroll in three plausible social-historical scenarios based on concrete material evidence available. These are the two Jewish communities during the Second Temple Judaism, the Palestinian community and the Diaspora community in Egypt and the medieval rabbinic setting. This multidisciplinary

[16] Although LXX-Jer represents virtually a literal translation in most cases (cf. Emanuel Tov, "Criteria for Assessing Literalness," in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (SBL Sup VT; Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999), 234-7), the nature of the rendering can still vary and needs to be assessed. Tov observes that occasionally the translator might misinterpret the Hebrew *Vorlage* (see Emanuel Tov, "Did the Septuagint Translators Always Understand Their Hebrew Text?" in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (SBL Sup VT; Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999), 203-18) whilst in other instances the interpretation might be theologically driven (see Emanuel Tov, "Theologically Motivated Exegesis Embedded in the Septuagint," in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (SBL Sup VT; Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999), 257-69.
[17] Tov, *Textual*, 129.
[18] Ibid, 36-7, 44-5.

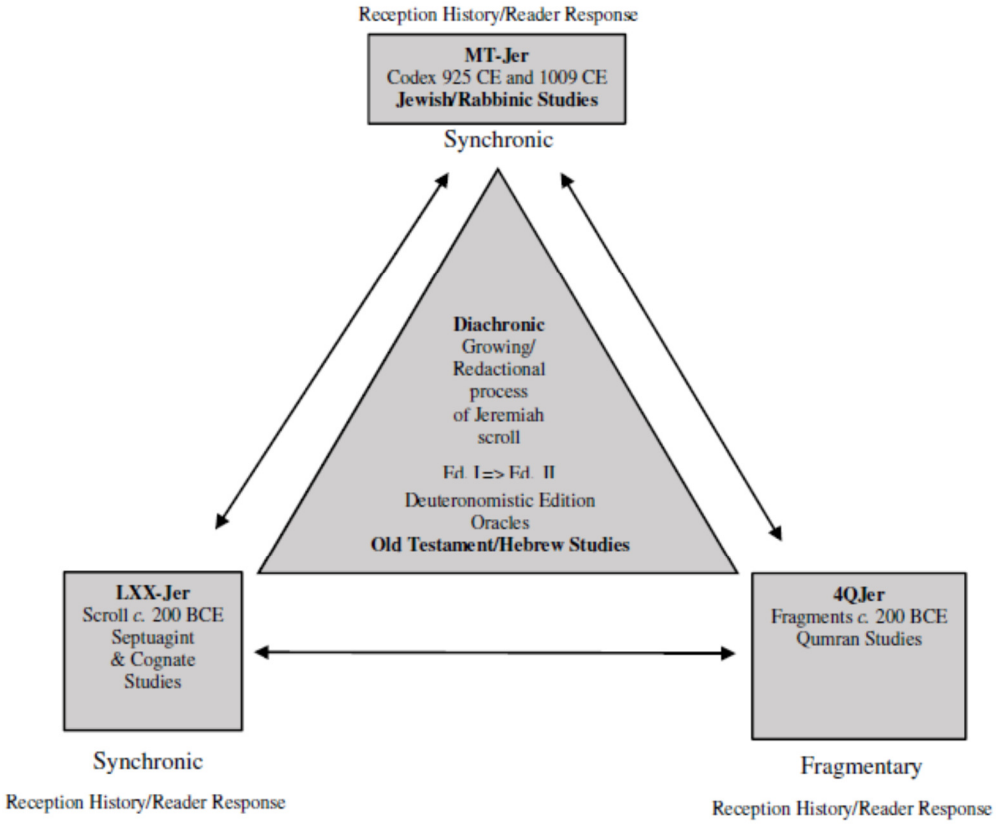
dialogue between different areas, such as Old Testament/Hebrew Bible, Qumran, Rabbinic, and Septuagint and Cognates studies, provides a fertile insights.[19]

In this sense, textual criticism generates two directions information for diachronic approaches, such as the literary history of Jeremiah scroll, but also information for synchronic approaches, such as reception history and reader response approaches.[20]

[19] Jobling presents a good example of the benefit between the dialogue between Old Testament/Hebrew Bible and New Testament studies, applying the historical Jesus research to Jeremiah studies (see David Jobling, "The Quest of Historical Jeremiah: Hermeneutical Implications of Recent Literature," in *A Prophet to the Nations: Essays in Jeremiah Studies* edited by Leo G. Perdue and Brian W. Kovacs (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1984), 285-97. In the same fashion, Bogaert also provides positive insights from New Testament studies, where the evangelists refer to Jesus as κυριος before the resurrection, and suggests a move toward the "canonisation" of Jeremiah as a prophet by comparing LXX-Jer and MT-Jer cf. Bogaert, "Baruch," 172-3. The initiative of a multidisciplinary dialogue about Jeremianic studies is not new as it was already promoted before in 1995 in Lausanne, which resulted in the publication of *The Book of Jeremiah and Its Reception: Le Livre de Jérémie et sa Réception.* Edited by A. H. W. Curtis and T. Römer (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium CXXVIII; Leuven, BG: Leuven University Press, 1997). Similar enterprise was also taken in a another meeting 2014 in Ascona, Switzerland, where experts of Old and New Testaments along with Qumran, Rabbinic and Patristic scholars could contribute with the progress of Jeremianic studies (the publication of the papers delivered in this conference has not yet been published).

[20] I place reception history and reader response in the same side of the spectrum. Despite some differences they still are part of the same enterprise. Spieckermann proposes that reception history comes naturally in biblical exegesis after the use of conventional diachronic methods cf. Hermmann Spieckermann, "From Biblical Exegesis to Reception History," *Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel* 1 (2012), 327-50; however, I would argue that the early reception should have priority as it represents the earlies context in which the scroll is read in its final form.

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Therefore, even if one decides to work with the final form of MT-Jer, he/she will be working with a medieval text instead of ancient one, and still cannot escape diachronic investigation as Masoretic text result from a long accumulative process in which several revisions and vocalisation took place.[21] This highly heterogeneous nature of the MT besides the fragmentary character of Qumran impose clear challenges for a synchronic reading, which needs cooperation between the areas of Biblical, Qumran, Rabbinic and Jewish studies.

By contrast, the LXX-Jer as an ancient Greek translation of the first edition of Jeremiah scroll might provide a good case for synchronic reading. The reason is

[21] See Barr, "Synchronic," 3-5. For the origin and development of the MT see Tov, *Textual*, 23-74 and Martin Jan Mulder, "The Transmission of the Biblical Text," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading & Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism & Early Christianity.* Edited by Martin Jan Mulder (Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004),104-16.

because whilst there are significant variation on the translation techniques of other books of the Hebrew Bible, Jeremiah scroll presents reasonable homogeneity which can be attested by its literalness.[22]

This proposal would avoid extreme post-modern subjective readings detached from any social-historical setting. Although Childs proposes a theological-literary solution regarding the unit of the Old Testament in his canonical reading proposal in reaction the fragmentary legacy of historical criticism,[23] one might still question his arbitrariness in terms of the canon in question.[24] Moreover, Child's theological preference seems to rule over literary perception[25] escaping some important steps prior to the decisions which defined different canons. In this sense, the current proposal does not exclude the other canons, and consequently, different competing groups which emerged during the Second Temple Judaism. The choice for LXX-Jer is only determined by the availability of a complete evidence of early reception history of Jeremiah scroll and its homogeneous nature.

This, off course, does not mean that the final form of Jeremiah scroll did not reach the form earlier, probably in the postexilic period.[26] Pohlmann points out that the final shape of the scroll privileges the Babylonian גולה as the legitimate remnants, and rejects those left behind in the land and disqualifies the refugee in Egypt from the perspective after the invasion of the Babylonians.[27] He observes that the promises of salvation are directed to those in the exile, which contrast the sharp criticism addressed to other groups, and Jeremiah is presented well treated by the

[22] See Emanuel Tov, "Literalness," pp. 234-7 and Stipp, *masoretische*, 7.
[23] Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 2011), 39-41.
[24] See John Barton, *Reading the Old Testament: Method in Biblical Study* (New Edition; London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1996), 91-2.
[25] See Barr, "Synchronic," 12-14.
[26] See Tov, "Literary," 377.
[27] Karl-Friedrich Pohlmann, *Studien zum Jeremiabuch* (Göttingen, DL: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), 183-91.

Babylonians.[28] In the same manner, Rom-Shiloni suggests an ideological conflict between pro-Judeans and pro-*golah* voices during the Persian period[29] whilst Ben Zvi believes that the biblical books reached their final forms under the scribes during the post-monarchical Judah, where the prophetic books would be interconnected and reorganised with other biblical books.[30] Fischer, unlike most Jeremiah scholars, gives priority to MT-Jer and believes that it is a product of a single author from *c*. 400 BCE, who is an artist and theologian behind Jeremiah frequently employing features of Deuteronomistic texts.[31]

However, this stage still seems to be part of the redactional process. Although it is possible apply a synchronic reading to "final" form during this period, the reason for presenting only three options (MT-Jer, LXX-Jer and Qumran) is due to the availability of physical evidence. With respect to MT-Jer, it is a highly multi-layered text and it does not give direct access to the ancient period. Regarding Qumran, despite the fact that it does reflect a pre-Masoretic text unfortunately its availability is only fragmentary.

On the one hand, differences between MT-Jer and LXX-Jet provides more straight forward evidence for editorial activity in Jeremiah scroll. On the other hand, the redactional process of the scroll is no restricted to differences between editions I and II. When one reads either MT-Jer or LXX-Jer synchronically, the reader number of inconsistencies (e.g., virtual lack of organisation, integrated theme and dominant voice) and other elements that suggest different layer (e.g., exegetical

[28] Pohlmann, *Studien*, 194-7.
[29] Dalit Rom-Shiloni, "Group Identities in Jeremiah: Is It the Persian Conflict?" in *Palimpsest: Rhetoric, Ideology, Stylistics, and Language Relating to Persian Israel* edited by Ehud Ben Zvi, Diana V. Edelman and Frank Polak (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009), 11-46.
[30] Ehud Ben Zvi, "Towards an Integrative Study of the Production of Authoritative Books in Ancient Israel", in *The Production of Prophecy: Constructing Prophecy and Prophets in Yehud* edited by Diana V. Edelman and Ehud Ben Zvi (London, UK: Equinox, 2009), 16-7.
[31] Georg Fischer, *Jeremia 1-25* (HTKAT; Vienna: Herder, 2005), 39-47, 120-22.

comments and accounts in the third person) which needs to be addressed.[32] These are all qualities present, to some degree, in other prophetic scrolls, and few scholars question their multiple authorship.[33] Thus, the fact that Jeremiah scrolls lacks these features gives more reasons to think about many hands involved in its composition.

In these regard, the distinction between prose and poetry has played significant role in the discussion about the compositional process of Jeremiah scroll. The resemblance between part of the prose material and Deuteronomistic literature inspired Hyatt to suggest that the scroll went through a redactional activity in which intended to synchronise the prophet to Josiah's time in order to portray him as a supporter of the Josianic reform, and that the idolatry resulted into the fall of Jerusalem.[34] Working in similar lines, Thiel rejected source-critical explanations, suggesting that Jeremiah scroll emerge from series of editorial activity and subsequent reeditions under the Deuteronomists.[35] These inconsistencies naturally lead the reader to a diachronic investigation. This involves the ability of distinguishing different stages in the composition of the scroll:[36]

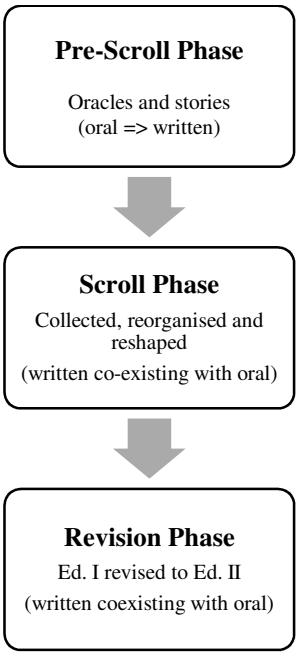
(1) Pre-scroll phase: the stage in which most of the material came into existence orally and was gradually converted into written form.[37] However, this does not

[32] See Terence Collins, *The Mantle of Elijah: The Redaction Criticism of the Prophetical Books* (The Biblical Seminar; Sheffield, UK: JSOT Press, 1993), 104-6 and Ronald E. Clements, Old Testament Prophecy: From Oracles to Canon (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), 10-19.
[33] Collins, *Mantle*, 104.
[34] J. Philip Hyatt, "Jeremiah and Deuteronomy," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 1 (1942), 156-173.
[35] Winfried Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1-25* (Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament 41; Neukirchner Verlag, 1973), 32-42.
[36] Stone considers the task of redaction criticism as an attempt to explain the agenda of the redactor in gathering different material, reshaping it and placing it in a new context. For him, the redaction criticism bridges diachronic and synchronic approaches. cf. Stone, "Redaction," 85-90. I accept Collins' division of different phases cf. Collins, *Mantle*, 24-5, but I am reluctant in using the term "book" because might sound as an anachronism if it is not interpreted cautiously. "Books" as codex is a later phenomenon and its existence changes the effect of reading significantly cf. Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Bible* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 2007), 9-26.
[37] Collins, *Mantle*, 24.

mean that oral tradition was replaced by a written one as the co-existence of the two traditions were always present in Ancient Israel.[38]

(2) Scroll phase: the stage in which the material was collected and (re)organised shaped creatively.[39]

(3) Revision of the Scroll phase. The stage that literary works achieve significant importance which needs to be updated.[40]



At this point, it is important to admit that these stages take the investigation to the speculative sphere, which seems evident in many past reconstructions developed within historical critical methods. However, this does not justify the dismissal of historical investigation as the problem lies on the positivistic view of history inherited from the Enlightenment which claims precise reconstruction of the past (e.g., the romantic view that it was possible to reconstruct the prophet *ipsissima*

[38] See Susan Niditch, *Oral World and Written Word: Ancient Israelite Literature* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), 1-6 and Robert D. Miller II, SFO, Oral Tradition in Ancient Israel (Biblical Performance Criticism vol. 4; Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2011), 20-7.
[39] Collins, *Mantle*, 24-25.
[40] Ibid, 24-25.

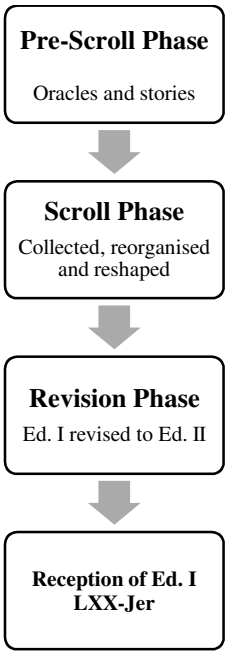
verba).[41] Critical historical investigation, including historical imagination, is still fruitful for biblical studies (if not equally important as literary analysis) as long as it is done with critical judgment, making distinction between facts and ideological values.[42] Thus, it is necessary to develop some mechanism which would enable the reader avoid circular reasoning assuming historical claims from the text. This seems to be part of the problem found in biographical approaches to Jeremiah scroll.[43] In this sense, both biblical text and other sources need to be critically examined in their own terms and cross-compared.[44]

3. Conclusions

In conclusion, dichotomy between synchronic and diachronic approaches seems to be more apparent than the reality of the exegetical process in itself as the exegete starts dealing with synchronic data at the beginning, but the comparison between the two versions of Jeremiah scroll immediately takes the reader to a diachronic investigation, which is not confined to the differences between MT-Jer and LXX-Jer. In addition, at any stage of the process the interpreter must deal with a historical inquiry as any reading departs from a historical context. Although this paper acknowledges the possibility of a synchronic reading of the final form of the MT-Jer or the fragments found in Qumran, the choice for LXX-Jer is justified for practical reasons, such as the multi-layered nature of MT-Jer and the fragmentary aspect of Qumran and the fact that LXX-Jer seems to represent the earliest available

[41] See Gene M. Tucker, "The Futile Quest for the Historical Prophet," in *A Biblical Itinerary: In Search of Method, Form and Content: Essays in Honor of George W. Coats.* Edited by Eugene E. Carpenter (JSOT Sup. 240; Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 144-50 and Barstad, "Prophets," 10-20.
[42] See Tucker, "Futile," 145-8. For an example in Jeremiah see David J. Reimer, "Jeremiah Before the Exile?" in *In Search of Pre-Exilic-Israel.* Edited by John Day (JSOT Sup. 406; London, UK: T&T Clark, 2004), 207-24.
[43] E.g., John Bright, *Jeremiah* (ABC; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965); H. Weippert, *Die Prosaderen des Jeremiabuches* (BZAW 132; Berlin, DL: de Gruyter, 1973) and Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*.
[44] See Tucker, "Futile," 148-52 and Lester L. Grabbe, *Ancient Israel: What Do We Know and How Do We Know it?* (London, UK: T&T Clark, 2007), 35-6.

reception of the scroll. Moreover, its literal technique seems to provide a homogenous text which fits good conditions for synchronic reading. This paper exclude potential synchronic reading during post-exilic times because I understand these period are still part of the growing process of the scroll.



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Trees of Knowledge

Kari Zakariassen, OTSEM 2015

Some trees in the Hebrew Bible are connected to knowledge. In this paper I will identify all texts where trees and knowledge could be connected, and examine some of them. The clearest example is Gen 2:9: The tree of the knowledge of good and evil. However, this particular text will not be discussed here. The texts that will be examined are divided into two sections: 1) Knowledge and 2) Vision. In the first section four texts are included: Hos 14:9b; Judg 4:4–5; Jer 2:27–28; and Hos 4:12–13a. The texts serve as examples of different ways of how trees and knowledge can be connected. In the second section, five texts containing the verb ראה in niphal (= "reveal oneself") are included: Judg 6:11–24; Ex 3:2–6; Gen 12:6–7; Gen 18:1–16; and Gen 22:13–14. In addition to the meaning "to reveal oneself", the verb ראה can mean to see, look (at), understand, choose, appear, become visible and present oneself. Used as a noun, the word can mean vision, face or seer.[1] All these different meanings could be associated with knowledge.

What is meant by "tree" and "knowledge" in this paper? "Tree" includes general words for trees, different tree species, bushes, wood, and objects made out of wood, such as sticks and rods. "Knowledge" is understood in a broad sense. In Stordalen's examination of Gen 2–3, he writes the following about knowledge mediated through the Tree of Knowledge: "the knowledge mediated through the tree is neither sexual knowledge nor moral knowledge alone, nor is it an overwhelming, all embracing knowledge. It is simply normal and necessary human erudition, establishing appropriate conduct in life and society."[2] In this paper, knowledge is used when human beings get new insight that helps them to find a solution to a concrete situation or problem. Knowledge may be advices, prophecies or oracles that helps solving a particular problem or dilemma. Knowledge is also used when human beings learn something about themselves or about the divine.

[1] Koehler and Baumgartner, 2000:vol 3, 1161-1162
[2] Stordalen, 2000:244. For more, see Stordalen, 2000:214–49

One way of obtaining knowledge in the ancient Near East, was through divination. Humans could get knowledge from god(s) or ancestors through the practice of divination. In the examination of the texts from the Hebrew Bible, I suggest that there might be a connection between trees, knowledge and the realm of the dead. Thus, a superficial introduction to ancestor cult and divination in ancient Israel is needed.

Ancestor cult and divination

In texts from the ancient Near East, we can find notions that the dead continued to live in a netherworld. The dead were by some believed to have benevolent and perhaps malevolent powers.[3] Ancestors were important for family identity,[4] and living kinsfolk cared for and had rites they practiced with regard to them. According to Rüdiger Schmitt, "what makes a dead kinsfolk an ancestor is described in modern anthropology not as a kind of apotheosis but as an ongoing social relationship between that ancestor and his or her living kin".[5] Ancestors and spirits of the deceased could be addressed as אלהים (*ʾelohim*)[6] (1 Sam 28:13; Isa 8:19-20). The dead had a special status as preternatural beings "who thereby possessed qualities not shared by the living, especially knowledge of things to come".[7]

One of the practices concerning the dead was to consult them. In 1 Sam 28, Saul inquires Yahweh, but does not get answers, neither by dreams, urim or prophets (v 6). He asks his servants to find him a woman who is a medium. On Saul's request, the woman raised the deceased prophet Samuel. Through this story, we learn that Yahweh could be mediated through different mediators, such as dreams, urim and prophets, and that consulting the dead is another way of gaining knowledge. The practice of consulting the dead is condemned in Deut 18:11; Lev 19:31 and 20:6. However, in 1 Sam 28, Samuel responds the same

[3] Block-Smith, 1992:122
[4] Albertz and Schmitt, 2012:433
[5] Albertz and Schmitt, 2012:430
[6] In the rest of the paper, I will refer to אלהים as *ʾelohim* to make the text easier to read
[7] Albertz and Schmitt, 2012:433

way as prophets and others who delivers divine responses.[8] The reason why Saul wants to consult Yahweh or Samuel is to get advices regarding the battle with the Philistines. Battle is the single dominating context for divine consultation in the biblical literature.[9] It seems like Samuel talks on behalf of Yahweh. Thus Yahweh could be called upon through necromancy,[10] or maybe Yahweh is included in the story as a way of legitimating the practice of consulting the dead. Thelle argues that it is no difference between prophecy and other divine consultations in the Hebrew Bible. The two have been treated as dichotomies in earlier scholarship, and researchers have favoured prophecy.[11] However, Thelle finds the same pattern in all texts of divine consultation: 1) A situation of distress, most commonly war. 2) A consultation of the deity by a religious expert. 3) A divine response that is either favourable or unfavourable.[12] Various religious experts, such as priests, judges, seers, kings, prophets, men of God and other religious leaders, performed the consultations.[13]

In Isa 8:19-20 the practice of consulting spirits of the dead and spirits that chirp and mutter is condemned. According to the text, people consult their mediums and spiritists "for instruction and testimony". אבות, here translated "mediums", could both point to mediums/necromancers and to the spirits of the dead. The same goes for the word ידעונים, "spiritists", which could be spiritists or soothsayers, but also the spirit of divination itself.[14]

In this paper I argue that the knowledge of the trees could come from Yahweh or the dead. The dead were believed to live in a netherworld. Stordalen suggests that "[a] tree drawing nutrition from deep soil where dead spirits live could be perceived as conveying knowledge from that realm".[15]

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[8] Thelle, 2002:86-91
[9] Thelle, 2002:207
[10] Thelle, 2002:88
[11] Thelle, 2002
[12] Thelle, 2002:15-39, 71-72 and 207
[13] Thelle, 2002:15-39 and 209
[14] Johnston, 2002:151–52; Koehler and Baumgartner, 2000
[15] Stordalen, 2000:464

List of texts connecting trees and knowledge

The list on the next page includes texts from the Hebrew bible where different words related to trees in some way or another can have a connection to knowledge. To produce the list, the following words have been included in searches in Accordance bible software:[16]

Tree, tree species[17] and fruit / tree products

אהלה	"aloe tree"	יין	"wine"	קציעה	"cassia"
איל	A tall tree. "terebinth?" "Oak?"	יער	"forest"	רמון	"pomegranate"
אילן	A large tree	כפר	"henna tree"	רתם	"juniper tree"
אלה	A large tree. "oak?" / "terebinth?"	כרם	"vineyard" / "vine (in a vineyard)"	שׂרק	"choice vine"
אלון	"oak"	נוב	"fruit"	שׁטה	"acacia"
ארז	"cedar"	ענב	"grape"	שׁקד	"almond"
ארן	"cedar" / "fir tree"	עץ	"tree"	שׁקמה	"sycamore"
אשׁל	"tamarisk"	עץ שׁמן	"oil tree"	תאנה	"fig (tree)"
באשׁ	"grape"	ערמון	"plane tree"	תאשׁור	"box tree?" "pine tree?" "cypress?"
ברוֹשׁ	"fir tree?" "pine?" "cypress?"	פג	"fig"	תדהר	"elm"
ברות	"fir tree"	פרט	"grape"	תירוֹשׁ	"vine"
גפן	"wine" / "vine"	פרי	"fruit"	תמר	"palm tree"
הדס	"myrtle tree"	קדה	"cassia"	תפוח	"apple tree?"
זית	"olive (tree)"	קנמון	"cinnamon"		

Bushes, thorns and plants

דרדר	"thistle"	סירה	"thorn"	קיקיון	"plant"
חוח	"thorn"	סלון	"brier"	קמושׁ	"thistle"
המס	"brushwood"	סנה	"bush"	שׂיח	"bush"
נטיע	"plant"	סרב	"thistle"	שׁתל	"plant"
נעצוץ	"thorn"	צנינים	"thorns"		
סבך	"thicket"	קוץ	"thorn"		

[16] Most of the search terms Stordalen has kindly shared with me. Some words have been added by me.

[17] The tree species are not certain. However, the exact species is not the main concern here.

Parts of the tree and objects made out of wood

גזע	"stem"	מטה	"staff"	ענף	"branch"
דלית	"branch"	מקל	"rod"	צמח	"branch"
זלזל	"shoot"	נטשׁ	"branch"	צמרת	"top"(of a tree)
זמורה	"(vine) branch"	נצר	"shoot"	קציר	"branch"
חטר	"shoot" / "rod"	סנסנה	"branch"	שׂריג	"twig"
יניקה	"young twig"	סעף	"branch"	שׁלח	"shoot"
ינקות	"branch"	עלה	"leaf"	שׁרשׁ	"root"

The search words used when searching for texts connected to knowledge has been:

ידע = to know

ירה = to teach

ראה = to see (niphal = to reveal oneself)

שׁאל = to ask

While all the texts in the list under can be found through the search words in the tables above, only some of the texts contain one or more of the four verbs. The rest of the texts are included in the list because the texts and/or their contexts imply that trees and knowledge could be connected.

Genesis 2-3 (2:9); 12:6–7; 13:18; 18:1-16; 21:15-19, 33; 22:13-14; 35:4, 8;
Exodus 3:2-6; 4:2-3, 17; 7:19; 15:25;
Deuteronomy 4:28; 11:30; 12:2-3; 28:36, 64; 29:16; 33:16;
Joshua 24:26;
Judges 4; 6:11-26; 9:6-15; 9:37;
1 Samuel 22:6; 31:13;
1 Kings 13:14; 14:23; 19:4-8;
2 Kings 6:6; 16:4; 17:10; 19:18;
1Chronicles 10:12; 16:33;
Job 12:8; 14:7-9;
Psalms 1:3; 80:9-12; 96:12;

Proverb 3:18; 11:30;
Isaiah 1:29-30; 37:19; 44:19; 45:20;
Jeremiah 2:27-28; 10:8; 17:7-8;
Ezekiel 6:13; 17:22-24; 19:10-14; 20:32; 21:15; 31; 37:16-20; 47:1-12;
Daniel 4:7-24; 54, :23;
Hosea 4:12-13; 14:9;
Jonah 4:6-11;
Habakkuk 2:11; 2:18–19

In the next part of this paper, some texts from the list will be examined. The texts are divided into two categories: 1) Knowledge, and 2) Vision. This does not suggest that the texts in the second category are not connected to knowledge. Rather, they are grouped together because they all include ראה in niphal (= to reveal oneself).

1. Knowledge

Hos 14:9b

"I am like a evergreen fir tree"[18]

Yahweh identifies himself with an evergreen fir tree. This is the only time in the Hebrew Bible where Yahweh explicit states that he is like a tree, and also the only time where Yahweh explicit is compared to a tree.[19] Tångberg argues that Hos 14:9b should be interpreted against the background of other ancient Near Eastern tree texts. In his analysis of the symbolism in the text, he states that cedar trees[20] but also other kinds of trees[21] in the Ancient Near East can symbolise royal power or divine power of life and fertility.[22] He brings to attention an Assyrian letter by a priest to the king, where the language is similar to the language in Hos 14:9: "A pine (*burāšu*) is the Lord, my king, who gives life

[18] Own translation. All translations in the paper are mine, unless something else is stated.
[19] Tångberg, 1989:82; Eidevall, 1996:210
[20] Ezek 31:3, 8, 15; 2 Kings 14:9
[21] Such as olive, fig, pine and bramble in Judge 9:7–15
[22] Tångberg, 1989:88-89

to numerous people"[23] It stresses both the connection between the tree and kingship, and the tree and fertility. Hos 14:9 could be a symbol of the power of Yahweh as a king giving life to his people.[24] Tångberg states that "[n]o doubt the use of tree symbolism in Hosea 14,9 reflects the common association of kingship-divinity-fertility in the Ancient Near East".[25]

Eidevall poses the question of how the tree metaphor in 14:9 is related to the tree metaphor in 14:7. In 14:7 the nation is compared to an olive tree. Both fig trees and olive trees are verdant all year, and both Yahweh and the people are represented as fruit bearing plants.[26] In verse 8 we can read that the people "shall live in its shadow". Eidevall asserts that this is "a conventional metaphor for being under someone's protection".[27] He asks which tree casts its shadow over the people – is it the nation (as an olive tree) or Jahweh (as the evergreen fig tree)? Several scholars claim that Yahweh is the one giving shelter. However, Eidevall points out that Yahweh has not yet been compared to a tree in verse 8. He concludes that "the ambiguous character of 14:8a cannot, and should not, be eradicated. Although seemingly in conflict, the two alternative interpretations can be seen as complementary. (…) In the first step, the reader is allured to assume that future life in peace will be guaranteed by the great (and self-sufficient) strength of the nation. However, this understanding of v 8a is questioned, and deepened, by the utterance in v 9, where YHWH is depicted as a tree. (…) In the final analysis v 8a affirms that the sole guarantor of national peace and security is YHWH."[28] Thus Yahweh as a tree could also be interpreted as Yahweh protecting his people.

Could Hos 14:9 also have a connection to knowledge? Several places in the Hebrew Bible, trees have names that indicate their connection to knowledge,[29]

[23] Copied from Tångberg, 1989:87
[24] Tångberg, 1989:88
[25] Tångberg, 1989:91
[26] Eidevall, 1996:221
[27] Eidevall, 1996:216
[28] Eidevall, 1996:217-18
[29] Gen 12:6; Deut 11:30; Judg 9:37

people inquire their trees,[30] and prophets sit under trees.[31] In Prov 3:18 and Sir 24:13-17 wisdom is described as different kinds of trees: "She is a tree of life to those who lay hold of her"[32] (Prov 3:18a) and "I grew tall like a cedar in Lebanon, and like a cypress on the heights of Hebron. I grew tall like a palm tree in En-gedi, and like rosebushes in Jericho; like a fair olive tree in the field, and like a plane tree beside water I grew tall"[33] (Sir 24:13-14). The tree could thus also symbolise knowledge and wisdom. Hence, Yahweh identifying himself with a tree could be interpreted as a symbol of Yahweh's knowledge and wisdom. This interpretation does not necessarily contradict the interpretations given above. Trees could symbolise kingship, fertility, protection and knowledge at the same time.

It is not certain which tree species a ברוֹשׁ is. Botanical designations of species in antiquity did not have the same precision as in modern science. It seems like the biblical narrators were more concerned with the significance of the different trees than their individual species.[34] Zohary asserts that ברוֹשׁ denotes coniferous trees, and in general refers to the evergreen or common cypress.[35] If the context contains information about geographical or other conditions, he claims that it could be possible to determine the species more precise. If ברוֹשׁ is connected with the word for cedar or Lebanon, the tree could be another tree with conifers, for example the Cilician pine.[36] In Hos 14:6-8 there are allusions to the trees and forests of Lebanon. Taking the context into consideration ברוֹשׁ could be one of the large and majestic trees of Lebanon, maybe the fir tree, which is bigger than the cypress.

The close connection between Yahweh and trees can also be seen in Gen 21:33 where Abraham plants a tamerisk in Beer-Sheba before calling the name of Yahweh, the everlasting El. Here the everlasting aspect is more clearly

[30] Hos 4:12
[31] Judg 4:4-5; 1 Kings 13:14; 19:5; Jonah 4:6
[32] NRSV, 1989
[33] NRSV, 1989
[34] Zohary, 1982:15
[35] Zohary, 1982:107
[36] Zohary, 1982:106

emphasised.

Judg 4

"Deborah, a prophetess, wife of Lappidoth, was judging Israel at that time. She sat under the palm of Deborah between Ramah and Bethel in mount Ephraim, and the children of Israel came up to her for judgment." (Judg 4:4–5)

Deborah is the first female prophet and judge in the Book of Judges. שׁפט, "judge", is normally not used in a juridical sense in the Book of Judges; rather it refers to authorities, often military leaders. The word could mean to "decide between" or to "administer justice"[37] which could also include prophetic activities. Soggin points out that the judgement "is a function which Deborah performs as a prophetess".[38] The third description of Deborah is that she is the wife of Lappidoth. The phraseאשׁת לפידות could also mean "(woman) wielder of flames/torches)".[39]

Deborah sits under a palm, which is named after her: The palm of Deborah. This indicates that the tree was closely connected to Deborah and her profession. This is recognised by many commentators. However, many of them do not make any argument about why she sits exactly there.[40] Because Deborah had a regular place where she used to sit, "the children of Israel" knew where to find her. The children of Israel came up to her for judgement. If the word means to "decide between" in this text, the judgement could be to answer questions, maybe questions with given answers that she could decide between.

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[37] Koehler and Baumgartner, 2000:vol 4, p 1622-1627

[38] Soggin, 1987:1 However, in his commentary to verse four, Soggin claims that the judging here should be understood "in the forensic sense of the term" Soggin, 1987:64

[39] Sasson, 2014:255

[40] Soggin, 1987:60–79; Butler, 2009:94. Boling, 1975:98-99 points to a possible identification with the oak of Weeping in Gen 35:8, and that "Deborah had turned a venerable place of lamentation into a little oracular oasis; the palm tree at that altitude may be growing metaphorically". Nevertheless, he does noe point to why the possible connection to the Oak of Weeping could be important. Sasson, 2014:254 asks if this "is the narrator's sly comment on God's capacity to empower other than those at places and temples?"

Deborah receives prophecies while sitting under the tree. The text does not state *how* she gets the prophecies. It is reasonable to think that the palm is important in this regard, as it is named after her, and because trees are connected to knowledge also in other texts.

More accounts of prophets sitting under trees can be found in the Hebrew Bible. In 1 Kings 13:14 a "man of *ʾelohim*" sits under a terebinth. The "man of *ʾelohim*" is later in the story addressed "prophet" by another prophet (13:18). This is not a story about a successful prophet sitting under a tree. Quite the reverse, the "man of *ʾelohim*" disobeys the word of Yahweh and is killed by a lion (13:18). In 1 Kings 19:5 Elijah comes to a broom (?) tree. When sitting there, he asks to die. Twice an angel of Yahweh touches him and tells him to eat. Elijah gets strength to continue his travel. Furthermore, in Jonah 4:6, Yahweh appoints a plant and it grows up over Jonah to give shade over his head to take away his discomfort. Jonah was very happy about the plant. However, *ʾelohim* appoints a worm that attacks the tree so it withers, and Jonah asks to die. From these stories, we learn that several prophets sat under trees. Prophets and judges were closely related to knowledge through their profession. Deborah, Elijah and Jonah receive messages or talk to Yahweh/*ʾelohim* while sitting under the trees. This implies that (some) trees served as places where prophets could get in contact with the divine. Furthermore, it is interesting that both Elijah and Jonah ask to die when they are sitting under trees. This could indicate that trees were related to death, maybe also to the dead. It also emphasises trees as places for communication with the divine: Eliah had walked a day's journey into the wilderness, nevertheless he does not ask to die before he arrives the tree.

The palm of Deborah has an uncertain connection to the oak of weeping in Gen 35:8.[41] The oak of weeping got its name because Rebekah's nurse, who also was named Deborah, was buried underneath the oak. It is not clear from the text who is weeping: Is it a reference to a mourning rite of weeping (Gen 23:2; Deut 34:8)? Or is it the tree itself who weeps?

[41] Boling, 1975; Butler, 2009:94; Sasson, 2014:254-56

Burials under trees are attested a few places in the Hebrew bible. The bones of king Saul and his sons were buried under a tree after they had been burned (1 Sam 31:11-13). A parallel text is found in 1 Chr 10:11-12, but here the burning of the bodies is not mentioned. In 2 Sam 21:14 king David reburied the bones of Saul and his sons in a family grave. Trees were closely related to divine presence, as demonstrated in Gen 21:32-33 where Abraham plants a tree and calls the name of Yahweh. Bloch-Smith suggest that "[i]nterment under a tree situated the deceased at the god's shrine, the divine earthly abode".[42] The tree as burial site could also serve to preserve the memory of the individual.[43] The knowledge coming from the trees could have a connection to the dead who are buried under trees.

Jer 2:27-28

"They say to a tree, 'You are my father', and to a stone 'You gave me birth'. For they have turned their backs to me, and not their faces. But in time of their trouble they say 'Arise and save us'. Where are your elohims that you made for yourself? Let them arise if they can save you in time of your trouble. For you have as many elohims as you have cities, Judah."

Two main approaches to Jer 2:27a are prevalent in the literature, according to Olyan[44]:

a) The stone and tree represented local spirits or gods who were credited as being the source of human life.[45]

b) The stone and the tree represent Baal and Asherah respectively.

In the text, the tree is called the father, and the stone the mother. Asherah is often associated with trees. Hence, if the stone represent Baal and the tree Asherah, one would expect the opposite: That the tree was the mother and the

[42] Block-Smith, 1992:115

[43] Block-Smith, 1992:115

[44] The following two paragraphs follows the argument of Olyan, 1987:255–259

[45] Olyan, 1987:255. According to Olyan, this view was popular in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but also to more recent commentators.

stone the father. Olyan and others suggest that this is a polemical reversal. The worshipers are made to look stupid, addressing their faith to dumb objects. They do not even understand what the objects represent. Olyan does not accept the assumption that the text is an illustration of Canaanite or non-Yahwistic cult practice. He agrees that the stone represents a male deity and the tree Asherah, but he does not agree that the male deity has to be Baal. Yahweh is described as "father" several places in the Hebrew bible[46] while there are no secure examples of Baal-Hadad addressed as "father". Instead, he argues that Yahweh is the one who is most likely addressed in Jer 2:27a. In Ps 2:7, Yahweh says to David: "You are my son; today I have begotten you", and in 2 Sam 7:14 Yahweh says he will be like a father.[47] Hence it is more likely that the father addressed in Jer 2:27a is Yahweh. As seen in Hos 14:9 Yahweh says that he is like an evergreen fir. Thus Yahweh could be the tree, and not the stone, as Olyan suggests.

The text condemns these practices towards stones and trees. Thus, if the tree represents Yahweh, this text is an example of inner-Yahwistic ideological conflict between those who accepts that Yahweh is represented by a tree and those who do not accept it.[48]

As seen in the introduction, some people had practices concerning the dead, such as inquiring them. Could the practice in Jer 2:27a be a reflection of ancestor cult? Ancestors are, literary, the "father" and "mother" of the people. As shown above, people were sometimes buried underneath trees.[49] Standing stones are well attested in the archaeological material and were probably used in a variety of contexts. One of the uses was probably to mark the graves of the dead to commemorate them.[50] References to such uses can maybe be found in Gen 35:19–20; 2 Sam 18:18 and 2 Kings 23:15–18. According to Lewis, "such usage is

[46] 2 Sam 7:14 (=1 Chr 17:3); 1 Chr 22:10; 28:6; 29:10; Jes 9:5; 63:16; 64:7; Jer 31:8; Ps 68:5 (Olyan, 1987:256n)
[47] Olyan, 1987:256–58
[48] Olyan, 1987:258-59
[49] Gen 35:8; 1 Sam 31:11–13; 1 Chr 10:11–12
[50] Lewis, 2002:179

frequently attested in Phoenician and Punic texts".[51] Thus both trees and stones were associated to burials and graves, and thereby also to the dead. It is therefore not impossible that Jer 2:27a could refer to people honouring or speaking to their ancestors through trees and stones. If the tree and stone represented ancestors, the *'elohims* in 2:28 could have a double reference: both to gods (=idols) and to ancestors. The text would then be a polemic against both idol and ancestor cult.

Hos 4:12–13a

"My people inquire its tree and its rod gives them oracles. For a spirit of whoredom caused them to astray, and they whore away from their Elohim. They sacrifice on the tops of the mountains and they offer burnt offerings upon the hills, under the oak, poplar and terebinth, for her shade is good." (Hos 4:12–13a)

The term שׁאל, inquire, can be used as a technical term for obtaining religious guidance.[52] Yahweh is usually the object of the consultation. In Ezek 21:26 the question is directed towards diviners. In this text the tree is the object of the consultation. Other than the different object of the inquiry, the function of the act is the same as when Yahweh is consulted. A decision needs to be made, thus a consultation is necessary to make the correct decision.[53] נגד is used as a term for announcing oracles.[54] עץ is translated "tree", but could also be a product of tree, such as wood or a wooden object.[55] עץ could be a pun on עצת, which translates counsel or advice.[56] מקל, rod, could also be translated branch. If it is a branch, the oracle given could be the sound made of branches and leaves. However, if the rod gives the oracles, it could be the same kind of divination as in Ezek 21:26, where the king of Babylon stands at the parting of the way, at the fork of two roads. To choose which road he should take, he uses three types of divination. The first is to "shake the arrows". Exactly how this was done is uncertain, but somehow it

[51] Lewis, 2002:179
[52] Stordalen, 2000:128; Macintosh, 1997:151
[53] Thelle, 2002:70-71
[54] Stordalen, 2000:128
[55] Koehler and Baumgartner, 2000:vol 2 p 863-864
[56] Stordalen, 2000:128

must have been able to give answer to the binary question of which of the two ways to choose. The rod in Hos 4:12 could maybe be used for the same purpose: to decide between yes-no or either-or questions. As the dead were believed to have knowledge of things to come, they could have been the real objects of the question, mediated through the tree.

Hos 12b-13a is a description of sexual ritual activities finding place under trees. The phrase "under every green tree" occurs 11 times in the Hebrew Bible, and is a typical phrase used when cults and practices under trees are condemned.[57] The phrase is found in Deut 12:2; 1 Kings 14:23; 2 Kings 16:4; 17:10; Isa 57:5; Jer 2:20; 3:6, 13; 17:2; Ezek 6:13; 2 Chr 28:4. Some of these texts[58] use sexual images, and is associated with a type of cultic sexual ritual to the gods who brought fertility.[59] In the texts without sexual references, the practices involve worship of other gods than Yahweh. The practices taking place "under every green tree" were cultic practices. The phrase is often found together with the phrase "high hills" or "high mountains". The texts containing these phrases are always polemics against the people who worships or have practices at these places. Nevertheless, "high hills" and "under every green tree" are sacred places to the people performing the practices.

Conclusion

The trees in the texts could symbolise different things, such as kingship, fertility and protection. Some people inquired trees/wood to gain oracles, and some prophets sat underneath trees while receiving their prophecies. Thus trees were probably, by some, perceived to be connected to knowledge. Burials underneath trees are attested in some texts, and trees or wooden objects might have had a function in ancestor cults. Hence there might be a connection between trees and the realm of the dead. Trees could also serve as places for cultic activities and sacred places.

[57] Ackerman, 1992:15213
[58] 1 King 14:23–24; Isa 57:5; Jer 2:20; 3:6, 13; Hos 4:13
[59] Ackerman, 1992:152

2. Visions

The texts in this session all contain the word ראה in niphal. The word is translated "reveal (oneself)" and is used as a technical term for the divine manifestation.[60] When Yahweh or a messenger of Yahweh reveals himself, knowledge about the divine is revealed at the same time.

Judg 6:11–24

"An angel of Yahweh came and sat in the oak at Ophrah, which belonged to Joash the Abiezrite. His son Gideon was beating out wheat in the wine press, to hide it from the Midanites. The angel of Yahweh revealed himself to him and said to him: 'Yahweh is with you, mighty warrior'". (Judg 6:11–12)

The angel of Yahweh sits in the oak at Ophrah and reveals himself to Gideon. The preposition תחת can be translated many different ways. NRSV translate it "under" in this verse, so do most other translations I have read.[61] However, the preposition could also be translated "instead of" or "in place of". Hence, the angel could be *in* the tree. Iconographic evidence support that divine figures comes out of trees, or appear in trees.[62] The angel of Yahweh speaks to Gideon in verse 11, while it is Yahweh who speaks to Gideon in 6:14 and 6:16.[63]According to Soggin, angels are interchangeable with Yahweh in this literary layer, and are identical to him.[64] This means that also Yahweh could be *in* the tree. The angel promises that Yahweh is with Gideon, the mighty warrior. However, at this time Gideon is not a warrior. This is the calling of Gideon to become a judge and warrior. Hence the angel's words are an oracle. Gideon does not understand that it is an angel of Yahweh speaking to him. If the angel is *in* the tree, and thus the tree is the one actually making the sounds, it is not surprising that Gideon is uncertain if it is Yahweh who speaks to him. Gideon asks Yahweh for a sign to prove that it really

[60] Koehler and Baumgartner, 2000:vol 3 p 1157-1161; Soggin, 1987:115
[61] NRSV, 1989; Bibelselskapet, 2011; Sasson, 2014:324; Butler, 2009:181; Soggin, 1987:113
[62] Keel, 1998; Keel and Uehlinger, 1998
[63] LXX has the angel of Yahweh also in 6:14 and 6:16.
[64] Soggin, 1987:114

is Yahweh who is speaking to him.

Gideon brings meat, unleavened cakes and broth to Yahweh under the tree. The quantity of food is disproportionate to a meal for two people.[65] He made unleavened bread from an ephah of flour. An ephah is an unknown measure of capacity for solids, such as flour, but according to Soggin it is "certainly amounting to tens of litres".[66] In addition, he brought the meat of a whole goat and a pot of broth. Stordalen observes that Gideon "proposes to prepare a meal – a gift meal that may also be a meal of offering".[67]

Gideon brings the food under the oak. By bringing the food to this very place, he confirms that the oak is a holy place. The angel of *'elohim*[68] asks Gideon to put the meat and the unleavened cakes on a rock, and to pour the broth out. The angel reaches out the tip of the staff, touches the meat and unleavened cakes, and a fire springs out. The fire consumes the food, and the angel of Yahweh vanishes. "The tip of the staff" could be a branch of the tree. If the angel of Yahweh is "in" the tree, his hands and staff would be the branches of the tree. The tree becomes a place where Yahweh appears through an angel, where Gideon receives oracles, where the angel through the tree sets fire to the food, and where Yahweh consumes the food.

Gideon builds an altar to Yahweh, which must be under or close to the oak. Altars of Yahweh under or close to (oak) trees is found also in Gen 12:6-7; 13:18; and Josh 24:26. Altars of Yahweh under trees signify that the place is a holy place of Yahweh, and a place for Yahweh cult.

<u>Ex 3:2–6</u>

"The angel of Yahweh revealed himself to him in a flame of fire from the midst of the bush. He looked, and see, the bush burnt in fire, yet the bush was not

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[65] Soggin, 1987:116
[66] Soggin, 1987:116
[67] Stordalen, 2000:125
[68] In verse 20 the name changes from Yahweh to *'elohim*. It changes back to Yahweh in verse 21–22

consumed. And Moses said: 'I must turn aside and look at this great vision. Why does not the bush burn?' When Yahweh saw that he had turned aside to see, Elohim called to him from the midst of the bush and said, 'Moses, Moses'. And he said 'See me'. Then he said, 'Do not come closer. Remove your sandals from you feet, for the place which you are standing is holy ground'. And he said: 'I am the Elohim of your father, Elohim of Abraham, Elohim of Isaac and Elohim of Jacob'. And Moses hid his face, for he was afraid to look at Elohim."

The angel revealing himself in a flame may be interpreted the same way as the angel sitting in the oak in Judg 6:11; the angel was *in* the flame, as the angel in Judg 6:11 was *in* the tree. As in Judg 6 Yahweh and the angel might be identical. Further out in the story, we see that *ʾelohim* calls Moses from the midst of the bush (v 4). The phrase "from the midst of the bush", מתוך הסנה, is identical in verse 2 and verse 4 for describing the fire and describing where *ʾelohim* called from. Thus Yahweh, the angel of Yahweh, *ʾelohim* and the bush in fire seems to be four different ways of representing the same reality.[69] Moses turns aside and looks at the great vision in verse 3. מראה , vision, is a noun with the same root as ראה, reveal oneself (used in v 2 about the angel). The root ראה serves as a key word in Ex 3:2–6 ראה, found in v 2 (twice), v 3 (twice) and v 4 (twice). In addition it is also found in v 7 (twice) and v 9.

The bush, סנה, only occurs in Ex 3:2-4 and maybe in Deut 33:16 ("him who dwelled in the bush"[70]). There are no plants in Sinai or close by that are not consumed when burnt. Zohary therefore suggests that the bush could be identified linguistically only.[71]

Elohim tells Moses not to come closer. He should remove his sandals, because he is standing on holy ground. Both מקום, place, and קדשׁ, holy, could connote a

[69] Durham, 1987:31
[70] Some emend סנה to סיני (*sinai*) "Sinai" in Deut 33:16, for example NRSV, 1989.
[71] Zohary, 1982:140

sanctuary.[72] The whole scenery with a burning bush that is not consumed by the fire, the angel appearing in the bush, and Yahweh and *'elohim* talking from the bush underline what *'elohim* says: The place is holy ground.

Elohim identifies himself as the Elohim of "your father"; of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. Your father is a grammatical singular, but conceivably collective, and includes all of Moses' ancestors.[73]

Gen 12:6–7

"Abram passed through the land to the sacred site of Shechem, to the Oracle Oak. The Canaanites were in the land at that time. Yahweh revealed himself to Abram and said: 'To your seed I will give this land'. And there he built an altar to Yahweh, who had revealed himself to him."(Gen 12:6–7)

This passage is in the very beginning of the patriarchal stories. Yahweh has called Abram, and told him that he has to leave his country, his kindred and his father's house and go to the land Yahweh will show him. Abram makes his first stop in the sacred place of Shechem. The word translated to "sacred site", מקום , could be translated "place", "site" or "location", but also "sacred site", or even "temple" or "sanctuary".[74] The word translated as "oak", אלון is often translated "terebinth". Zohary argues that אלון should be translated "oak", while אלה should be translated "terebinth".[75] Both oaks and terebinths are big and evergreen trees. "The Oracle Oak" is a translation of אלון מורה. Some translations takes Moreh to be a personal name, and translate it "the oak of Moreh".[76] מורה literary means "teacher", "one who casts oracles" or "master teacher (of God)".[77] The name of the oak implies that the oak was connected to knowledge, and that the oak could give or teach knowledge; both a "teacher" and "one who casts oracles" have knowledge and can communicate this knowledge to the student or listener.

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[72] Propp, 1999:200
[73] Propp, 1999:200
[74] Koehler and Baumgartner, 2000:vol 2 p 627
[75] Zohary, 1982:108–11
[76] NRSV, 1989; von Rad, 1972:161; Bibelselskapet, 2011 ("More-eika")
[77] Koehler and Baumgartner, 2000:vol 2 560-561

The Oracle Oak was a holy site also before Abram arrived, as we can read that Abram went through "the sacred land of Shechem, to the Oracle Oak". Thus it is not Abram who is naming the oak. Yahweh appears to Abram at this very place, by the Oracle Oak. Yahweh confirms the name and function of the Oracle Oak by appearing there; the oak continues to be an oracle oak. Abram confirms that the tree is considered a sacred place (מקום) of Yahweh by building an altar to Yahweh under or close to the oak. The Oracle Oak must therefore now be considered a place for the cult of Yahweh, without any shift in the function of the tree.

Trees near Shechem that could give oracles are also mentioned in Deut 11:30 (Oracle Oaks) and in Judg 9:37 (the Soothsayer's Oak). The texts will be shortly treated here even though they do not contain the word ראה, appear.

"Are they not beyond the Jordan, behind the road of the setting sun, in the land of the Canaanites who live in the Arabah, opposite Gilgal, beside the Oracle Oaks?" (Deut 11:30)

While the Oracle Oak is a singular oak in Gen 12:6, there are Oracle Oaks in plural in Deut 11:30. LXX has the word in singular also in Deut. Weinfeld suggests that it might intentionally have been changed from "oak" to "oaks" by the author of Deuteronomy "in order to indicate that it was not a sacred tree standing there for worship but a grove or a small wood serving some aesthetic or practical purpose (for shade or the like)."[78]

Deut 11:30 is a geographical explanation of where the two mountains Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal are located. The explanation starts with a grammatical negative, הלא. The question it introduces seems to be a rhetorical question, in other words a factual explanation of where the mountains are to be found. According to Weinfeld, "the way of the sun setting", or "the west road" as he translates it, "alludes to the main road, passing from Transjordan to Shechem

[78] Weinfeld, 1991:453 Nelson writes that "MT converts to the plural *'lwny* to avoid any suggestion of an unorthodox sacred tree" (Nelson, 2002:132)

through the plain east of Shechem".[79] Thus both the Oracle Oaks in Deut 11:30 and the Oracle Oak in Gen 12:7 are located in Shechem.

Another tree connected to knowledge can be found in Judg 9:37: "the Oak of Soothsayers". Also this tree is near Shechem,[80] and is used as a geographical marker to explain where "another company" is coming from. As with the Oracle Oak, the name of the Oak of Soothsayers makes it plausible that the oak could give knowledge.

Gen 18:1–16

"Yahweh revealed himself to him by the oaks of Mamre" (18:1a)

This is the second time Yahweh reveals himself to Abraham under a tree. The first time was under the Oracle Tree in Gen 12:6. This time, the place seems to be a grove, as the oaks of Mamre are in plural. Abraham does not recognise Yahweh, but "looked up and saw three men standing near him" (18:2). The double pair of verbs "looked up and saw" denotes that what he sees is significant.[81] The relationship between Yahweh and the three men is not clear. In verse 1 Yahweh reveals himself, while in verse 2 Abraham sees three men. When he sees them, he runs to them to meet them and bows down to the ground. Bowing down is a way of showing respect to the visitors. The same word is translated worship when Yahweh is the object.[82] Abraham tells the visitor[83] to rest under the tree while he brings some water and bread. The tree is now a singular tree, and a particular tree (העץ = "the tree"). Abraham, his wife and his servant prepare cakes and a calf and bring this to the visitors together with milk – a feast meal. The visitors eat under the tree. One of the visitors tells Abraham that his wife

[79] Weinfeld, 1991:452
[80] The oak is to be found close to "the navel of the earth", which is often identified as Shechem (Boling, 1975:178-79). For an overview of different interpretations of the term, see Butler, 2009:247
[81] Wenham, 1994:45
[82] Wenham, 1994:46
[83] Abraham addresses the visitor(s) in singular. He does not yet know that the visitors is Yahweh. Maybe he recognises one of the visitors as the leader, and addresses him. (Speiser, 1964:129)

Sarah shall have a son. Once more an oracle is given under a tree. The story has parallels to Judges 6:11–24: neither Abraham nor Gideon recognizes Yahweh in the beginning of the story, in both stories a luxurious meal is eaten under the tree, and in both stories an oracle is given under the tree.

Gen 22:13–14

"And Abraham lifted up his eyes and looked, and saw a ram caught in a thicket by its horns. Abraham went and took the ram and offered it as a burnt offering instead of his son. Abraham called that place 'Yahweh sees', as it is said to this day, 'On the mountain of Yahweh he shall reveal himself'." (Gen 22:13-14)

Abraham is just about to offer his son Isaac when an angel of Yahweh calls him and tells him to stop. Abraham looks up and sees a ram in a thicket, which he offers instead of his son. This way Abraham gets knowledge from Yahweh and about Yahweh: Yahweh does not need child sacrifice – a ram is sufficient. Abraham calls the place "Yahweh sees". Places and naming of places were important: A place where Yahweh had revealed himself and received sacrifice would be important also for future generations.[84] The word translated "sees", ראה (qal) in 22:14a is the same verb translated "reveal himself" (niph) in 22:14b. The name of the place could therefore be a pun on Yahweh revealing himself at this very place. The place of the thicket is both a place where Yahweh appears, and also a place where Abraham learn something about Yahweh.

Conclusion

Trees in the Hebrew bible serve as places where Yahweh reveals himself, and where people can receive knowledge. In some of the text, the knowledge comes from Yahweh – either Yahweh himself speaks, or someone speaks as Yahweh's messenger(s). Other times it is not clearly stated where the knowledge comes from. I argue that the knowledge might come from deceased as some people in the ancient Near East had practices of consulting the dead, and as people sometimes were buried underneath trees. Trees could also be holy places; Yahweh reveals himself several times under or in trees, and altars of Yahweh are

[84] von Rad, 1972:242

built under trees.

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